# THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

# by **JOHN FOXE**

Commonly known as

# **FOXE'S BOOK OF MARTYRS**

# Volume 10

The Reign of Queen Mary I. – Part II.

Published by the Ex-classics Project, 2009

http://www.exclassics.com

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John Bradford

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### 268. Other Events of February 1555.

After that Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had got the laws and the secular arm on his side, as ye have heard, with full power and authority to reign and rule as he listed, and had brought these godly bishops and reverend preachers aforesaid under foot, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, Master Latimer, Master Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, Master Rogers, Master Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and Master Bradford, all which he had now presently condemned, and some also burned, he supposed now all had been cock-sure, and that Christ had been conquered for ever, so that the people, being terrified with example of these great learned men condemned, never would nor durst once rout against their violent religion: not much unlike in this behalf to the manner of the Turks, who, when they cannot maintain their sect by good learning and truth of God's word, think by violence of sword to force whom they can to their belief; and, that done, afterward make laws, no man under pain of heresy to dispute, or once to call in question any of their proceedings. Even so, Stephen Gardiner and his fellows, when they see they cannot prevail by trial of God's word, and discourse of learning, neither are disposed simply to seek for truth where it is to be found, they take exceptions against God's word, affirming it to be intricate, obscure, and insufficient to be its own judge, and therefore that of necessity it must be judged by the pope's church: and so, having kings and queens on their side, they seek not to persnade by the word of God, nor to win by charity, but, instead of the law of God, they use, as the Proverb saith,τω νομω χειρων [Greek: to nomo cheiron], compelling men by death, fire, and sword, (as the Turks do,) to believe that in very deed they think not. And indeed, after flesh and blood, this seemeth to be a sure way. Neither peradventure are they ignorant how gaily this way thriveth with the Turks; and therefore think they to practise the same; at least-wise so they do, upon what example soever they do it. And thus condemned they these godly learned preachers and bishops aforesaid, supposing, as I said, that all the rest would soon be quailed by their example. But they were deceived: for within eight or nine days after that Stephen Gardiner had given sentence against Master Hooper, Master Rogers, Master Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and Master Bradford, being the eighth of February, six other good men were brought likewise before the bishops for the same cause of religion, to be examined, whose names were William Pygot, butcher; Stephen Knight, barber; Thomas Tomkins, weaver; Thomas Hawkes, gentleman; John Laurence, priest; William Hunter, apprentice.

Stephen Gardiner, seeing thus his device disapappointed, and that cruelty in this case would not serve to his expectation, gave over the matter as utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Bonner, bishop of London; who supplied that part right doughtily, as in the further process of this history hereafter evidently and too much may appear. Thus Bishop Bonner taking the matter in hand, called before him in his consistory at Paul's (the lord mayor and certain aldermen sitting with him) the six persons afore-named, upon the eighth of February in the year aforesaid, and on the next day, being the ninth of February, read the sentence of condemnation upon them, as appeareth in Bonner's own registers: such quick speed these men could make in despatching their

business at once. Notwithstanding, because the death of these condemned martyrs did not follow incontinently before the next month of March, I will defer the prosecuting of their matter till I come, by the grace of the Lord, to the time and day of their suffering.

In the mean time, what was the cause that their execution was so long deferred after their condemnation, I have not precisely to say—unless, peradventure, the sermon of Alphonsus, the Spanish friar, and the king's confessor, did some good. For so I find, that when those six persons aforesaid were cast upon Saturday the ninth of February, upon Sunday following, which was the tenth of February, the said Alphonsus, a Gray Friar, preached before the king; in which sermon he did earnestly inveigh against the bishops for burning of men, saying plainly that they learned it not in Scripture, to burn any for his conscience: but the contrary—that they should live and be converted; with many other things more to the same purport. But, touching the lingering of these men's death, as I have not certainly to affirm, so let it pass.

On the fourteenth of February, Master Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was sent towards St. David's, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whose martyrdom, forasmuch as it fell not before the month of March, we will defer the history thereof till we come to the day and time of his suffering.

Furthermore, this foresaid fourteenth day of February, the lord chancellor, and other his fellow bishops, caused the image of Thomas Becket, that old Romish traitor, to be set up over the Mercer's chapel door in Cheapside in London, in the form and shape of a bishop, with mitre and crosier. Howbeit within two days after his erection, his two blessing fingers were first broken away, and on the next day (being the seventeenth of February) his head also was stricken off. Whereupon arose great trouble, and many were suspected; among whom one Master John Barnes, mercer, dwelling over against the same chapel, was vehemently by the lord chancellor charged withal, as the doer thereof; and the rather, for that he was a professor of the truth. Wherefore he, and three of his servants, were committed to prison; and at his delivery (although it could not be proved upon him) he was bound in a great sum of money as well to build it up again as often as it should be broken down, as also to watch and keep the same. And therefore, at this his compelled charges, the image was again set up the second day of March then next ensuing: but, for lack belike of careful watching, the fourteenth day of the same month in the night, the head of that dangerous beast, over whom there was such charge given, was again the second time broken off: which thing was so heinously taken, that the next day, being the fifteenth day, there was a proclamation made in London, that whosoever would tell who did strike off his head, (though he were of counsel, and not the principal doer,) he should have not only his pardon, but also one hundred crowns of gold, with hearty thanks. But it was not known who did it.

# 269. Correspondence between Queen Mary and the King of Denmark.

The eighteenth of February, Queen Mary at length, after long delay, made full answer to the king of Denmark's letters, who had written before two letters to the said queen, in the behalf of Master Coverdale, for his deliverance; who at that time went under sureties, and was in great danger, had he not been rescued by the great suit and letters of the said king of Denmark. The matter and copy of which his suit and letters, as they came to our hands, we have here set forth and expressed, whereby the singular love of this good king towards the truth of God's word, and the professors thereof, might the better appear to the world.

First, this virtuous and godly king Christian, hearing of the captivity of Miles Coverdale, of whom he had had some knowledge before, (being there in Denmark in King Henry the Eighth's time,) and lamenting his dangerous case, and partly through the intercession of Master Machabæus, superintendent in Denmark, who was partly of kin to Master Coverdale's wife, made intercession by letters to Queen Mary, desiring and requesting the said Miles Coverdale to be sent unto him. The date of which his first letter was about the kalends of May, A. D. 1554.

To this letter of the king, Queen Mary answering again, declared that the said Miles Coverdale was in no such captivity for any religion, but for certain debt: so neither plainly granting, nor expressly denying his request, but using a colourable excuse for shifting off the matter, as appeareth by his second letter sent to the queen, dated the twenty-fourth of September, as followeth.

"Christian, by the grace of God king of Denmark, Norway, Gothland, and of the Vandals; duke of Sleswick, Holstein, Stormar, and Ditmarsh; earl of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, &c.: To the most noble princess and Lady Mary, queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., our most dearly beloved sister and cousin, wisheth prosperity with good and lucky success of all things.

"We have received your Majesty's letter, whereby answer is rendered, and that very graciously, unto our petition, which we made for the safeguard of Master Coverdale, lately called bishop of Exeter. So that we perceive, though he be in danger for another cause than was signified unto us afore, yet your Majesty will so regard our intercession that Coverdale himself shall understand it to have done him good. To the which regal promise, seeing we (as reason would we should do) attribute so much, that trusting unto the same, we doubt not, whereas he, being in captivity, his friends, whom we specially tender, are therefore in heaviness and care, your good promise doth call them from such sorrow and solicitude, to the hope and expectation of his assured welfare: we could not do otherwise, but render thanks unto your Majesty for such your ready and gracious good will, not only in respect of this benefit, but also of the conservation and keeping of perpetual amity between us and our realms, and so, as much as in us lieth, to omit nothing that to the nourishing and continuance of these fortunate beginnings might appertain.

Neither had we ever any doubt concerning the clemency and moderation of your goodness, whom we heartily beseech Almighty God ever more and more to prosper, unto the glory of his name, and profit of the commonweal.

"Wherefore, seeing your Majesty writeth, that Master Coverdale is in danger for certain accounts of money, and not for any other more grievous offence, we have cause on his behalf to rejoice; and therefore we doubt so much the less, that at our request he shall graciously have his deliverance given him, and be out of danger. For as touching the bishopric, by reason whereof he came in debt, we understand he yielded it up, that no payment might thereof be required, specially seeing he is reputed neither to have enjoyed it long, neither to have had at any time so great commodity of it. Moreover, though it be possible to find some perplexity in the account, or haply some other cause, yet your Majesty's letters, offering such favour and benignity, have taken from us all carefulness and doubt; insomuch, that we think your Majesty, as much as may be, will have more respect unto our honour, than to that which might of him be required. And therefore we purpose not to trouble your Majesty by repeating of our petition, but to declare how greatly we esteem it that your Majesty would gratify us herein: whereof we plainly hope for such an end, that Cover-dale himself shall shortly in our presence make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtained of your Majesty. And of this we desire your Majesty to be specially assured again, that we will not only omit no occasion or opportunity to requite this benefit, but also to establish and amplify our mutual love and amity between us and our realms on either side. Almighty God preserve your Majesty in prosperous health and felicity.

"Given at our city of Otton, the twenty-fourth of September, A. D. 1554."

To these letters it was a great while before the queen would answer.

# 270. Bishop Bonner Commands Universal Reconciliation.

The same month, the nineteenth day, was a certain intimation set forth and printed in the name of Bonner, wherein was contained a general monition, and strait charge given to every man and woman within his diocese, to prepare themselves against Lent then near approaching, to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation sent from the Pope Julius the Third, by Pole his cardinal and legate *de latere*, and so receive also the joyful benefit of absolution, being sent first from the cardinal to Bonner, and from him to every of his archdeacons, to be ministered to every private person within his diocese, that would come the said holy time of Lent to his pastor or curate to be confessed, and to receive of him wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution. Signifying moreover, that as he was authorized by the foresaid cardinal, so he, for the same purpose, had endued with the like authority all and singular pastors and curates within his diocese, to reconcile and assoil from their former heresy and schism, and from the censures of the church, such as would resort unto them. And lest any scruple or doubt, rising peradventure in their consciences, should be any stay or let in this behalf, he had assigned and deputed therefore through his diocese certain learned men, to whom they might resort, or else might open their griefs to any of his archdeacons, or else come to his own person, and so should be resolved.

And therefore all manner of doubts and obstaclesset aside, he straitly willed and commanded every man and woman to come to confession, and to enjoy this benefit of reconciliation, and absolution, against the first Sunday next after Easter ensuing; and not to fail. For the which purpose he had specially commanded the pastors and curates of every parish to certify up in writing the names of every man and woman so reconciled, and so forth: the copy of which intimation hereunder followeth.

"Edmund, by the permission of God bishop of London, unto all and singular the laypeople of his diocese, doth send greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Whereas this noble realm of England, dividing itself from the unity of the catholic church, and from the agreement in religion with all other Christian realms, hath been, besides many other miseries and plagues which God's indignation hath poured upon it, grievously also vexed and sore infected with many and sundry sorts of sects of heretics, as Arians, Anabaptists, Libertines, Zuinglians, Lutherans, and many others, all which sects be most repugnant, and contrary one against another, and all against God's truth, and Christ's catholic faith; whereupon hath grown such slander to the realm, such malice and disagreement among ourselves the inhabitants thereof, such treasons, tumults, and insurrections against our prince, such blasphemy and dishonour unto God, as no man's tongue or pen is able to express: it hath pleased the goodness of God to cast his eye of mercy and clemency upon us, and to move the pope's Holiness to send his most godly messenger, the most reverend father in God the lord cardinal Pole, legate *de latere*, to bring us the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation, and to reduce and bring home unto the fold the lost sheep that were gone astray: whose message, as it hath been honourably received of the king and queen's Majesties, even so the lords spiritual and temporal,

and commons, at the last parliament have received it; revoking all the laws the which in the time of schism were promulgate against the authority of the pope's Holiness, and restoring the same and the Church of Rome to all that power which they had in this realm before the said schism, the which reconciliation was also most gladly and joyfully embraced, as well of all the clergy and convocation of the province of Canterbury, as also of many other persons—and being so great and necessary to be extended to every person of the realm, it hath pleased the said lord legate's Grace to give and impart unto me, the said bishop of London, for my said diocese, and to all such as I shall appoint in that behalf, power and authority to absolve and reconcile all and every person thereof, as well of the clergy as of the laity, and as well men as women, the which will renounce their errors, and (being penitent) will humbly require to be restored to the unity of the catholic church,—as by the letters of the said lord legate's Grace sent unto me, and from me sent unto every of the archdeacons within my diocese, more at large may and doth appear.

"And forasmuch as in mine own person, as well for the multitude of people as distance of places, I cannot minister this benefit unto every private person myself, and for that also the holy time of Lent is now at hand, in which every true Christian man ought to come unto his own pastor and curate, to be of him confessed, and to receive at his hand wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution: these are therefore as well to give knowledge unto every one of you, as also to signify and declare, that for that purpose, I have by the said authority chosen, named, and deputed, and so by these presents do choose, name, and depute, all and singular pastors and curates having cure of souls within my diocese, and being themselves reconciled herein; that they and every of them by authority hereof, shall have full power and authority to absolve all such as be lay-persons of their parishes from heresy and schism, and from the censures of the church, into which they be fallen by occasion thereof, and also to reconcile to the church all such which shall declare themselves penitent, and desirous to enjoy the benefit of the said reconciliation.

"And whereas divers pastors and curates in sundry parishes peradventure be not able to satisfy the minds, and to appease the consciences, of some of their parishioners in cases that shall trouble them, I have therefore given also authority to every archdeacon of my diocese within his archdeaconry, to name and appoint certain of the best learned in every deanery of their archdeaconry, to supply that lack; so that every man so troubled may repair to any one of them within the said deanery whom he shall like best, to be instructed and appeased in that behalf. And also I have appointed, that if, this being done, there shall yet remain any scruple in the party's conscience, and himself not satisfied, then the said party shall repair unto one of mine archdeacons or chaplains, unto whom his mind shall be most inclined, or else to repair unto mine own self, to be resolved in his said scruple or doubt, and to receive and take such order therein, as to one of the said archdeacons, or unto me, shall therein appear to be most expedient.

"Further certifying and declaring unto you, that I have given commandment herein to all my archdeacons, that they monish and command every pastor and curate within their archdeaconries, that they, having knowledge hereof, do, on the first holiday next then following, at the mass time, when the multitude of people is present, declare all these things unto their parishioners, and exhort them that they esteem this grace accordingly, and reconcile themselves to the church before the first Sunday after Easter next ensuing: which thing I also do command by the tenor hereof, with intimation that the said time being once past, and they not so

reconciled, every one of them shall have process made against him, according to the canons, as the cause shall require: for which purpose the pastors and curates of every parish shall be commanded by their archdeacon, to certify me in writing of every man and woman's name that is not so reconciled

"Further, herewith I do signify and declare unto you, that our holy father the pope Julius. the third of that name, like a most tender and natural father, hearing of the return and recovery of his prodigal child, this realm of England, hath himself made much joy and gladness hereat, and also all other true Christian realms have done the like: exhorting you therefore in our Lord, not to be unthankful yourselves, or negligent in this behalf, but diligently to seek for it, joyfully to embrace it, and fruitfully to use it, remembering withal the monition and charge which came from me the last year, concerning your coming to confession in Lent, and receiving the sacrament at Easter: which monition to all effects and purposes I have now here repeated and renewed, charging you, and also all your curates, therewith.

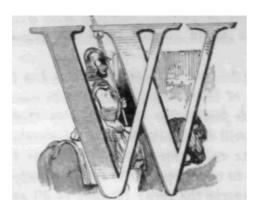
"And because all our duties is earnestly and devoutly to pray for the prosperous estate of our sovereigns, the king and the queen of this realm, I do finally require and pray you, as heartily as I can, to pray for their Majesties accordingly; and specially that it may please Almighty God, to send unto her Grace a good time, and to make her a glad mother, which cannot be but unto us all great joy, much comfort, and inestimable profit.

"Given at London the nineteenth day of the month of February, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, 1554, and of my translation the sixteenth."

The form of absolution to be kept by the pastors and curates in private confessions, concerning this reconciliation; to be used in the diocese of London.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you, and by the apostolic authority to me granted and committed, I absolve you from the sentences of excommunication, and from all other censures and pains, into the which you be fallen by reason of heresy, or schism, or any other ways: and I restore you unto the unity of our holy mother the church, and the communion of all sacraments, dispensing with you for all manner of irregularity: and by the same authority I absolve you from all your sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

#### 271. James Hales



e have a little overpast the time and story of Judge Hales, for although about this time he most pitifully sought his own destruction, through the cruel handling of the malignant papists—who pass upon nothing but upon their own dignity, little caring who perish besides, so their estimation may be magnified—yet the virtues and memory of that man are not unworthy either to be numbered with the saints that be departed, or at least not to be forgotten or obliterated among the saints that be alive. Concerning whose worthy doings, singular prudence, and incorrupt ministration of judgment, with

the lamentable trouble which afterwards fell upon that good man, we thought here, among many other histories, somewhat to express; desiring the good reader to take that which is to be followed in that good man—the rest, to refer to the judgment of Him who only is Judge of all.

The lamentable and pitiful history of Master James Hales, judge.

WE have made mention, a little before, of Judge Hales, who alone taking Queen Mary's part, would in no wise subscribe to have any other queen but her, for that he thought he could not do otherwise with a safe conscience, though all the rest, in a manner, had subscribed to Edward the Sixth's will and testament. Hereby as he did cast himself into manifest jeopardy of the duke of Northumberland, to lose both body and goods, so he deserved at Queen Mary's hands, and her adherents, marvellous thanks and reward of his singular faithfulness, and true heart, towards her. This Sir James Hales, of the county of Kent, was both a worshipful knight and one of the high judges of the realm, who ordered and finished matters of controversy in the same.

Although he did not so much exceed in nobleness of birth and parentage, as he did excel all others in virtue, prudence, gravity, and true ministering of justice; for which he was in great veneration with all men, and was more conspicuous and known to the world thereby, than by sight. There was in him, by nature grafted, a singular gift of prudence, which afterwards, by much practice, he accomplished and brought to a marvellous good perfection; besides that, by his assiduous travail and exercise in demurring and pleading of matters, he attained to the vein of eloquence wherewith he was trimly qualified. In which kind of study, being exercised certain years, and passing the under degrees, he had aspired (being rather thereunto compelled) to the high benches, where he executed his function with justice, fidelity, constancy, and conscience, that even the law itself seemed no less to be printed and written in his life and doings, than in the very volumes or papers; he was always so upright a justiciary and conscionable a judge, declining corruption and embracing law and equity.

To these his gifts and qualities, were linked like sincerity and hearty affection to religion and the gospel of Christ, whereunto he had been, by many years, most earnestly set and addicted;

showing himself to be a gospeller, no less by his word than deed, and no less at home than abroad: and, as he was godly himself, so brought he up his family to his godly line and order. He had daily service in his house, which was not ministered by any of his household or waiting chaplains, but by his own self, to the intent he might be the better example to the rest; joining with this devotion the often reading of the Holy Scripture. After this sort and manner he passed his life all King Edward's time; either being busied in weighty and public affairs, or else bestowing his time in virtue and godliness, even until his piety, by reason of the change of the prince and time, might nor could not any more be suffered or permitted.

As the change of the world and time was to every man very dangerous, so to him, in especial, it appeared most perilous; who was in that office and calling, that he could neither be long absent from it in London, neither be there occupied without present peril or jeopardy. Thus, the state of religion being changed and altered, upon a time, he, being counselled by his friends and well-wishers, to leave his forensical trade, and to go home,—providing for his safety by what means he could, either in flying or hiding himself,—refused their counsel; trusting too much there, as by and by you shall understand, to his own wit. To be short; at the term-time when other of the lawyers were wont to come up to London, he, the said Sir James Hales, likewise came up to do his office and function; persuading and knowing himself to be clear and inculpable. But, as a mouse, according to the old-said saw, falling into the gluepot, he was not so soon at London, but that the bishop of Winchester sent for him, and did expostulate about the calling and vexing of certain prevent-law priests; for, as yet, the mass was not by the laws received and restored, although the queen herself, by her consent and example, set it forward, wherewith divers priests, being couraged, presumed to say mass. And, like as in a main and set battle there are certain nimble and light-armed soldiers, who, in skirmishes amongst their enemies, go before the force of battle; even so, in this troublesome time, there lacked none before-law prelates, or light-armed but much more light-hearted soldiers, who ran before the law, who of duty should rather have followed and obeyed it. And this was not only to be seen in Kent, but also in divers other places; for, in Oxford, as it was told me, there was a certain priest, who there, in Magdalene college, preparing himself to say mass, and being almost in the midst thereof, was, with his vestments, pulled by one from the altar, and constrained to blow a retract, until by the law he might mass it. Thus Judge Hales, like a severe judge and justiciary, suffering such priests not to go unpunished, as that, before a law, presumed to say mass, got thereby the queen's displeasure, but much more Winchester's evil will: which bishop, although he had nothing wherewith justly he might burden him, yet he did expostulate with him, as though it were concerning cruelty, who had showed himself so austere a judge against the priests. Wherefore I thought best to leave in record, all the whole communication had between them, as those that stood by bare it away.

The communication between the lord chancellor and Judge Hales; being there, among other judges, to take his oath in Westminster Hall, October the sixth, A. D. 1553.

L. Chan.—"Master Hales, ye shall understand, that like as the queen's Highness hath heretofore conceived good opinion of you, especially for that ye stood both faithfully and lawfully in her cause of just succession, refusing to set your hand to the book among others that were against her Grace in that behalf: so now, through your own late deserts against certain her

Highness's doings, ye stand not well in her Grace's favour; and therefore, before ye take any oath, it shall be necessary for you to make your purgation."

- *Hales.*—"I pray you, my Lord, what is the cause?"
- L. Chan.—"Information is given, that ye have indicted certain priests in Kent for saying mass"
- Hales.—"My Lord, it is not so, I indicted none; but indeed certain indictments of like matter were brought before me at the last assizes there holden, and I gave order therein as the law required. For I have professed the law, against which in cases of justice I will never (God willing) proceed, nor in any wise dissemble, but with the same show forth my conscience; and if it were to do again, I would do no less than I did."
- L. Chan.—"Yea, Master Hales, your conscience is known well enough: I know you lack no conscience."
- Hales.—"My Lord, you may do well to search your own conscience; for mine is better known to myself than to you: and to be plain, I did as well use justice in your said mass case by my conscience, as by the law, wherein I am fully bent to stand in trial to the uttermost that can be objected. And if I have therein done any injury or wrong, let me be judged by the law; for I will seek no better defence, considering chiefly that it is my profession."
- L. Chan.—"Why, Master Hales, although you had the rigour of the law on your side, yet ye might have had regard to the queen's Highness's present doings in that case. And further, although ye seem to be more than precise in the law, yet I think ye would be very loth to yield to the extremity of such advantage as might be gathered against your proceedings in the law, as ye have sometimes taken upon you in place of justice; and if it were well tried, I believe ye should not be well able to stand honestly thereto."
- Hales.—"My Lord, I am not so perfect, but I may err for lack of knowledge. But both in conscience, and such knowledge of the law as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain it, and abide in it: and if my goods, and all that I have, be not able to counterpoise the case, my body shall be ready to serve the turn; for they be all at the queen's Highness's pleasure."
- L. Chan.—"Ah sir! ye be very quick and stout in your answers. But as it should seem, that which you did was more of a will favouring the opinion of your religion against the service now used, than for any occasion or zeal of justice, seeing the queen's Highness doth set it forth as yet, wishing all her faithful subjects to embrace it accordingly: and whereas you offer both body and goods in your trial, there is no such matter required at your hands, and yet ye shall not have your own will neither."
- Hales.—"My Lord, I seek not wilful will, but to show myself as I am bound in love to God and obedience to the queen's Majesty, in whose cause willingly, for justice' sake, all other respects set apart, I did of late, as your Lordship knoweth, adventure as much as I had. And as for my religion, I trust it be such as pleaseth God, wherein I am ready to adventure as well my

life as my substance, if I be called thereunto. And so in lack of mine own power and will, the Lord's will be fulfilled."

L. Chan.—"Seeing you be at this point, Master Hales, I will presently make an end with you. The queen's Highness shall be informed of your opinion and declaration: and, as her Grace shall thereupon determine, ye shall have knowledge. Until such time, ye may depart as ye came, without your oath; for as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthy the place appointed."

Hales.—"I thank your Lordship: and as for my vocation, being both a burden and a charge more than ever I desired to take upon me; whensoever it shall please the queen's Highness to ease me thereof, I shall most humbly, with due contentation, obey the same."

And so he departed from the bar. Not many days after this communication or colloquy in Westminster Hall, which was October the sixth, anno 1553, Master Hales, at the commandment of the bishop, was committed to the King's Bench, where he remained constant until Lent, being tossed and removed from one prison to another: for then was he removed to the Compter in Bread Street, and afterward from thence was carried to the Fleet, where he endured most Christianly by the space of three weeks.

Being in the Fleet, what it was that he had granted unto the bishops, by their fraudulent assaults and persuasions, (namely, of Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, and of Judge Portman, as it is thought, overcome at last,) I have not to say.

And thus, now we have rehearsed his notable virtues and afflictions, borne out and valiantly sustained by him, will we declare the miserable falls of him, and lamentable chance. And when thus, in divers prisons, he, being tossed and wearied, could in no wise be subdued and overcome by the suppression of his adversaries, he, being yet in the mean time assaulted with secret assaults, recoiled and gave over. Wherein, as I do lament so miserable a case in so worthy a man, even so do I marvel at the vile and detestable frauds and wiles of his adversaries.

There was in the prison where Hales was, a certain gentleman of Hampshire, called Foster, who being suborned, as it should seem, of the bishops, used all kinds of persuasions that he could; whereby he might draw him from the truth to error; whereby, at length, by continual wearying and seeking upon him, he brought to pass that Hales began to seem that he might be overcome. At last, when this came to his adversaries' ears, the bishop of Chichester was at hand forthwith, very early in the morning of the twelfth of April, to commune with Master Hales in the prison; but I have no certain knowledge what the talk was between them. But, undoubtedly, his constancy was so quailed, that even before, he had given over in the plain field; and for that cause he was in a great dump and sorrow with himself: to whom, by all likelihood, this bishop came to minister matter of comfort. And the same day, in the afternoon, came unto him Judge Portman, and talked with him so long till the time was come that Judge Hales must come to supper. Therefore, when Portman had taken his leave, Master Hales getteth him to supper with a heavy, troubled mind; howbeit he did eat very little, or no meat at all, being brought to an extreme desperation by the worm of his conscience. Albeit, to say the truth, I do not impute the fall of this man to the persuasions of the comers to him, nor to so small causes; for in case that be true, which one told me, (as it is like to be true,) his adversaries went a more subtle way to work

with him, than all the world knoweth. For, when they had him sure in the prison, they, like wily spies, found the means to shut him up into that part thereof, where the noise of the streets, the tumult and concourse, the night and day troubles of the talk of artificers, and coming to and fro of men,—and besides, the noise of the prisoners hard by, ringing about his head, troubled him, in such sort, that he could not take his rest,—thinking perchance that if they could not win by any other means, yet by the lack of sleep they might soon make him give over, and come unto their side;—and, perchance, therefore, this was the very policy why they made him change prisons so often. But, for that I have no certainty of the thing, I will leave the truth thereof to the reader's conjecture: and, whatsoever the cause was, that made him to relent in the confession of the truth, undoubtedly he was cast, forthwith, into a great repentance of the deed, and into a terror of conscience thereby; insomuch that when supper was done, he gat him straight to bed, where he passed over all that night in much care and anxiety of mind. And then, when it was day, he sent, about six of the clock, for a cup of beer, as though he were desirous to drink. His man was yet scarce out of his chamber, when he, with a penknife, had wounded himself in divers places, and would, without fail, have likewise killed himself, (which argueth that he was not well in his wit,) unless the goodness of God had been a present help and preservation unto him; whereby it is evident for all men to understand, how God's favour was not absent from the man, although he thought himself utterly forsaken for his denial, as by the sequel may well appear.

For as soon as he had sent his man out of his chamber, (see what God would have done,) even afore the chamber-door eftsoons the butler met him; who, being desired to fill the drink, and taking the cup, the other returned again unto his master, at the same very time when he was working his own destruction: whereby Master Hales at that time was stopped of his purpose, and preserved, not without God's manifest good-will and providence. When Winchester had knowledge of it, straightway he taketh occasion thereby to blaspheme the doctrine of the gospel, which he openly in the Star-chamber called "doctrine of desperation." Master Hales, being within awhile after recovered of those wounds, and delivered out of prison, getteth himself home unto his house; where he, either for the greatness of his sorrow, or for lack of good counsel, or for that he would avoid the necessity of hearing mass, (having all things set in order, a good while before that, pertaining to his testament,) casting himself into a shallow river, was drowned therein; which was about the beginning of the month of February, or in the month of January before, anno 1555.

The unhappy chance of this so worthy a judge, was surely the cause of great sorrow and grief unto all good men, and it gave occasion besides unto certain divines to stand something in doubt with themselves, whether he were reprobate or saved, about which matter it is not for me to determine either this way or that: for he that is our Judge, the same shall be his Judge; and he it is, that will lay all things open when the time cometh. This in the mean time is certain and sure: that the deed of the man in my mind ought in no wise to be allowed, which, if he did wittingly, then do I discommend the man's reason. But if he did it in phrensy, and as being out of his wits, then do I greatly pity his case. Yet, notwithstanding, seeing God's judgments be secret, and we likewise in doubt upon what intent he did thus punish himself, neither again is any man certain, whether he did repent or no before the last breath went out of his body; me thinketh, their opinion is more indifferent herein, who do rather disallow the example of the deed, than despair of his salvation.

Otherwise, if we will adjudge all those to hell that have departed the world after this sort, how many examples have we in the first persecutions of the church, of those men and women, who, being registered in the works of worthy writers, have notwithstanding their praise and commendation? For what shall I think of those young men, who being sought for to do sacrifice to heathen idols, did cast down themselves headlong, and break their own necks, to avoid such horrible pollution of themselves? What shall I say of those virgins of Antioch, who, to the end they might not defile themselves with uncleanness, and with idolatry, through the persuasion of their mother, casting themselves headlong into a river together with their mother, did foredo themselves, although not in the same water, yet after the same manner of drowning as this Master Hales did? What shall I say of other two sisters, who, for the self-same quarrel, did violently throw themselves headlong into the sea, as Eusebius doth record? In whom, though perchance there was less confidence to bear out the pains which should be ministered of the wicked unto them, yet that their good desire to keep their faith and religion unspotted, was commended and praised.

Another like example of death is mentioned by Nicephorus, and that in another virgin likewise, whose name is expressed in Jerome to be Brassilia Dyrrachina, who, to keep her virginity, feigned herself to be a witch; and so, conventing with the young man who went about to dishonour her, pretended that she would give him an herb which would preserve him from all kind of weapons; and so, to prove it in herself, laid the herb upon her own throat, bidding him smite, whereby she was slain; and so with the loss of her life her virginity was saved.

Hereunto may be joined the like death of Sophronia, a matron of Rome, who, when she was required of Mazentius the tyrant to be defiled, and saw her husband more slack than he ought to have been in saving her honesty, bidding them that were sent for her to tarry awhile till she made her ready, went into her chamber, and with a weapon thrust herself through the breast, and died. Now who is he that would reprehend the worthy act of Achetes, who, biting off his own tongue, spit it out into the harlot's face?

But, in these examples, you will say, The cause was necessary and honest. And who can tell whether Master Hales, meaning to avoid the pollution of the mass, did likewise choose the same kind of death, to keep his faith undefiled: whereof there ought to be as great respect, and greater too, than of the chastity of the body. But you will say, He ought rather to have suffered the tyrants. And why may not the same be said of the forenamed virgins?

These examples I do not here infer, as going about either to excuse or to maintain the heinous fact of Master Hales, (which I would wish rather by silence might be drowned in oblivion,) but yet notwithstanding, as touching the person of the man, whatsoever his fact was—because we are not sure whether he at the last breath repented—again, because we do not know, nor are able to comprehend, the bottomless depth of the graces and mercies which are in Christ Jesus our Saviour—we will leave therefore the final judgment of him, to the determination of him who is only appointed Judge both of the quick and the dead.

And, finally, although he did it of a certain desperation, yet how know you whether he repented even in breathing out his life?—Although I truly am so far from allowing his fact, by any means, that I am wonderfully sorry for his rash and over-hasty temerity; and, therefore,

although we do not account him among the martyrs, yet, on the other side, we do not reckon him among the damned persons. Finally, let us all wish heartily that the Lord impute not to him, in judgment, that which he offended in his own punishment. Amen.

#### 272. Thomas Tomkins.

The history of Thomas Tomkins, martyr, who, having first his hand burned, after was burned himself by Bishop Bonner, for the constant testimony of Christ's true profession.



ENTION was made before of six prisoners, brought and examined before Bishop Bonner the eighth of February, whose names were Tomkins, Pygot, Knight, Hawkes, Laurence, and Hunter: all which, though they received their condemnation together the next day after, yet, because the time of their execution was then driven off from February till the next month of March, I did therefore refer the story of them to this present month of March aforesaid, wherein: now remaineth severally to entreat of the martyrdom of these six persons, as the order and time of their sufferings severally do require. of the which six aforenamed martyrs, the first was Thomas Tomkins, burned in Smithfield, the sixteenth day of March, A. D. 1555.

This Thomas Tomkins, a weaver by his occupation, dwelling in Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, was of such conversation, and disposition so godly, that if any woman had come to him with her web, as sometimes they did, three or four in a day, he would always begin with prayer; or if any other had come to talk of any matter, he would likewise first begin with prayer. And if any had sought unto him to borrow money, he would show him such money as he had in his purse, and bid him take it.

And when they came to repay it again, so far off was he from seeking any usury at their hand, or from strait exaction of his due, that he would bid them keep it longer, while they were better able. And these were the conditions of Thomas Tomkins, testified yet to this present day by the most part of all his neighbours, and almost of all his parish which knew him, as Master Skinner, Master Leeke, and others. of whom more than half a dozen at once came to me, discreet and substantial men, reporting the same unto me; recording moreover as followeth: That Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, kept the said Tomkins with him in prison half a year; during which time the said bishop was so rigorous unto him, that he beat him bitterly about the face, whereby his face was swelled. Whereupon the bishop caused his beard to be shaven, and gave the barber twelve pence.

Touching which shaving of Thomas Tomkins's beard, this is more to be added: Bishop Bonner, having Tomkins with him prisoner at Fulham, in the month of July, did set him with his other work-folks to make hay; and seeing him to labour so well, the bishop, setting him down, said, "Well, I like thee well; for thou labourest well: I trust thou wilt be a good catholic." "My Lord," said he, "St. Paul saith, He that doth not labour is not worthy to eat." Bonner said, "Ah, St. Paul is a great man with thee." And so, after such other talk, the bishop inferring moreover, wished his beard off, saying, that so he would look like a catholic. "My Lord," said Tomkins, "before my beard grew I was, I trust, a good Christian, and so I trust to be, my beard being on." But Bonner, in fine, sent for the barber, and caused his beard to be shaven off. The very cause was, for that Bonner had plucked off a piece of his beard before.

The rage of this bishop was not so great against him, but the constancy of the party was much greater with patience to bear it; who, although he had not the learning as others have, yet he was so endued with God's mighty Spirit, and so constantly planted in the perfect knowledge of God's truth, that by no means he could be removed from the confession of truth, to impiety and error. Whereupon Bonner the bishop, being greatly vexed against the poor man, when he saw that by no persuasions he could prevail with him, devised another practice, not so strange as cruel, further to try his constancy; to the intent, that seeing he could not otherwise convince him by doctrine of Scriptures, yet he might overthrow him by some forefeeling and terror of death. So, having with him Master Harpsfield, Master Pembleton, Dr. Chedsey, Master Willerton, and others standing by, he called for Thomas Tomkins, who, coming before the bishop, and standing as he was wont in defence of his faith, the bishop fell from beating to burning: who, having there a taper or wax candle of three or four wicks standing upon the table, thought there to represent unto us, as it were, the old image of King Porsenna. For as he burned the hand of Scævola so this catholic bishop took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, supposing that by the smart and pain of the fire being terrified, he would leave off the defence of his doctrine which he had received.

Tomkins, thinking no otherwise but there presently to die, began to commend himself unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord! into thy hands I commend my spirit," &c. In the time that his hand was in burning, the same Tomkins afterward reported to one James Hinse, that his spirit was so rapt, that he felt no pain. In the which burning he never shrank, till the veins shrank, and the sinews burst, and the water did spirt in Master Harpsfield's face: insomuch that the said Master Harpsfield, moved with pity, desired the bishop to stay, saying, that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the hall at Fulham.

And whereas the bishop thought by that means to drive him from his opinions, it proved much otherwise: for this Christian Scævola so valiantly did despise, abide, and endure that burning, that we have less cause hereafter to marvel at the manfulness of that Roman Scævola: I would to God the other had as well followed the example of that Etruscan tyrant. For he, after the left hand of Scævola was half burned, either satisfied with his punishment, or overcome by his manhood, or driven away by fear, sent him home safe unto his people: whereas Bonner, hitherto not contented with the burning of his hand, rested not until he had consumed his whole body into ashes, at London in Smithfield.

But before we come to his suffering, we will first entreat of some part of his examination and articles, with his answers and confession thereunto annexed, as it is credibly in register recorded.

The first examination of Thomas Tomkins, before Bonner.

This faithful and valiant soldier of God, Thomas Tomkins, after he had remained the space (as is said) of half a year in prison, about the eighth day of February was brought with certain others before Bonner, sitting in his consistory, to be examined. To whom first was brought forth a certain bill or schedule, subscribed (as appeareth) with his own hand, the fifth day of the same month last before, containing these words following.

The confession of Tomkins subscribed with his own hand.

"Thomas Tomkins of Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, hath believed and doth believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and no where else.

"By me, THOMAS TOMKINS."

Whereupon he was asked, whether he did acknowledge the same subscription to be of his own hand. To the which he granted, confessing it so to be. This being done, the bishop went about to persuade him (with words, rather than with reasons) to relinquish his opinions, and to return again to the unity of the catholic church, promising if he would so do, to remit all that was past. But he constantly denied so to do. When the bishop saw he could not so convince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing articles and interrogatories, whereunto he should come the next day and answer: in the mean time he should deliberate with himself what to do. And so the next day, being the ninth of March, at eight o'clock in the morning, to be present in the same place again, to give his determinate answer what he would do in the premises, and then either to revoke and reclaim himself, or else in the afternoon the same day to come again, and have justice (as he called it) ministered unto him. The copy of which articles here followeth

Articles objected and ministered the eighth day of February against Thomas Tomkins, with his own hand subscribing to the same.

"Thou dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as touching the substance thereof; which was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, suffering passion and death there for the life of the world.

"I do so believe.

"Thou dost believe, that after the consecration of, the bread and wine prepared for the use of the sacrament of the altar, there doth remain the substance of material bread and material wine, not changed or altered in substance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

"I do so believe.

"Thou dost believe, that it is an untrue doctrine, and a false belief, to think or say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is, after consecration of the eau bread and wine, the substance of Christ's natural body and blood, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word.

"I do so believe.

"Thou dost believe, that thy parents, kinsfolks, friends, and acquaintance, and also thy godfathers and godmother, and all people, did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there was, after the consecration, the body and blood of Christ, and that

there did not remain the substance of material bread and wine.

"I do so believe.

"By me THOMAS TOMKINS."

The second examination of Thomas Tomkins.

The next day, being the ninth of February, at eight o'clock before noon, the said Thomas Tomkins (according to the former commandment) was brought again into the place aforenamed, before the bishop and other his assistants, where the aforesaid articles were propounded unto him: whereunto he answered as followeth

"To the first he said, that he did so believe, as in the same is contained.

"To the second he said, that it was only bread, and a participation of Christ's death and passion, and so do the Scriptures teach.

"To the third he said and did believe, it was a false doctrine, to believe and think as is contained in this article.

"To the fourth, he did also believe the same."

After this answer he did also subscribe his name to the said articles. Whereupon the bishop, drawing out of his bosom another confession subscribed with Tomkins's own hand, and also that article that was the first day objected against him, caused the same to be openly read; and then willed him to revoke and deny his said opinions, the which he utterly refused to do; and therefore was commanded to appear before the bishop again in the same place at two o'clock in the afternoon.

The bishop repeateth again the confession of Thomas Tomkins; written before by the said bishop of London, and subscribed by the said Tomkins, the twenty-sixth of September, anno 1554, which is this.

"I, Thomas Tomkins, of the parish of Shoreditch, in the diocese of London, having confessed and declared openly heretofore, to Edmund, bishop of London, mine ordinary, that my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ is not truly and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven; and so in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar: And moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary openly many times, that although the church, called the catholic church, hath allowed, and doth allow, the mass and sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholesome, profitable, and a godly thing; yet my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for my soul; and so have I called it many times, and take it at this present: Having also likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary, that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministered, and also without any such ceremonies, as accustomably are used in the Latin church, and otherwise not to be allowed:—

Finally, being many times and oft called openly before my said ordinary, and talked withal touching all my said confessions and declarations, both by the said mine ordinary and divers other learned men, as well his chaplains as others, and counselled by all of them to embrace the truth, and to recant mine error in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy and manifest error; do testify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my said confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises; and every part thereof, and in no wise recant or go from any part of the same. In witness whereof I have subscribed and passed this writing the twenty-sixth day of September, the year aforesaid.

"By me Tho. TOMKINS aforesaid."

The names of them that sat upon Thomas Tomkins at this session, were these: Edmund Bonner; John Fecknam, dean of Paul's; John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London; John Morwen, Master of Arts; Thomas Morton, parson of Fulham; Tristram Swadell, Thomas More, Thomas Bekinsaw, James Cline, clerks.

The last appearance and condemnation of Thomas Tomkins before Bonner and the commissioners.

The same day and place, at two o'clock in the afternoon, he was, the last time, brought before the bishops of London, Bath, and St. David's, with others; where he was earnestly exhorted by the said bishop of Bath, to revoke and leave off his opinions. Unto whom he answered, "My Lord, I was born and brought up in ignorance until now of late years; and now I know the truth, wherein I will continue unto the death."

Then Bonner caused all his articles and confession to be again openly read, and so, in his accustomed manner, persuaded with him to recant. To whom he finally said, "My Lord, I cannot see but that you would have me forsake the truth, and to fall into error and heresy." The bishop seeing he would not recant, did proceed in his law, and so gave sentence of condemnation upon him

Then he delivered him to the sheriff of London, who carried him straight unto Newgate, where he remained most joyous and constant until the sixteenth of March next after: on which day, he was by the said sheriff conveyed into Smithfield, and there sealed up his faith in the flaming fire, to the glory of God's holy name, and confirmation of the weak.

#### 273. William Hunter.

A notable history of William Hunter, a young man, an apprentice, of nineteen years, pursued to death by Justice Brown, for the gospel's sake; worthy of all young men and parents to be read.



HE twenty-sixth day of the said month of March, the year aforesaid, followed the martyrdom of William Hunter, a right godly young man, of the age of nineteen years, and born of like godly parents: by whom he was not only instructed in true religion and godliness, but also confirmed by them unto death, after a rare and strange example, worthy to be noted and had in admiration of all parents. Wherein may appear a singular spectacle, not only of a marvellous fortitude in the party so young, but also in his parents, to behold nature in them striving with religion, and overcome of the same: whereby Christian parents may learn what is to be done, not only in their children

but also in themselves, if need at any time do require, or godliness should demand the duty of a Christian man against natural affection. Nature is a strong thing, I must needs confess, and almost invincible, and, among all the affections of nature, there is none that is so deeply graved in a father's mind, as the love and tender affection towards his children, that is, as you would say, towards his own bowels. By which affection we see many, yea rather infinite parents, that are overcome; but, of them that overcome it, very few, or rather none. So much the more, therefore, am I moved not to pass over, in this place, such notable and singular godliness of the parents: who, when they saw their son led towards the fire, did not follow him with lamention, nor laboured, by their words, to draw him from his purpose, neither took pity of his fortune; but, setting aside all private affection of natural love, forgetting nature, and, as it were, forgetting themselves,—neither yet following that common affection of parents at this day, but the example of that holy mother of the Maccabees,—encouraged their son, as much as they could; and rejoicing with wonderful gladness, exhorted him to go through valiantly: insomuch, that when he was ready to suffer death, either of them drinking unto him, rejoiced over him, and confirmed him in the Lord. And here, truly, I cannot tell whether I should rather praise the virtue of the son, or of the parents; for he, indeed, died with great constancy, and after he had recited the eightyfourth Psalm, as he was a dying, doubtless obtained the crown of blessed martyrdom. But no less constancy, as I think, appeared in them, and they are no less to be accounted martyrs, in the martyrdom of their son: for he, offering his body to torments, with great praise, overcame the tormentors, the torments, and the tyrants. And they, with no less praise, overcame their own natures, offering to the Lord a mind no less constant and strong than he did, and, perchance, felt no less torments inwardly, than he did outwardly. He, broiling in the midst of the flame, suffered his life to be taken from him, not without cruel torment; and they, also, with no less torment, suffered their son to he taken from them. On both sides the strength of the spirit, the fervent heat of godliness, and the love of Christ, overcame all the torments; and, therefore, I thought the praise of the son could not well be recorded, without the commendation of the parents: for as he, dying for the gospel, hath left behind him in the church, a strong and evident testimony, to confirm the doctrine of the gospel; so they, to confirm a gospel-like life, have given an example,

worthy to be followed of all men: example whereof, in the sequel of this history, we have here present before our eyes. Which history, as it was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter, his own brother, (who, being present with his brother William, and never leaving him till his death, sent the true report unto us,) we have here, with like faithfulness, placed and recorded the same, as followeth.

"William Hunter, being an apprentice in London in the first year of Queen Mary, was commanded at the Easter next following to receive the communion at a mass, by the priest of the parish where he dwelt, called Coleman Street; which because he refused to do, he was very much threatened that he should be therefore brought before the bishop of London. Wherefore William Hunter's master, one Thomas Taylor, a silkweaver, required William Hunter to go and depart from him, lest that he should come in danger because of him, if he continued in his house. For the which causes, William Hunter took leave of his said master, and thence came to Brentwood, where his father dwelt, with whom lie afterwards remained about the space of half a quarter of a year.

"After this it happened within five or six weeks, that William going into the chapel of Brentwood, and finding there a Bible lying on a desk, did read therein. In the mean time there came in one Father Atwell, a sumner, who hearing William read in the Bible, said to him, 'What! meddlest thou with the Bible? Knowest thou what thou readest, and canst thou expound the Scriptures?'

"To whom William answered and said, 'Father Atwell, I take not upon me to expound the Scriptures, except I were dispensed withal; but I, finding the Bible here when I came, read in it to my comfort.' To whom Father Atwell said, 'It was never merry world, since the Bible came abroad in English.'

"To the which words William answered, saying, 'Father Atwell, say not so, for God's sake: for it is God's book, out of the which every one that hath grace may learn to know both what things please God, and also what displeaseth him.' Then said Father Atwell, 'Could we not tell before this time as well as now, how God was served?' William answered, 'No, Father Atwell, nothing so well as we may now; if that we might have his blessed word amongst us still as we have had.' 'It is true,' said Father Atwell, 'if it be as you say.'

"'Well,' said William Hunter, 'it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible amongst us continually.' To the which words Father Atwell said, 'I perceive your mind well enough: you are one of them that mislike the queen's laws; and therefore you came from London, I hear say. You learned these ways at London: but for all that,' said Father Atwell, 'you must turn another leaf; or else you, and a great sort more heretics, will broil for this gear, I warrant you.' To the which words William said, God give me grace, that I may believe his word, and confess his name, whatsoever come thereof.' 'Confess his name!' quoth old Atwell, 'No, no; ye will go to the devil all of you, and confess his name.' 'What?' said William, 'you say not well, Father Atwell.'

"At the which words he went out of the chapel in a great fury, saving, 'I am not able to reason with thee: but I will fetch one straightway which shall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou

heretic!' And he, leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, straightways brought one Thomas Wood, who was then vicar of Southwell, who was at an alehouse even over against the said chapel; who, hearing old Atwell say, that William Hunter was reading of the Bible in the chapel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the Bible, took the matter very heinously, saying; 'Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?' Then William answered, 'I expound not the Scriptures, sir, but read them for my comfort.'

"'What meddlest thou with them at all? said the vicar. 'It becometh not thee, nor any such, to meddle with the Scriptures.' But William answered, 'I will read the Scriptures (God willing while I live; and you ought, Master Vicar, not to discourage any man for that matter, but rather exhort men diligently to read the Scriptures for your discharge and their own.'

"Unto the which the vicar answered, 'It becometh thee well to tell me what I have to do. I see thou art a heretic by thy words.' William said, 'I am no heretic for speaking the truth.' But the vicar said, 'It is a merry world, when such as thou shall teach us what is the truth. Thou art meddling, Father Atwell tells me, with the sixth chapter of John, wherein thou mayest perceive how Christ saith, 'Except that ye eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.' William said. 'I read the sixth chapter of John indeed; howbeit, I made no exposition on it.'

"Then said Father Atwell, 'When you read it, I said, that you there might understand how that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very natural body and blood: unto the which you answered, how that you would take the Scriptures as they are, and that you would meddle with no great exposition, except that ye were dispensed withal.'

"'Ah,' said the vicar, 'what say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Believest thou not in it, and that the bread and wine is transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ?' William answered, 'I learn no such thing in the sixth of John as you speak of.' 'Why,' said the vicar, 'dost thou not believe in the sacrament of the altar?' 'I believe,' said William Hunter, 'all that God's word teacheth.' 'Why,' said the vicar, 'thou mayest learn this which I say plainly in the sixth of John.'

"Then said William, 'You understand Christ's words much like the carnal Capernaites, which thought, that Christ would have given them his flesh to feed upon: which opinion our Saviour Christ corrected, when he said, The words which I speak to you, are spirit and life.'

"'Now,' quoth the vicar, 'I have found you out: now I see that thou art a heretic indeed, and that thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar.' Then said William Hunter, 'Whereas you doubt my belief, I would it were tried, whether that you or I would stand faster in our faith.' 'Yea, thou heretic,' said the vicar, 'wouldst thou have it so tried?' 'William Hunter answered, 'That which you call heresy, I serve my Lord God withal.'

"Then said the vicar, 'Canst thou serve God with heresy?' But William answered, 'I would that you and I were even now fast tied to a stake, to prove whether that I or you would stand strongest to our faith.' But the vicar answered, 'It shall not be so tried.' 'No,' quoth William, 'I think so; for if I might, I think I know who would soonest recant: for I durst set my foot against yours, even to the death.' 'That we shall see,' quoth the vicar; and so they departed, the vicar

threatening William much, how that he would complain of him; with much other communication which they had together.

"Immediately after, this vicar of the Wield told Master Brown of the communication which William Hunter and he had together; which when Master Brown understood, immediately he sent for William's father and the constable, one Robert Salmon. For immediately after William Hunter and the vicar had reasoned together, he took his leave of his father and fled; because Wood the vicar threatened him. Now when the constable and William's father were come, and were before Master Brown, he asked where William Hunter was. His father answered, saying, 'If it please you, sir, I know not where he is become.' 'No!' quoth Master Brown: 'I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth also, ere I have done with thee.' 'Sir,' said William's father, 'I know not where he is become, nor where to seek for him.'

"Then said Master Brown, 'Why didst thou not bring him, when thou hadst him? I promise thee, if thou wilt not fetch him, I will send thee to prison, till I shall get him. Wherefore see that thou promise me to fetch him; or else it is not best to look me in the face any more, nor yet to rest in Brentwood.' 'Well,' quoth Master Brown to William's father, 'see that thou seek him forth, and bring him to me.'

"William's father answered, 'Sir, would you have me seek out my son to be burned?' 'If thou bring him to me,' quoth Master Brown, I will deal well enough for that matter; thou shalt not need to care for the matter. Fetch him, and thou shalt see what I will do for him. Moreover, if thou lackest money,' quoth he, 'thou shalt have some and bade the constable, Master Salmon, to give him a crown: but William's father took none of him. Howbeit Master Brown would never rest, till William's father had promised him to seek out his son. And thus Master Brown sent the constable home again, and William's father; commanding him to seek out William Hunter, and then to come again and bring him to him.

After that old father Hunter had ridden two or three days' journey to satisfy Master Brown's expectation, it happened that William met with his father in the highway as he travelled; and first he, seeing his father, came to him, and spake to him, and told him how that he thought that he sought for him. And then his father, confessing it, wept sore, and said, that Master Brown charged him to seek him, and bring him to him. 'Howbeit,' said be, 'I will return home again, and say I cannot find you.' But William said, 'Father, I will go home with you, and save you harmless, whatsoever cometh of it.'

"And thus they came home together; but William, as soon as he was come home, was taken by the said constable, and laid in the stocks till the next day, when Master Brown (hearing that William Hunter was come home) sent for him to the constable; who brought him immediately to Master Brown.

"Now when William was come, Master Brown said to him, 'Ah, sirrah! are ye come?' and then by and by he commanded the Bible to be brought and opened it, and then began to reason with William on this manner, saying: 'I hear say you are a Scripture man, you; and can reason much of the sixth of John, and expound as pleaseth you:' and turned the Bible to the sixth of St.

John. And then he laid to his charge what an exposition he made, when the vicar and he talked together. And William said, 'He urged me to say so much as I did.'

"'Well,' quoth Master Brown, 'because you can expound that place so well; how say you to another place?' (turning to the twenty-second of St. Luke.) And Master Brown said, 'Look here,' quoth he, for Christ saith, that the bread is his body.'—To the which William answered, 'The text saith, how Christ took bread; but not that he changed it into another substance, but gave that which he took, and brake that which he gave; which was bread, as is evident by the text: for else he should have had two bodies, which to affirm I see no reason,' said William. At the which answer Master Brown was very angry, and took up the Bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again in such a fury, that William could not well find the place again whereof they reasoned.

"Then Master Brown said, 'Thou naughty boy! wilt thou not take things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Doth not Christ call the bread his body plainly? and thou wilt not believe, that the bread is his body after the consecration. Thou goest about to make Christ a liar!' But William Hunter answered, 'I mean not so, sir; but rather more earnestly to search what the mind of Christ is in that holy institution, wherein he commendeth unto us the remembrance of his death, passion, resurrection, and coming again; saying, 'This do, in the remembrance of me.' And also, though Christ call the bread his body, as he doth also say that he is a vine, a door, &c., yet is not his body turned into bread, no more than he is turned into a door or vine. Wherefore Christ called the bread his body by a figure.'

"At that word Master Brown said, 'Thou art a villain indeed. Wilt thou make Christ a liar yet still?' and was in such a fury with William, and so raged, that William could not speak a word but he crossed him, and scoffed at every word. Wherefore William, seeing him in such a fury, desired him that he would either hear him quietly, and suffer him to answer for himself; or else send him away. To the which Master Brown answered, 'Indeed I will send thee to-morrow to my Lord of London, and he shall have thee under examination:' and thus left off the talk, and made a letter immediately; and sent William Hunter with the constable to Bonner, bishop of London, who received William.

"After that he had read the letter, and the constable returned home again, the bishop caused William to be brought into a chamber, where he began to reason with him in this manner: 'I understand, William Hunter,' quoth he, 'by Master Brown's letter, how that you have had certain communication with the vicar of the Wield, about the blessed sacrament of the altar; and how that ye could agree: whereupon Master Brown sent for thee, to bring thee to the catholic faith, from the which he saith that thou art gone. Howbeit if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou shalt have no harm for any thing that thou hast said or done in this matter.' William answered, saying, 'I am not fallen from the catholic faith of Christ, I am sure; but do believe it, and confess it with all my heart.'

"'Why,' quoth the bishop, 'how sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Wilt thou not recant thy saying, which thou confessedst before Master Brown, how that Christ's body is not in the sacrament of the altar, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary?' To the which William answered, saying, 'My Lord, I understand that Master Brown hath certified you of the

talk which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I said to him; the which I will not recant, by God's help.'

"Then said the bishop, 'I think thou art ashamed to bear a faggot, and recant openly; but, if thou wilt recant thy sayings, I will promise thee that thou shalt not be put to open shame: but speak the word here now between me and thee, and I will promise thee it shall go no further, and thou shalt go home again without any hurt.' William answered and said, 'My Lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my conscience, I will go to my father and dwell with him, or else with my master again; and so, if nobody will disquiet or trouble my conscience, I will keep my conscience to myself.'

"Then said the bishop, 'I am content. so that thou wilt go to the church, and receive, and be shriven; and so continue a good catholic Christian.' No,' quoth William, 'I will not do so for all the good in the world.' 'Then.' quoth the bishop, 'if you will not do so, I will make you sure enough, I warrant you.' 'Well,' quoth William, you can do no more than God will permit you.' 'Well,' quoth the bishop, 'wilt thou not recant indeed by no means? 'No,' quoth William, 'never while I live, God willing.'

"Then the bishop (this talk ended) commanded his men to put William in the stocks of his gatehouse, where he sat two days and nights, only with a crust of brown bread and a cup of water. At the two days' end the bishop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the crust of bread still by him upon the stocks, said to his men, 'Take him out of the stocks, and let him break his fast with you.' Then they led him forth of the stocks, but would not suffer him to eat with them, but called him heretic. And he said, he was as loth to be in their company, as they were to be in his

"After the breakfast, the bishop sent for William, and demanded whether he would recant or no. But William made him answer, how that he would never recant that which he had confessed before men, as concerning his faith in Christ. Then the bishop said that he was no Christian; but he denied the faith in which he was baptized. But William answered, 'I was baptized in the faith of the Holy Trinity, the which I will not go from, God assisting me with his grace.'

"Then the bishop sent him to the convict prison, and commanded the keeper to lay irons upon him as many as he could bear: and moreover asked him, how old he was; and William said that he was nineteen years old. 'Well,' said the bishop, 'you will be burned ere you be twenty years old, if you will not yield yourself better than you have done yet.' William answered, 'God strengthen me in his truth.' And then he parted, and the bishop allowing him a halfpenny a day to live on, in bread or drink.

"Thus he continued in prison three quarters of a year. In the which time he had been before the bishop five times, besides the time when he was condemned in the consistory in Paul's, the ninth day of February: at the which time I his brother, Robert Hunter, was present, when and where I heard the bishop condemn him, and five others.

"And then the bishop calling William, asked him if he would recant; and so read to him his examination and confession, as is above rehearsed: and then rehearsed, how that William confessed that he did believe that he received Christ's body spiritually, when he did receive the communion. Dost thou mean,' quoth the bishop, 'that the bread is Christ's body spiritually?' 'William answered, 'I mean not so, but rather when I receive the holy communion rightly and worthily, I do feed upon Christ spiritually, through faith in my soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ hath brought unto all faithful believers through his precious death, passion, and resurrection: and not, that the bread is his body, either spiritually or corporally.'

"Then said the bishop to William, 'Dost thou not think,' holding up his cap, 'that, for example here of my cap, thou mayest see the squareness and colour of it, and yet that not to be the substance, which thou judgest by the accidents?' William answered, 'If you can separate the accidents from the substance, and show me the substance without the accidents, I could believe.' Then said the bishop, 'Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above man's capacity.' 'Yes,' said William, 'I must needs believe that; for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainly: but our question is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy supper.'

"Then the bishop said, 'I always have found thee at this point, and I see no hope in thee to reclaim thee unto the catholic faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt member:' and then pronounced sentence upon him, how that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and so from thence to Brentwood, 'where,' said he, 'thou shalt be burned.'

"Then the bishop called for another, and so when he had condemned them all, he called for William Hunter, and persuaded with him; saying, 'If thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a freeman in the city, and give thee forty pound in good money to set up thine occupation withal: or I will make thee steward of my house, and set thee in office; for I like thee well. Thou hast wit enough, and I will prefer thee if thou recant: But William answered, 'I thank you for your great offers: notwithstanding, my Lord,' said he, 'if you cannot persuade my conscience with Scriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world; for I count all things worldly but loss and dung, in respect of the love of Christ.'

"Then said the bishop, 'If thou diest in this mind, thou art condemned for ever.' William answered, 'God judgeth righteously, and justifieth them whom man condemneth unjustly.' Thus William and the bishop departed, William and the rest to Newgate, where they remained about a month; who afterward were sent down, William to Brentwood, and the others into divers places of the country. Now when William was come down to Brentwood, which was the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary that followed on the Monday after, William remained till the Tuesday after, because they would not put him to death then, for the holiness of the day.

"In the mean time William's father and mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun: and his mother said to him, that she was glad that ever she was so happy to bear such a child, which could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's name's sake.

"Then William said to his mother, 'For my little pain which I shall suffer, which is but a short braid, Christ hath promised me, mother,' said he, 'a crown of joy: may you not be glad of that, mother?' With that his mother kneeled down on her knees, saying, 'I pray God strengthen thee, my son, to the end. Yea, I think thee as well bestowed as any child that ever I bare.'

"At the which words Master Highed took her in his arms, saying, 'I rejoice' (and so said the others) 'to see you in this mind; and you have a good cause to rejoice.' And his father and mother both said, that they were never of other mind, but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confess Christ before men, he likewise might so continue to the end. William's father said, I was afraid of nothing but that my son should have been killed in the prison by hunger and cold; the bishop was so hard to him.' But William confessed, after a month, that his father was charged with his board, that he lacked nothing; but had meat and clothing enough, yea even out of the court, both money, meat, clothes, wood and coals, and all things necessary.

"Thus they continued in their inn, being the Swan in Brentwood, in a parlour, whither resorted many people of the country to see those good men which were there. And many of William's acquaintance came to him, and reasoned with him, and he with them, exhorting them to come away from the abomination of popish superstition and idolatry.

"Thus passing away Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, on Monday at night it happened that William had a dream about two o'clock in the morning, which was this: How that he was at the place where the stake was pitched, where he should be burned, which (as he thought in his dream) was at the town's end where the butts stood; which was so indeed. And also he dreamed that he met with his father as he went to the stake, and also that there was a priest at the stake, who went about to have him recant. To whom he said (as he thought in his dream) how that he bade him, 'Away, false prophet!' and how that he exhorted the people to beware of him, and such as he was: which things came to pass indeed. It happened that William made a noise to himself in his dream, which caused Master Higbed and the others to awake him out of his sleep, to know what he lacked. When he awaked he told them his dream in order, as is said.

"Now when it was day, the sheriff, Master Brocket, called on to set forward to the burning of William Hunter. Then came the sheriff's son to William Hunter, and embraced him in his right arm, saying, 'William! be not afraid of these men which are here present with bows, bills, and weapons, ready prepared to bring you to the place where you shall be burned.' To whom William answered, 'I thank God I am not afraid; for I have cast my count what it will cost me already.' Then the sheriff's son could speak no more to him for weeping.

"Then William Hunter plucked up his gown, and stepped over the parlour groundsel, and went forward cheerfully; the sheriff's servant taking him by one arm, and I his brother by another. And thus going in the way, he met with his father according to his dream, and he spake to his son, weeping and saying, 'God be with thee, son William!' And William said, 'God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet again when we shall be merry.' His father said, 'I hope so, William; 'and so departed. So William went to the place where the stake stood, even according to his dream, where all things were very unready. Then William took a wet broom-faggot, and kneeled down thereon, and read the fifty-first Psalm, till he came

to these words, The sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit; a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

"Then said Master Tyrill of the Beaches, (called William Tyrill,) 'Thou liest,' said he, 'thou readest false; for the words are an humble spirit.' But William said, 'The translation saith, a contrite heart.' 'Yea,' quoth Master Tyrill, 'the translation is false: ye translate books as ye list yourselves, like heretics.' 'Well,' quoth William, there is no great difference in those words.' Then said the sheriff, 'Here is a letter from the queen. If thou wilt recant thou shalt live; if not, thou shalt be burned.' 'No,' quoth William, 'I will not recant, God willing.' Then William rose and went to the stake, and stood upright to it. Then came one Richard Ponde, a bailiff, and made fast the chain about William.

"Then said Master Brown, 'Here is not wood enough to burn a leg of him.' Then said William, 'Good people! pray for me; and make speed and despatch quickly: and pray for me while you see me alive, good people; and I will pray for you likewise.'

"'Now,' quoth Master Brown. 'pray for thee! I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a dog.' To whom William answered, 'Master Brown, now you have that which you sought for, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day: howbeit I forgive you.' Then said Master Brown, 'I ask no forgiveness of thee.' 'Well,' said 'William, 'if God forgive you, I shall not require my blood at your hands.'

"Then said William, 'Son of God, shine upon me;' and immediately the sun in the element shone out of a dark cloud so full in his face, that he was constrained to look another way: whereat the people mused, because it was so dark a little time afore. Then William took up a faggot of broom, and embraced it in his arms.

"Then the priest, which William dreamed of, came to his brother Robert with a popish book to carry to William, that he might recant; which book his brother would not meddle withal. Then William, seeing the priest, and perceiving how he would have showed him the book, said, 'Away, thou false prophet! Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest that you be partakers of their plagues.' "Then,' quoth the priest, 'look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell.' William answered, 'Thou liest, thou false prophet! Away, thou false prophet, away! '

"Then was there a gentleman which said, 'I pray God have mercy upon his soul.' The people said, 'Amen, Amen.' Immediately fire was made.

"Then William cast his psalter right into his brother's hand, who said, 'William! think on the holy passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death.'

"And William answered, 'I am not afraid.' Then lift he up his hands to heaven, and said, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;' and, castingdown his head again into the smothering smoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, sealing it with his blood to the praise of God.

"Now, by and by after, Master Brown commanded one old Hunt, to take his brother Robert Hunter, and lay him in the stocks till he returned from the burning of Higbed at Horndon on the Hill, the same day. Which thing rid Hunt did. Then Master Brown (when Robert Hunter came before him) asked if he would do as his brother had done. But Robert Hunter answered, 'If I do as my brother hath done, I shall have as he hath had.' 'Marry,' quoth Master Brown, 'thou mayest be sure of it.'

"Then Master Brown said, 'I marvel that thy brother stood so to his tackling:' and moreover, he asked Robert, if William's master of London were not at his burning. But Robert said, that he was not there; but Master Brown bare him in hand that his master was there, and how that he did see him there: but Robert denied it. Then Master Brown commanded the constable and Robert Hunter to go their ways home, and so had no further talk with them."



William Hunter at the Stake

# 274. Thomas Causton and Thomas Highed.

Here followeth the history of Master Causton and Master Highed, two worthy gentlemen of Essex, who, for their sincere confession of their faith under Bonner, bishop of London, were martyred and burned in Essex, A. D. 1555.



LTHOUGH the condemnation of Master Causton and Master Higbed followed after the condemnation of those who were condemned with Tomkins and Hunter above mentioned, yet, because the time of their execution was before the burning of the aforesaid four martyrs, forasmuch that they suffered the same day that William Hunter did, which was the twenty-sixth of March, I thought therefore, next after the story of the said William Hunter, following the order of time, here to place the same

This Master Causton and Master Higbed, two worshipful gentlemen in the county of Essex, the one at Horndon on the Hill, the other of the parish of Thundersby, being zealous and religious in the true service of God; as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, so in time of blind superstition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hid and obscure in such a number of malignant adversaries, accusers, and servants of this world, but at length they were perceived and detected to the aforesaid Edmund Bonner, bishop of London: peradventure not without the same organ which sent up William Hunter, as is above declared. By reason whereof, by commandment they were committed to the officers of Colchester to be safely kept, and with them also a servant of Thomas Causton, who, in this praise of Christian godliness, was nothing inferior to his master.

Bonner, the foresaid bishop, perceiving these two gentlemen to be of worshipful estate, and of great estimation in that country, lest any tumult should thereby arise, came thither himself, accompanied with Master Fecknam and certain others, thinking to reclaim them to his faction and fashion: so that great labour and diligence was taken therein, as well by terrors and threatenings, as by large promises and flattering, and all fair means, to reduce them again to the unity (as they termed it) of the mother church.

In fine, when nothing could prevail to make them assent to their doings, at length they came to this point, that they required certain respite to consult with themselves what was best to do. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they remaining still constant and unmovable in their professed doctrine, and setting out also their confession in writing, the bishop seeing no good to be done in tarrying any longer there, departed thence, and carried them both with him to London; and with them certain other prisoners also, which about the same time in those quarters were apprehended.

It was not long after this, but these prisoners, being at London committed to strait prison, and there attempted sundry ways by the bishop and his chaplains to revoke their opinions: at

length, when no persuasions would serve, they were brought forth to open examination at the consistory in Paul's, the seventeenth day of February, A. D. 1555; where they were demanded as well by the said bishop, as also by the bishop of Bath, and others, whether they would recant their errors and perverse doctrine, (as they termed it,) and so come to the unity of the popish church. Which when they refused to do, the bishop assigned them likewise the next day to appear again, being the eighteenth of February.

On the which day, among many other things there said and passed, he read unto them severally certain articles, and gave them respite until the next day to answer unto the same; and so committed them again to prison. The copy of which articles hereunder followeth.

"First, That thou Thomas Causton (or Thomas Highed) hast been and art of the diocese of London, and also of the jurisdiction now of me, Edmund, bishop of London.

"Item, That thou wast in time past, according to the order of the Church of England, baptized and christened.

"Item, That thou hadst godfathers and godmother, according to the said order.

"Item, That the said godfathers and godmother did then promise for thee, and in thy name, the faith and religion that then was used in the realm of England.

"Item, That that faith and religion, which they did profess and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the faith and religion of the church, and of the Christian people: and so was it in very deed.

"Item, Thou coming to the age of discretion, (that is to say, to the age of fourteen years,) didst not mislike nor disallow that faith, that religion, or promise then used and approved and promised by the said godfathers and godmother, but for a time didst continue in it, as others (taking themselves for Christian people) did likewise.

"Item, That at that time, and also before, it was taken for a doctrine of the church, catholic and true, and every where in Christendom then allowed for catholic and true, and to be the profession of a Christian man, to believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, after the consecration, there was, and is, by the omnipotent power and will of Almighty God, and his word, without any substance of bread and wine there remaining, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, really, truly, and in very deed.

"Item, That at that time thy father and mother, all thine ancestors, all thy kindred, acquaintance, and friends, and thy said godfathers and godmother, did then so believe and think in all the same as the said church did therein believe.

"Item, That thyself hast had no just cause or lawful ground to depart or swerve from the said religion or faith, nor any occasion at all, except thou wilt follow and believe the erroneous

opinion or belief that hath been (against the common order of the church) brought in by certain disordered persons of late, at the uttermost within these thirty or forty years last past.

"Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Dr. Robert Barnes, John Frith, Thomas Gerrard, Jerome Lassels, Anne Askew, John Hooper, late bishop of Gloucester, Sir Laurence Saunders, priest, John Bradford, Sir John Rogers, priest, Sir Rowland Taylor, priest, Sir John Laurence, priest, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, have been heretofore reputed, taken, and accounted as heretics, and also condemned as heretics, and so pronounced openly and manifestly; specially in holding and believing certain damnable opinions, against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and all the same persons (saving John Bradford, Sir John Laurence, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes) have suffered pains of death by fire, for the maintenance and defence of the said opinions and misbelief.

"Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury; and Nicholas Ridley, naming himself bishop of London; Robert Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's; and Hugh Latimer, some time bishop of Worcester; have been and are at this present reputed, accounted, and taken as heretics and misbelievers, in maintaining and holding certain damnable opinions against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That thou hast commended and praised all the said persons, so erring and believing, (or at the leastwise some of them, secretly, and also openly, taking and believing them to be faithful and catholic people, and their said opinions to be good and true; and the same, to the best and uttermost of thy power, thou hast allowed, maintained, and defended at sundry times.

"Item, That thou, having heard, known, and understood, all the premises thus to be as is aforesaid, hast not regarded all or any part thereof, but, contrary to the same and every part thereof, hast attempted and done; condemning, transgressing, and breaking the promise, faith, religion, order, and custom aforesaid: and hast become and art a heretic and misbeliever in the premises, denying the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and obstinately affirming, that the substance of the material bread and wine is there remaining, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood, taken of the Virgin Mary, is not there in the said sacrament really and truly being.

"Item, That all the premises be true, notorious, famous, and manifest; and that upon all the same, there have and be amongst the sad and good people of the city of London, and diocese of the same, in great multitude, commonly and publicly, a common and public fame and opinion, and also in all places where thou hast been, within the said diocese of London."

These articless being given to them in writing by the bishop, the next day following was assigned to them to give up and exhibit their answers unto the same.

The third day's session upon the examination of Master Causton and Master Highed.

Upon that day, being the first day of March, the said Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, gentlemen, being brought before the bishop in the consistory, there exhibited their answers to the articles aforesaid: the tenor of which answers here followeth.

"To the first, they answer and confess the same to be true.

"To the second, they answer and believe the same to be true.

"To the third, they answer and believe the same to be true.

"To the fourth, they answer and think the same to be true.

"To the fifth, until this clause, 'and so was it in very deed,' they answer and believe the same to be true. And unto that clause, 'and so was it in very deed,' they answer negatively, and believe that it was not in very deed.

"To the sixth, seventh, and eighth, they answer and believe the same to be true.

"To the ninth, they answer and say, that they think they have a just and lawful cause and ground to swerve and go from the said faith and religion, because they have now read more Scripture, than either themselves, or their parents and kinsfolk, godfathers or godmothers, have read or seen heretofore in that behalf.

"To the tenth, they answer, say, and believe, that the said persons articulate, have been named, taken, and counted for heretics, and so condemned for heretics: yet about three years past, they were taken for good Christian persons. And forasmuch as these respondents did ever hear them preach concerning the sacrament of the altar, they say that they preached well, in that they said and preached that Christ is not present really and truly in the sacrament; but that there is remaining the substance of bread and wine.

"To the eleventh, they answer and say, that howsoever other folks do repute and take the said persons articulate, yet these respondents themselves did never, nor yet do, so account and take them. And further they say, that in case the said persons articulate, named in this article, have preached that in the sacrament of the altar is very material wine, and not the substance of Christ's body and blood under the forms of bread and wine, then they preached well and truly, and these respondents themselves do so believe.

"To the twelfth, they answer and say, that whereas other folk have dispraised the said persons articulate, and disallowed their opinions, these respondents (for ought that they at any time have heard) did like and allow the said persons, and their sayings.

"To the thirteenth, they answer and say, that they have not broken or condemned any promise made by their godfathers and godmothers for them at their baptism, and that they are no heretics or misbelievers, in that they believe that there remaineth only bread and wine in the

sacrament of the altar, and that Christ's natural body is not there, but in heaven: for they say, that the Scriptures so teach them.

"To the fourteenth, they answer and believe, that the premises before by them confessed be true, notorious, and manifest."

After these answers exhibited and perused, then the bishop, speaking unto them after this sort, beginneth first (as he did ever before) with Thomas Causton. "Because ye shall not be suddenly trapped, and that men shall not say that I go about to seek snares to put you away; I have hitherto respited you, that you should weigh and consider with yourself your state and condition, and that you should, while ye have time and space, acknowledge the truth, and return to the unity of the catholic church." Then the bishop, reading their former articles and answers to the same, asked them if they would recant: which when they denied, they were again dismissed, and commanded to appear the Wednesday next after, at two o'clock at afternoon, there to receive their definitive sentence against them: which thing (as it seemeth) was yet deferred.

## Another examination of Master Causton and Master Highed.

The next Friday, being the eighth of March, the said Thomas Causton was first called to examination before the bishop, Fecknam, and Dr. Stempe, being in his palace, and there had read unto him his aforesaid articles with his answers thereunto; and after certain exhortations to recant his former profession, and to be conformable to the unity of their church, they promised him, so doing, willingly to receive him again thereunto. To whom he answered, "You go about to catch us in snares and gins. But mark, by what measure ye measure us, look you to be measured with the same again at God's hands." The bishop still persuaded with him to recant. To whom he answered, "No, I will not abjure. Ye said that the bishops that were lately burned, be heretics: but I pray God make me such a heretic as they were."

The bishop then leaving Master Causton, calleth for Master Highed; using with him the like persuasions that he did with the other: but he answered, "I will not abjure; for I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now, these sixteen years; and do what ye can, ye shall do no more than God will permit you to do; and with what measure you measure us, look for the same again at God's hands."

Then Fecknam asked him his opinion in the sacrament of the altar. To whom he answered. "I do not believe that Christ is in the sacrament as ye will have him, which is of man's making."

Both their answers thus severally made, they were again commanded to depart for that time. and to appear the next day in the consistory at Paul's, between the hours of one and three o'clock at afternoon.

*The last appearance of Master Causton and Master Highed before Bonner.* 

At which day and hour, being the ninth day of March, they were both brought thither; where the bishop caused Master Thomas Causton's articles and answers first to be read openly,

and after persuaded with him to recant and abjure his heretical opinions, and to come home now, at the last, to their mother the catholic church, and save himself.

But Master Thomas Causton answered again, and said, "No, I will not abjure; for I came not hither for that purpose:" and therewithal did exhibit in writing unto the bishop (as well in his own name, as also in Thomas Higbed's name) a confession of their faith, to the which they would stand; and required leave to read the same: which, after great suit, was obtained. And so he read it openly in the hearing of the people, as followeth.

"First, we believe and profess in baptism, to forsake the devil and all his works and pomps, and the vanities of the wicked world, with all the sinful lusts of the flesh.

- "2. We believe all the articles of our Christian faith.
- "3. We believe, that we are bound to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our life.
- "4. We believe, that there is contained in the Lord's prayer all things necessary both for body and soul; and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and no other saint or angel.
- "5. We believe, that there is a catholic church, even the communion of saints, built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, as St. Paul saith, Christ being the head corner-stone. For the which church Christ gave himself, to make it to himself a glorious congregation, without fault in his sight.
- "6. We believe, that this church of herself, and by her own merits, is sinful, and must needs say, Father! forgive us our sins: but, through Christ and his merits, she is freely forgiven; for he in his own person, saith St. Paul, hath purged her sins, and made her faultless in his sight: Besides whom, there is no Saviour, saith the prophet: Neither is there salvation, saith St. Peter, in any other name.
- "7. We believe, as he is our only Saviour, so he is our only Mediator. For the apostle St. Paul saith, There is one God, one Mediator between God and man, even the man Jesus Christ. Wherefore, seeing none hath this name, God and man, but Jesus Christ, therefore there is no Mediator but Jesus Christ.
- "8. We believe, that this church of Christ is and hath been persecuted, by the words of Christ, saying, As they have persecuted me, so shall they persecute you: for the disciple is not above his master. For it is not only given unto you to believe in Christ, saith St. Paul, but also to suffer for his sake. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution.
- "9. We believe that the church of Christ teacheth the word of God truly and sincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing from: and also doth minister the sacraments according to the primitive church.

- "10. We believe, that this church of Christ suffereth all men to read the Scriptures, according to Christ's commandment, saying, Search the Scriptures; for they testify of me. We read also out of the Acts, that when St. Paul preached, the audience daily searched the Scriptures, whether he preached truly or no. Also the prophet David teacheth all men to pray with understanding: For how shall the unlearned, saith St. Paul, say Amen, at the giving of thanks, when they understand not what is said? And what is more allowed than true faith, which, St. Paul saith, cometh by hearing of the word of God?
- "11. We believe, that the church of Christ teacheth, that God ought to be worshipped according to his word, and not after the doctrine of men: For in vain, saith Christ, ye worship me, teaching nothing but the doctrine of men.
- "Also we are commanded of God by his prophet, saying, Walk not in the traditions and precepts of your elders: but walk, saith he, in my precepts: do that I command you: put nothing thereunto, neither take any thing from it. Likewise saith Christ, You shall forsake father and mother, and follow me. Whereby we learn, that if our elders teach otherwise than God commanded, in that point we must forsake them.
- "12. We believe, that the supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed, forasmuch as Christ himself, being the wisdom of the Father, did institute it. For it is written, Cursed is he that changeth my ordinances, and departeth from my commandments, or taketh any thing from them.
- "13. Now, we find by the Scriptures, that this holy supper is sore abused. First, in that it is given in one kind, where Christ gave it in both. Secondly, in that it is made a private mass, whereas Christ made it a communion: for he gave it not to one alone, but to all the apostles in the name of the whole church. Thirdly, in that it is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead; whereas Christ ordained it for a remembrance of the everlasting sacrifice, which was his own body offered upon the altar of the cross once for all, as the holy apostle saith, Even the full and perfect price of our redemption: and where there is remission of sin, saith he, there is no more sacrifice for sin. Fourthly, in that it is worshipped contrary to the commandment, saying, Thou shalt worship nothing that is made with hands. Fifthly, in that it is given in an unknown tongue, whereby the people are ignorant of the right use thereof, how Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, by whom we be set at peace with God, and received to his favour and mercy by his promise, whereof this sacrament is a sure seal and witness. Besides this, it is hanged up, and shut in a box; yea, many times so long, that worms breed in it, and so it putrifieth: whereby the rude people have an occasion to speak irreverently thereof, which otherwise would speak reverently. Therefore they that thus abuse it, bring up the slander, and not we which pray daily to God to restore it to the right use, according to Christ's institution.
- "14. Now concerning Christ's words, This is my body, we deny them not; but we say, that the mind of Christ in them must be searched out by other open Scriptures, whereby we may come to the spiritual understanding of them, which shall be most to the glory of God: for, as the holy apostle saith, There is no Scripture that hath any private interpretation. Besides this, the Scriptures are full of the like figurative speeches: as for example: Christ saith, This cup is the

new testament in my blood. The rock is Christ, saith St. Paul. Whosoever receiveth a child in my name, saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, receiveth me.

"Which sentences must not be understood after the letter, lest we do err, as the Capernaites did, which thought that Christ's body should have been eaten with their teeth, when he spake of the eating thereof. Unto whom Christ said, Such a fleshly eating of my body profiteth nothing: it is the Spirit, saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: for my words are spirit and life.

"Thus we see that Christ's words must be understood spiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that cometh to this worthy supper of the Lord, must not prepare his jaw, but his heart; neither tooth nor belly; but, 'Believe,' saith St. Augustine, 'and thou hast eaten it:' so that we must bring with us a spiritual hunger, and, as the apostle saith, Try and examine ourselves, whether our conscience do testify unto us, that we do truly believe in Christ, according to the Scriptures; whereof if we be truly certified, being new-born from our old conversation in heart, mind, will, and deed, then may we boldly, with this marriage-garment of our faith, come to the feast.

"15. In consideration whereof we have invincible Scriptures, as of Christ himself: This do in remembrance of me. And St. Paul: As often, saith he, as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall remember the Lord's death until he come. Here is no change, but bread still. And St. Luke affirmeth the same. Also Christ hath made a just promise, saying, Me you shall not have always with you, I leave the world, and go to my Father: for if I should not depart, the Comforter which I will send, cannot come unto you. So, according to his promise, he is ascended as the evangelists testify. Also St. Peter saith, That heaven shall keep him until the last day also.

"16. Now as touching his omnipotent power, we confess and say with St. Augustine, that Christ is both God and man. In that he is God, he is every where; but in that he is man he is in heaven, and can occupy but one place. Whereunto the Scriptures do agree: for his body was not in all places at once when he was here; for it was not in the grave when the woman sought it, as the angel saith: neither was it at Bethany, where Lazarus died, by Christ's own words, saying, I am glad I was not there. And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Christ is in his holy supper sacramentally and spiritually in all them that worthily receive it, and corporally in heaven, both God and man.

"And further, we make here our protestation before God, (whom we call to record in this matter,) that this which we have said, is neither stubbornness, nor wilful mind, as some judge of us; but even of very conscience, truly (we trust) grounded on God's holy word. For before we took this matter in hand, we besought God from the bottom of our hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and blessed word. And in that he hath thus showed his power in our weakness, we cannot worthily praise him, unto whom we give hearty thanks, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen."

When he had thus delivered and read their confession, the bishop, still persisting sometimes in fair promises, sometimes threatening to pronounce judgment, asked them whether they would stand to this their confession and other answers? To whom Causton said, "Yea, we

will stand to our answers written with our hands, and to our belief therein contained." After which answer the bishop began to pronounce sentence against him.

Then he said, that it was much rashness, and without all love and mercy, to give judgment without answering to their confession by the truth of God's word; whereunto they submitted themselves most willingly. "And therefore I," quoth Causton, "because I cannot have justice at your hand, but that ye will thus rashly condemn me, do appeal from you to my Lord Cardinal."

Then Dr. Smith said, that he would answer their confession. But the bishop (not suffering him to speak) willed Harpsfield to say his mind, for the stay of the people; who, taking their confession in his hand, neither touched nor answered one sentence thereof. Which done, the bishop pronounced sentence, first against the said Thomas Causton; and then, calling Thomas Higbed, caused his articles and answers likewise to be read. In the reading whereof Higbed said, "Ye speak blasphemy against Christ's passion, and ye go about to trap us with your subtleties and snares. And though my father and mother, and other my kinsfolk, did believe as you say, yet they were deceived in so believing. And further, whereas you say, that my Lord, named Cranmer, (late archbishop of Canterbury,) and others specified in the said articles, be heretics; I do wish that I were such a heretic as they were, and be." Then the bishop asked him again, Whether he would turn from his error, and come to the unity of their church? To whom he said, "No; I would ye should recant: for I am in the truth, and you in error."

"Well," quoth the bishop, "if ye will return, I will gladly receive you." "No," said Higbed, "I will not return as you will have me, to believe in the sacrament of the altar, your God." Whereupon the bishop proceeded, and gave judgment upon him, as he had done before upon Thomas Causton.

When all this was thus ended, they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and so by them sent to Newgate, where they remained by the space of fourteen days, praised be God, not so much in afflictions as in consolations. For the increase whereof they earnestly desired all their good brethren and sisters in Christ to pray, that God, for his Son's sake, would go forth with that great mercy, which already he had begun in them, so that they might persevere unto the end, to the praise of the eternal God, and comfort of all their brethren.

These fourteen days (after the condemnation) once expired, they were, the twenty-third day of this month of March, fetched from Newgate at four o'clock in the morning, and so led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered unto the sheriff of Essex, and there, being fast bound in a cart, were shortly after brought to their several appointed places of burning; that is to say, Thomas Higbed to Horndon on the Hill, and Thomas Causton to Raleigh, (both in the county of Essex,) where they did most constantly, the twenty-sixthday of the same month, seal this their faith with shedding of their blood by most cruel fire, to the glory of God, and great rejoicing of the godly. At the burning of which Master Higbed, Justice Brown was also present, as is above specified, and divers gentlemen in the shire were commanded to be present, for fear, belike, lest they should be taken from them.

And thus much touching the apprehension, examination, confession, condemnation, and burning, of these two godly and constant martyrs of God.

# 275. William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence

In the story before of Thomas Tomkins and his fellows, mention was made of six who were examined and condemned together, by Bishop Bonner, the ninth day of February. of the which six condemned persons, two (which were Tomkins and William Hunter, as ye heard) were executed, the one upon the sixteenth of March, and the other upon the twenty-sixth day of March. Other three, to wit, William Pygot, and Stephen Knight, suffered upon the twenty-eighth day, and John Laurence the twenty-ninth of the said month of March.

Touching the which three martyrs, (now something to say of their examinations,) it was first demanded of them, what their opinion was of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto they severally answered, and also subscribed, that in the sacrament of the altar, under forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but a special partaking of the body and blood of Christ; the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and no where else. This answer thus made, the bishop caused certain articles to be read unto them, tending to the same effect, as did the articles before of Tomkins and of Master Causton; the tenor whereof here followeth.

"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that it is a catholic, faithful, Christian, and true doctrine, to teach, preach, and say, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is, without any substance of bread and wine there remaining, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the selfsame in substance (though not in outward form and appearance) which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, yea, or nay?

"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your parents, kinsfolk, friends, and acquaintance, here in this present realm of England, before your birth a great while, and also after your birth, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith concerning the said sacrament of the altar, had a true Christian faith, and were faithful and true Christian people, or no?

"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your godfathers and godmother, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith concerning the said sacrament of the altar, had a true Christian faith, and were faithful and true Christian people, or no?

"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your own self, in times past, being of the age of fourteen years and above, did think and believe concerning the said sacrament of the altar in all points, as your said parents, kinsfolks, friends, acquaintance, godfathers, and godmother, did then think and believe them, or no?

"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that our sovereigns the king and the queen of this realm of England, and all the nobility, clergy, and laity of this realm, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith, as other Christian realms do, concerning the said sacrament of the altar, have a true Christian faith, and believe as the catholic and true church of Christ hath always believed, preached, and taught, or no?

"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that our Saviour Christ and his Holy Spirit hath been, is, and shall be with his catholic church, even to the world's end, governing and ruling the same in all things, especially in the necessary points of Christian religion, not suffering the same to err, or to be deceived therein?

"Whether is it true, that you being suspected, or infamed to be culpable and faulty in speaking against the sacrament of the altar, and against the very true presence of Christ's natural body, and the substance thereof in the said sacrament; and thereupon called before me upon complaint made to me against you; have not been a good space in my house, having freely meat and drink, and also divers times instructed and informed, as well by one being our ordinary, as also by my chaplains and divers other learned men, some whereof were bishops, some deans, and some archdeacons, and every one of them learned in divinity, and minding well unto you, and desiring the safeguard of your soul, and that you should follow and believe the doctrine of the catholic church, as afore, concerning the said sacrament of the altar; and whether you did not at all times since your said coming to me, utterly refuse to follow and believe the said doctrine concerning the said sacrament?

"Whether can you now find in your heart and conscience to conform yourself in all points to the said faith and catholic church concerning the said sacrament of the altar, faithfully, truly, and plainly, without any dissimulation, believing therein as our said sovereigns, with the nobility, clergy, and laity of this realm, and other Christian realms, and other persons aforesaid, and also the said catholic church, have and do believe in that behalf?

"In case you so cannot, what ground have you to maintain your opinion, and who is of the same opinion with you? and what conference have you had therein with any? what comfort and what relief have you had therein by any of them, and what are their names and surnames, and their dwelling-places?

Their answers to these articles were not much discrepant from Tomkins, and other like martyrs above mentioned, as here followeth to be seen.

"To the first article, they believe, that the contents of this article are not agreeable to Scripture.

"To the second, they answer and believe, that their parents, and others expressed in the said article, and so believing as is contained in the same, were deceived.

"To the third they answer, that they so believed; but they were deceived therein, as they now believe.

"To the fourth they say, that they have heretofore believed as is contained in the said article; but now they do not so believe.

"To fifth they say, that if they so believe, they are deceived.

"To the sixth, they believe the same to be true.

"To the seventh they answer, and believe the contents of the same to be true.

"To the eighth they answer, that they can no whit conform themselves to the faith and doctrine contained and specified in this article, until it be proved by Scripture.

"To the ninth they say, that they have no ground to maintain their said opinions, but the truth; which (as they said) hath been persuaded by learned men, as Dr. Taylor of Hadley, and such others."

These answers being made and exhibited, they were commanded to appear again the next day, at eight o'clock in the morning, and, in the mean while, to bethink themselves what they would do.

Another appearance of Pygot, Knight, and Laurence before Bonner.

The next day in the morning, being the ninth of February, before their open appearance, the bishop sent for William Pygot and Stephen Knight into his great chamber in his palace, where he persuaded with them to recant, and deny their former profession. Who answered, that they were not persuaded in their consciences to return and abjure their opinions, whereunto they had subscribed. Within awhile after, they were all three (with Thomas Tomkins and William Hunter aforenamed) brought openly into the consistory, the ninth day of February aforesaid, and there had the same articles propounded unto them, which were before propounded unto the aforesaid Thomas Tomkins, (as appeareth in the discourse of his history,) and thereto also subscribed these words, "I do so believe."

The bishop also used certain talk unto John Laurence only; whereunto he answered in this manner: that he was a priest, and was consecrated and made a priest about eighteen years past; and that he was some time a Black Friar professed; that also he was assured unto a maid, whom he intended to have married.

And being again demanded his opinion upon the sacrament, he said, that it was a remembrance of Christ's body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar: and that all such as do not believe as he doth, do err.— After this talk and other fair words and threatenings, they were all of them commanded to appear again at afternoon.

*The third and last appearance of the aforesaid prisoners.* 

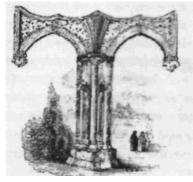
At the which hour they came thither again, and there, after the accustomed manner, were exhorted to recant and revoke their doctrine, and receive the faith. To the which they constantly answered they would not, but would stick to that faith that they had declared and subscribed unto; for that they did believe that it was no error which they believed, but that the contrary thereof was very heresy.

When the bishop saw that neither his fair flatterings, nor yet his cruel threatenings, would prevail, he gave them severally their judgments. And because John Laurence had been one of their anointed priests, he was by the bishop there (according to their order) solemnly degraded, the manner whereof you may see in the history of Master Hooper afore passed.

Their sentence of condemnation and this degradation once ended, they were committed unto the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them unto Newgate, where they remained with joy together until they were carried down into Essex, and there, the twenty-eighth day of March, the said William Pygot was burned at Braintree; and Stephen Knight at Maldon, who, at the stake, kneeling upon the ground, said this prayer which here followeth.

"O Lord Jesus Christ! for whose love I leave willingly this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy most holy name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy commandment: thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship a false god, and honour thine enemy, I choose rather the torment of the body and the loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile, dust, and dung, that I might win thee; which death is dearer unto me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil. Send thy holy Comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good: therefore, O Lord, as of thine accustomed goodness and love thou hast bidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; even so give me strength, O Lord, against this thine element, which as to my sight it is most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may, at thy commandment, (as an obedient servant,) be sweet and pleasant; that, through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and for this corruptible put on incorruption. Accept this burnt sacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the sacrifice, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour, for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father! forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O sweet Son of God my Saviour! spread thy wings over me. O blessed and Holy Ghost! through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit! Amen."

## The death and martyrdom of John Laurence, priest

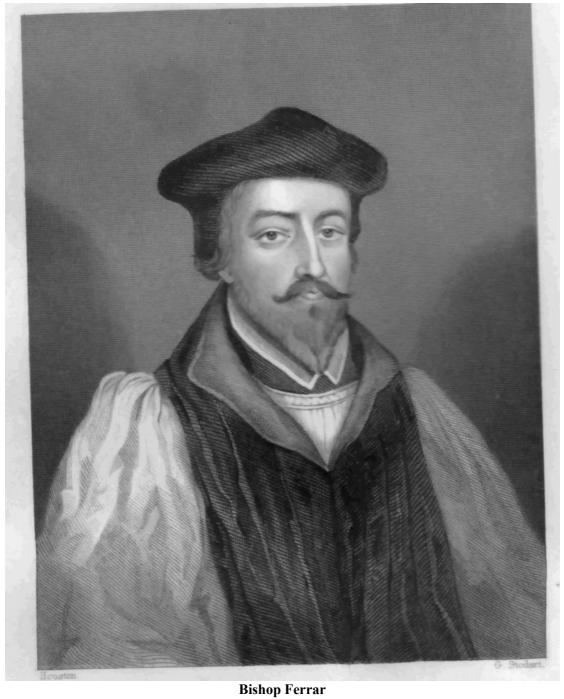


HE next day, being the twenty-ninth of this month, the said John Laurence was brought to Colchester, and there, being not able to go, (for that as well his legs were sore worn with heavy irons in prison, as also his body weakened with evil keeping,) was borne to the fire in a chair, and, so sitting, was in his constant faith consumed with fire.

At the burning of this Laurence, he, sitting in the fire, the young children came about the fire, and cried, as well as young children could speak, saying, "Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise; Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise"

which thing, as it is rare, so it is no small manifestation of the glory of God, who wrought this in the hearts of these little ones; nor yet a little commendation to their parents, who, from their youth, brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth.

# 276. Robert Ferrar



The history of Dr. Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's in Wales, who most constantly gave his life for the testimony of the truth, March the thirtieth, A. D. 1555.



HE day after Laurence's death, which was the thirtieth of the month of March, followed the worthy and constant martyrdom of the bishop of St. David's in Wales, called Robert Ferrar, who was the next bishop in this catalogue of Christian martyrs, that suffered after Master Hooper. This aforesaid Ferrar, by the favour and good will of the lord protector, was first called and promoted to that dignity. This man I may well call twice a martyr, not only for the cruel death of the fire, which he suffered most constantly in the days of Queen Mary, unto the shedding of his blood, but also for divers other injuries and molestations in King Edward's time, which he no less firmly than unworthily sustained at the

hands of his enemies, after the fall of the duke of Somerset. of these his vexations and troubles, with the wrangling articles and informations laid against him, to the number of fifty-six, and of the malice conceived against him by certain covetous canons of the church of Caermarthen, and what were the proceedings of both parts, as well of the innocent, as of the crafty adversaries, and what were their names, in their articles against him, in order here followeth.

George Constantine; David Walter, his servant; Thomas Young, chanter of the cathedral church, who was afterward archbishop of York; Rowland Meyrike, doctor of law, who was afterward bishop of Bangor; Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins, &c.

Through the procurement and instance of these his adversaries, joining and confederating together, one Hugh Rawlins, priest, and Thomas Lee, brother-in-law to the said George Constantine, did exhibit to the king's most honourable council certain articles and informations, conceived and devised by the persons before named, to the intent to blemish the bishop's credit, and utterly (as they thought and made their boast) to pull him from his bishopric, and to bring him in a *præmunire*.

After answers exhibited by the virtuous and godly bishop against the quarrelling and frivolous articles of his foresaid adversaries, to wit, Hugh Rawlins and Thomas Lee; then came in for witness, upon the said articles and informations, George Constantine, and the chanter of St. David's: against whom the bishop laid first exceptions, then also exhibited matter justificatory.

During all this time of the examination of the witnesses, the said bishop was stayed at London, upon the allegation of the said adversaries; which was, that if the said bishop should depart into his diocese, he would let them of their proofs.

And at the return of their commission it was signified unto the council what a great number of witnesses they had examined, viz. sixscore and seven; which sounded very heinous in the council's ears.

And about three weeks after, publication of their witnesses was granted; and after that it was a fortnight ere the bishop could get a copy written of their depositions, because the book thereof is so huge and monstrous.

Then the bishop desired time, first, to inquire of what condition the persons were, that had witnessed against him, and to make exceptions and matters to justify direct contrary, and to have a commission for the proof thereof; which was then granted. And now it is objected, that the bishop was appointed so to travail with the expedition of his matter, that he should have sued out his commission, and have made return thereof at All-Hallowtide last past; but there was no such decree put in writing. And it was not possible for the bishop to do it in so short a time, these causes considered which he could not avoid, as followeth.

First, It was the latter end of July ere he came home to St. David's where he began his visitation, which before was appointed.

Secondly, He was by force of law constrained to answer at the bar daily, during all the time of the great sessions at Caermarthen, in defence of his just cause against the pretended matter of *præmunire*, which his adversaries of mere malice have procured against him.

Thirdly, The said adversaries, to molest him further, did privily pack a quest of ignorant persons of no reputation, and indicted him upon the words of Rawlins' information, as appeareth by a copy of the indictment; intending thereby to make the matter sound more heinous; notwithstanding that the same cause dependent before the king's high council undetermined.

Fourthly, He was appointed by the commissioners, before his departure from London, to pay two hundred pounds (which was arrearages) into the court of First-fruits and Tenths, at Bartholomew-day then next following; which payment he made accordingly, notwithstanding that his adversaries wrought means to have made him break his day; namely, one Edward Harbert, gentleman, who hath a parsonage of his to farm, kept back his rent to the very last day, because that money should not help to serve his turn; and so, by crafty cavillation, detaineth it still in his hand with a year's rent and an half more: for the said Edward Harbert is an adherent of the said bishop's adversaries.

Fifthly, The book of their depositions is so great, that it asketh a long time to peruse; and also the greatest part of their witnesses were utterly unknown of the bishop and all his: and also dwelling in so many sundry places of the diocese, among the mountains and elsewhere, scarcely within the circuit of two hundred miles.

Item, Another great sessions was holden at Caermarthen in the month of October last, during which time he was attendant there, as is aforesaid. All which causes considered, being also in the time of his ordinary visitation, which he did execute himself, he could not make ready his exceptions in shorter time.

The said bishop despatched his man towards London the twenty-third day of October, who ever since hath been and is attendant in the same suit, for the obtaining the commission for proof of this matter against his adversaries.

And thus you have heard the first trouble of this blessed martyr of the Lord in King Edward's days, with the whole discourse thereof; which we thought the rather here to express, to give other good bishops warning to be more circumspect, whom they should trust and have about them. Briefly, in few words to conclude this process, Bishop Ferrar, partly upon the importunate suit of his adversaries, partly upon the sinister and unfortunate fall of the good duke of Somerset, by whom he had been before promoted and maintained, having but small favour showed, was detained in prison till the death of King Edward, and the coming in of Queen Mary and popish religion, whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined for his faith and doctrine: the process of which his trouble here likewise followeth.

After that the foresaid Master Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, had been long detained in custody under sureties, in the reign of King Edward, not for any just cause for his part deserved, but by reason that he had been promoted by the duke of Somerset; and now after his fall he found fewer friends to support him against such as hunted after his bishopric, at length, after the decease of King Edward, by the coming in of Queen Mary the state of religion began to be changed and altered: whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined, not for any matter of præmunire, but for his faith and doctrine. Whereupon, he was called before the bishop of Winchester, with Master Hooper, Master Rogers, Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and others aforesaid, the fourth of February. On the which day he should also with them have been condemned; but, because leisure or list did not so well then serve the bishop, his condemnation was deferred, and he sent to prison again, where he continued till the fourteenth day of the said month of February. What his examinations and answers were, before the said bishop of Winchester, so much as remained and came to our hands I have here annexed in manner as followeth. At his first coming and kneeling before my Lord Chancellor, the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Worcester, who sat at the table, and Master Rochester, Master Southwell, Master Bourne, and others, standing at the table's end, the lord chancellor said unto him on this sort:

Winchester.—"Now, sir, have you heard how the world goeth here?"

Ferrar.—"If it like your Honour. I know not."

*Winchester.*—"What say you? Do you not know things abroad, notwithstanding you are a prisoner?"

Ferrar.—"No, my Lord, I know not."

Winchester.—"Lo, what a froward fellow is this?"

*Ferrar.*—"If it please your Lordship, how should I know any thing abroad, being a prisoner?

"Winchester.—"Have you not heard of the coming in of the lord cardinal?"

Ferrar.—"I know not my Lord Cardinal; but I heard that a cardinal was come in: but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet."

Worcester.—"I pray your Lordship tell him yourself, that he may know what is done."

*Winchester.*—"The queen's Majesty and the parliament have restored religion into the same state it was in at the beginning of the reign of King Henry the Eighth. Ye are in the queen's debt; and her Majesty will be good unto you, if you will return to the catholic church,"

Ferrar.—"In what state I am concerning my debts to the queen's Majesty, in the court of exchequer, my Lord Treasurer knoweth: and the last time that I was before your Honour, and the first time also, I showed you that I had made an oath never to consent or agree, that the bishop of Rome should have any power or jurisdiction within this realm: and further, I need not rehearse to your Lordship; you know it well enough."

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Bourne.—"You were once abjured for heresy in Oxford,"
Ferrar.—"That was I not."
Bourne.—"You were"
Ferrar.—"I was never; it is not true,"
Bourne.—"You went from St. David's to Scotland."
Ferrar.—"That I did not."
Bourne.—"You did."
Ferrar.—"That did I never; but I went from York into Scotland."
Bourne.—"Ah! so said I: you went with Barlow."
Ferrar.—"That is true; but never from St, David's."
Bourne.—"You carried books out of Oxford, to the archbishop of York, Edward Lee."
Ferrar.—"That did I not."
Bourne.—"You did."
Ferrar.—"I did not; but I carried old books from St. Oswald's to the archbishop of York."
Bourne.—"You supplanted your master."
Ferrar.—"That did I never in my life."
Bourne.—"By my faith you did."
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Ferrar.—"Forsooth I did not, never in my life; but did shield and save my master from danger; and that I obtained of King Henry the Eighth, for my true service, I thank God there-for."

"My Lord," saith Master Bourne to my Lord Chancellor, "he hath an ill name in Wales as ever had any."

Ferrar.—"That is not so: whosoever saith so, they shall never be able to prove it."

Bourne.—"He hath deceived the queen in divers sums of money."

Ferrar.—"That is utterly untrue: I never deceived king or queen of one penny in my life; and you shall never be able to prove that you say."

Winchester.—"Thou art a false knave."

Then Ferrar stood up unbidden, (for all that while he kneeled,) and said, "No, my Lord, I am a true man; I thank God for it! I was born under King Henry the Seventh; I served King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth truly; and have served the queen's Majesty that now is, truly, with my poor heart and word: more I could not do; and I was never false, nor shall be, by the grace of God."

Winchester.—"How sayest thou; wilt thou be reformable?"

Ferrar.—"My Lord, if it like your Honour, I have made an oath to God, and to King Henry the Eighth, and also to King Edward, and in that to the queen's Majesty, the which I can never break while I live, to die for it."

Durham.—"You had made another oath before."

Ferrar.—"No, my Lord; I never made another oath before."

Durham.—"You made a vow."

Ferrar.—"That did I not."

Winchester.—"You made a profession to live without a wife."

Ferrar.—"No, my Lord, if it like your Honour: that did I never. I made a profession to live chaste—not without a wife."

Worcester,—"You were sworn to him that was master of your house."

Ferrar.—"That was I never."

*Winchester.*—"Well, you are a froward knave: we will have no more to do with you, seeing that you will not come; we will be short with you, and that you shall know within this seven-night."

Ferrar.—"I am as it pleaseth your Honour to call me; but I cannot break my oath which your Lordship yourself made before me, and gave in example, the which confirmed my conscience. Then I can never break that oath whilst I live, to die for it."

*Durham.*—"Well! he standeth upon his oath: call another."

My Lord Chancellor then did ring a little bell, and Master Ferrar said, "I pray God save the king and queen's Majesties long to continue in honour to God's glory and their comforts, and the comfort of the whole realm; and I pray God save all your Honours;" and so departed.

After these examinations thus ended, Bishop Ferrar so remained in prison uncondemned. till the fourteenth day (as is aforesaid) of February; and then was sent down into Wales, there to receive sentence of condemnation. Who then upon the twenty-sixth of February, in the church of Caermarthen, being brought by Griffith Leyson, esquire, sheriff of the county of Caermarthen. was there personally presented before Henry, bishop of St. David's, and Constantine, the public notary: which Henry there and then discharged the said sheriff, and received him into his own custody, further committing him to the keeping of Owen Jones; and thereupon declared unto the said Master Ferrar the great mercy and clemency, that the king and queen's Highness' pleasure was to be offered unto him, which he there did offer unto the said Master Ferrar; that is to say, that if he would submit himself to the laws of this realm, and conform himself to the unity of the universal catholic church, he should be received and pardoned, After that, seeing the said Master Ferrar to give no answer to the premises, the said bishop ministered unto him these articles following,

"First, Whether he believeth the marriage of priests lawful by the laws of God and holy church, or no?

"Item, Whether he believeth, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration duly pronounced by the priest, the very body and blood of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of bread and wine?

Unto the which articles the said bishop required the said Master Ferrar to answer upon his allegiance. To which he said, he would answer when he saw a lawful commission; and would make no further answer at that time, Whereupon the said bishop, taking no advantage upon the same answer, committed him to the said keeper, to be kept in prison until a new monition, and in the mean time to deliberate with himself for his further answer to the premises.

Another examination of the bishop of St, David's, before Henry Morgan, the pretended bishop of St, David's, George Constantine, his registrar, and others, the last of February, A. D. 1555.

This day and place, Morgan, the pretended bishop of St, David's, sitting as judge, ministered unto Bishop Ferrar, there personally present before him, certain articles and

interrogatories in writing: which being openly read and ministered unto him, the said Bishop Ferrar refused to answer, till he might see his lawful commission and authority, Whereupon the aforesaid pretended bishop of St, David's did pronounce him as *contumax*, and for the punishment of this his contumacy to be counted *pro confesso*, and so did pronounce him in writing: which being done, he committed the said bishop to the custody of Owen Jones, until Monday next, being the fourth of March, then to be brought again into the same place, between one and two.

Another appearance of the said Bishop Ferrar, before Morgan, the pretended bishop of St. David's

Item, The day and place appointed, the said bishop appearing again before the pretended bishop, humbly submitting himself as ready to answer to the articles and positions abovementioned, gently required the copy of the articles, and a competent term to be assigned unto him, to answer for himself: which being granted unto him, and the Thursday next being assigned unto him between one and three to answer precisely and fully; so he was committed again to custody, as above.

## Another appearance of the said bishop.

On Thursday, as was appointed, which was the seventh of March, the said bishop personally again appeared; where he exhibited a certain bill in writing, containing in it his answer unto certain articles objected and ministered unto him before. Then after, Henry, the pretended bishop of St, David's, offered him again the said articles as before; the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect:

"First, That he willed him, being a priest, to abrenounce matrimony.

"Secondly, To grant the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine.

"Thirdly, That the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

"Fourthly, That general councils lawfully congregated never did, nor can err.

"Fifthly, That men are not justified before God by faith only: but that hope and charity are also necessarily required to justification.

"Sixthly, That the catholic church, which only hath authority to expound Scriptures, and to define controversies of religion, and to ordain things appertaining to public discipline, is visible, and like unto a city set upon a mountain for all men to understand."

To these articles thus objected to him, he refused to subscribe, affirming that they were invented and excogitated by man, and pertain nothing to the catholic faith. After this, the bishop above-named delivered unto him the copy of the articles, assigning him Monday next following, to answer and subscribe to the same, either affirmatively or negatively.

### Another appearance of Bishop Ferrer.

Upon the which Monday, being the eleventh of March, he, appearing again before the bishop, and the aforesaid notary, George Constantine, exhibited in a written paper his mind and answer to the fore-said articles, which the bishop had twice now objected against him before, to the which articles and answers he did so subscribe—adding these words, as *tenens se de æquitate et justitia esse Episcopum Menevensem*—that the bishop assigned the next Wednesday, in the forenoon, to hear his final and definitive sentence.

## The last appearance of Bishop Ferrar.

The which day and place the said bishop and true servant of God, Master Ferrar, personally there appearing, was demanded of Henry, the pretended bishop of St, David's, whether he would renounce and recant his heresies, schisms, and errors, (as he called them,) which hitherto he had maintained, and if he would subscribe to the catholic articles, otherwise than he had done before.

After this the said godly bishop, Master Ferrar, did exhibit a certain schedule written in English, and remaining in the Acts; appealing withal by express word of mouth from the bishop, as from an incompetent judge, to Cardinal Pole, &c. All which notwithstanding, the said bishop, proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive sentence against him, contained in writing, and there left in the Acts: by the which sentence he pronounced him as a heretic excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the secular power; namely, to the sheriff of the town of Caermarthen, Master Leyson.

Thus this godly bishop, being condemned and degraded, was committed to the secular power, who not long after was brought to the place of execution in the town of Caermarthen, where he, in the market place in the south side of the market-cross, the thirtieth day of March, being Saturday next before Passion Sunday, most constantly sustained the torments and passion of the fire.

Touching the which constancy of this blessed martyr, this is moreover to be added and noted, that one named Richard Jones, a knight's son, coming to Master Ferrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the death he had to suffer: unto whom the bishop answered again to this effect, saying, that if he saw him once to stir in the pains of his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he said, so he right. well performed the same; for so patiently he stood that he never moved, but even as he stood, (holding up his stumps,) so still he continued, till one Richard Gravell with a staff dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down.

Letters of Dr, Ferrar, bishop of St. David's.



S touching the letters of Master Ferrar, we do not find many that he did write. And peradventure in Queen Mary's time his imprisonment was so strait, that at no time it was permitted him to write. Albeit in his other troubles, in King Edward's time, certain letters he wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, and to the earl of Warwick: which letters, although they might be well referred to the first edition of this story; yet because in the said letters is contained briefly, and in few lines, the whole discourse of his unjust vexation at that time wrought by his adversaries, I thought good not to pass them over, but to communicate them unto the reader, for the better understanding both of the innocency of that

blessed bishop, and of the crafty iniquity of his conspired enemies; as in the said letters here following to the indifferent reader may easily appear.

The copy of a certain letter of the bishop of St. David's, written belike to the lord chancellor, Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely.

"Most humbly showeth unto your Honour, your poor orator, Robert, bishop of St. David's, that whereas one Thomas Lee, (by the procurement of Thomas Young and Rowland Meyrike, being both canons of St, David's, and George Constantine, registrar to the said bishop,) hath exhibited unto your Honour against him certain articles, in the which are mentioned many trifling things, unworthy to he declared in your honourable audience, and also their pretended weighty articles (as they have alleged there) are utterly untrue: for proof whereof the said Thomas Lee, hath had commissions into the country: therefore it may please your Honour, of your favourable goodness, to grant unto your said orator a like commission for the examination of witnesses, in defence of his truth and honesty against the aforenamed Thomas Lee, George Constantine, Thomas Young, Rowland Meyrike, and all other persons, with their unjust articles, attestations, and savings, deposed against him. And in tender consideration that your said orator standeth bounden, and sureties with him, in the sum of a thousand marks, to appear before the king's justice, in the sessions at Caermarthen, in July next coming, to answer to a forged matter of præmunire, by the procurement and counsel of his forenamed adversaries, maliciously surmised against him to his utter undoing: and furthermore that your orator, being in debt to the king's Majesty, by reason of the malicious vexation of the foresaid adversaries, cannot (if he remain here) satisfy the same: for whereas there be arrearages to a great sum, (as well of the king's money as of his own rents,) he can receive none thereof, his adversaries have made such ill report to his discredit, bearing the people in hand, that he shall come no more thither. By reason of which bruit, neither his own tenants will pay their rents and arrearages, nor the priests their arrearages due to the king's Majesty, as well for anno secundo and tertio, as for quarto and quinto. In consideration of all which things, it may please your honourable goodness to license your said orator to depart into the diocese, for these affairs and others, And he shall be ready at all times, at your honourable commandment and pleasure, to repair again, and ever to pray to the Lord Jesu for the perpetual conservation of your Honour, to his glory."

Another letter written by the bishop of St, David's, to the chancellor aforesaid.

"Right honourable, and my very special good Lord, with humble service and hearty thanks to God, and to you for your godly favour towards me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your fatherly letters, most lovingly admonishing me to incline unto that which is very necessary, as charitable concord and unity: this is furtherly to beseech your Lordship, for the Lord's sake, not to be grieved, but benignly to hear and gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing to others but a light grief, to me is, in very deed, a right grievous offence to God, with no little hinderance of his holy word, and disturbance of the king's godly proceedings; and may be a great occasion of much inobedience and disorder of good life, Wherefore I am straitly bounden, for the true zeal that I ought to bear unto God's word of life, Christian religion, the king's Majesty's honour, and the godly quiet state of his people, not faintly to let fall the burden of diligent redress to be sought at his Majesty's hands by the godly wisdom of his most honourable and upright council, but with hearty affection to bear it up against those high-minded, arrogant, stubborn, ambitious, covetous canons, trusting in their biting tongues, with crafty prevention and utterly untrue surmises, to stop the light, that their ungodly misdoing in darkness shall either not be seen, or at the least may have a colourable appearance of right;insomuch that I do not a little marvel at these qualities in Master Chanter the canon, and the dean of Worcester, whose ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only known, but expertly proved, and sensibly felt, in two of the first, to my great losses, whereof I make no complaint.

"But I wonder in my mind, and lament in my heart, the strange alteration and wilful going backward of my old faithful brother George Constantine, the which (knowing them all three to have been in times past either obstinate enemies to the true bearers of the cross of Christ, or at least privy lurkers, under pretence of favour towards the gospel, to sting the poor followers thereof; seeking but their own lucre and pleasure in all their doings) would so earnestly cleave unto them in their wrong deeds, as to betray me with his tongue, become untrue of his promise, and a bearer of filthy sin for lucre's sake, even yet stiffly persisting in the same, namely, in things manifestly known unto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited.

"And as for their *præmunire*, both George and they, at my first coming, ungently detaining from Master Farlee his commission for the chancellorship, would have faced me down with *præmunire*, because it was written in my own name according to the statute: yet was I fain, for the zeal of unity, not to see their uncourteous deeds, departing with Master Farlee for the avoiding of their malice and envy, and gave that office, for the amity of George, unto Master Chanter his son-in-law, and to Master Meyrike, the office of Cardigan, But, seeing afterward their covetous respect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the reformation of sin, and specially of shameless whoredom, I was compelled to remove them, sore against their wills: and whereas I desired many and sundry times charitable redress of their wrong doings in the vacation-time, I obtained many fair words, and nothing in deed.

"Also desiring to have sight of the book of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtain it. Desiring to have a key of the chapter seal, as my Lord of Bath had, they would not deliver it but upon conditions; yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it as pleased them to give it. And further, requiring the sight of necessary evidences, for the declaration of divers things in traverse of my right, they would in no wise grant it. And

thereupon, considering their ungentleness, I moved the *Quo warranto*, knowing right well, that if they should show any substantial grant under the king's seal for their corporation, it must therein appear the bishop to be the head, and ever hath been under the king; for other they never have, nor had, except they would return to Rome again; as I trust they will not. And yet, perceiving afterward that they had no special grant to show, or else such as they would not show, I myself, for the respect of unity, wrote my letters to the king's attorney, by reason whereof the *Quo warranto* was stayed, and so yet remaineth.

"But touching the certificate, the king's subsidy being due at Michaelmas last, and forborne till after Christmas, and lawfully demanded afore, they did utterly refuse to pay it both to my vice-chancellor and to myself, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to ask the rest, and it is committed to me in the king's roll a whole sum in gross, to be received of the canons residentiary for their dividend: who, because they cannot agree in dividing, would have the king's Majesty to tarry for his money, till they can agree to make division; and I cannot demand it of any particular person, nor at any particular place.

"Wherefore I most humbly beseech your fatherly goodness, for the Lord's sake, to persist and continue my good lord and friend unto such time as ye find me either desiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the judgment of my right cause into your hands. And because that the residue of matters touching them and their ungentle, untrue, and ungodly doings is too long, and I have molested you too much with this my tedious letter, I shall now surcease; humbly beseeching your good Lordship to accept in good part this my boldness, proceeding of necessity, and to pardon it for the love of our Lord Jesus, who save and keep you in health, comfort, and honour long to endure, for the advancement of his glory.—Written at Aber Gwili, this ninth of March,

"Your Lordship's to command during life, ROBERT FERRAR."

## 277. Rawlins White

The history of one Rawlins White, burned at Cardiff in Wales about the month of March, for the testimony of Christ's gospel, reported by John Dane, being yet alive, who was almost continually with him during his trouble, unto his death.



ORASMUCH as we have here passed the history of Master Ferrar, burned at the town of Caermarthen in Wales,I thought to adjoin and accompany with the same the history also of one Rawlins White, a fisherman, who, both in the like cause, and in the same country of Wales, and also about the same month of March and year aforesaid, gave his life, like a valiant soldier of Jesus Christ, to martyrdom, and was burned at Cardiff; the process of whose story here followeth expressed more at large.

This Rawlins was by his calling or occupation a fisherman, living and continuing in the said trade by the space of twenty years at the least, in the town of Cardiff, being (as a man of his vocation might be) one of a very good name, and well accounted amongst his

neighbours, As touching his religion at the first, it cannot otherwise be known, but that he was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry that then was used; I mean in the reign of King Henry the Eighth. But after that God of his mercy had raised up the light of his gospel, through the blessed government of King Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England, this Rawlins began partly to mislike that which before he had embraced, and to have some good opinion of that which before, by the iniquity of the time, had been concealed from him: and the rather to bring this good purpose and intent of his to pass, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great searcher-out of the truth.

But because the good man was altogether unlearned, and withal very simple, he knew no ready way how he might satisfy his great desire. At length it came in his mind to take a special remedy to supply his necessity, which was this: he had a little boy which was his own son; which child he set to school to learn to read English. Now after the little boy could read indifferently well, his father, every night after supper, summer and winter, would have the boy to read a piece of the Holy Scripture, and now and then of some other good book; in which kind of virtuous exercise the old man had such a delight and pleasure, that, as it seemed, he rather practised himself in the study of the Scripture, than in the trade or science which beforetime he had used: so that Rawlins, within few years, in the said time of King Edward, through the help of his little son, (a special minister appointed by God, no doubt, for that purpose,) and through much conference beside, profited and went forward in such sort, that he was able not only to resolve himself touching his own former blindness and ignorance, but was also able to admonish and instruct others: and therefore, when occasion served, he would go from one place to another, visiting such as he had best hope in. By which his doing, he became, in that country, both a notable and open professor of the truth, being at all times and in all such places, not without the company of his little boy, whom (as I have said) he used as an assistance to this his good purpose. And to this his great industry and endeavour in the Holy Scripture, God did also add in

him a singular gift of memory; so that by the benefit thereof he would and could do that, in vouching and rehearsing of the text, which men of riper and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other helps of memory, could very hardly accomplish; insomuch that he, upon the alleging of Scripture, very often would cite the book, the leaf, yea, and the very sentence: such was the wonderful working of God in this simple and unlearned father.

Now when he had thus continued in his profession the space of five years, King Edward died, upon whose decease Queen Mary succeeded, and, with her, all kind of superstition and papistry crept in. Which thing being once perceived, Rawlins did not altogether use open instruction and admonition, as before he was wont; and therefore oftentimes, in some private place or other, he would call his trusty friends together, and with earnest prayer and great lamentation pass away the time, so that by his virtuous instructions, being without any blemish of error, he converted a great number; which number, no doubt, had greatly increased, had not the cruel storm of persecution been. The extremity and force whereof, at the last, so pursued this good father Rawlins, that he looked every hour to go to prison: whereupon many of those which had received comfort by his instructions, did resort unto him, and by all means possible began to persuade him to shift for himself, and to dispose his goods by some reasonable order to the use of his wife and children; and by that means he should escape that danger which was imminent over his head.

But Rawlins, nothing abashed for his own part through the iniquity of the time, and nothing at all moved with these their fleshly persuasions, thanked them most heartily for their good will, and told them plainly, that he had learned one good lesson touching the confessing and denial of Christ; advertising them, that if he, upon their persuasions, should presume to deny his Master Christ, Christ, in the last day, would deny and utterly condemn him: "and therefore," quoth he, "I will, by his favourable grace, confess and bear witness of him before men, that I may find him in everlasting life."

Notwithstanding which answer, his friends were very importunate with him. Howbeit father Rawlins continued still in his good purpose so long, till at the last he was taken by the officers of the town, as a man suspected of heresy; upon which apprehension he was convented before the bishop of Llandaff that then was, the said bishop lying then at his house beside Chepstow; by whom, after divers combats and conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins was committed to prison in Chepstow, But this his keeping, whether it were by the bishop's means, because he would rid his hands of him, or through the favour of his keeper, was not so severe and extreme, but that, if he had so listed, he might have escaped oftentimes.

But that notwithstanding, he continued still, insomuch that at the last he, by the aforenamed bishop, was removed from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued by the space of one whole year; during which time, this reporter resorted to him very often, with money and other relief from this reporter's mother, who was a great favourer of those that were in affliction in those days,) and other of his friends; which he received not without great thanks and praises given to the name of God. And albeit that he was thus troubled and imprisoned, as ye have heard, to his own undoing in this world, and to the utter decay of his poor wife and children; yet was his heart so set to the instruction and furtherance of others in the way of salvation, that he was never in quiet, but when he was persuading or exhorting such of his

familiar friends, as commonly came unto him: insomuch that on the Sundays and other times of leisure, when his friends came to visit him, he would pass away the time in prayer and exhortations, admonishing them always to beware of false prophets which come in sheep's clothing.

Now when he had continued in Cardiff castle by the space of one whole year, (as I have said,) the time of his further trial was at hand. Whereupon the forenamed bishop of Llandaff caused him to be brought again from the castle of Cardiff unto his own house beside Chepstow; and whilst he continued there, the bishop assayed many ways how to reduce him to some conformity. But when all means, either by their threatening words, or flattering promises, were to no purpose, the bishop willed him to advise, and be at a full point with himself, either to recant his opinions, or else to abide the rigour of the law: and thereupon gave him a day of determination; which day being come, the bishop with his chaplains went into his chapel, not without a great number of other by-dwellers, that came to behold the manner of their doings.

When the bishop with his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins was brought before them. The bishop, after a great deliberation in addressing himself, as it seemed, and silence forewarned to the rest that were there present, used a long kind of talk to him, declaring the cause of his sending-for, which was for that he was a man well known to hold heretical opinions, and that through his instruction many were led into blind error. In the end he exhorted him to consider his own estate wherein he stood "for," said the bishop, "Rawlins, you have oftentimes since your first trouble, both here in my house, and elsewhere, been travailed withal touching your opinions; and, that notwithstanding, ye seem altogether obstinate and wilful. Now hereupon we thought good to send for you, to see if there were any conformity in you: so that the matter is come to this point, that if you will show yourself repentant for that which you have done against God and the prince's law, we are ready to use favour towards you; but if by no means we can persuade with you touching your reformation, we are minded at this time to minister the law unto you—and therefore advise yourself, what you will do."

When the bishop had made an end of his long tale, this good father Rawlins spake boldly to him, and said, "My Lord, I thank God I am a Christian man; and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God: and if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a Christian man ought to be." Many more words were in like sort between the bishop and Rawlins, which this reporter doth not well remember. But in the end, when Rawlins would in no wise recant his opinions, the bishop told him plainly, that he must proceed against him by the law, and condemn him as a heretic.

"Proceed in your law a God's name," said Rawlins; "but for a heretic you shall never condemn me while the world standeth." "But," said the bishop to his company, "before we proceed any further with him, let us pray unto God that he would send some spark of grace upon him, [meaning Rawlins,] and it may so chance that God, through our prayer, will here turn and convert his heart." When Rawlins heard the bishop say so, "Ah, my Lord," quoth he, "now you deal well, and like a godly bishop; and I thank you most heartily for your great charity and gentleness. Christ saith, Where two or three be gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them: and there be more than two or three of you. Now, if it be so that your request be godly and lawful, and that ye pray as ye should pray, without doubt God will hear you, And

therefore, my Lord, go to; do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God, I know that my God will both hear my prayer, and perform my desire."

By and by the bishop with his company fell to prayer; and Rawlins, turning himself to a pew that stood somewhat near him, fell down upon his knees, covering his face with his hands, And when they had prayed a while, the bishop with his company arose from prayer; and then also arose Rawlins, and came before the bishop.

Then said the bishop, "Now, Rawlins, how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy opinions, or no?" "Surely," said Rawlins, "my Lord, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me; and, by God's grace, Rawlins I will continue. Certainly if your petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them; but you honour a false god, and pray not as ye should pray; and therefore hath not God granted your desire. But I am only one poor simple man, as you see, and God hath heard my complaint, and I trust he will strengthen me in his own cause."

The bishop, when he perceived that this hypocrisy of theirs took none effect, then with hot words he reproved him, and forthwith was ready to read the sentence. Howbeit, upon some advice given to him by his chaplains that were there present, he thought best, first, to have a mass, thinking that indeed, by so doing, some wonderful work should be wrought in Rawlins; and thereupon a priest began a mass.

In the mean time poor Rawlins betook himself to prayer in a secret place there by, until such time as the priest came to the sacring, as they term it, which is a principal point of their idolatry, When Rawlins heard the sacring-bell ring (as the use was) he rose out of his place, and came to the choir-door, and, there standing a while, turned himself to the people, speaking these words "Good people! if there be any brethren amongst you, or, at the least, if there he but one brother amongst you, the same one bear witness at the day of judgment, that I bow not to this idol"—meaning the host that the priest held over his head.

The mass being ended, Rawlins eftsoons was called for again; to whom the bishop used many persuasions; but the blessed man continued so stedfast in his former profession, that the bishop's talk was altogether in vain, and to no purpose: whereupon the bishop caused the definitive sentence to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was dismissed; and from thence he was, by the bishop's commandment, carried again to Cardiff, there to be put into the prison of the town, called Cockmarel; a very dark, loathsome, and most vile prison. Rawlins in the mean time passed away the time in prayer, and chiefly in singing of psalms: which kind of godly exercise he always used, both at Cardiff castle, and in all other places.

Now, after he had thus continued a prisoner in Cockmarel prison at Cardiff, (as is aforesaid,) a good space, about three weeks before the day wherein he suffered, the head officers of the town, that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burn him, because they would be sooner rid of him; having not indeed a writ of execution awarded, as by the law they should have. Whereupon one Henry Lewis, the recorder of the town that then was, seeing that they went about to burn him without any warrant by writ, came to them and told them, that if they did burn him before they had the writ, *De hæreticis comburendis*, the wife of the said Rawlins would, upon just cause, by law, call their doings into question, Immediately upon this

advertisement, they sent to London for the writ above-named; upon the receipt whereof they made some speed to the execution of the said Rawlins, Now, when the day was come wherein the good father should perform and accomplish the last act of this his worthy conflict, he was the night before willed to prepare himself.

Now when he perceived his time was no less near than it was reported unto him, he sent forthwith to his wife, and willed her by the messenger, that in any wise she should make ready and send unto him his wedding garment, meaning a shirt, which afterward he was burned in: which request, or rather commandment of his, his wife, with great sorrow and grief of heart, did perform, and early in the morning did send it to him, which he received most gladly and joyfully, Now when the hour of his execution was come, this good and constant father Rawlins was brought out of prison, having on his body the long shirt, which (as you heard before) he called his wedding garment, and an old russet coat which he was wont to wear. Besides this, he had upon his legs an old pair of leather buskins, which he had used long afore, And thus being brought out of prison, (as I have said,) he was accompanied, or rather guarded, with a great company of bills and glaves; which sight when he beheld, "Alas!" quoth he, "what meaneth all this? All this needed not. By God's grace I will not start away: but I, with all my heart and mind, give unto God most hearty thanks, that he hath made me worthy to abide all this, for his holy name's sake."

So he came to a place in his way, where his poor wife and children stood weeping and making great lamentation; the sudden sight of whom so pierced his heart that the very tears trickled down his face. But he soon after, as though he had misliked this infirmity of his flesh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himself; insomuch that in striking his breast with his hand he used these words "Ah flesh! stayest thou me so? wouldst thou fain prevail? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canst, thou shalt not, by God's grace, have the victory." By this time this poor innocent came to the very altar of his sacrifice, (I mean the place appointed for his death,) and there found a stake ready set up, with some wood toward the making of the fire; which when he beheld, he set forward himself very boldly; but, in going toward the stake, he fell down upon his knees, and kissed the ground: and in rising again, the earth a little sticking on his nose, he said these words, "Earth unto earth, and dust unto dust: thou art my mother, and unto thee I shall return." Then went he cheerfully and very joyfully, and set his back close unto the stake; and when he had stood there awhile, he cast his eye upon this reporter, and called him unto him, and said, "I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the spirit, and the flesh would very fain have his swinge; and therefore I pray you, when you see me any thing tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I shall remember myself."

As he was thus standing with his back close unto the stake, a smith came with a great chain of iron; whom when he saw, he cast up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God great thanks. Then the smith cast a chain about him; and as he was making it fast on the other side, Rawlins said unto him, "I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain fast; for it may be that the flesh would strive mightily; but God of thy great mercy give me strength and patience to abide the extremity!"

Now when the smith had made him sure to the stake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reed: wherein the good old man was no less occupied than the best;

for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reed, and lay it about him in places most convenient for his speedy despatch: which thing he did with such a cheerful countenance and familiar gesture, that all men there present were in a manner astonished.

Thus, when all things were ready, so that there lacked nothing but the putting-to of the fire, directly over against the stake, in the face of Rawlins, there was a standing erected, whereon stepped up a priest, addressing himself to speak to the people, which were many in number, because it was market-day, When Rawlins perceived him, and considered the cause of his coming, he reached a little straw unto him, and made two little stays, and set them under his elbows. Then went the priest forward in his sermon, wherein he spake of many things touching the authority of the Church of Rome. In the mean time Rawlins gave such good ear and attention, that he seemed nothing at all moved or disquieted, At the last, the priest came to the sacrament of the altar, and there he began to inveigh against Rawlins's opinions: in which his invection he cited the common place of Scripture, and thereupon made a clerkly interpretation.

Now when Rawlins perceived that he went about not only to teach and preach the people false doctrine, but also to confirm it by Scripture, he suddenly started up, and beckoned with his hands to the people, saying twice, "Come hither, good people; and hear not a false prophet preaching:" and then said unto the preacher, "Ah, thou naughty hypocrite! dost thou presume to prove thy false doctrine by Scripture? Look in the text what followeth; did not Christ say, Do this in remembrance of me! "After which words the priest, being rather amazed than interrupted, forthwith held his peace.

Then some that stood by cried out, "Put fire, set to fire;" which being set to, the straw and reed, by and by, cast up both a great and sudden flame. In the which flame this good and blessed man bathed his hands so long, until such time as the sinews shrunk, and the fat dropped away; saving that once he did, as it were, wipe his face with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, "O Lord, receive my soul! O Lord, receive my spirit!" until he could not open his mouth. At the last the extremity of the fire was so vehement against his legs, that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was burned, which made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire sooner than it would have done. During which time of his burning, it cannot be said that he suffered or felt any great pain, considering that not without his perfect memory he abode both quietly and patiently, even unto the departing of his life, Thus died this godly and old man Rawlins, for the testimony of God's truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, with the crown of everlasting life.

It is recorded, furthermore, of the said good father Rawlins, by this reporter, that as he was going to his death, and standing at the stake, he seemed in a manner to be altered in nature. For as before he was wont to go stooping, or rather crooked, through the infirmity of age, having a sad countenance and a very feeble complexion, and withal very soft in speech and gesture, now he went and stretched up himself not only bolt upright, but also bore withal a most pleasant and comfortable countenance, not without great courage and audacity both in speech and behaviour, He had—of which thing I should have spoken before—about his head a kerchief; the hairs of his head, (somewhat appearing beneath his kerchief,) and also of his beard, were more inclining to white than to grey, which gave such a show and countenance to his whole person, that he seemed to be altogether angelical.

It is also said by this reporter, that a little before the fire flashed up to his body (as ye have heard) many of his friends came to him, and took him by the hand; amongst whom the reporter of this story held him so long by the hand, till the flame of the fire rose and forced them to sunder, In the mean time the priest, of whom I spake afore, cried out and said, that it was not lawful for any man to take him by the hand, because he was a heretic, and condemned by the church,—The chief cause of his trouble, was his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar. He was, at the time of his death, of the age of threescore years, or thereabouts.

# 278. Other Events of March and April 1555.

The sum of the words spoken by Queen Mary to certain of her councillors, March the twenty-eighth, A.D. 1555, touching the restitution of the abbey lands.

Before I pass over this month of March, I cannot but leave a little memorandum of the words or consultation of Queen Mary, used to certain of the council the twenty-eighth day of the said month of March, touching the restoring again of the abbey lands; who, after she had called unto her presence four of her privy council, the day and month aforesaid (the names of which councillors were these, namely, William, lord marquis of Winchester, high treasurer of England; Sir Robert Rochester, knight, the queen's comptroller; Sir William Peter, knight, secretary; Sir Francis Englefield, knight, master of the wards); the said Queen Mary inferred these words, the principal effect and sum whereof here followeth:—

"You are here of our council: and we have willed you to be called unto us, to the intent you might hear of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions as well of monasteries, as of other churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession.

"First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid in the time of schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God and of the church; for the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them: and therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or to retain the said lands for mine; but with all my heart, freely and willingly, without all paction or condition, here, and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever, and do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to our most holy lord the pope, or else his legate the lord cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our realm.

"And albeit you may object to me again, that, considering the state of my kingdom, and the dignity thereof, my crown imperial cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding, I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten kingdoms; and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, which hath given me a husband likewise minded, with no less good affection in this behalf, than I am myself.

"Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor, (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before,) and you four, to-morrow together do resort to the most reverend lord legate, and do signify to him the premises in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of the foresaid possessions accordingly, as you yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same."

This intimation being given by the queen, first unto the councillors, and then coming to the cardinal's hand, he drawing out a copy thereof in Latin, sent the same to the pope; which

copy drawn in Latin, and coming afterward to my hand, I have thus translated into English, as you have heard.

Furthermore, here by the way is to be understood, that in the month before, which was February, and on the nineteenth day of the said month, the bishop of Ely and the Lord Montacute, with sevenscore horse, were sent as ambassadors from the king and queen unto Rome; for what cause, in story it is not expressed; but, by conjecture, it may be well supposed to be for the same cause of abbey lands, as by the sequel thereof may probably appear.

For it was not long after, but the pope did set forth in print a bull of excommunication for all manner of such persons, without exception, as kept any of the church or abbey lands; by virtue of which bull, the pope excommunicated as well all such as had any of the church or abbey lands, as also all such princes, bishops, and noblemen, justices of peace and others in office, who had not, or did not forthwith, put the same bull in execution, Albeit this execution (God be thanked) yet, to this day, was never put in practice. Wherein again is to be observed another catholic fetch, not unworthy, perchance, of marking. For whereas this kind of catholics, by rigour and force, may overmaster, they spare for no cost, but lay on load enough. This well appeared, and still doth appear, in burning the poor patient Christians, whom because they see to be destitute of power and strength to resist them, and content with patience to receive whatsoever is put unto them, there they play the lions, and make no end of burning and persecuting. But where they spy themselves to be overmatched, or fear to receive a foil in pursuing too far, there they keep in, and can stay the execution of their laws and bulls, be they never so apostolical, till they spy their time convenient for their purpose, as in this case is evident for all the world to see. For notwithstanding that the pope's bull, coming down with full authority for restitution of abbey lands, did so thunder out most terrible excommunication, not only against them which detained any such lands, but also against all others that did not see the pope's commandment to be executed; yet neither Winchester, nor any of all the pope's clergy, would greatly stir in that matter, perceiving the nobility to be too strong for them to match withal; and therefore were contented to let the case fall, or at least to stay for a time, while time might better serve them.

Yea, and moreover, under a crafty pretence that the nobility and men of lands, at the first coming out of the bull, should not be exasperated too much against them, they subtlely abused the pulpits, and dissembled with the people; affirming that the said pope's late bull, set forth in print, for restitution of abbey lands, was not meant for England, but for other foreign countries: whereas, in very deed, the meaning of that bull was only for England, and no country else, as both by this intimation of Queen Mary here mentioned, and by many other conjectures, and also by Master Feckenham's ballet of *Caveat emptor*, may appear: whereby it is easy for all men to understand what the purpose of those men was to do, if time, which they observed, might have served their devotion.

But to let this matter pass of the pope's bull, the time now serveth to entreat of Pope Julius's death, forasmuch as he made his end about the latter end of this foresaid month of March. Concerning the deeds and acts of which pope, to make a full declaration, it were not so much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good ears, Under this Julius flourished the archbishop of Benevento, a Florentine, named John de la Casa, dean of the pope's chamber, and chief legate to the Venetians; who, well declaring the fruit of that filthy see, so far forgat both

honesty and nature, that he shamed not only to play the filthiest immorality himself, and to boast openly of the same; but also took upon him most impudently in Italian metre, to all men's ears, to set forth the praise and commendation of a certain nameless iniquity, saying that he himself never used other; and this book was printed at Venice by one Trajanus Nævus. And yet the pope could suffer this so great iniquity and shameless beastliness, even under his nose in his own chamber; which could not abide the true doctrine of Christ in Christian books.

Amongst other pranks and deeds of this foresaid pope, in his Jubilee, and in the synod of Trent, and in confirming of the idol of Loretto, this is also reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in pork-flesh and peacocks. Upon a time when he was admonished of his physician to abstain from all swine's flesh, for that it was noisome for his gout, and yet would not follow his counsel; the physician afterward gave warning to his steward or orderer of his diet, that he should set no more pork-flesh before him. Whereupon when the pope perceived the said pork-flesh to be lacking in his accustomed service: "Where," said he, "is my pork?" And when his steward had answered, that his physician had forbidden any pork to be served; then the pope, bursting out into a great rage, saith these words; "Bring me," said he, "my pork-flesh, in the despight of God."

At another time, he, sitting at dinner, pointing to a peacock upon his table, which he had not touched, "Keep," said he, "this cold peacock for me against supper, and let me sup in the garden; for I shall have guests." So when supper came, and, amongst other hot peacocks, he saw not his cold peacock brought to his table, the pope, after his wonted manner, most horribly blaspheming God, fell into an extreme rage, &c.; whereupon one of his cardinals, sitting by, desired him, saying, "Let not your Holiness, I pray you, be so moved with a matter of so small weight." Then this Julius the pope, answering again, "What," said he, "if God was so angry for an apple, that he cast our first parents out of Paradise for the same, why may not I, being his vicar, be angry then for a peacock, since a peacock is a greater matter than an apple." Behold here, good reader, by this pope, the holiness of that blasphemous see: and yet thou shalt see here what affection was borne to this pope here in England, bythe diriges, hearses, and funerals, commanded to be had and celebrated in all churches by the queen and her council, as may appear by the copy of their letters here following.

A letter from the bishop of Winchester (being lord chancellor) unto Bonner, bishop of London, touching the celebrating of the pope's funeral.

"After my hearty commendations to your good Lordship: The king and queen's Majesties having certain knowledge of the death of the pope's Holiness, thought good there should be as well solemn obsequies said for him throughout the realm, as also these prayers (which I send you herein enclosed) used at mass times in all places at this time of vacation: and therefore willed me to signify their pleasures unto you in this behalf, that thereupon ye might proceed to the full accomplishment thereof, by putting the same in due execution within your own diocese, and sending word to the rest of the bishops, to do the like in theirs. Thus doubting not but that your Lordship will use such diligence in this matter at this time, as shall be necessary, I bid your Lordship heartily well to fare.

"From my house at Esher, the tenth of April, 1555.

"Your assured friend and brother, STEPHEN WINTON., Chancellor."

A woman of St. Magnus's imprisoned for not praying for the pope.

Upon this commandment, on Wednesday in Easter week there were hearses set up and diriges sung for the said Julius in divers places; at which time it chanced a woman to come into St. Magnus's church, at the bridge-foot in London, and there, seeing a hearse and other preparation, asked what it meant: and another that stood by said, that it was for the pope, and that she must pray for him, "Nay," quoth she, "that will I not, for he needeth not my prayers: and seeing he could forgive us all our sins, I am sure he is clean himself; therefore I need not to pray for him." She was heard speak these words of certain that stood by, who, by and by, carried her unto the cage at London-bridge, and bade her cool herself there.



The Woman in the cage at London-bridge

A spectacle for all Christians to behold, and to take heed of the pope's blasphemous doctrine.



Y many and sundry ways Almighty God hath admonished men of all nations in these our latter years, to embrace, and not violently to repugn against, the light of his gospel: as first, by preaching of his word; secondly, by the blood of the martyrs; and thirdly, by terrible examples showed from time to time upon his adversaries, In the number of whom cometh here to he remembered the notable working of God's hand upon a certain priest in Kent, named Nightingal, parson of Crundal beside Canterbury; who, upon Shrove-Sunday, which was about the third day of the said month of March, and year of our Lord aforesaid, (rejoicing belike not a little at this alteration of

religion,) began to make a sermon to his parishioners, taking his theme out of the words of St. John: He that saith that he hath no sin, is a liar, and the truth is not in him. And so upon the same very impertinently declared to them all such articles as were set forth by the pope's authority, and by the commandment of the bishops of this realm; saying, moreover, unto the people in this wise "Now, masters and neighbours, rejoice and be merry; for the prodigal son is come home. For I know that the most part of you be as I am, for I know your hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this week past: I was before my Lord Cardinal Pole's Grace, and he hath made me as free from sin, as I was at the font-stone: and on Thursday last being before him, he hath appointed me to notify (thank him for it) the same unto you, and I will tell you what it is."—And so reading the popes bull of pardon that was sent into England, he said, he thanked God that ever he had lived to see that day; adding, moreover, that he believed, that by the virtue of that bull he was as clean from sin, as that night that he was born:—and immediately upon the same fell suddenly down out of the pulpit, and never stirred hand nor foot, and so lay he. This was testified by Robert Austen of Cartham, who heard and saw the same, and it is witnessed also by the whole country round about.

## John Awcock, martyr.

In the beginning of April, and the second day of the said month, died in prison John Awcock, who after was buried in the fields; as the manner of the papists was to deny their Christian burial to such as died out of their popish antichristian church.

Now, forasmuch as having passed the month of March, we are entered into the month of April, to set down in order, out of public records, what happened in the said month, here followeth to be noted: that the first day of April, A, D, 1555, a letter was sent to the sheriff of Kent to apprehend Thomas Wodgat and William Maynard, for preaching secretly, and to send them up to the council. The seventh day of the said month, another letter was sent to the said sheriff for the apprehension of one Harwich, who went about, with a boy with him, preaching from place to place.

The fifteenth of April a letter was directed to Sir Nicholas Hare, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, willing them to examine Master Flower (alias Branch) what he meant, by wearing about his neck written, *Deum time*, *idolum fuge*; and whom else he knew to wear the like:

praying them also to speak to Bonner, bishop of London, speedily to proceed against him for his religion, according to the laws, and that the justices of peace of Middlesex should likewise proceed against him for shedding of blood in the church, according to the statute; so as if he continue his opinion, he might be executed at the furthest by the latter end of this week, and that his right hand be, the day before his execution, or the same day, stricken off.

The twenty-second of April there was a like letter sent to the justices of peace of Middlesex, with a writ for the execution of the said Flower, commanding them to see his hand stricken off before his burning.

The twenty-ninth of April, Master Robert Hornebey, servant then to the Lady Elizabeth, was convented before the council for his religion; and standing constantly to the truth, notwithstanding their threats and other persuasions, was therefore committed to the Marshalsea.

# 279. George Marsh

A declaration of the life, examination, and burning of George Marsh, who suffered most constant martyrdom for the profession of the gospel of Christ at Chester, the twenty fourth day of April, 1555.

The said George Marsh was born in the parish of Dean, in the country of Lancaster, and was well brought up in learning and honest trade of living by his parents; who afterwards, about the twenty-fifth year of his age, took to wife an honest maiden of the country, with whom he continued, earning their living upon a farm, having children between them lawfully begotten: and then, God taking his wife out of this world, he being most desirous of godly studies, (leaving his household and children in good order,) went unto the university of Cambridge, where he studied, and much increased in learning and godly virtues, and was a minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and for a while was curate to Laurence Saunders; as he himself reporteth, In which condition of life he continued for a space, earnestly setting forth God's true religion, to the defacing of antichrist's false doctrine, by his godly readings and sermons, as well there and in the parish of Dean, as elsewhere in Lancashire.

Whereupon at length, by detection of certain adversaries, he was apprehended, and kept in close prison by George Cotes, then bishop of Chester, in strait prison in Chester, within the precinct of the bishop's house, about the space of four months, being not permitted to have relief and comfort of his friends; but charge being given unto the porter, to mark who they were that asked for him, and to signify their names unto the bishop; as by the particular description of his story, testified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently may appear in the process hereunder following.

"On the Monday before Palm Sunday, which was the twelfth day of March, it was told me at my mother's house, that Roger Wrinstone. with other of Master Barton's servants, did make diligent search for me in Bolton; and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave strait charge to Roger Ward and Robert Marsh, to find and bring me to Master Barton the day next following, with others, to be brought before the honourable earl of Derby, to be examined in matters of religion, &c.

"I, knowing this, by relation of divers of my friends, was diversely affected: my mother and other my friends advertising me to fly, and to avoid the peril, which thing I had intended afore after a week then next ensuing, if this in the mean while had not chanced; seeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion, (as they thought I would not, and as, God strengthening and assisting me with his Holy Spirit, I never will,) it would not only have put them to great sorrow, heaviness, and losses, with costs and charges, to their shame and rebuke in this world, but also mine own self, after troublous and painful imprisonment, unto shameful death.

"This considered, they advised me and counselled me to depart and fly the country, as I had intended to have done, if this had not happened: to whose counsel my weak flesh would

gladly have consented, but my spirit did not fully agree; thinking and saying thus to myself, that if I fled so away, it would be thought, reported, and said, that I did not only fly the country, and my nearest and dearest friends, but much rather from Christ's holy word, according as these years past I had with my heart, or at least with mine outward living, professed, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the small talent given me of the Lord, I, being thus with their advice and counsel, and the cogitations and counsels of mine own mind, drawn as it were divers ways, went from my mother's house, saying I would come again at evening.

"In the mean time I ceased not, by earnest prayer, to ask and seek counsel of God, (who is the giver of all good gifts,) and of other my friends, whose godly judgments and knowledge I much trusted unto. After this, I met with one of my said friends on Dean Moor, about sun goingdown: and after we had consulted together of my business, not without hearty prayer, kneeling on our knees, we departed, I not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave with my friend, said, I doubted not but God (according as our prayer and trust was) would give me such wisdom and counsel as should be most to his honour and glory, the profit of my neighbours and brethren in the world, and obtaining of mine eternal salvation by Christ in heaven.

"This done, I returned to my mother's house again, where had been divers of Master Barton's servants seeking after me; who, when they could not find me, straitly charged by brother and William Marsh to seek me that night, and to bring me to Smirhill the next day; who, being so charged, were gone to seek me in Adderton, or elsewhere I know not. Thus, intending afore to have been all night with my mother, but then considering that my tarrying there would disquiet her with her household, I departed from thence, and went beyond Dean Church, and there tarried all night with an old friend of mine, taking ill rest, and consulting much with myself of my trouble.

"So at my first awaking, one came to me from a faithful friend of mine with letters, which I never read nor yet looked on, who said this: my friend's advice was, that I should in no wise fly; but abide and boldly confess the faith of Jesus Christ, At whose words I was so confirmed and established in my conscience, that from thenceforth I consulted no more whether was better, to fly or to tarry; but was at a point with myself, that I would not fly, but go to Master Barton, who did seek for me, andthere present myself, and patiently bear such cross as it should please God to lay upon my shoulders, Whereupon my mind and conscience, afore being much unquieted and troubled, was now merry and in quiet estate.

"So betimes in the morning I arose, and after I had said the English Litany, (as my custom was,) with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friend's bed-side, I prepared myself to go toward Smirhill: and as I was going thitherward, I went into the houses of Harry Widdowes, of my mother-in-law, of Rafe Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardson; desiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my friends, and to comfort my mother, and be good to my little children: for (as I supposed) they should not see my face any more before the last day: and so took my leave of them, not without tears shed on both parties, and came to Smirhill about nine of the clock, and presented myself afore Master Barton; who showed me a letter from the earl of Derby, wherein he was commanded to send me with others to Latham.

"Whereupon he charged my brother and William Marsh, to bring and deliver me the next day by ten of the clock, before the said earl or his council. I made earnest suit with other special friends which I had there at the same time, to Master Barton, that he would take some one of them, or them all, bound by recognisance or otherwise, for mine appearing before the said earl or his said council, that my brother and William Marsh might be at home, because it was the chiefest time of seeding, and their ploughs could not go if they were not at home: but nothing could be obtained.

"So we went to my mother's, and there I dined and shifted part of my clothes, and so, praying, took my leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marsh, and both their households, they and I both weeping; and so departed from them, and went toward Latham, and were all night a mile and a half on this side Latham. So the next day, which was Wednesday, we arose, prayed, and came to Latham betimes, and tarried there till four of the clock at afternoon.

"Then was I called by Roger Mekinson to come to my Lord and his council, and so I was brought into the chamber of presence, where was present Sir William Norris, Sir Pierce Leigh, Master Sherburn the parson of Grappenhall, Master More, with others; where when I had tarried a little while, my Lord turned him toward me, and asked what was my name: I answered, 'Marsh.'

"Then he asked, whether I was one of those that sowed evil seed and dissension amongst the people: which thing I denied, desiring to know mine accusers, and what could be laid against me. But that I could not know.

"Then, said he, he would with his council examine me themselves, and asked me whether I was a priest; I said, 'No.' Then he asked me what had been my living, I answered I was a minister, served a cure, and taught a school. Then said my Lord to his council, 'This is a wonderful thing, Afore he said he was no priest, and now he confesseth himself to be one,' I answered, 'By the laws now used in this realm (as far as I do know) I am none.'

"Then they asked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any at all, I answered, I received orders of the bishops of London and Lincoln.

"Then said they one to another, 'Those be of the new heretics:' and asked me what acquaintance I had with them. I answered, I never saw them but at the time when I received orders.

"They asked me how long I had been curate, and whether I. had ministered with a good conscience, I answered, I had been curate but one year, and had ministered with a good conscience, I thanked God; and if the laws of the realm would have suffered me, I would have ministered still; and if the laws at any time hereafter would suffer me to minister after that sort, I would minister again. Whereat they murmured, and the parson of Grappenhall said, this last communion was the most devilish thing that ever was devised.

"Then they asked me what my belief was. I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments do teach,

and according as the four symbols or creeds, that is to wit, the creed commonly called *Apostolorum*, the creed of Nice council, of Athanasius, and of Augustine and Ambrose, do teach, And after a few words, the parson of Grappenhall said, 'But what is thy belief in the sacrament of the altar?' I answered, I believed that whosoever, according to Christ's institution, did receive the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, did eat and drink Christ's body and blood, with all the benefits of his death and resurrection, to their eternal salvation; for Christ (said I) is ever present with his sacrament.

"Then asked they me, whether the bread and wine, by the virtue of the words pronounced of the priest, were changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, and that the sacrament, whether it were received or reserved, was the very body of Christ: whereunto I made answer, I knew no further than I had showed already; 'for my knowledge is unperfect,' said I: desiring them not to ask me such hard and unprofitable questions, whereby to bring my body into danger of death, and to suck my blood. Whereat they were not a little offended, saying they were no blood-suckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good Christian man.

"So, after many other questions, which I avoided as well as I could, remembering the saying of Paul, Foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing they do but engender strife; my Lord commanded me to come to the board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write mine answers to the questions of the sacrament above named; and I wrote as I had answered before: whereat he, being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct answer, saying I should not choose but do it.

"Then I took the pen and wrote, that further I knew not: whereat he, being sore grieved, after many threatenings, said, I should be put to shameful death like a traitor, with such other like words; and sometimes giving me fair words, if I would turn and be conformable as others were, how glad he would be.

"In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward, in a cold, windy, stone house, where was little room; where I lay two nights without any bed, saving a few great canvass tent-clothes; and, that done, I had a pair of sheets, but no woollen clothes; and so continued till Palm Sunday, occupying myself as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and study: for no man could be suffered to come to me but my keeper twice a day, when he brought me meat and drink."

Another examination of George Marsh before the earl of Derby.

"On Palm Sunday, after dinner, I was sent for to my Lord and his council, (saving Sir William Norris and Sir Pierce Leigh were not then present in place,) amongst whom was Sir John Biron, and the vicar of Prescot. So they examined me yet once again of the sacrament. And after I had communed apart with the vicar of Prescot a good space concerning that matter, he returned to my Lord and his council with me, saying: that answer which I had made before, and then did make, (as it is above written,) was sufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profess a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such time as I had learned further. Wherewith the earl was very well pleased, saying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the vicar of Prescot, I would be conformable in other things, So, after many fair words, he commanded I

should have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongst his servants, so that I would do no harm with my communication amongst them.

"And so, after much other communication, I departed, much more troubled in my spirit than afore, because I had not with more boldness confessed Christ, but in such sort as mine adversaries thereby thought they should prevail against me; whereat I was much grieved: for hitherto I went about, as much as in me lay, to rid myself out of their hands, if by any means, without open denying of Christ and his word, that could be done.

"This considered, I cried more earnestly unto God by prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, with boldness to confess him: and to deliver me from their enticing words, and that I were not spoiled through their philosophy and deceitful vanity after the traditions of men and ordinances of the world, and not after Christ.

"And so, after a day or two, I was sent for to the vicar of Prescot, and the parson of Grappenhall; where our most communication was concerning the mass: and he asked what offended me in the mass, I answered, the whole mass did offend me; first, because it was in a strange language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St, Paul's doctrine, 1 Cor. xiv., and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and errors contained therein, contrary to Christ's priesthood and sacrifice.

"Then they asked me in what place thereof: and I named certain places; which places they went about with gentle and far-sought interpretations to mitigate, saying, those places were understood far otherwise than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

"I answered, I did understand them as they did purport, and as their own books do comment and gloss upon them.

"They said, *sacrfcium* or *oblatio* did not in the mass signify any thing else, than either a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or else a memorial of a sacrifice or oblation. So they caused a mass-book to be sent for, and showed me where, in some places of the mass, was written, *sacrificium laudis*. Whereto I answered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it signified a sacrifice or oblation of praise or thanksgiving; and although it did, yet was not a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving to be offered for the sins of the people; for that did Christ, by his own passion, once offer on the cross: whereas the words of the mass were, that the priest did offer an oblation and sacrifice for the sins and offences both of himself, and of the people; for them that were dead, and for the salvation of the living: and that the commixion of the body and blood of Christ, was health both of body and soul.

The vicar answered, that was to be understood of the commixion of Christ's body and blood with his church or people. So, after much exhortation unto me that I should be conformable to the true catholic church, (which, as they meant, was the Romish church,) I departed, not consenting unto them.

"So within a day or twain came to me Master More, bringing with him certain articles, whereunto Dr. Crome had consented and subscribed in the presence of certain witnesses in the

days of King Henry the Eighth, and willed me read them over, and asked me whether I would consent and subscribe unto those articles: and after communication had of one or two of the said articles, I confessed plainly I would in no wise consent and subscribe to those articles: for then I did against mine own conscience: and so he departed.

"So within a short space after, which was on Shere-Thursday, the said parson and vicar sent for me again, saying, my Lord would be at a short point with me: for if I would not consent and subscribe unto four articles drawn out of the articles aforesaid, I must go to prison straightways.

"The first was, whether the mass now used in the church of England was according to Christ's institution, and, with faith, reverence, and devotion, to be heard and seen?

"The second, whether the Almighty, by the words pronounced by the priest, did change the bread and wine, after the words of consecration, into the body and blood of Christ, whether it were received or reserved?

"Thirdly, whether the lay people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

"Fourthly, whether confession to the priest now used in England were godly and necessary?

"These four questions or articles they delivered me in writing, and bade me go to my chamber and subscribe my answers with mine own hand, and come again. So within one half hour I came to them again, and delivered them the questions with mine answers. The first I denied. The second I answered, as I did to my Lord afore, and as is above written. To the third I answered, that the lay people, by Christ's institution, ought to receive under both kinds, and that it sufficeth not them to receive under the one kind only. Fourthly, that though confession auricular were a commodious mean to instruct the rude people, yet it was not necessary nor commanded of God.

"They much exhorted me then to leave mine opinions, saying, I was much deceived, understanding the Scriptures amiss; and much counselled me to follow the catholic church of Christ, and to do as others did, I answered, my faith in Christ conceived by his holy word I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change, for any living creature, whatsoever he were; desiring them to speak to my Lord, that during my life and imprisonment my poor friends might be suffered to relieve me with necessary things according to their powers. And so, after much exhortation of them, to do and believe as the catholic church did, we departed; I from thenceforth continuing in the porter's ward, not coming forth of my chamber, saving at noon and night while I dined and supped.

"Upon one of the Easter holidays Master Sherburn and Master More sent for me, persuading me much to leave mine opinions; saying, all the bringers up and favourers of that religion had evil luck, and were either put to death or in prison, and in danger of life, Again, the favourers of the religion now used had wondrous good luck and prosperity in all things: with

many other worldly reasons of man's wisdom; for as for the Scriptures, Master Sherburn confessed himself ignorant. I answered, that I believed and leaned only to the Scriptures, not judging things by prosperity or adversity: but they earnestly advised me to refuse mine opinions, and not to let for any worldly shame, I answered, that that which I did, I did not for the avoiding of any worldly shame, saying, My soul and life were dearer to me than the avoiding of any worldly shame: neither yet did I it for any vain praise of the world, but in the reverent fear of God.

"Then Master More questioned with me of receiving the sacrament under the one kind. I said, Christ's institution was plain, that all men should drink of the cup, Then he told me of Luke xxiv. and Acts xx., where was but mention of breaking of bread only: whereof he gathered, that they received the sacrament but under one kind. That I denied, saying, those places either did not speak of the celebration of the Lord's supper, or else under the name of breaking bread was signified and meant the receiving of the sacrament, both of the body and blood of Christ, according to his institution.

"So, after much communication of that matter, Master Sherburn said, it was great pity that I, being a well-favoured young man, and one that might have good living and do good, would so foolishly cast myself away, sticking so hard to such foolish opinions. I answered as afore I had done to my Lord and to his council, that my life, mother, children, brethren, sisters, and friends, with other delights of life, were as dear and sweet unto me as unto any other man, and that I would be as loth to lose them as another would, if I might hold them with good conscience, and without the ignominy of Christ; and seeing I could not do that, my trust was, that God would strengthen me with his Holy Spirit to lose them all for his sake: for I take myself (said I) for a sheep appointed to be slain, patiently to suffer what cross soever it shall please my merciful Father to lay on me, And so, after I had desired them that if I were committed to prison my friends might be suffered to relieve me, they departed.

"Master More, after this, brought unto me a book of one Alphonsus, a Spanish friar, of all heresies wherewith the Church of Rome, which he called Christ's true church, had been troubled since Christ's time; willing me to read and take counsel of that book: and appointed me a place, where this author did write against them that say, the lay people ought to receive under both kinds.

"This author I perceived did vehemently write against Luther, Melancthon, Pellican, and other Germans of this our time, in all points defending the blasphemous abuses and enormities of the Romish church, condemning as detestable heresies whatsoever was written, taught, or believed contrary to the same; using for his strongest and surest arguments, the consent, agreement, and determination of the Romish church. So, within a few days, Master More came to me again, asking me how I liked the book, I said the author of the book did in all points, being a papist, allow the rites and abuses of the Romish church: and showed him further, that this author, without authority, and contrary both to the Scriptures and old doctors, did condemn for heresy the lay people receiving of this sacrament under both kinds, whereas this author witnesseth his own self, that Christ's church, nine hundred years after Christ, used the contrary.

"So in conclusion he rebuked me, saying I was unlearned, and erred from the catholic faith; stubborn, and stood altogether in mine own conceit. I answered, for my learning, I knowledge myself to know nothing but Jesus Christ, even him that was crucified, and that my faith was grounded upon God's holy word only, and such as, I doubted not, pleased God, and as I would stand in until the last day, God assisting me; and that I did not say or do any thing either of stubbornness, self-wilfulness, vain-glory, or any other worldly purpose, but with good conscience, and in the fear of God: and desired him to speak to my Lord and his council, that I might find some gentleness and mercy at their hands. He made me but short answer. Then I said, I commit my cause unto God, who hath numbered the hairs of my head, and appointed the days of my life; saying, I am sure God, which is a righteous judge, would make inquisition for my blood, according as he hath promised. Then he took his book from me, and departed.

"I continued still in ward until Low Sunday, and after dinner my keeper, Richard Scot, came to me into my chamber, and told me that two young men were come to carry me to Lancaster; and so delivered me unto them, a great company, both of my Lord's servants and others, accompanying and bringing me on the way, unto Richard Adderton's, and somewhat further; counselling and persuading like as is aforesaid. To whom I made plain answer, that in matters of faith I would give place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and said that they were sorry for me, saying, If I knew mine own opinion to be good, I did well: and so they departed, willing my bringers to entreat me honestly.

"My bringers by the way showed me they were willed and advised to bind me, and that they desired first to see me: and after they had looked on me sitting at dinner, they answered they would take charge of me being loose, for they said I seemed to be an honest man.

"The first night we were all night at Broughton, and the second day we came to Lancaster betimes at afternoon, and so they kept me all night with them of their gentleness, and on the morrow delivered me to the jailer, who brought me into the highest prison, where I do remain."

After that, the said George came to Lancaster castle, and there being brought with other prisoners unto the sessions, was made to hold up his hands with the malefactors. The earl of Derby had this communication with him as here followeth:

"I said unto my Lord, I had not dwelled in the country these three or four years past, and came home but lately to visit my mother, children, and other my friends, and to have departed out of the country before Easter then next, and to have gone out of the realm. Wherefore I trusted, seeing nothing could be laid against me, wherein I had offended against the laws of this realm, his Lordship would not with captious questions examine me, to bring my body into danger of. death, to the great discomfort of my mother; but suffer me to avoid peaceably, seeing I might have fled out of the country, and yet of mine own will came to his Lordship.

"He said to his council, he had heard tell of me above at London; and intended to make search for me, and take me either in Lancashire or above at London; and asked me into what land I would have gone.

"I answered, I would have gone either into Almain, or else into Denmark. He said to his council—in Denmark they used such heresy as they have done in England; but as for Almain, he said, the emperor had destroyed them.

"So, after such-like words I said unto him, my trust was, that his Lordship, being of the honourable council of the late King Edward, consenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith toward God and religion, under great pain, would not so soon after consent to put poor men to shameful death, as he had threatened me, for embracing the same with so good a conscience.

"He answered, that he, with the Lord Windsor and Lord Dacres, with one more, whose name I have forgotten, did not consent to those acts; and that the nay of them four would be to be seen, as long as the parliament-house stood. Then my Lord did rehearse the evil luck of the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, because they favoured not the true religion; and again the good hap and prosperity of the queen's Highness, because she favoured the true religion: thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God, and the other to be wicked, and of the devil; and said, that the duke of Northumberland confessed so plainly."

# George Marsh to the reader.

"Forasmuch as not only when I was at Latham, but also since I departed thence, I hear that there be divers and sundry reports and opinions of the cause of mine imprisonment, as well at Latham as at Lancaster, (as by credible persons I am informed,) some saying it was only because I would not do open penance; and some, because I could not agree with my Lord and his council concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and the manner of Christ's presence there; some, because I would not grant it sufficient, and according to Christ's institution, the lay people to receive the said sacrament under the one kind only: I thought it good, dearly beloved in Christ, and my bounden duty, to certify you by mine own hand-writing, of mine examination and handling at Latham, and to tell you the truth as near as I could, to quiet your mind in this behalf; and therefore I have here written with mine own hand the certainty of those things, as near as I could, here above expressed, not omitting any thing at all concerning religion, whereof they did examine me: howbeit I perceive in some things I keep not the same order in writing that thing which was asked by them, and answered by me afore and after, as it was in very deed in all points, saving this: telling the truth as near as I can, desiring you to accept in good worth this my good will, and to pray for me and all them that be in bonds, that God will assist us with his Holy Spirit; and that we may with boldness confess his holy name; and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, that we may stand full and perfect in all the will of God; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen."

And thus you have heard all the whole trouble which George Marsh sustained both at Latham, and also at Lancaster, testified and written with his own hand, whereto he addeth moreover, and saith:

"While I was (saith he) in ward at Latham, divers at sundry times came unto me. Some said unto me that all my fellows had recanted, and were gone home, whereas indeed that was not so; for I saw divers of them divers times after. Others said, that it was reported amongst my Lord's household, that I had consented and agreed in all things with my Lord and his council.

"Furthermore, while I was at Lancaster, at this session, many came to me to talk with me: some of good will towards me, but without knowledge gave me such-like counsel as Peter gave Christ as he went up to Jerusalem, when he took him aside and began to rebuke him, saying, Master, favour thyself; this thing shall not be unto thee. But I answered with Christ's sharp answer unto Peter again; who turned about and said unto Peter, Come after me, Satan; and, perceiving that they were a hinderance unto me, and that they savoured not the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I made them plain answer; that I neither could, nor would, follow their counsel, but that by God's grace I would both live and die with a pure conscience, and according as hitherto I had believed and professed. For we ought in no wise to flatter and bear with them, though they love us never so well, which go about to pluck us away from the obedience that we owe unto God and to his word; but after Christ's example sharply to rebuke them for their counsel.

"Some others, yea, even strangers also, came to me far unlike to these, who, after sober communication had, consented with me in all things, lamenting much my troublous estate, giving me comfortable words and some money too; and resorted to me oftentimes, for the space of two, three, or four days, There came also many priests to me, by two, three, four, five, or six at once, whose mouths it was a thing easy enough to stop; for the priests (which is much to be lamented) be not always the greatest clerks, and best learned in the law of God, At their departing they either consented with me, or else had nothing to say against me, saying, theycould find no fault with my words. My communication with them was about the sacrament. There came also into the prison to me Master Westby, Master Ashton of Hill, Master Ashton of Chatterton, and many more, both gentlemen and others, to my great comfort; unto whom I had good occasion to utter a great part of my conscience; for God so strengthened me with his spirit of boldness, according to my humble request and prayer before, (everlasting thanks be given him therefor!) that I was nothing afraid to speak to any that came to me, no, not even to judges themselves, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the bar, amongst the thieves, with irons on my feet, and put up my hand as others did; but yet with boldness I spake unto them, so long as they would suffer me.

"They also sent for me the fourth time into their chamber, where, amongst other things, they laid it straitly to my charge, that I had reported, that I knew a whole mess of good gentlemen in Lancashire of mine opinion; and straitly charged me, upon pain of allegiance to the queen's Grace, to show who they were, But I denied that I had spoken any such thing (as it was, indeed, a false forged lie of some wicked wretches), After that, they threatened and rebuked me, for my preaching to the people out of the prison, as they called it, and for my praying and reading so loud that the people in the streets might hear. The truth is, I and my prison-fellow Warbarton, every day kneeling on our knees, did read morning and evening prayer, with the English Litany every day twice, both before noon and after, with other prayers more, and also read every day certain chapters of the Bible, commonly towards night: and we read all these things with so high and loud a voice, that the people without in the streets might hear us, and would oftentimes, namely, in the evenings, come and sit down in our sights under the windows, and hear us read; wherewith others being offended, complained."

All this while George Marsh was not yet brought before the bishop, whose name was Dr. Cotes, placed the same time in the bishopric of Chester, of whose coming then into Lancaster, the said George Marsh reporteth himself as followeth:

"The bishop, being at Lancaster, there set up and confirmed all blasphemous idolatry; as holywater-casting, procession, gadding, mattins-mumbling, children-confirming, mass-hearing, idols-upsetting, with such heathenish rites forbidden by God; but no gospel-preaching, which Christ, God's Son, so earnestly commanded. He was informed of me, and willed to send for me and examine me; which thing he refused to do, saying he would have nothing to do with heretics so hastily: so hasty in judgment, and calling men heretics, are our bishops in their lordly dignities, afore they hear or see what is to he amended or condemned; contrary to the express commandment of God's word, which saith, Condemn no man, before thou hast tried out the truth of the matter; and when thou hast made inquisition, then reform righteously, Give no sentence before thou hast heard the cause, but first let men tell out their tale: and he that giveth sentence in a matter before he hear it, is a fool, and worthy to he confounded.

"And instead of his liberality towards me, poor prisoner, he sent for the jailer, and rebuked him because he suffered one to fare so well; willing to have me more strictly kept and dieted; but if his Lordship were tabled but one week with me, I do think he would judge our fare but slender enough.

"Also he, and his chaplains and chancellor, did find fault with the schoolmaster and others, for speaking to me, as to a most heinous heretic, and also with the jailer for suffering them. Such is the mercy that those religious fathers show to the friendless and comfortless in their adversities. If we may know the tree by the fruits, (as Christ saith,) no man can judge such for any other, but for very enemies to Christ and his true religion, God lay it never to their charges; but forgive them, and turn their hard hearts, if it be his will!

"But it is no new thing for the bishops to persecute the truth, and the prophets of the Lord for their constancy in preaching of the true faith; for so did their Pharisaical forefathers, if ye mark well the histories of the Holy Bible, Pashur was the head bishop of the temple, the ringleader of false prophets, the chief heretic-taker; that is as much as to say, the out-thruster of true godliness. After that the dignity of priesthood was given unto him, he abused it; for he taught not, neither reproved by the word, but feared the godly with cruelty. He not only struck, but also imprisoned, the holy prophet Jeremy; though he withstood him not, but presently looked for the help of God, stedfastly preaching the truth of God.

"What mischief the ungracious Bishop Jason wrought among the Jews, destroying all godliness, and setting up abominable idolatrous laws, ye may read in 2 Mac, iv, How the execrable and blind bishops, Annas and Caiaphas, which never spake the truth of God themselves, unless it were against their wills, unwittingly, to their utter destruction—how (I say) they pressed the truth in Christ and his apostles, is so well known that I need not to rehearse it."

And thus much hitherto concerning the prisonment of George Marsh, and his examinations before the earl of Derby and his deputies above named. Now, proceeding further in the troublesome persecution of this blessed man, let us likewise consider the latter part of his troubles and examinations which followed under the bishop of the same diocese, which was Dr. Cotes; the effect whereof, being drawn out of his own writing, here briefly is to be seen, as followeth.

Ye heard before, how George Marsh, being first imprisoned at Latham, and afterward translated unto Lancaster, was troubled by the earl. Again, within few days after, the said Marsh was removed from Lancaster; and coming to Chester, was sent for by Dr. Cotes, then bishop, to appear before him in his hall, nobody being present but they twain; and then he asked him certain questions concerning the sacrament: who made such answers as the bishop seemed therewith to be content, saving that he utterly denied transubstantiation, and allowed not the abuse of the mass, nor that the lay people should receive under one kind only, contrary to Christ's institution; in which points the bishop went about to persuade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vain, Much other talk he had with him, to move him to submit himself to the universal Church of Rome; and when he saw he could not prevail, he sent him to prison again. And after, being there, came to him divers times one Massie, a fatherly old man, one Wrench, the schoolmaster, one Hensham, the bishop's chaplain, and the archdeacon, with many more; who, with all probability of words and philosophy, or worldly wisdom and deceitful vanity, after the tradition of men, and the beggarly ordinances and laws of the world, but not after Christ, (as it were all singing one song,) went about to persuade him to submit himself to the Church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope to be head thereof, and to interpret the Scriptures none otherwise than that church did; with many such-like arguments and persuasions of fleshly wisdom.

To whom the said George Marsh answered, that he did acknowledge and believe (though much evil be withal annexed) one holy catholic and apostolic church, without which there is no salvation, and that this church is but one; because it ever hath, doth, and shall, confess and believe one only God, and him only worship; and one only Messiah, and in him only trust for salvation: which church also is ruled and led by one Spirit, one word, and one faith; and that this church is universal and catholic, because it ever hath been since the world's beginning, is, and shall endure to the world's end, and comprehending within it all nations, kindreds, languages, degrees, states, and conditions of men; and that this church is builded only upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone; and not upon the Romish laws and decrees, the bishop of Rome being the supreme head.

And whereas they said, the church did stand in ordinary succession of bishops, being ruled by general councils, holy fathers, and the laws of holy church, and so had continued by the space of fifteen hundred years and more; he made answer, that the holy church, which is the body of Christ, and therefore most worthy to be called holy, was before any succession of bishops, general councils, or Romish decrees; neither yet was bound to any time or place, ordinary succession, general councils, or traditions of fathers, neither had any supremacy over empires and kingdoms: but that it was a little poor silly flock, dispersed and scattered abroad, as sheep without a shepherd in the midst of wolves, or as a flock of orphans and fatherless children; and that this church was led and ruled by the only laws, counsels, and word of Christ, he being the supreme Head of this church, and assisting, succouring, and defending her from all assaults, errors, troubles, and persecutions, wherewith she is ever compassed about.

He showed and proved unto them also, by the flood of Noah, the destruction of Sodom, the Israelites departing out of Egypt; by the parables of the sower, of the king's son's marriage, of the great supper, and by other plain sentences of Scripture, that this church was of none estimation, and little in comparison of the church of hypocrites and wicked worldlings.

He was thrust at with all violence of craft and subtlety, but yet the Lord upheld him and delivered him. Everlasting thanks be to that merciful and faithful Lord, which suffereth us not to be tempted above our might, but in the midst of our troubles strengtheneth us with his most Holy Spirit of comfort and patience, giveth us a mouth and wisdom how and what to speak, whereagainst all his adversaries were not able to resist.



**Chester Cathedral** 

Another appearance of George Marsh before Dr, Cotes, bishop of Chester.

Now, after that the said bishop had taken his pleasure in punishing this his prisoner, and often reviling him, giving taunts and odious names of heretic, &c., he caused him to be brought forth into a chapel, in the cathedral church of Chester, called Our Lady Chapel, before him the said bishop, at two o'clock in the afternoon, who was there placed in a chair for that purpose, and

Fulk Dutton, mayor of the said city, Dr. Wall, and other priests assisting him, placed not far from the said bishop, but somewhat lower; George Wensloe, chancellor, and one John Chetham, registrar, sat directly over against the said bishop.

Then they caused the said George Marsh to take an oath upon a book, to answer truly unto such articles as should be objected against him. Upon which oath taken, the chancellor laid unto his charge, that he had preached and openly published most heretically and blasphemously within the parish of Dean, Eccles, Bolton, Bury, and many other parishes within the bishop's diocese, in the months of January, February, or some other time of the year last preceding, directly against the pope's authority and catholic Church of Rome, the blessed mass, the sacrament of the altar, and many other articles. Unto all which in sum he answered, that he neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or spake against any of the said articles; but simply and truly, as occasion served, and (as it were thereunto forced in conscience) maintained the truth touching the same articles, "as," he said, "all you now present did acknowledge the same in the time of the late King Edward the Sixth."

Then they examined him severally of every article, and bade him answer directly, yea or nay, without circumstance; for they were come to examine, and not to dispute at that present.

Then he answered them unto every article very modestly, according to the doctrine by public authority received and taught in this realm at the death of the said King Edward: whose answers were every one noted and written by the registrar, to the uttermost that could make against him, which cannot at this present be gotten. After this, the company for that time brake up, and he was returned to his prison again.

The last and final appearance of George Marsh before the same.

Within three weeks after this, or thereabouts, in the said chapel, and in like sort as before, the said bishop and others before named there being assembled, the said George Marsh was brought by his keeper and others with bills and divers weapons before them; where, first, the said chancellor, by way of an oration, declared unto the people present the said bishop's charge and burning charity, who, even like as a good shepherd doth see to his flock, that none of his sheep have the scab or other disease for infecting other clean sheep, but will save and cure the said scabbed sheep; so his Lordship had sent for the said George Marsh there present, as a scabbed sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in showing his charitable disposition toward the said Marsh, to reduce him from his naughty heresies; but all that he could do would not help: so that he was now determined, if the said Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give sentence definitive against him, Wherefore he bade the said George Marsh to be now well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life: and if he would not at that present forsake his heretical opinions, it would be (after the sentence given) too late, though he would never so gladly desire it.

Then the said chancellor first asked him, whether he were not one of the bishop's diocese? To the which he answered, that he knew not how large his diocese was, for his continuance was at Cambridge, But then they replied and asked, whether he had not lately been at Dean parish in Lancashire, and there abode? And he answered, "Yea." Then the chancellor

read all his former answers that he made in that place at his former examination: and at every one he asked him, whether be would stick to the same, or no? To the which he answered again, "Yea, yea."

"How say ye then to this?" quoth the chancellor,—"In your last examination, amongst many other damnable and schismatical heresies, you said, that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in King Edward's time, was the true church, and the doctrine, the doctrine of the true church: and that the Church of Rome is not the true and catholic church."

"I so said indeed," quoth Marsh, "and I believe it to be true." Here also others took occasion to ask him (for that he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were bishops of Rome, were not good men, and he answered. Yes, and divers others; but," said he, "they claimed no more authority in England than the bishop of Canterbury doth at Rome; and I strive not," quoth he, "with the place, neither speak I against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine; which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ."

"Thou art an arrogant fellow indeed then," said the bishop. "In what article is the doctrine of the Church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?" To whom George Marsh answered and said, "O my Lord, I pray you judge not so of me: I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my case hath no cause to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of the doctrine, among many other things the Church of Rome erreth in the sacrament. For whereas Christ, in the institution thereof, did as well deliver the cup as the bread, saying, Drink ye all of this; and Mark reporteth, that they did drink of it: in like manner St, Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians. And in the same sort also was it used in the primitive church by the space of many hundred years. Now the Church of Rome doth take away one part of the sacrament from the laity, Wherefore, if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point."

Then said the bishop, "There is no disputing with a heretic." And therefore when all his answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to the same; "being as they were," said he, "full of heresy, or else forsake them, and come unto the catholic church."

To whom he made this full answer, and said, that he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kind of heresy, although they most untruly so did slander him. And he desired all the people present to bear him witness, (if hereafter any would slander him, and say that he held any grievous heresy,) that in all articles of religion he held none other opinion than was by law most godly established and publicly taught in England at the death of King Edward the Sixth; and in the same pure religion and doctrine he would, by God's grace, stand, live, and die,—And here the chancellor spake to one Leach, which stood near unto Marsh, and bade him stand farther from him; for his presence did him no good.

This being done, the bishop took a writing out of his bosom and began to read the sentence of condemnation: but when the bishop had read almost half thereof, the chancellor called him, and said, "Good my Lord, stay, stay; for if ye proceed any farther, it will be too late to call it again" and so the bishop stayed. Then his popish priests, and many other of the ignorant

people, called upon Marsh, with many earnest words, to recant; and, amongst others, one Pulleyn, a shoe-maker, said to him, "For shame, man, remember thyself, and recant." They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him: so they kneeled down, and he desired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

The bishop then asked him again, whether he would not have the queen's mercy in time; and he answered, he did gladly desire the same, and did love her Grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, for losing his mercy everlasting, and so win everlasting death.

Then the bishop put his spectacles again upon his nose, and read forward his sentence about five or six lines, and there again the chancellor with a glavering and smiling countenance called to the bishop, and said, "Yet, good my Lord, once again stay; for if that word be spoken, all is past, no relenting will then serve." And the bishop, pulling off his spectacles, said, "I would stay; and if it would be!"

"How sayest thou," quoth he, "wilt thou recant?" Many of the priests and ignorant people bade him do so, and call to God for grace; and pulled him by the sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life. To whom he answered, "I would as fain to live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my Master Christ; and so again he should deny me, before his Father in heaven."

So the bishop read out his sentence unto the end, and straight after said unto him, "Now will I no more pray for thee, than I will for a dog." And Marsh answered, that notwithstanding he would pray for his Lordship: and after this the bishop delivered him unto the sheriffs of the city. Then his late keeper bade him, "Farewell, good George," with weeping tears, which caused the, officers to carry him to a prison at the North-gate, where he was very straitly kept until the time he went to his death, during which time he had small comfort or relief of any worldly creature.

For being in the dungeon or dark prison, none that would him good could speak with him, or at least durst enterprize so to do for fear of accusation: and some of the citizens which loved him in God, for the gospel's sake, (whereof there were but a few,) although they were never acquainted with him, would sometimes in the evening, at a hole upon the wall of the city, (that went into the said dark prison,) call to him, and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he did well; and thanked God most highly, that he would vouchsafe of his mercy to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most rejoice; beseeching him that he would give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear the same to his glory, and comfort of his church: with many other like godly sayings at sundry times, as one that most desired to be with Christ, Once or twice he had money cast him in at the same hole, about ten pence at one time, and two shillings s at another time; for which he gave God thanks, and used the same to his necessity.

When the time and day appointed came that he should suffer, the sheriffs of the city, whose names were Amry and Cooper, with their officers and a great number of poor simple barbers with rusty bills and pole-axes, went to the North-gate, and there took out the said George Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. And as he came upon the way towards the place of execution, some folks proffered him money, and looked

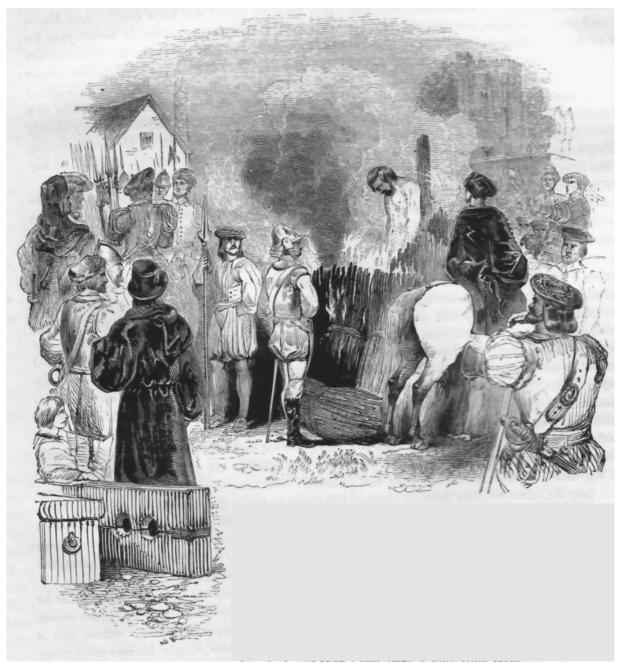
that he should have gone with a little purse in his hand, (as the manner of felons was accustomed in that city in times past, at their going to execution,) to the end to gather money to give unto a priest to say trentals or masses for them after their death, whereby they might, as they thought, be saved: but Marsh said, he would not as then be troubled with meddling with money; but willed some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and to give it unto the prisoners or poor people. So he went all the way unto his death with his book in his hand, looking upon the same; and many of the people said, "This man goeth not unto his death as a thief, or as one that deserveth to die."

Now when he came to the place of execution without the city, near unto Spittle-Boughton, one Vawdrey, being then deputy chamberlain of Chester, showed Marsh a writing under a great seal, saying, that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Whereat Marsh answered, that he would gladly accept the same (and said further that he loved the queen); but, forasmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, he could not receive it upon that condition. After that, he began to speak to the people, showing the cause of his death, and would have exhorted them to stick unto Christ. Whereupon one of the sheriffs said, "George Marsh, we must have no sermoning now." To whom he said, "Master, I cry you mercy:" and so kneeling down made his prayers, and then put off his clothes unto his shirt, and then was he chained to the post, having a number of faggots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar in the same, over his head; and by reason the fire was unskilfully made, and that the wind did drive the same to and fro, he suffered great extremity in his death, which notwithstanding he abode very patiently.

Wherein this in him is to be noted, that when he had been a long time tormented in the fire without moving, having his flesh so broiled and puffed up, that they which stood before him underneath could see the chain wherewith he was fastened, and therefore supposed no less but he had been dead; notwithstanding suddenly he spread abroad his arms, saying, "Father of heaven, have mercy upon me!" and so yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord.

Upon this many of the people said, that he was a martyr, and died marvellous patiently and godly: which thing caused the bishop shortly after to make a sermon in the cathedral church, and therein affirmed, that the said Marsh was a heretic, burnt like a heretic, and was a firebrand in hell.

In recompence of this his good and charitable sermon, within short time after, the just judgment of God appeared upon the said bishop, recompensing him in such wise, that not long after he turned up his heels and died, Upon what cause his death was gendered, I have not here precisely to pronounce, because the rumour and voice of the people is not always to be followed, Notwithstanding, such a report went in all men's mouths, that he died of a disgraceful disease. Whereupon, whether he died so or no, I am not certain, neither dare lean too much upon public speech: albeit this is certain, that when he was afterward searched, being dead, by some of his secret friends and certain aldermen for stopping the rumour of the people, this maidenly priest and bishop was found not to be free from certain appearance which declared but small virginity in him, and that the rumour was not raised up altogether upon nought amongst the people, But of this I will stay, and proceed no further; not because more cannot be said, but because I will not be so uncharitable in defacing these men, as they are cruel in condemning God's servants to death.



George Marsh burnt at the stake.

This good man, George Marsh, wrote divers and sundry letters out of prison, besides his examinations, as before ye have heard: touching the which his examinations, this letter first he sendeth to his friends, the copy whereof here followeth.

"Here have you, dearly beloved friends in Christ, the chief and principal articles of Christian doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have both believed, professed, and taught;

and as yet do believe, profess, and teach; and am surely purposed, by God's grace, to continue in the same until the last day. I do want both time and opportunity to write out at large the probations, causes, parts, effects, and contraries or errors of these articles, which whoso desireth to know, let them read over the common-places of the godly learned men, Philip Melancthon and Erasmus Sarcerus, whose judgment in these matters of religion I do chiefly follow and lean unto. The Lord give us understanding in all things, and deliver us from this present evil world, according to his will and pleasure, and bring us again out of this hell of affliction, into which it hath pleased the merciful Lord to throw us down; and deliver us out of the mouth of the lion, and from all evil doing, and keep us unto his everlasting and heavenly kingdom. Amen.

"Though Satan be suffered as wheat to sift us for a time, yet faileth not our faith through Christ's aid, but that we are at all times able and ready to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, and always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us; and that with meekness and reverence, having a good conscience; that whereas they backbite us as evil doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused our good conversation in Christ, I thought myself now of late years, for the cares of this life, well settled with my loving and faithful wife and children, and also well quieted in the peaceable possession of that pleasant Euphrates, I do confess it: but the Lord, who worketh all things for the best to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my dear and beloved wife from me; whose death was a painful cross to my flesh.

"Also I thought myself now of late well placed under my most loving and most gentle Master Laurence Saunders, in the cure of Langton, But the Lord of his great mercy would not suffer me long there to continue (although for the small time I was in his vineyard, I was not all an idle workman): but he hath provided me, I perceive it, to taste of a far other cup; for by violence hath he yet once again driven me out of that glorious Babylon, that I should not taste too much of her wanton pleasures, but with his most dearly beloved disciples to have my inward rejoicing in the cross of his Son Jesus Christ; the glory of whose church, I see it well, standeth not in the harmonious sound of bells and organs, nor yet in the glistering of mitres and copes, neither in the shining of gilt images and lights, (as the blind papists do judge it,) but in continual labours and daily afflictions for his name's sake.

"God, at this present here in England, hath his fan in his hand; and after his great harvest, where-into these years past he hath sent his labourers, is now sifting the corn from the chaff, and purging his floor, and ready to gather the wheat into his garner, and burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

"Take heed and beware of the leaven of the scribes and of the Sadducees: I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists, which with their glosses deprave the Scriptures; for, as the apostle St, Peter doth teach us, there shall be false teachers amongst us, which privily shall bring in damnable sects: and saith, that many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, and that through covetousness they shall with feigned words make merchandise of us. And Christ earnestly warneth us to beware of false prophets, which come to us in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits you shall know them. The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place are all we Christians taught that we should try the preachers, and others that come under colour to set forth true religion unto us,

according to the saying of St. Paul. Try all things, and choose that which is good. Also the evangelist St. John saith, Believe not every spirit; but prove the spirits, whether they be of God or not: for many false prophets, saith he, are gone out into the world. Therefore if thou wilt know the true prophets from the false, try their doctrine by the true touchstone, which is the word of God: and as the godly Bereans did, search ye the Scriptures, whether those things which be preached unto you, be even so or not; for else, by the outward conversation of them, ye may easily be deceived."

A letter exhortatory of George Marsh, to the faithful professors of Langton.

"Grace be unto you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

"I thought it my duty to write unto you, my beloved in the Lord at Langton, to stir up your minds, and to call to your remembrance the words which have been told you before, and to exhort you, (as that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, Barnabas, did the Antiochians,) that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord; and that ye stand fast, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof, God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you by your late pastor Master Saunders, and other faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, which now, when persecution ariseth because of the word, do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, being ashamed of the gospel whereof they have been preachers; but are willing and ready, for your sakes, which are Christ's mystical body, to forsake not only the chief and principal delights of this life (I do mean, their native countries, friends, livings, &c.); but also to fulfil their ministry to the utmost, that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-sheddings, if need shall require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, whereof they have been ministers; and, as St, Paul saith, they are ready not only to be cast into prison, but also to be killed for the name of the Lord Jesus.

"Whether of these—being that good salt of the earth, that is, true ministers of God's word, by whose doctrine, being received through faith, men are made savoury unto God, and which themselves lose not their saltness, now when they be proved with the boisterous storms of adversity and persecution;—or others, being that unsavoury salt which hath lost his saltness; that is to wit, those ungodly ministers, which do fall from the word of God into the dreams and traditions of antichrist: whether of these, I say, be more to be credited and believed, let all men judge.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved, receive the word of God with meekness, that is grafted in you, which is able to save your souls: and see that ye be not forgetful hearers, deceiving yourselves with sophistry, but doers of the word; whom Christ doth liken to a wise man, which buildeth his house on a rock; that when the great rain descended, and the floods came and beat upon the house, it fell not, because it was grounded upon a rock: that is to wit, that when Satan, with all his legion of devils, with all their subtle suggestions, and the world with all the mighty princes thereof, with their crafty counsels, do furiously rage against us, we faint not, but abide constant in the truth; being grounded upon a most sure rock, which is Christ, and the doctrine of the gospel, against which the gates of hell (that is, the power of Satan) cannot prevail.

"And be ye followers of Christ and his apostles, and receive the word in much affliction, as the godly Thessalonians did: for the true followers of Christ and the apostles, be they which receive the word of God. They only receive the word of God, which both believe it, and also frame their lives after it, and be ready to suffer all manner of adversity for the name of the Lord: as Christ and all the apostles did, and as all that will live godly in Christ Jesu must do: for there is none other way into the kingdom of heaven, but through much tribulation. And if we suffer any thing for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and for righteousness' sake, we have the prophets, Christ, the apostles, and martyrs, for an ensample to comfort us: for they did all enter into the kingdom of heaven at the strait gate and narrow way that leadeth unto life, which few do find. And unless we will be content to deny our own selves, and take up the cross of Christ and follow him, we cannot be his disciples; for if we deny to suffer with Christ and his saints, it is an evident argument, that we shall never reign with him.

And again, if we can find in our hearts patiently to suffer persecutions and tribulations, it is a sure token of the righteous judgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer. It is verily, saith the apostle, a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble us, and rest to us that be troubled: for after this life, the godly, being delivered from their tribulations and pains, shall have a most quiet and joyful rest; whereas the wicked and ungodly, contrariwise, shall be tormented for evermore with intolerable and unspeakable pains, as Christ, by the parable of the rich glutton and wretched Lazarus, doth plainly declare and teach. These ought we to have before our eyes always; that in the time of adversity and persecution (whereof all that will be the children of God shall be partakers, and wherewith it hath pleased God to put some of us in use already) we may stand stedfast in the Lord, and endure even unto the end, that we may be saved, For unless we, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, will endeavour ourselves to please him who hath chosen us to be soldiers, and fight the good fight of faith even unto the end, we shall not obtain that crown of righteousness, which the Lord, that is a righteous judge, shall give to all them that love his coming.

"Let us therefore receive with meekness the word that is graffed in us, which is able to save our souls, and ground ourselves on the sure rock Christ. For, as the apostle saith, other foundation can no man lay, besides that which is laid already, which is Jesus Christ. If any man build on this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, timber, hay, stubble, every man's work shall appear, for the day shall declare it, and it shall be showed in the fire. And the fire shall try every man's work what it is, If any man's work that he hath builded upon, abide, he shall receive a reward: if any man's work burn, he shall suffer loss; but he shall be safe himself, nevertheless yet as it were through fire.

"By fire here doth the apostle understand persecution and trouble; for they which do truly preach and profess the word of God, which is called the word of the cross, shall be railed upon and abhorred, hated, thrust out of company, persecuted and tried in the furnace of adversity, as gold and silver are tried in the fire. By gold, silver, and precious stones, he understandeth them that in the midst of persecution abide stedfast in the word. By timber, hay, and stubble, are meant such, as in time of persecution do fall away from the truth. And when Christ doth purge his floor with the wind of adversity, these scatter away from the face of the earth like light chaff, which shall be burned with unquenchable fire, If they then which do believe, do in time of persecution

stand stedfastly in the truth, the builder (I do mean the preacher of the word) shall receive a reward, and the work shall be preserved and saved: but if so be that they go back and swerve when persecution ariseth, the builder shall suffer loss, that is to say, shall lose his labour and cost; but yet he shall be saved, if he, being tried in the fire of persecution, do abide fast in the faith.

"Wherefore, my beloved, give diligent heed, that ye as living stones be builded upon that sure rock, and be made a spiritual house and a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable unto God by Jesus Christ. For we are the true temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, if so be that we continue in the doctrine of the gospel, We are also a holy and royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices and oblations; for the sacrifices of the New Testament are spiritual, and of three manners. The first is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; which St. Paul doth call the fruits of those lips which confess the name of God. The second is mercy towards our neighbours, as the prophet Hosea saith, I will have mercy and not sacrifice: read also Matthew xiv. The third is, when we make our body a quick sacrifice, holy, and acceptable unto God; that is, when we mortify and kill our fleshly concupiscences and carnal lusts, and so bring our flesh, through the help of the Spirit, under the obedience of God's holy law. This is a sacrifice to God most acceptable, which the apostle calleth Our reasonable serving of God. And let us be sure, that unless we do now at this present take better heed to ourselves, and use thankfully the grace of God offered to us by the gospel preached these years past, whereby we are induced and brought to the knowledge of the truth; unless. I say, we keep Christ and his holy word dwelling by faith in the house and temple of our hearts, the same thing that Christ threateneth unto the Jews, shall happen unto us; that is to wit, the unclean spirit of ignorance, superstition, idolatry, and infidelity or unbelief, the mother and head of all vices, which, by the grace of God, was cast out of us, bringing with him seven other spirits worse than himself, shall, to our utter destruction, return again unto us; and so shall we be in worse case than ever we were before. For if we, after we have escaped from the filthiness of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, be yet tangled therein again, and overcome. then is the latter end worse than the beginning; and it had been better for us not to have known the way of righteousness, than after we have known it, to turn from the holy commandment given to us, For it is then happened unto us according to the true proverb, The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that was washed, to wallowing in the mire. And thus to continue and persevere in infidelity, and to kick against the manifest and known truth, and so to die without repentance, and with a despair of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, is to sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come. For it is not possible, saith St, Paul, that they which were once lighted, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and have tasted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come; if they fall away, should be renewed again by repentance; forasmuch as they have, as concerning themselves, crucified the Son of God again, making a mocking of him. St. Paul's meaning in this place is, that they that believe truly and unfeignedly God's word, do continue and abide stedfast in the known truth.

"If any therefore fall away from Christ and his word, it is a plain token that they were but dissembling hypocrites, for all their fair faces outwardly, and never believed truly; as Judas, Simon Magus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetus, and others were, which all fell away from the known verity, and made a mock of Christ: which St. Paul doth call here, to crucify Christ anew, because

that they, turning to their old vomit again, did most blasphemously tread the benefits of Christ's death and passion under their feet. They that are such, can in no wise be renewed by repentance, for their repentance is fleshly, as the repentance of Cain, Saul, and Judas was; which, being without godly comfort, breedeth desperation unto death. These are not of the number of the elect: and, as St. John doth say, They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have remained with us unto the end. Also the apostle saith in another place, If we sin willingly, after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a fearful looking for judgment and violent fire, which shall devour the adversaries.

"They sin willingly, which of a set malice and purpose do withhold the truth in unrighteousness and lying, kicking against the manifest and open known truth, which although they do perfectly know that in all the world there is none other sacrifice for sin, but only that omni-sufficient sacrifice of Christ's death; yet, notwithstanding, they will not commit themselves wholly unto it, but rather despise it, allowing other sacrifices for sin, invented by the imagination of man, (as we see by daily experience,) unto whom, if they abide still in their wickedness and sin, remaineth a most horrible and dreadful judgment. This is that sin unto death, for which St, John would not that a man should pray.

"Wherefore, my beloved in Christ, let us, on whom the ends of the world are come, take diligent heed unto ourselves, that now, in these last and perilous times, in the which the devil is come down, and hath great wrath because he knoweth his time is but short, and whereof the prophets, Christ, and the apostles have so much spoken, and given us so earnest forewarning, we withhold not the truth in unrighteousness, believing, doing, or speaking any thing against our knowledge and conscience, or without faith. For if we so do, for whatsoever cause it be, it is a wilful and obstinate infidelity, and a sin unto death: and as our Saviour Christ saith, If ye believe not, ye shall die in your own sins. For unless we hold fast the word of life, both believing it, and also bringing forth fruit worthy of repentance, we shall, with the unprofitable fig tree, which did but cumber the ground, be cut down, and our talent taken from us, and given unto another that shall put it to a better use: and we, through our own unthankfulness put from the mercy of God, shall never be able to pay our debts: that is to say, we shall altogether be lost and and undone. For the earth that drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them that dress it, receiveth blessing of God; but that ground that beareth thorns and briers, is reproved and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned.

"Nevertheless, dear friends, we trust to see better of you, and things which accompany salvation, and that ye, being the good ground, watered with the moistness of God's word, plenteously preached among you, will with a good heart hear the word of God and keep it, bringing forth fruit with patience. And be none of those forgetful and hypocritish hearers, which, although they hear the word, yet the devil cometh, and catcheth away that which was sown in their heart; either having no root in themselves, endure but a season, and as soon as tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by they are offended: or, with the cares of this world and deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and so are unfruitful. Read the parable of the sower, and among other things, note and mark, that the most part of the hearers of God's word are but hypocrites, and hear the word without any fruit or profit, yea, only to their greater condemnation; for only the fourth part of the seed doth bring forth fruit. Therefore let not us, that

be ministers, or professors, and followers of God's word, be discouraged, though that very few do give credit, and follow the doctrine of the gospel, and be saved.

"Whosoever therefore hath ears to hear, let him hear: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath: that is to say, they that have a desire of righteousness, and of the truth, shall be more and more illuminated of God: on the contrary part, they that do not covet after righteousness and truth, are more hardened and blinded, though they seem unto themselves most wise. For God doth here follow an example of a loving father, which when he seeth that fatherly love and correction doth not help towards his children, useth another way. He ceaseth to be beneficial unto them, and to minister unto them fatherly correction: he giveth them over unto themselves, suffering them to live as they list themselves.

"But we trust to see better of you, my dearly beloved, that ye, like very Gadarenites, for fear to lose your worldly substance or other delights of this life, will not banish away Christ and his gospel from among you; but that ye, with all diligence of mind, will receive the word of God, taught you by such ministers as now, when persecution ariseth because of the word, are not ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, but are content to suffer adversity with the gospel, and therein to suffer trouble as evil doers, even unto bonds. And if ye refuse thus to do, your own blood will be upon your own heads. And as ye have had plenteous preaching of the gospel, more than others have had,—so ye shall be sure, if ye repent not and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, to be sorer plagued, and to receive greater vengeance at God's hand, than others; and the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and be given to another nation, which will bring forth the fruits thereof.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved in Christ, take good heed to yourselves, and ponder well in your minds, how fearful and horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God. And see that ye receive not the word of God in vain, but continually labour in faith, and declare your faith by your good works, which are infallible witnesses of the true justifying faith, which is never idle, but worketh by charity. And see that ye continually give yourselves unto all manner of good works; amongst the which the chiefest are, to be obedient to the magistrates, (since they are the ordinance of God, whether they be good or evil,) unless they command idolatry and ungodliness; that is to say, things contrary unto true religion: for, then ought we to say with Peter, We ought more to obey God than man. But in any wise we must beware of tumult, insurrection, rebellion, or resistance.

"The weapon of a Christian in this matter, ought to be the sword of the Spirit, which is God's word and prayer, coupled with humility and due submission, and with readiness of heart, rather to die than to do any ungodliness, Christ also doth teach us, that all power is of God, yea, even the power of the wicked, which God causeth oftentimes to reign for our sins and disobedience towards him and his word. Whosoever then doth resist any power, doth resist the ordinance of God, and so purchase to himself utter destruction and undoing.

"We must also, by all means, be promoters of unity, peace, and concord. We must honour and reverence princes, and all that be in authority; and pray for them, and be diligent to set forth their profit and commodity. Secondly, We must obey our parents, or them that be in their rooms;

and be careful for our households, that they be provided for and fed, not only with bodily food, but much rather with spiritual food, which is the word of God. Thirdly, We must serve our neighbours by all means we can, remembering well the saying of Christ, Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye likewise unto them: for this is the law and the prophets, Fourthly, We must diligently exercise the necessary work of prayer for all estates; knowing that God therefore hath so much commanded it, and hath made so great promises unto it, and doth so well accept it. After these works, we must learn to know the cross, and what affection and mind we must bear towards our adversaries and enemies, whatsoever they be, to suffer all adversities and evils patiently, to pray for them that hurt, persecute, and trouble us: and by thus using ourselves, we shall obtain a hope and certainty of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God.

"And thus I commend you, brethren, unto God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build further, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified; beseeching you to help Master Saunders and me your late pastors, and all them that be in bonds for the gospel's sake, with your prayers to God for us, that we may be delivered from all them that believe not, and from unreasonable and froward men; and that this our imprisonment and affliction may be to the glory and profit of our Christian brethren in the world; and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, whether it be by death or by life, Amen.

"Salute from me all the faithful brethren: and because I write not several letters to them, let them either read or hear these my letters. The grace of our Lord be with you all, Amen

"The twenty-eighth of June; by the unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ, and now also his prisoner.

GEORGE MARSH.

Save yourselves from this untoward generation. Pray, pray, pray: never more need."

Another letter of the said George Marsh, to certain of his dearly beloved friends at Manchester in Lancashire.

"Grace be with you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

"After salutations in Christ to you, with thanks for your friendly remembrances of me, desiring and wishing unto you, not only in my letters, but also in my daily prayers, such consolation in spirit, and taste of heavenly treasures, that ye may thereby continually work in faith, labour in love, persevere in hope, and be patient in all your tribulations and persecutions, even unto the end and glorious coming of Christ: these shall be earnestly to exhort and beseech you in Christ, as ye have received the Lord Jesus, even so to walk, rooted in him, and not to be afraid of any terror of your adversaries, be they never so many and mighty, and you on the other side never so few and weak: for the battle is the Lord's. And as, in times past, God was with Abraham, Moses, Isaac, David, the Maccabees, and others, and fought for them, and delivered all their enemies into their hands, even so hath he promised to be with us also unto the world's end, and so to assist, strengthen, and help us, that no man shall be able to withstand us. For as I was with Moses, so will I be with thee, saith God, and will never leave thee, nor forsake thee. Be

strong and bold; neither fear nor dread: for the Lord thy God is with thee, whithersoever thou goest. Now if God be on our side, who can be against us?

"In this our spiritual warfare is no man overcome, unless he traitorously leave and forsake his Captain, either cowardly cast away his weapons, or willingly yield himself to his enemies, either fearfully turn his back and fly. Be strong therefore in the Lord, dear brethren, and in the power of his might, and put on all the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand stedfast against the crafty assaults of the devil.

"Now what weapons ye must fight withal, learn of St. Paul; a champion both much exercised, and also most valiant and invincible. For we must think none other, but that the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, as the examples of all godly men throughout all ages do declare. The valiant warrior St. Paul, being delivered from the hands of the ungodly, and that so many times, and also from so many extreme perils and dangers of death, as he his own self doth witness, is fain to commit himself in the end to the rough waters of the sea, where he was in great peril and jeopardy of his own life: yet was God always (to the great comfort of all that hear of it) most ready to comfort and succour him, and gloriously delivered him out of all his troubles, so that no man that invaded him could do him any harm; and in the end he was compelled to say, I have finished my course; the time of my departing is at hand; I long to be loosed, and to be with Christ, which is best of all, most heartily desiring death.

"These things he written for our learning and comfort, and be to us a sure obligation, that if we submit ourselves to God and his holy word, no man shall be able to hurt us; and that he will deliver us from all troubles, yea, from death also, until such time as we covet and desire to die. Let us therefore run with patience unto the battle that is set before us, and look unto Jesus, the Captain and finisher of our faith; and after his example, for the reward's sake that is set out unto us. patiently bear the cross and despise the shame. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesu, shall suffer persecution.

"Christ was no sooner baptized, and declared to the world to be the Son of God, but Satan was, by and by, ready to tempt him; which thing we must look for also: yea, the more we shall increase in faith and virtuous living, the more strongly will Satan assault us: whom we must learn, after the example of Christ, to fight against, and overcome with the holy and sacred Scriptures, the word of God, (which is our heavenly armour: and sword of the Spirit. And let the fasting of Christ, while he was tempted in the wilderness, be unto an example of sober living; not for the space of forty days, (as the papists do fondly fancy of their own brains,) but as long as we are in the wilderness of this wretched life, assaulted of Satan, who, like a roaring lion, walketh about, and ceaseth not, seeking our utter destruction.

"Neither can the servants of God at any time come and stand before God; that is, lead a godly life, and walk innocently before God, but Satan cometh also among them; that is, he daily accuseth, findeth fault, vexeth, persecuteth, and troubleth the godly: for it is the nature and property of the devil always to hurt and do mischief, unless he be forbidden of God: for unless God doth permit him, he can do nothing at all, not so much as enter into a filthy hog: but we are more of price than many hogs before God, if we cleave unto his Son by faith.

"Let us therefore, knowing Satan's deceits and rancour, walk the more warily, and take unto us the shield of faith, wherewith we may be able to quench and overcome all the fiery and deadly darts of the wicked, Let us take to us the helmet of salvation, and sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and learn to use the same according to the example of our grand Captain, Christ. Let us fast and pray continually. For this frantic kind of devils goeth not out otherwise, as Christ doth teach us, but by faithful prayer and fasting, which is true abstinence and soberness of living, if we use the same according to the doctrine of the gospel and word of God. Fasting is acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocrisy; that is to say, if we use it to this intent, that thereby this mortal body and disobedient carcass may be tamed and brought under the subjection of the Spirit; and again, if we fast to this intent, that we may spare wherewith to help and succour our poor needy brethren.

"This fast do the true Christians use all the days of their life, although among the common sort of people remaineth yet still that superstitious kind of fasting, which God so earnestly reproveth by his prophet Isaiah. For as for true chastening of the body, and abstaining from vice, with showing mercy towards our needy neighbours, we will neither understand nor hear of it, but still think, with the Jews, that we do God a great pleasure when we fast; and that we then fast when we abstain from one thing, and fill our bellies with another. And verily in this point doth our superstition much exceed the superstition of the Jews; for we never read that they ever took it for a fast, to abstain from flesh, and to eat either fish or white-meat, as they call it.

"To fasting and prayer must be joined alms, and mercy towards the poor and needy: and that our alms may be acceptable unto God, three things are chiefly required, First, that we give with a cheerful and joyful heart; for the Lord loveth a cheerful giver, Secondly, that we give liberally, putting aside all niggardship, knowing that he that soweth little shall reap little, and he that soweth plenteously shall reap plenteously. Let every man therefore do according as he is able. The poorest caitiff in the world may give as great and acceptable an alms in the sight of God, as the richest man in the world can do. The poor widow that did offer but two mites, which make a farthing, did highly please Christ; insomuch that he affirmed with an oath, that she, of her penury, had added more to the offerings of God, than all the rich men, which of their superfluity had cast in very much. For if there be first a willing mind, as St. Paul saith, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that a man hath not. Thirdly, we must give without hypocrisy and ostentation; not seeking the praise of men, or our own glory or profit. And although the Scriptures in some places make mention of a reward to our alms and other good works, yet ought we not to think that we do merit or deserve any thing; but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God in his mere mercy rewarded thus in his own gifts. For what hath he that giveth alms, that he hath not received? He then that giveth up to a poor man any manner of thing, giveth not of his own, but of those goods which he hath received of God. What hast thou, saith the apostle, that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it, why rejoicest thou, as though thou hadst not received it?

"This sentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men, For if we have nothing, but that which we have received, what can we deserve, or what need we to dispute and reason of our own merits? It cometh of the free gift of God, that we live, that we love God, that we walk in his fear: where is our deserving then? We must also in this our spiritual warfare arm ourselves with continual prayer, a very necessary, strong, and invincible weapon, and, after the example of

Christ and all other godly men, cry heartily unto God in faith, in all our distresses and anguishes, Let us go boldly to the seat of grace, where we shall be sure to receive mercy, and find grace to help in time of need: for now is pride and persecution increased; now is the time of destruction and wrathful displeasure.

"Wherefore, my dear brethren, be ye fervent in the law of God, and jeopard ye your lives, if need shall so require, for the testament of the fathers, and so shall ye receive great honour, and an everlasting name. Remember Abraham. Was not he found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness? Joseph, in time of his trouble, kept the commandment, and was made a lord of Egypt, Phineas was so fervent for the honour of God, that he obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood. Joshua, for the fulfilling of the word of God, was made the captain of Israel. Caleb bare record before the congregation, and received a heritage. David also, in his merciful kindness, obtained the throne of an everlasting kingdom. Elias, being zealous and fervent in the law, was taken up into heaven. Ananias, Azarias, and Misael remained stedfast in the faith, and were delivered out of the fire. In like manner Daniel, being unguilty, was saved from the mouth of the lions.

"And thus ye may consider throughout all ages, since the world began, that whosoever put their trust in God were not overcome, Fear not ye then the words of ungodly men; for their glory is but dung and worms: to-day are they set up, and tomorrow they are gone; for they are turned into earth, and their memorial cometh to nought. Wherefore let us take good hearts unto us, and quit ourselves like men in the law: for if we do the things that are commanded us in the law of the Lord our God, we shall obtain great honour therein.

"Beloved in Christ, let us not faint because of affliction, wherewith God trieth all them that are sealed unto life everlasting; for the only way into the kingdom of God is through much tribulation. For the kingdom of heaven (as God teacheth by his prophet Esdras) is like a city builded and set upon a broad field, and full of all good things; but the entrance is narrow and sudden (full of sorrow and travail, perils and labours): like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deep water at the left; and as it were one straight path between them both, so small, that there could but one man go there. If this city now were given to an heir, and he never went through the perilous way, how could he receive his inheritance? Wherefore, seeing we are in this narrow and straight way, which leadeth unto the most joyful and pleasant city of everlasting life, let us not stagger, neither turn back, being afraid of the dangerous and perilous way, but follow our Captain, Jesus Christ, in the narrow and straight way; and be afraid of nothing, no, not even of death itself: for it is he that must lead us to our journey's end, and open us the door unto everlasting life.

"Consider also the course of this world, how many there be, which, for their master's sake, or for a little promotion's sake, would adventure their lives in worldly affairs, as, commonly, in wars; and yet is their reward but light and transitory, and ours is unspeakable, great, and everlasting. They suffer pains to be made lords on earth for a short season: how much more ought we to endure like pains, yea, peradventure, much less, to be made kings in heaven for evermore! Consider also the wicked of this world, which, for a little pleasure's sake, or to be avenged on their enemies, will fight with sword and weapons, and put themselves in danger of

imprisonment and hanging, So much as virtue is better than vice, and God mightier than the devil, so much ought we to excel them in this our spiritual battle.

"And seeing, brethren, it hath pleased God to set me, and that most worthy minister of Christ, John Bradford, your countryman, in the fore-front of this battle, where, for the time, is most danger, I beseech you all, in the bowels of Christ, to help us, and all other our fellow soldiers standing in like perilous place, with your prayers to God for us, that we may quit ourselves like men in the Lord, and give some example of boldness and constancy mingled with patience in the fear of God; that we and others our brethren, through our example, may be so encouraged and strengthened to follow us, that ye also may leave example to your weak brethren in the world to follow you. Amen.

"Consider what I say; the Lord give us understanding in all things! Brethren, the time is short. It remaineth that ye use this world as though ye used it not; for the fashion of this world vanisheth away. See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world, but set your affection on heavenly things, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Be meek and long-suffering; serve and edify one another with the gift that God hath given you. Beware of strange doctrine; lay aside the old conversation of greedy lusts, and walk in a new life. Beware of all uncleanness, covetousness, foolish talking, false doctrine, and drunkenness: rejoice and be thankful towards God, and submit yourselves one to another. Cease from sin; spend no more time in vice; be sober and apt to pray; be patient in trouble; love each other: and let the glory of God and profit of your neighbour be the only mark ye shoot at in all your doings. Repent ye of the life that is past, and take better heed to your doings hereafter. And, above all things, cleave ye fast to him, who was delivered to death for our sins, and rose again for our justification: to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be a:1 honour and rule for evermore, Amen.

"Salute from me in Christ all others which love us in the faith, and at your discretion make them partakers of these letters: and pray ye all for me and others in bonds for the gospel, that the same God, which by his grace hath called us from wicked papistry unto true Christianity, and now of love proveth our patience by persecution, will, of his mercy and favour, in the end gloriously deriver us, either by death, or by life, to his glory. Amen.

"At Lancaster, the thirtieth of August, 1555: by me an unprofitable servant of Christ. GEORGE MARSH."

A letter of George Marsh to Jenkin Crampton and others.

"To his well-beloved in Christ, Jenkin Crampton, James Leiver, Elice Fogge, Ralph Bradshaw, the wife of Richard Bradshaw, Elice Crampton, and to every one of them, be these delivered from Lancaster, George Marsh.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.

"After salutations in Christ, and hearty thanks for your friendly tokens, and your other remembrances towards me, beseeching God that ye may increase in faith, fear, and love, and all

good gifts, and grow up into a perfect man in Christ: these be earnestly to exhort you, yea, and to beseech you in the tender mercy of Christ, that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye worship and serve him in spirit, in the gospel of his Son. For God will not be worshipped after the commandments and traditions of men, neither yet by any other means appointed, prescribed, and taught us, but by his holy word. And though all men, for the most part, defile themselves with the wicked traditions of men, and ordinances after the world, and not after Christ; yet do ye, after the ensample of Toby, Daniel and his three companions, Mattathias and his five sons, be at a point with yourselves, that ye will not be defiled with the unclean meats of the heathen; I do mean the filthiness of idolatry, and the very heathenish ceremonies of the papists: but as the true worshippers, serve ye God in spirit and verity, according to his sacred Scriptures, which I would wish and will you above all things continually and reverently (as both St. Paul and Christ command you) to search and read, with the wholesome monitions of the same; to teach, exhort, comfort, and edify one another, and your brethren and neighbours, now in the time of this our miserable captivity, and great famishment of souls, for want of the food of God's word. And doubt not but that the merciful Lord (who hath promised to be with us even unto the world's end, and that whensoever two or three be gathered together in his name he will be in the midst of them) will assist you, and teach you the right meanings of the sacred Scriptures, will keep you from all errors, and lead you into all truth, as he hath faithfully promised.

"And though ye think yourselves unable to teach, yet, at the commandment of Christ, now in time of famine, (the hungry people, being in the wilderness far from any towns, who if they he sent away fasting, are sure to faint and perish by the way,) employ and bestow those five loaves and two fishes that ye have, upon that hungry multitude, although ye think it nothing among so many. And he that increased the five loaves and two fishes to feed five thousand men, besides women and children, shall also augment his gifts in you, not only to the edifying and winning of others in Christ, but also to an exceeding great increase of your knowledge in God and his holy word. And fear not your adversaries, for either according to his accustomed manner God shall blind their eyes that they shall not spy you, either get you favour in their sight, or else graciously deliver you out of their hands by one means or other.

"Obey with reverence all your superiors, unless they command idolatry or ungodliness. Make provision for your households; chiefly that they be instructed and taught in the law of God. Love your wives even as your own selves, and as Christ loved the congregation. Love your children; but rate them not, lest they be of a desperate mind: and bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord, and teach them even as the godly parents of Toby the younger and Susanna did teach their children, even from their infancy, to reverence God according to his law, and to abstain from sin; providing that in no wise they he brought up in idleness and wantonness, seeing that ye reckon yourselves to be the children of God, and look for the life which God shall give to them that never turn their belief from him. See that ye ever fear God, and keep his commandments: and though the plague of God chance unto you, yet remain ye stedfast in the faith and fear of God, and thank him, and serve him in such holiness and righteousness as are acceptable before him, all the days of your life. Comfort yourselves in all your adversities, and stay yourselves in him, who hath promised not to leave you as fatherless and motherless children without any comfort, but that he will come to you like a most gentle and merciful Lord. He will continually stand by you in all your troubles, assisting, helping, and succouring you at all times. I

will be with you, saith he, unto the end of the world. And cleave you fast unto him which was incarnate, lived, wrought, taught, and died for your sins, yea, rose again from death, and ascended into heaven for your justification. Repent ye of the life that is past, and cease from sin, and from henceforward live as much time as remaineth in the flesh, riot after the lusts of men, but after the will of God. To do good and distribute, forget not. Fast and pray busily; and as every man hath received the gift, minister the same one to another as good ministers of the manifold graces of God, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ; to whom be praise and dominion for ever, and while the world standeth. Amen.

"Yours.

GEORGE MARSH."

Another letter of George .Marsh to certain faithful brethren in the congregation.

"The same grace and peace, dearly beloved in Christ, do I entirely desire and wish unto you, which the apostle St. Paul wisheth to all them, unto whom he did write and send his epistles; than which two things no better can be wished and desired of God. Grace is, throughout all the epistles of Paul, taken for the free mercy and favour of God, whereby he saveth us freely without any deservings or works of the law. In like manner peace is taken for the quietness and tranquillity of the conscience, being thoroughly persuaded that through the only merits of Christ's death and blood-shedding, there is an atonement and peace made between God and us, so that God will no more impute our sins unto us, nor yet condemn us.

"Dearly beloved, I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of things, though that you know them yourselves, and be also established in the present truth; notwithstanding, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance. Wherefore I beseech you, brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Jesus, that ye increase more and more, even as ye have received how ye ought to walk and to please God. And as Barnabas, that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, exhorted the Antiochians, with purpose of heart cleave ye continually unto the Lord. And stand fast, and be not moved from the hope of the gospel, whereof (God be thanked) ye have had plenteous preaching unto you these years past, by the faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, Leiver, Pilkington, Bradford, Saunders, and others like, which now, when persecution ariseth, because of the word, do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, but are prest and ready for your sakes, which are his mystical body, to forsake the chief and principal delights of this life; and some of them, in giving place to the outrageous tyranny of the world, to forsake their livings, friends, native land, and other chief pleasures of this life, and to commit themselves to painful exile, that, if it please God, Christ may come again out of Egypt. And others are ready to fulfil their ministry unto the uttermost: that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-shedding, if need shall so require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, whereof they have been ministers; and, as St. Paul saith, not only to be cast into prison, but also to die, for the name of the Lord Jesus.

"Be ye not therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, neither be ye ashamed of us which are his prisoners, but suffer ye adversity with the gospel, for which word we suffer as evil-doers, even unto bonds: but the word of God is not bound with us. Therefore we suffer all things for the elect's sake, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesu with eternal glory. Wherefore stand ye fast in the faith, and be not moved from the hope of the gospel,

and so shall ye make us, even with joy, to suffer for your sakes, and, as the apostle saith, to fulfil that which is behind of the passion of Christ in our flesh, for his body's sake, which is the congregation. St. Paul doth not here mean, that there wanteth any thing in the passion of Christ, which may be supplied by man: for the passion of Christ, as touching his own person, is that most perfect and omni-sufficient sacrifice, whereby we are all made perfect, as many as are sanctified in his blood; but these his words ought to be understood of the elect and chosen, in whom Christ is, and shall he persecuted, unto the world's end. The passion of Christ then, as touching his mystical body, which is the church, shall not be perfected till they have all suffered, whom God hath appointed to suffer for his Son's sake. Wherefore stablish yourselves, and be of good comfort; and be not moved in these afflictions, knowing that we are appointed thereunto. For, on our parts, nothing can be greater consolation and inward joy unto us in our adversity, than to hear of your faith and love, and that we have a good remembrance of us always, praying for us as we do for you, as the apostle writeth of the Thessalonians, saying, Now are we alive, if ye stand stedfast in the Lord. For good shepherds do always count the welfare and prosperous estate of Christ's flock to be their own; for, while it goeth well with the congregation, it goeth well with them also in whatsoever affliction or adversity they be: but when they see the church in any peril or weakness, then be they weary of their own lives; then can they have no rest nor joy. Who is weak, saith St. Paul, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I do not burn? But this affection is not in them that seek their own lucre and glory.

"And, for a smuch as the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, let us run with joy unto the battle that is set before us, and, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, please him who hath chosen us to be soldiers; and not, like shrinking children, faint and fall away from the truth now, in time of adversity and tribulation, wherewith all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must be tried, even as gold and silver is proved in the fire, and whereof all the Scriptures have given us so much forewarning. For God is wont, for the most part, to warn his elect and chosen, what affliction and trouble shall happen unto them for his sake; not to the intent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare their minds against the boisterous storms of persecution—as we have a notable example in the apostle St. Paul, unto whom God sent Agabus, who prophesied unto him of the imprisonment and bands that he should suffer at Jerusalem: in whom we have also a good example of constancy and stedfastness, who, regarding nothing the tears of his familiar friends, nor yet the peril of his own life, did through fire and water go on still to set forth the glory of God; and he, being delivered from the hands of his ungodly and bloodthirsty enemies, and that so many times, is in conclusion fain to commit himself to the rough waters of the sea, where he was a long season in great peril and jeopardy of his own life. But God was always (to the great comfort of all that shall hear of it) most ready to help and succour him. First, he did send him a most friendly and sweet company, I mean Aristarchus and Lucas, so ruling the heart of the under-captain Julius, that he courteously entreated him, and gave him liberty to go to his friends, and to refresh himself; and he was beneficial unto him at all times. In like manner was God with Joseph, and delivered him from all his adversities, and gave him favour and wisdom in the sight of Pharaoh king of Egypt, insomuch that he made him governor over all Egypt, and over all his household. In like manner was he with Jeremy and Daniel, in their great troubles, and appointed men for them in their most troubles, to relieve, succour, and help them; to their singular comfort. Also when Peter was in Herod's prison, sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door keeping the prison, the same night that Herod had intended to have brought him out unto the people the day following, and to have put him unto death to please

the Jews withal, as a little before he had killed James the brother of John with the sword; God sent his angel, and the chains fell off from Peter's hands, and the iron gate opened unto him by its own accord; and so was Peter wonderfully delivered by God. For it is the true living God that looseth all bands, and delivereth out of prison, and not that feigned God, St. Leonard. On that true God did St. Peter call; unto him did he ascribe the glory of his deliverance, saying, Now I know of a truth, that God hath sent his angel, &c.

"These things are written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope. The God of patience and comfort grant that we be like-minded one towards another, after the ensample of Christ Jesus; that we, all agreeing together, may with one mouth glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"A poor prisoner for Christ. GEORGE MARSH."

Another letter of George Marsh to Robert Langley and others.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you, good brother in Christ, Robert Langley, and with all them that love the Lord Jesus unfeignedly; Amen.

"After hearty commendations to you, with thanks for that ye did visit me a prisoner in Christ, and unacquainted with you, to your costs; this shall be to let you know, that ye shall receive from me mine examination and handling at Latham the cause of mine imprisonment, according as I promise you: and this ye shall receive by brother, or some one of the Bradshaws of Bolton, within this sevennight; willing you to show the same to such faithful men about Manchester or elsewhere, as you do take to be favourers of true religion and Christ's holy word, and then to deliver it again. And whereas you did put me in comfort, that if I did want any thing necessary unto this life, you with some others would he bearers with me in this my costly and painful affliction; I give you most hearty thanks, and rejoice greatly in the Lord, who stirs up the hearts of others to be careful for me in this my great necessity. I thank God, as yet I do want nothing, and intend to be as little chargeable to others (saving my mother) as I can. If I do want, I will be bold with you and others, to send for your relief and help in my necessity; desiring you in the mean while to pray for me, and all others in the bonds of Christ, that God would perform the thing which he hath begun in us, that we may with boldness confess Jesus Christ, and fight the good fight of faith.

"Yours. GEORGE MARSH."

A letter of George Marsh to a certain godly friend.

"Grace be with you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God, and Jesus the Lord.

"After hearty commendations and thanks to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your loving letters, full of consolation to me as touching my person to you unknown; these shall be to certify you, that I rejoice greatly in the Lord, when I do perceive how my sweet

Saviour Christ doth stir up the minds, not only of my familiar friends in times past, but also of sundry and divers heretofore unto me unknown and unacquainted, to bear part with me in this my painful and costly imprisonment, sending me things not only necessary for this present life, but also comfortable letters; encouraging and exhorting me to continue grounded and stablished in the faith, and not to be moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof, according to my small talent, I have been a minister: and daily I call and cry unto the Lord, in whom is my trust, and without whom I can do nothing. he which hath begun a good work in me, would vouchsafe to go forth with it until the day of Jesus Christ; being surely certified in my conscience of this, that he will so do, forasmuch as he hath given me, that not only I should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. The Lord strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, that I may be one of the number of those blessed, which, enduring to the end, shall be saved!

"And whereas you say, that my suffering of persecution with Christ is a thing to you most comfortable, I make answer, that in all mine adversity and necessity nothing on your behalf is greater consolation unto me, than to hear of the faith and love of others, and how they have good remembrance of us always, even as the apostle reporteth by the Thessalonians, saying, Now are we alive, if ye stand stedfast in the Lord. For my trust in the Lord is, that this my business shall happen to the furtherance of the gospel, and that you will be none of those forgetful and hypocritish hearers, whereof some being but wayside hearers, the devil cometh and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved, (but let prayer be made without ceasing by the congregation unto God for them,) and, no doubt, God will to your consolation gloriously deliver, by one means or other, his oppressed. Only tarry ye the Lord's leisure; be strong; let your heart be of good comfort; and wait ye still for the Lord. He tarrieth not that will come: look for him therefore, and faint not, and he will never fail you.

"Yours.

GEORGE MARSH."

A prayer of George Marsh, which he used daily to say.

"O Lord Jesus Christ, which art the only physician of wounded consciences, we miserable sinners, trusting in thy gracious goodness, do briefly open unto thee the evil tree of our heart, with all the roots, boughs, leaves, and fruits, and with all the crooks, knots, and knoures, all which thou knowest: for thou thoroughly perceivest as well the inward lusts, doubtings, and denying thy providence, as those gross outward sins which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherefore we beseech thee, according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we be far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldest mercifully circumcise our stony hearts; and for these old hearts create new within us, and replenish us with a new spirit, and water us, and moisten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wells of spiritual waters, whereby the inward venom and noisome juice of the flesh may be dried up, and custom of the old man changed; and our heart, always bringing forth thorns and briers to be burned with fire, from henceforth may bear spiritual fruits in righteousness and holiness, unto life everlasting: Amen.

"Beloved, among other exercises, I do daily on my knees use this confession of sins, willing and exhorting you to do the same, and daily to acknowledge unfeignedly to God your unbelief, unthankfulness, and disobedience against him. This shall ye do, if ye will diligently consider and look yourselves, first, in the pure glass of God's commandments, and there see your

outward filthiness and uncleanness, and so learn to vanquish the same; that is to wit, fall in hearty displeasure against sin, and thereby be provoked to long after Christ; for we truly are sinners, but he is just. and the justifier of all them that believe on him. We are poor, but he is rich in mercy toward all them that call upon him. If we hunger and thirst for righteousness, let us resort unto his table, for he is a most liberal feast-maker. He will set before us his own holy body, which is given to us to he our meat, and his precious blood, which was shed for us and for many, for the remission of sins, to be our drink. He biddeth, willeth, and calleth for guests, which hunger and thirst. Come, saith he, all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you, cool and ease you, and you shall find rest unto your souls"

## 280. William Flower

The life and story of William Flower, who striking of a priest, was apprehended, first having his hand cut off, and after martyred for his constant standing to the truth.



illiam Flower otherwise named Branch—First, concerning his trade of life and bringing up—he was born at Snailwell, in the county of Cambridge, where he went to school certain years, and then came to the abbey of Ely; where, after he had remained awhile. he was a professed monk according to the order and rule of the same house wherein he remained. using and bearing the habit of a monk, and observing the rules and order of the same house. until he came to twenty-one years of age, or thereabout: and before he came to that age, and being a professed monk, he was made a priest also in the same

house; and there did celebrate and sing mass a good space together. After that, by reason of a visitation, and certain injunctions given in the same time by the authority of King Henry the Eighth, he forsook the same house, and casting from him the said monk's habit and religion aforesaid, took upon him and used the habit of a secular priest, and returned to Snailwell, where he was born; and there he did celebrate and sing mass, and taught children their primer and accidence about half a year together.

Then he went from thence to Lidgate in Suffolk, and there served as a secular priest about a quarter of a year; and from thence he then went to Stony-land, where he tarried and served as a secular priest also, until the coming out of the Six Articles; and then he departed from thence, and went into Gloucestershire, where, after he had made his abode in the country awhile, at length in Tewkesbury, according to God's holy ordinance, he married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honestly continued: and after his marriage, he tarried in Tewkesbury about two years together, and then from thence he went unto Bursley, where he tarried three-quarters of a year, and practised physic and chirurgery; and from thence he removed to Northamptonshire, where, under a gentleman, he taught children their primers and to write and read, a good space. And so, departing from those parts, he came to London; and there remained for a certain space. After that, being desirous to see his country, he returned to Snailwell where he was born: from thence to Braintree in Essex, then to Coggeshall, where he taught children a space, and so came to Lambeth beside London, where he hired a house, and placed his wife; where he and his wife did ever since dwell together till this time: howbeit, for the most part, he was always abroad; and very seldom at home, except once or twice in a month, to visit and see his wife; where he, being at home upon Easter day about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, came over the water from Lambeth into St. Margaret's church at Westminster; where he, finding and seeing a priest called John Cheltham ministering and giving the sacrament of the altar to the people, and therewith, being greatly offended in his conscience with the priest for the same his doing, (for that he judged him not to be a catholic minister, neither his act to be catholic and laudable according to God's word,) did strike and wound him upon the head, and

also upon the arm and hand, with his wood-knife; the priest having the same time in his hand a chalice, with certain consecrated hosts therein, which were sprinkled with the blood of the said priest. In the which so doing as indeed he did not well nor evangelically, so afterward, being examined before Bishop Bonner, did he no less confess his not well doing in the same; submitting therefore himself willingly to punishment, when it should come. Howbeit touching his belief in the sacrament, and the popish ministration, he neither would nor did submit himself.

Whereupon the foresaid William Flower first apprehended and laid in the Gatehouse at Westminster (where he had given two groats the same day a little before to the prisoners, saying, he would shortly after come to them) with as many irons as he could bear; afterward was convented before Bonner his ordinary, April the nineteenth, A. D. 1555, where the bishop, after he had sworn him upon a book, (according to his ordinary manner,) ministered articles and interrogatories to him. But before I speak of the articles, first we have here to set forth what communication passed betwixt him and Robert Smith (being then also there prisoner with him in Newgate) concerning his fact done at Westminster; the tenor and effect of which communication here followeth.

Robert Smith.—"Friend, forasmuch as I do understand that you do profess the gospel. and also have so done a long season, I am bold to come unto you, and in the way of communication to demand and learn a truth at your own mouth, of certain things by you committed, to the astonishing not only of me, but of divers others, that also profess the verity."

*Flower*.—"I praise God for his great goodness, in showing me the light of his holy word; and I give you hearty thanks for your visitation, intending, by God's grace, to declare all the truth that ye shall demand lawfully of me, in all things."

*Smith.*—"Then I desire you to show me the truth of your deed, committed on John Cheltham, priest in the church, as near as you can, that I may hear from your own mouth how it was "

Flower.—"I came from my house at Lambeth over the water, and entering into St. Margaret's church, (so called,) and there, seeing the people falling down before a most shameful and detestable idol, being moved with extreme zeal for my God, whom I saw before my face dishonoured, I drew forth my hanger, and strake the priest which ministered the same unto them: whereupon I was immediately apprehended. And this is most true, as the act is manifest."

*Smith.*—"Did ye not know the parson that ye strake, or were ye not zealous upon him for any evil will or hatred between you at any time?"

Flower.—"No, verily; I never to my knowledge saw the parson before that present, neither owed him, or any man alive, evil will or malice; for if he had not had it, another should, if I had any time come where the like occasion had been ministered, if God had permitted me to do it."

Smith.—"Do ye think that thing to be well done, and after the rule of the gospel?

Flower.—"I do confess all flesh to be subject to the power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his ministers, to do his will and pleasure; as in example, Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, Joshua, Zimri, Jehu, Judith, Mattathias, with many others, not only changing degrees, but also planting zeals to his honour, against all order and respect of flesh and blood. For, as saith St. Paul, His works are past finding out: by whose Spirit I have also given my flesh at this present unto such order as it shall please the good will of God to appoint in death, which, before the act committed, I looked for."

Smith.—"Think you it convenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?"

Flower.—"No, verily; neither do I know, if it were to do again, whether I could do it again, or no: for I was up very early at Paul's church (so called) upon Christ's day in the morning, to have done it in my jealousy: but when I came in place I was no more able to do it, than now to undo that is done; and yet now, being compelled by the Spirit, not only to come over the water, and to enter the church, but being in mind fully content to die for the Lord, gave over my flesh willingly, without all fear, I praise God. Wherefore I cannot learn you to do the like: first, because I know not what is in you; secondly, because the rules of the gospel command us to suffer with patience all wrongs and injuries. Yet, nevertheless, if he make you worthy, that hath made me zealous, ye shall not be letted, judged, nor condemned; for he doth in his people his unspeakable works in all ages, which no man can comprehend. I humbly beseech you to judge the best of the Spirit, and condemn not God's doings: for I cannot express with my mouth the great mercies that God hath showed on me in this thing, which I repent not."

*Smith.*—"Are ye not assured to have death ministered unto you for the same act committed, and even with extremity?"

Flower.—"I did, before the deed committed, adjudge my body to die for the same: whereupon I carried about me in writing, mine opinion of God and the Holy Scriptures; that if it had pleased God to have given them leave to have killed my body in the church, they might in the said writing have seen my hope, which (I praise God) is laid up safe within my breast, notwithstanding any death that may be ministered unto my body in this world; being ascertained of everlasting life through Jesus Christ our Lord, and being most heartily sorry for all mine offences committed in this flesh, and trusting shortly, through his mercy, to cease from the same."

*Smith.*—"It is no need to examine or commune with you of the hope that ye have any further; for I perceive (God be praised) ye are in good estate, and therefore I beseech God for his mercies spread his wings over you; that as, for his love, you have been zealous, even to the loss of this life, so he may give you his Holy Spirit to conduct you out of this death into a better life, which I think will be shortly."

Flower.—"I hunger for the same, dear friend, being fully ascertained that they can kill but the body, which I am assured shall receive life again everlasting, and see no more death; entirely desiring you and all that fear the Lord, to pray with me to Almighty God, to perform the same in me shortly."

And this, gentle reader, is the truth, as near as the said Smith could report it. And thus much concerning the talk between him and Robert Smith in Newgate, concerning his fact in striking the priest. Now to return again to the matter of his examination, where we left: we showed before how this William Flower, after his striking the priest, first was laid in the Gatehouse; then, being examined before Bonner, had articles ministered against him, the copy whereof here followeth.

"First, that thou, being of a lawful age and discretion, at the least of seventeen years of old, was professed a monk in the late abbey of Ely, wherein, after thy profession, thou remainedst until the age of twenty-one years, using, all the mean time, the habit and religion of the same house, and wast reputed and taken notoriously for such a person.

"Item, that after the premises, thou wast ordered and made priest, according to the laudable custom of the catholic church; and afterward thou didst execute and minister as a priest; and wast commonly reputed, named, and taken for a priest.

"Item, that after the premises thou, forgetting God, thy conscience, honesty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, didst, contrary to thy profession and vow, take as unto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton, in the parish church of Tewkesbury, in the diocese of Gloucester, with whom thou hadst mutual cohabitation as man and wife, and begattest of her two children.

"Item, that thou, being a religious man and a priest, didst, contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, take upon thee to practise in divers places within the diocese of London, physic and chirurgery, when thou wast not admitted, expert, nor learned.

"Item, that upon Easter day last past, that is to wit, the fourteenth day of this present month of April, within the parish church of St. Margaret's at Westminster, within the county of Middlesex and diocese of London, thou didst maliciously, outrageously, and violently pull out thy weapon; that is to wit, thy wood-knife or hanger. And whereas the priest and minister there, called Sir John Cheltham, was executing his cure and charge, especially in doing his service, and ministering the sacrament of the altar to communicants, then didst thou wickedly and abominably smite with thy said weapon the said priest, first upon the head very sore; and afterwards, upon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing blood abundantly upon him: the said priest then holding the said sacrament in his hand, and giving no occasion why thou shouldest so hurt him; the people being grievously offended therewith, and the said church polluted thereby, so that the inhabitants were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and to receive the said sacrament.

"Item, that by reason of the premises, thou wast and art, by the ecclesiastical laws of the church, amongst other penalties, excommunicate and accursed, *ipso facto*; and not to be companied withal, neither in the church, nor otherwhere, but in special cases.

"Item, that thou, concerning the verity of Christ's natural body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hast been by the space of these twenty, nineteen, eighteen, seventeen, sixteen, fifteen, fourteen, thirteen, twelve, eleven, ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, two, and

one years, or any one of them, and yet art at this present, of this opinion; that is to say, that in the said sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the forms of bread) the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ

"Item, that thou, for the hatred and disdain that thou hadst and didst bear against the said sacrament, and the virtue thereof, and against the said priest ministering the same, (as before,) didst smite, wound, and hurt him in manner and form as before is declared.

"Item, that thou, over and besides the pains due unto thee for the doing of the cruel fact, art also, by the order of the ecclesiastical laws of the church, and the laudable custom and ordinance of the same, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged (as thou art indeed) a very heretic, and to be punished by and with the pains due for heresy, by reason of thy said heresy and damnable opinion.

"Item, that all the premises be true and manifest, notorious and famous; and that upon the same, and every part thereof, there was and is, within the said parish of St. Margaret's and other places thereabout, a public voice and fame."

The answer of William Flower, made to the articles aforesaid.

"To the first article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof; except that he saith and confesseth, that he never consented and agreed in his heart to be a monk.

"To the second article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof: howbeit, he saith, that he never did, nor yet doth, esteem the said order of priesthood, according to the said order of the catholic church; because he was offended therewith in his conscience.

"To the third article he answereth and confesseth, that he, intending to live in godly matrimony, and not forgetting God, did marry with the said Alice Pulton named in this article; wherein he believed that he did well, and according to God's laws. Further, confessing and believing, that all the time when he was professed monk, and made priest, he did thereby utterly forget God: but when he did so marry the said Alice Pulton, and in continuing with her did beget three children, he did remember God, as he saith, and believeth that he did then lawfully.

"To the fourth article he answereth, and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

"To the fifth article he answereth and confesseth, that his conscience being greatly offended with the said Sir John Cheltham, priest, for ministering of the sacrament of the altar to the people at the place and time specified in this article, he did smite and strike the same priest with his hanger or wood-knife, as well upon his head, as upon other parts and places of his body which he remembereth not, whereby the blood ran out, and was shed in the said church, as he believeth; having, as he saith, none other cause or matter so to do, but only that his conscience was offended and grieved; in that the same priest did so give and minister the said sacrament to

the people: which people he believeth were greatly abashed and offended with his said fact and doing; and were enforced and compelled to go out of the church, and to repair to another to receive the said sacrament. And further, being then demanded and examined, whether he did then mind and intend to have killed the said priest, or not; he said he would not answer thereunto. And being further examined, whether he did well or evil in striking the said priest; he would make no answer thereunto, as he said.

"To the sixth he answereth and saith, that whether he be so excommunicate or accursed, as is contained in this article, he referreth himself herein to the ecclesiastical laws.

"To the seventh he answereth and saith, that by the space of six and twenty years now past, he hath always been, and yet is, of this opinion touching the said sacrament of the altar, as followeth: *videlicet*, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed, contained under the form of bread, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"To the eighth he answereth, and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

"To the ninth he answereth, and herein he referreth himself to the said laws, custom, and ordinance specified in this article; that is to say, the canonical laws.

"To the last he answereth and believeth, that those things before by him confessed, be true, and those which he hath denied, be untrue; and that the said common voice and fame hath and doth only labour and go upon those things by him before confessed.

"By me WILLIAM FLOWER, alias BRANCH."

After this examination done, the bishop began after the best sort of his fine divinity to instruct him, and to exhort him to return again to the unity of his mother the catholic church, with such reasons as he is commonly wont to use to others, promising many fair things if he would so do, besides the remitting of what was past. To this William Flower, answering again, thanked him for his offer; and whereas it was in his power to kill or not to kill his body, he stood therewith contented, let him do therein what he thought; yet over his soul he had no such power, which being once separated from the body, is in the hands of no man, but only of God, either to save or spill. As concerning his opinion of the sacrament, he said he would never go from what he had spoken, do he with him what he would.

Then the bishop assigned him again to appear in the same place at afternoon, betwixt three and four; in the mean time, to advise himself of his former answers, whether he would stand to the same his opinions or no: which if he so did, he would further proceed against him, &c.

At afternoon the said William Flower appeared again before the said bishop, the hour and place appointed; to whom the bishop, sitting in his consistory, spake these words "Branch, ye were this forenoon here before me, and made answer to certain articles; and thereupon I respited you till now, to the intent you should consider and weigh with yourself your state; and to remember while you have time, both your abominable act, and also that evil opinion which ye

have conceived, touching the verity of Christ's true natural body in the sacrament of the altar:" to whom the said Branch answered again, and said as followeth "That which I have said, I will stand to; and therefore I require that the law may proceed against me." Whereupon the bishop commanded his notary (Hayward by name) to read to him again his articles, as before: which being read, the said William Flower, persisting in his godly sentence, answered to all parts of the articles, as in the forenoon before; save only that he requested the bishop, concerning the fifth article, he might alter something his answer therein, after this tenor and manner of words; to wit.

"And moreover confesseth and saith—that whereas he strake the priest on Easter day last past, in St. Margaret's church in Westminster, he hath since that time and yet doth mislike himself in that doing; and doth now judge and believe that the same his act was evil and naught. Howbeit he saith and believeth, that as for the matter and cause wherefore he so struck the said priest, (which was for ministering of the sacrament of the altar, which he taketh and judgeth abominable,) he did not nor doth mislike himself at all therein. Moreover, he desireth of the said bishop licence to be granted him, to alter and take out somewhat of the ninth article; and in place thereof, these words to be placed; to wit, 'Herein he referreth himself to the laws, custom, and ordinance specified in this article,' &c."

At this request, Bonner granted to the altering of both the articles according as he desired, and so put in the acts.

After this, the bishop turning again to his old manner of exhorting, went about with words (and words only) to persuade him to submit himself to the catholic church, and to the faith thereof. All which his persuasions notwithstanding, William still remained in the constancy of his sentence; saying that he would not be removed from that he had spoken, to die there-for. Whereupon the bishop assigned him the next day (being the twentieth day of April) to appear in the same day and place, between the hours of eight and nine before noon; there and then to hear the sentence pronounced, in case he would not relent, &c.

### The last appearance of William Flower before Bishop Bonner.

In the which day, hour, and place, the said William Flower, as he was appointed, was brought by his keeper belonging to the warden of the Fleet, before Bonner, who, after his wonted manner of persuasion going about to reduce him to his catholic church and the unity thereof; that is, from Christ to antichrist; sometimes with fair promises alluring, sometimes with menaces and terrors fearing him, &c.; to this William answering, said on this wise: "Do what ye will, I am at a point; for the heavens shall as soon fall, as I will forsake mine opinion." &c. Whereupon the bishop, after he had commanded these words to be registered, called for the depositions of certain witnesses, produced for the better information of this matter, the names of which witnesses were these: William Jennings, John Bray, Robert Graunt, Richard Dod, William Pampion, Robert Smalwood, the parish priest of St. Margaret's at Westminster. The sum and effect of whose depositions here ensueth.

"Robert Graunt of Westminster, examined upon the said answers of William Flower, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand; and also was present in the church of St.

Margaret's in Westminster, when the said William Flower did smite and wound the priest, when (as he saith) he was ministering the sacrament; and how this examinate among others pressed towards him to take him, and was hurt thereby upon his chin; and after he was taken, this examinate holp to conduct him to the Gatehouse at Westminster.

"Richard Dod of Westminster, examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand; and also did see and was present, when the said Flower upon Easter day last past, drew his wood-knife, and strake the priest upon the head, hand, and arm; who, being wounded therewith, and having a chalice with consecrated hosts therein, in his hand, sprinkled with the said priest's blood, was holpen and rescued by this examinate, and the said Flower carried to the Gatehouse at Westminster, and his wood-knife taken away by this examinate.

"William Pampion, one of the churchwardens of the said parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, examined upon the said answers of the said Flower, saith and deposeth, that the same answers be true, and in his sight were subscribed with the hand of the said Flower. And that upon Easter day last past, about eleven of the clock in the forenoon, in the parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, among a great number of the people ready to be houseled, the priest's back being turned toward the said Flower, he (the said Flower) suddenly drew forth his wood-knife, and strake Sir John Cheltham the priest both upon his head, hand, and arm, whereby he was wounded, and bled abundantly; and the chalice with consecrated hosts being in his hand, were sprinked with his blood, and the people in great fear cried out lamentably, and thought they should presently have been killed.

"Robert Smalwood of Westminster, examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe the same with his own hand; and saith further, touching the striking and wounding the priest in St. Margaret's church in Westminster upon Easter day last, this examinate saith, he was not there when the fact was done, but, immediately after, he came to church, and found Sir John hurt, and wounded in the head, hand, and arm, by the said Flower, and the people in great heaviness by reason thereof. Also the people did report (as this examinate saith) that Flower did the deed as the priest had the chalice in his hand, ministering the sacrament to the people.

"William Jennings of Westminster, being examined upon the answers of the said William Flower, saith and deposeth, by virtue of his oath, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand in the consistory place: and further deposeth, that he (upon Easter day last past) was present in the church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, where Flower strake the said Sir John Cheltham, priest, first upon the head, and afterward upon his arm, two sore strokes, whereby the said priest is like to lose his hand. Also this jurate deposed, that the said Sir John Cheltham had a chalice with certain consecrated hosts therein, (in his hand,) which were sprinkled with the blood of the said priest; and after the said Flower was apprehended by this examinate and others, they carried him immediately to the Gatehouse in Westminster.

"John Bray, one of the churchwardens of the parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, sworn and examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and also subscribe unto the same. And further deposeth of Flower's striking the priest, in effect, as the rest of the examinates do, and that this said jurate was present there at the deed-doing."

After the depositions of these foresaid witnesses being taken, published, and denounced, the said bishop, speaking to William Flower, asked him if he knew any matter or cause why his sentence should not be read, and he to he pronounced as a heretic. Whereunto the martyr of God answered again as followeth "I have nothing at all to say, for I have already said unto you all that I have to say; and that I have said, I will not go from; and therefore do what you will." &c. Which when he had spoken, the bishop proceeded to the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him for a heretic, and after pronounced him also to be degraded; and so committed him to the secular power. Upon the twenty-fourth day of the aforesaid month of April, which was St. Mark's even, he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret's churchyard at Westminster, where the fact was committed: and there, coming to the stake where he should be burned, first he maketh his prayer to Almighty God, with a confession of his Christian faith, in manner as followeth:

"O eternal God, most mighty and merciful Father, who hast sent down thy Son upon the earth, to save me and all mankind, who ascended up into heaven again, and left his blood upon the earth behind him, for the redemption of our sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for thy dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, in whom I confess only to be all salvation and justification, and that there is none other mean, nor way, nor holiness, in which or by which any man can be saved in this world.—This is my faith, which I beseech all men here to bear witness of."

Then he said the Lord's prayer, and so made an end.

Then Master Cholmley came to him, willing him to recant his heresy, whereby he might do good to the people; or else he would be damned. Flower answered as followeth: "Sir, I beseech you, for God's sake, be contented; for that I have said, I have said: and I have been of this faith from the beginning; and I trust to the living God he will give me his Holy Spirit, to continue to the end." Then he desired all the world to forgive him whom he had offended, as he forgave all the world. This done, first his right hand, being held up against the stake, was stricken off, his left hand being stayed behind him. At the which striking off his hand, certain that were present beholders of the matter, and purposely observing the same, credibly informed us, that he in no part of his body did once shrink at the striking thereof, but once a little he stirred his shoulders.

And thus fire was set unto him, who burning therein, cried with a loud voice, "O the Son of God, have mercy upon me! O the Son of God, receive my soul!" three times; and so his speech being taken from him, he spake no more, lifting up, notwithstanding, his stump with his other arm, as long as he could. And thus endured this constant witness and faithful servant of God the extremity of the fire, being therein cruelly handled, by reason that to his burning little wood was brought; so that for lack of faggots, there being not sufficient to burn him, they were

fain to strike him down into the fire; where he lying along (which was doleful to behold) upon the ground, his nether part was consumed in the fire, whilst his upper part was clean without the fire, his tongue in all men's sight still moving in his mouth.



William Flower Burnt at the stake

# 281. Other Events of May 1555.

The third of May a letter was sent to George Colt and Thomas Daniel, to make search for and apprehend John Bernard and John Walsh, who used to repair to Sudbury, and carrying about with them the bones of Pygot that was burned, to show them to the people, persuading them to be constant in his religion: and upon examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the laws.

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the Little Ease in the Tower, there to remain two or three days, until further examination.

The twelfth day, Master Thomas Ross, preacher, was by the councils' letters delivered from the Tower to the sheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed and delivered to the bishop of Norwich; and he, either to reduce him to recant, or else proceed against him according to the law.

The sixteenth, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, signifying what the Lord L. had done for Ross; and that order should be given, according to his Lordship's request, for letters to the bishops: and for Appes, whom the lieutenant of the Tower reporteth to be mad, his Lordship, perceiving the same to be true, should commit him to Bethlem, there to remain until their further order.

The twenty-sixth, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to confer with the bishop of London, and the justices of the peace of that county, wherein they were to be executed, that were already condemned for religion; and, upon agreement of places, to give order for their execution accordingly.

The twenty-eighth, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to cause speedy preparation to be made of such money as was appointed for such persons as should carry the joyful tidings of Queen Mary's good delivery of child, to divers princes, so as they be not compelled to stay when time shall come. The ambassadors were, to the emperor, the lord admiral; to the French king, the Lord Fitzwaters; to the king of Romans, Sir Henry Sidney; to the king of Portugal, Richard Shelley; whose free passage through France Master Doctor Wotton was willed to procure by letters, the twenty-fourth of June.

The twenty-ninth, was a letter directed to Sir Francis Englefield, to make search for one John D., at London, and to apprehend him, and send him to the council; and to make search for such papers and books as he thinketh may touch the same D., or one Benger.

## 282. John Cardmaker and John Warne.

The burning and martyrdom of John Cardmaker and John Warne, upholsterer, who suffered both together in Smithfield, A. D. 1555.

On the thirtieth day of May suffered together in Smithfield John Cardmaker, otherwise called Taylor, prebendary of the church of Wells; and John Warne, upholsterer, of the parish of St. John in Walbrook: of whom it remaineth now particularly to entreat, beginning first with Master Cardmaker, who, first, was an Observant Friar before the dissolution of the abbeys; then, after, was a married minister; and, in King Edward's time, appointed to be a reader in Paul's, where the papists were so much aggrieved with him for his doctrine's sake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. This Cardmaker, being apprehended in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, with Master Barlow, bishop of Bath, was brought to London, and laid in prison in the Fleet, King Edward's laws yet being in force. But after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as supreme head of the church, and the bishops had also gotten power and authority, ex officio, to exercise their tyranny, these two were both brought before Winchester, chancellor, and others appointed by commission, (as before is mentioned,) to examine the faith of such as were then prisoners: and, as unto others before, so now unto them, the chancellor offered the queen's mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, &c.

To this they both made such an answer, as the chancellor with his fellow commissioners allowed them for catholic. Whether they of weakness so answered, or he of subtlety would so understand their answer, that he might have some forged example of a shrinking brother to lay in the dish of the rest, which were to be examined, it may easily be perceived by this, that to all them which followed in examination, he objected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, commending their soberness, discretion, and learning. But whatsoever their answer was, yet, notwithstanding, Barlow was led again to the Fleet, from whence he afterward, being delivered, did by exile constantly bear witness to the truth of Christ's gospel. Cardmaker was conveyed to the Compter in Bread Street, the bishop of London procuring it to be published, that he should shortly be delivered, after that he had subscribed to transubstantiation and certain other articles. To the same prison where Cardmaker was, Laurence Saunders was brought (after the sentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced against him); where these two prisoners had such Christian conference, that whatsoever the breath of the bishops blustered, and the tickle ears of the people too lightly believed, in the end they both showed themselves constant confessors and worthy martyrs of Christ: as of Laurence Saunders it is already written. After whose departure Cardmaker remained there prisoner, to be baited of the papists, who would needs seem to have a certain hope that Cardmaker was become theirs. Continual and great conference divers of them had with him, with reasonings, persuadings, threatenings, and all to none effect. To the end that their doings might appear, he required them to put their reasons in writing, and promised by writing to answer them.

Dr. Martin, who bare also a part in those pageants, took upon him to be the chief doer by writing, whose long unsavoury letters and simple reasons for transubstantiation, and such

papistical trash, this Cardmaker answered largely, learnedly, and substantially; confuting the same, opening the falsehood of his arguments, and delivering the sentences of the fathers (which Martin abused for his purpose) to their true understanding; which his answers I would had come into our hands. Thus constantly abode this man of God all the enemies' doings, as he did also the death which he suffered in Smithfield in London; whereof ye shall hear more anon. But first we will survey the matter and manner of his articles objected against him by Bishop Bonner, with his answers annexed to the same; as consequently hereunder followeth.

"First, I Edmund, bishop of London, object against thee, Sir John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, that thou wast and art of the city and diocese of London, and so of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London.

"Item, that thou, in times past, didst profess the rule of St. Francis, and didst by vow promise to keep poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the rule of St. Francis.

"Item, that thou, in times past, didst receive all the orders of the church then used; to wit, tam majores quam minores.

"Item, that thou, after thy said entry into religion and profession and orders aforesaid, didst take to wife a widow, and with her hast lived in wedlock, and didst get of her a woman child; breaking therebythy vow and order, and also the ordinance of the church.

"Item, that thou hast believed and taught, and so dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar under the visible signs there; that is to say, under the forms of bread and wine, there is really and truly the true and very natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Item, that the belief of the catholic church is, that in having the body and blood of Christ really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, is to have (by the omnipotent power of Almighty God) the body and blood of Christ there invisibly and really present under the said sacrament; and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Christ, or a new body of Christ.

"Item, that it may stand well together, and so is the faith of the catholic church; that the body of Christ is visibly and truly ascended into heaven, and there is, in the visible form of his humanity; and yet the same body in substance is invisibly and truly contained in the said sacrament of the altar.

"Item, that Christ, at his last supper, taking bread into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his apostles, and saying, Take, eat, this is my body, did institute a sacrament there; willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament—no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof."

Answers of Cardmaker to the articles aforesaid.

"To the first article he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

"To the second article he answereth and confesseth, that he, being under age, did profess the said order and religion; and afterward, by the authority of King Henry the Eighth, he was dispensed with for the same religion.

"To the third he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

"To the fourth he answereth and confesseth, the first part thereof to be true: and to the second part of the same article he answereth and saith, that in marriage he brake no vow, because he was set at liberty to marry, both by the laws of this realm, and also by the laws and ordinances of the church of the same.

"To the fifth he answereth and confesseth, that he hath believed and taught as it is contained in this article, but he doth not now so believe nor teach.

"To the sixth he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

"To the seventh he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

"To the eighth he answereth and doth believe, *videlicet*, that it is true; that is to say, that Christ, taking bread at his last supper into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his disciples, and saying, Take, eat, this is my body, did institute a sacrament there. And to the other part of this article, *videlicet*—willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament, no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof—he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true.

"By me, JOHN CARDMAKER."

Master Cardmaker, calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the papists, and thinking himself not to have fully, and according to his true meaning, answered the latter part of the last eighth article, did, the next day after the foresaid answers, exhibit unto the bishop in a schedule, this hereafter following.

"Whereas in my answers to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I mean not his sacramental presence, for that I confess; but my denial is of his carnal presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken of the holy fathers, not only for the bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same, according to Christ's institution: so I say that Christ is present spiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the sacrament, so that my denial is still of the real, carnal, and corporal presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental, nor spiritual presence.—This have I thought good to add to my former answer, because no man should misunderstand it.

"By me, JOHN CARDMAKER."

Next to these articles of Master Cardmaker, I thought best to infer the articles and answers likewise of John Warne, his martyr-fellow, in manner as followeth.

"First, that thou, John Warne, being of the age of twenty-nine years, and of the parish of St. John of Walbrook in London, hast believed, and dost believe, firmly and stedfastly, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very true and natural body of our Saviour Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.

"Item, that thou hast believed, and dost believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not (as the Church of England doth believe and teach) the body of Christ; but that there doth only remain the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration, or speaking of the words of consecration; and that the said bread is in no wise altered or changed.

"Item, that thou hast said and dost believe, that if the catholic church do believe and teach, that there is in the mass, now used in England, and in other places of Christendom, a sacrifice wherein there is a sacrament containing the body and blood of Christ really and truly; then that belief and faith of the church is naught, and against God's truth and the Scripture.

"Item, that thou hast said, that whereas about a twelvemonth agone and more, a great rough water-spaniel of thine was shorn in the head, and had a crown like a priest's made in the same, thou didst laugh at it and like it, though thou didst it not thyself, nor knewest who did it.

"Item, that thou, neither this Lent last past, nor at any time since the queen's Majesty's reign, hast come into the church, or heard mass, or been confessed, or received the sacrament of the altar; and hast said, that thou art not sorry that thou hast so done, but thou art glad; because thou hast not therewith defiled thy conscience, which otherwise thou shouldst have done.

"Upon all which articles John Warne being examined by the said Bonner in presence of divers witnesses, the twenty-third of May, A. D. 1555, did confess and believe the same, and subscribe hereunto his name with his own hand.

"By me, JOHN WARNE."

Also it was objected against the said John Warne, by the bishop aforesaid, as followeth:

"Item, That thou, John Warne, wast in time past here, in the city of London, convented in the Guild-hall for heresy against the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the laws of this realm of England in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and when Alderman Barnes was sheriff, and the Thursday after that Anne Askew was burnt in Smithfield; and thereupon thou wast sent a prisoner to Newgate, to whom Edmund, bishop of London, did repair with his chaplains, to instruct thee in the true faith of Christ, touching the said sacrament of the altar, and to bring thee from thy error, which was, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the body of Christ, nor any corporal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine, but that in the said sacrament there is only material bread and wine, without any substance of Christ's body and blood at all: and because thou wouldst not leave and forsake thy said heresy therein, but persist and abide obstinately and wilfully therein, thou wert, according to the said laws, condemned to death and to be burnt; and thereupon labour being made for thee to the king and others in the court, thou hadst a pardon of King Henry the Eighth, and so thereby didst save thy life.

"Nevertheless, in thy heart, conscience, and mind, thou didst both then, and also afore, believe no otherwise than at this present thou dost believe; that is to say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is neither the very true body or blood of Christ, nor any other substance but the substance of material bread and wine; and to receive the said material bread and wine, and to break it, and to distribute it among the people, only is the true receiving of Christ's body, and no otherwise: so that thy faith and belief is, that in the said sacrament there is no substance of Christ's material body and blood; but all the thing that is there, is material bread, and the receiving thereof as afore; and that the substance of the natural and true body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, is only in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar. In which thine opinion thou hast ever hitherto since continued, and so dost continue at this present, thou confessing all this to be true, and in witness thereof subscribing thy name thereunto, as followeth.

"By me, JOHN WARNE."

John Warne, being examined upon the foresaid articles by the bishop before certain witnesses, whose names were John Boswell, John Heywood, Robert Ravens, the twenty-third of May, did answer to the same, confessing and granting the articles and contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every part; subscribing also the same with his hand. Such strength and fortitude God's Holy Spirit wrought in him, to stand stoutly and confidently to the defence of the sincere doctrine of his Son. Whereupon the bishop, exhorting him with many words to leave his heresies, (as he called them,) and to return to the bosom of his mother the holy church, commanded him to appear again the next day, being the twenty-fourth of the same month: who, so doing and answering as he did before, was willed to come thither again at afternoon, and so he did: where and at what time, he was earnestly exhorted by the said bishop to recant his opinions. To whom he answered, that he would not depart from his received profession, unless he were thereunto thoroughly persuaded by the Holy Scriptures.

Upon which answer he was willed to come again the next day, being the twenty-fifth of the same month, at one o'clock in the afternoon. At which day and hour the bishop examined him again upon all his former articles before objected, to the which he most constantly did stick, with this further answer thereunto added "I am persuaded," quoth he, that I am in the right opinion, and I see no cause to repent; for all filthiness and idolatry is in the Church of Rome."

The bishop then, seeing that notwithstanding all his fair promises, and terrible threatenings, (whereof he used store,) he could not any thing prevail; finished this examination with the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against the said John Warne, and so charged the sheriffs of London with him, under whose custody he remained in the prison of Newgate, until the thirtieth day of the same month of May. Upon the which day, being the day appointed for their execution, John Card-maker, with the said John Warne, were brought by the sheriffs to the place where they should suffer: who, being come to the stake, first the sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly, so long, that in the mean time Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reed set about him, so that nothing wanted but the firing; but still abode Cardmaker talking with the sheriffs.

The people, which before had heard that Cardmaker would recant, on beholding this manner of doing, were in a marvellous dump and sadness, thinking indeed that Cardmaker should now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs, and

came towards the stake, and, in his garments as he was, kneeled down and made a long prayer in silence to himself: yet the people confirmed themselves in their fantasy of his recanting, seeing him in his garments, praying secretly, and no semblance of any burning.

His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes unto his shirt, went with bold courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly: he took Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily; and so gave himself to be also bound to the stake most gladly. The people seeing this so suddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy, (with so great a shout as hath not lightly been heard a greater,) saying, "God be praised; the Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker; the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit!" And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and they both passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in his blessed kingdom. To whom be glory and majesty for ever. Amen.

The confession of the faith of John Warne, citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned, the thirtieth day of May, A. D. 1555.

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, and Maker of heaven and earth."

"A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, whom before all worlds he hath begotten of himself, which Word was made flesh, and therein also manifested to be his Son; in whom he hath adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom—and therefore he is our Father: an Almighty God, because he hath of nothing created all things visible and invisible, both in heaven and in earth, even all creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

"'And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord.'

"The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the same substance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing liveth: he was made also perfect man; and so, being very God and very man in one person, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ransomer of them which were lost in Adam our forefather. He is the only mean of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation.

"Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary."

"According to the Father's most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly glory, humbled himself to take flesh of a virgin, according to the Scriptures, uniting the substance of the Godhead to the substance of the manhood, which he took of the substance of that blessed Virgin Mary in one person, to become therein the very Messiah, the anointed King and Priest, for ever appointed to pacify the Father's wrath, which was justly gone out against us all for our sin.

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell."

"He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the ruler of Jewry; and so unjustly accused of many crimes, that the ruler judged him innocent, and sought means to deliver him; but, contrary to known justice, he did let go Barabbas, which had deserved death, and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death: which doth declare unto us manifestly, that he suffered for our sins, and was buffeted for our offences, as the prophets do witness; thereby to have it manifested to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Therefore, suffering for our sins, he received and did bear our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the taste of abjection, the very terror of hell; yielding his spirit to his Father, his body to be buried in earth.

"'The third day he rose again from death to life.'

"To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and justification, the same crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his Godhead: he became the first-fruits of the resurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raised up from death. Through whom all true penitent sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins.

"He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty."

After that in his death and resurrection he had conquered sin, death, and the devil, and had been conversant forty days in the earth, being seen of the apostles and more than five hundred brethren at once, in the same body in which he wrought the work of our salvation, he ascended into heaven with eternal triumph, for the victory over death, sin, hell; leaving the passage open, by which all true believers may and shall enter into his kingdom, where he now sitteth at his Father's right hand; that is to say, in power and glory equal, in majesty co-eternal.

"From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead."

"He shall appear again in great glory to receive his elect unto himself, and to put his enemies under his feet; changing all living men in a moment, and raising up all that be dead, that all may be brought to his judgment. In this shall he give each man according to his deeds. They which have followed him in regeneration, which have their sins washed away in his blood, and are clothed with his righteousness, shall receive the everlasting kingdom, and reign with him for ever; and they which, after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam, have followed flesh and blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the devil and his angels.

"'I believe in the Holy Ghost.'

"I do believe that the Holy Ghost is God, the third person in Trinity, in unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Christ to inhabit our spirits, by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and loving-kindness of Christ our Lord. For he illuminateth, quickeneth, and certifieth our spirit, that by him we are sealed up unto the day of redemption; by whom we are regenerate and made new creatures, so that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant goodness promised us in Jesus Christ.

"The holy catholic church."

"This is a holy number of Adam's posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world; and is dispersed through the same by the tyranny of Gog and Magog; that is to say, the Turk and his tyranny, and antichrist, otherwise named the bishop of Rome, and his angels, as this day also doth teach.

"The communion of saints."

"Which most holy congregation, (being, as Paul teacheth, builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head corner-stone,) though it be by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers persecuted, some by imprisonment, some by death, and some by other afflictions and painful torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect unity, both in faith and fellowship: which unity is knit in an unspeakable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be living, and hereafter shall be in the same, and so shall continue until they all do meet in the kingdom, where the head Jesus Christ, with all these his holy members, (of which number through Christ I assuredly believe that I am one,) shall be fully complete, knit, and u ited together for evermore.

"'The forgiveness of sins.'

"I do believe that my sins, and all their sins which do rightly believe the Holy Scripture, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ, of whom only I do profess that I have my whole and full salvation and redemption; which, St. Paul saith, cometh not through our works and deservings, but freely by grace, lest any should boast himself. Through the blood of his cross all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and set at peace with the Father; without him no heavenly life is given, nor sin forgiven.

"The resurrection of the body."

"I do believe, that by the same my Saviour Christ, I and all men shall rise again from death; for he, as St. Paul saith, is risen again from the dead, and is become the first-fruits of them which sleep. For by a man came death, and by a man cometh the resurrection from death. This man is Christ, through the power of whose resurrection I believe that we all shall rise again in these our bodies; the elect clothed with immortality, to live with Christ for ever: the reprobate also shall rise immortal, to live with the devil and his angels in death everlasting.

"'And the life everlasting.'

"Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He only is the way and entrance into the kingdom of heaven: For so God loved the world, that he did give his only Son Jesus Christ, to the end that so many as do believe in him, might have everlasting life. The which I am sure to possess, so soon as I am dissolved, and departed out of this tabernacle; and in the last day shall both body and soul possess the same for ever, to the which God grant all men to come.

"I believe that the sacraments, that is to say, of baptism and of the Lord's supper, are seals of God's most merciful promises towards mankind. In baptism, as by the outward creature of water I am washed from the filthiness which hangeth on my flesh; so do I assuredly believe, that I am, by Christ's blood, washed clean from my sins, through which I have sure confidence of my certain salvation. In the partaking of the Lord's supper, as I receive the substance of bread and wine, (the nature of which is to strengthen the body,) so do I, by faith, receive the redemption wrought in Christ's body broken on the cross, life by his death, resurrection by his resurrection; and in sum, all that ever Christ in his body suffered for my salvation, to the strengthening of my faith in the same. And I believe, that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy supper, according to his word, to move and to stir up my mind to believe these articles above written.

"This is my faith; this do I believe; and I am content by God's grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my blood.

"By me, JOHN WARNE."

A letter of John Cardmaker to a certain friend of his.

"The peace of God be with you:—You shall right well perceive that I am not gone back, as some men do report me, but as ready to give my life, as any of my brethren that are gone before me; although by a policy I have a little prolonged it, and that for the best, as already it appeareth unto me, and shall shortly appear unto all. That day that I recant any point of doctrine, I shall suffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord being mine assistance; as I doubt not but he will. Commend me to my friend, and tell him no less. This the Lord strengthen you, me, and all his elect. My riches and poverty is as it was wont to be, and I have learned to rejoice in poverty as well as in riches, for that count I now to be very riches. Thus fare ye well in Christ. Salute all my brethren in my name. I have conferred with some of my adversaries, learned men, and I find that they be but sophists and shadows."

A note concerning Master Cardmaker, and one Beard, a promoter.

Master Cardmaker being condemned, and in Newgate, one Beard, a promoter, came to him two or three days before he was burned, and said thus unto him:

Beard.—"Sir, I am sent unto you by the council, to know whether ye will recant or no?"

Cardmaker.—"From which council are ye come? I think ye are not come, nor yet sent, from the queen's council, but rather from the commissioners, unto whom (as I suppose) ye belong. And whereas ye would know, whether I will recant or no, thus I pray you report of me to those who ye said sent you. I know you are a tailor by your occupation, and have endeavoured yourself to be a cunning workman, and thereby to get your living: so I have been a preacher these twenty years, and ever since that God, by his great mercy, hath opened mine eyes to see his eternal truth, I have, by his grace, endeavoured myself to call upon him, to give me the true understanding of his holy word; and I thank him for his great mercy. I hope I have discharged my conscience in the setting forth of the same, to that little talent that I have received."

Beard.—"Yea, sir; but what say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar?"

Cardmaker.—"I say, (and mark it well,) that Christ, the night before his bitter passion, ordained the holy and blessed communion, and hath given commandment, that his death should be preached before the receiving thereof; in remembrance of his body broken, and his precious blood shed, for the forgiveness of our sins, to as many as faithfully believe and trust in him."

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with him, he asked of him, Whether the sacrament he spake of, had a beginning or no? Whereunto when he had granted and affirmed the same to be, then Master Cardmaker again thus inferred thereupon:

"If the sacrament," said he, "as you confess, have a beginning and an ending, then it cannot be God; for God hath no beginning nor ending" and so willing him well to note the same, he departed from him.

## 283. Other Events of June, 1555.

The fifth day of June, [there were letters sent to] Master Secretary Bourne, the master of the Rolls, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Richard Read, and Dr. Hughes, authorizing them, or two or three of them at the least, to proceed to examination of Benger, Cary, D\*\*\*, and Field, upon such further points as they shall gather out of their former confessions, touching their lewd and vain practices of calculating or conjuring, presently sent unto them with the said letters.

The seventh day of June there was another letter to Sir John Tregonwell; willing him to join in commission with the said Lord North, and others above named, about the examination of the said parties and others for conjuring and witcheraft. And the twenty-ninth of August, Cary and D\*\*\* were set at liberty upon bonds for their good appearing until Christmas after.

The twelfth day of June a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to cause writs to be made to the sheriff of Sussex, for the burning and executing of Derike, a brewer, at Lewes, and other two, the one at Stenning, the other at Chichester.

The twenty-third of June a letter was sent to Bonner, to examine a report given to the council of four parishes within the soke of Essex, that should still use the English service; and to punish the offenders, if any such be.

# 284. John Ardeley and John Simson.

The story of John Ardeley and John Simson, martyrs, of the parish of Wigborough the Great, in Essex.



ITH Master Cardmaker andcJohn Warne, upon the same day, and in the same company, and for the same cause, were also condemned John Ardeley and John Simson; which was the twenty-fifth day of May. But before we come to the story of them, first here is to be noted the copy of the king and queen's letter, directed from the court the same day, and sent by a post early in the morning to the bishop, in tenor and form as followeth

"To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved, the bishop of London.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas of late we addressed our letters to the justices of peace within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby, amongst other instructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the country round about them, they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered persons as (forgetting their duties towards God and us) do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, refusing to show themselves conformable to the catholic religion of Christ's church; wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the ordinary, to be by him charitably travailed withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty opinions; or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disordered persons, being by the justices of peace, for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the ordinaries to be used as is aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or, if they be received, are neither so travailed with as Christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; like as we find this matter very strange, so we have thought convenient both to signify this our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders shall be by the said officers or justices of peace brought unto you, you to use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be; or else in proceeding against them (if they shall continue obstinate) according to the order of the laws; so as through your good furtherance, both God's glory may be better advanced, and the commonwealth more quietly governed.

"Given under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the twenty-fourth of May, the first and second years of our reigns."

This letter thus coming from the court to the bishop, made him the more earnest and hasty to the condemnation, as well of others, as of these men, of whom now we have presently to entreat, of John Simson, I mean, and John Ardeley; which being both of one country, and of one

town together, and of one trade, that is, being both husbandmen in the town of Wigborough in Essex, and also almost both of one age, save that Simson was of the age of thirty-four, the other of thirty, were brought up both together by the under-sheriff of Essex, to Bonner, bishop of London, upon the accusation (as in that time it was called) of heresy.

As touching the order and manner of their examinations before the bishop; as the articles ministered against them were much like, so their answers again unto the same were not much discrepant in manner and form; as out of the bishop's own registers here followeth expressed.

"I. First, That thou John Simson, [or John Ardeley,] husbandman, of the age of thirty-four years or thereabout, wast and art of the parish of Great Wigborough, within the diocese of London; and thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that there is here in earth one catholic and universal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

"II. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden, under the pain of damnation of thy soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic and universal church, and to the religion of the same, in all necessary points of the said faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the said faith or religion, or in any part thereof.

"III. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that that faith and religion, which both the Church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the said catholic and universal church, and the faith and religion of Christ, and also is the very true faith and religion which all Christian people ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep; but, contrariwise, thou hast believed, and dost believe, that that faith and religion, which the said Church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid, have heretofore believed, and do now believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed of any Christian man.

"IV. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the sacrament of the altar there is in substance the very body and blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine, and albeit that it be so believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the said Church of Rome, and all other the churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost so believe; but, contrariwise, thou hast and dost believe firmly and stedfastly, that there is not in the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof; and that the said material and common bread and wine are only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and by faith to he received, only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any such substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

"V. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and thou hast openly spoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christ's body and blood, is only to take material and common bread, and to break it, and to distribute it amongst the people; remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only.

"VI. Item, That thou hast likewise believed, taught, and spoken, that the mass now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ, and hath no goodness in it, saving the Gloria in excelsis, and the Epistle and the Gospel; and that therefore thou hast not, nor wilt not, come to be present at the mass, nor receive the sacrament of the altar, or any other sacrament of the church, as they are now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid.

"VII. Item, That thou hast in times past believed precisely, and obstinately affirmed and said, and so lost now believe and think, that auricular confession is not needful to be made unto the priest, but it is a thing superfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other person: and likewise thou hast condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church, and the service of the same, and hast said, that no service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue; and if it be otherwise said, it is unlawful and naught."

The answers of John Simson, and also of John Ardeley, to the foresaid articles.

"To the first, they believe, that here in earth there is one catholic and universal holy church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the first article; and that this church is dispersed and scattered abroad throughout the whole world.

"To the second, they believe, that they be bound to give faith and credence unto it, as is contained in the second article.

"To the third, as concerning the faith and religion of the Church of Rome, of Italy, Spain, France, Ireland, Scotland, and other churches in Europe, they say, they have nothing to do with that faith and religion: but as concerning the faith and religion of England, that if the said Church of England be ruled and governed by the Word of Life, then the Church of England hath the faith and religion of the catholic church, and not otherwise; and do say also, that if the Church of England were ruled by the Word of Life, it would not go about to condemn them and others of this heresy.

"To the fourth they answer, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is very bread and very wine, not altered or changed in substance in any wise; and that he that receiveth the said bread and wine, doth spiritually and by faith only receive the body and blood of Christ; but not the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance under the forms of bread and wine.

"To the fifth they say, they have answered, answering to the said fourth article, and yet nevertheless they say, that they have believed, and do believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but only the substance of the natural bread and wine.

"To the sixth they say, that they believe, that the mass is of the pope, and not of Christ; and therefore it is not good, nor having in it any goodness, saving the Gloria in excelsis, the

Epistle and Gospel, the Creed, and the Pater-noster; and for this cause they say they have not, nor will not, come and hear mass.

"To the seventh, John Ardeley answereth and saith, that he believeth the contents of the same to be true; but John Simson doth answer, that he is not as yet fully resolved with himself, what answer to make thereunto; and further, that as touching the common and daily service said and used in the church, he saith, that he never said, that service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue, nor yet he never said, that if it be otherwise said and used than in English, it is unlawful and naught.

"JOHN ARDELEY and JOHN SIMSON."

Thus these articles being to them objected, and their answers made unto the same, as before, the bishop, according to the old trade of his consistory court, respited them to the afternoon, bidding them to make their appearance the said day and place, between the hours of two and three. At what time the said bishop, repeating again the said articles unto them, and beginning with John Ardeley, did urge and solicitate him, according to his manner of words, to recant.

To whom John Ardeley again, constantly standing to his professed religion, gave answer in words as followeth "My Lord," quoth he, "neither you, nor any other of your religion, is of the catholic church; for you be of a false faith: and I doubt not but you shall be deceived at length, bear as good a face as ye can. Ye will shed the innocent blood, and you have killed many, and yet go about to kill more." &c.

And added further, saying, "If every hair of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the opinion and faith that I am now in." These with many other words he spake. Then the bishop yet demanded if he would relinquish his erroneous opinions, (as he called them,) and be reduced again to the unity of the church. He answered as followeth, "No! God foreshield that I should so do, for then I should lose my soul."

After this, the said bishop, asking John Ardeley (after his formal manner) if he knew any cause why he should not have sentence condemnatory against him, so read the condemnation; as he also did against John Simson, standing likewise in the same cause and constancy with John Ardeley: which was done the twenty-fifth day of May. And so were they both committed to the secular power, (that is, to the hands of the sheriffs,) to be conveyed to the place where they should be executed. But before I come to their execution, here is not to be passed a thing not unworthy the looking upon, which happened in the closing up the examination of these two innocent martyrs of God, which is this:

At the time of the examination of this Simson and John Ardeley aforesaid, there was assembled such a great multitude of people, that because the consistory was not able to hold them, they were fain to stand in the church, near about the said consistory, waiting to see the prisoners when they should depart. It happened in the mean time, that the bishop, being set in a heat with the stout and bold answers of the said two prisoners, (especially of John Simson,) burst out in his loud and angry voice, and said, "Have him away! have him away!"

Now the people in the church, hearing these words, and thinking (because the day was far spent) that the prisoners had their judgment, they, being desirous to see the prisoners had to Newgate, severed themselves, one running one way, another another way, which caused such a noise in the church, that they in the consistory were all amazed, and marvelled what it should mean: wherefore the bishop also, being somewhat afraid of this sudden stir, asked what there was to do. The standers-by answering said, that there was like to be some tumult; for they were together by the ears.

When the bishop heard this, by and by his heart was in his heels, and leaving his seat, he with the rest of the court betook them to their legs, hastening with all speed possible to recover the door that went into the bishop's house: but the rest, being somewhat lighter of foot than my Lord, did sooner recover the door, and thronging hastily to get in, kept the bishop still out, and cried, "Save my Lord! save my Lord!" but meaning yet first to save themselves, if any danger should come; whereby they gave the standers-by good matter to laugh at; resembling in some part a spectacle not much unlike to the old stagers at Oxford, worse feared than hurt, when the church there was noised to be set on fire, whereof ye may read before. But of this matter enough.

Now John Simson and John Ardeley being delivered (as is aforesaid) to the sheriffs, were shortly after sent down from London to Essex, where both they in one day (which was about the tenth of June) were put to death, albeit in several places; for John Simson suffered at Rochford; John Ardeley the same day was had to Rayleigh, where he finished his martyrdom most quietly in the quarrel of Christ's gospel.

### A note of John Ardeley.

For the better consideration of the rigorous cruelty of these catholic days, this is furthermore not unworthy of all men to be noted and known to all posterity, concerning the examinations of this Ardeley and his company, how that they, being brought before the commissioners, were by them greatly charged of stubbornness and vain-glory. Unto whom they answered in defence of their own simplicity, that they were content willingly to yield to the queen all their goods and lands, so that they might be suffered to live under her, in keeping their conscience free from all idolatry and papistical religion. Yet this would not be granted, although they had offered all to their heart-blood; so greedy and so thirsty be these persecutors of Christian blood. The Lord give them repentance if it be his will, and keep from them the just reward of such cruel dealing! Amen.

# 285. John Tooley

The ridiculous handling and proceeding of Bishop Bonner and his mates against John Tooley, first suspected and condemned after his death, and then digged out of his grave, and given to the secular power, and so burned for a heretic.

About the same time of the burning of these two aforesaid, in the beginning of the said month of June, fell out a solemn process, and much ado was made about the pope's spiritually against John Tooley, in a case of heresy. The story is this: There was about the time that the Spaniards began first to keep a stir in England, one John Tooley, a citizen and poulterer in London, who conspired with certain other of his society, to rob a Spaniard at St. James's: and although the deed were heinous and wicked of itself, yet was it aggravated and made greater than it was by others, being committed against such a person, and against such a country, which both the queen and her whole court did highly favour. The robbery being known, and brought into judgment, this Tooley was found guilty, and judged to be hanged, whereas notwithstanding in this realm there are many more thefts committed than thieves executed.

The foresaid Tooley being led to the gallows, (which stood fast by Charing Cross,) a little before he died, standing upon the cart, read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two several papers: who then, having the halter about his neck, desired the people there present to pray for him, and to bear him witness that he died a true Christian man, and that he trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's passion, and shedding of his precious blood; and not by any masses or trentals, images or saints, which were (as he said) mere idolatry and superstition, and devised by the bishop of Rome: and as the same Tooley, and two other his fellows which were there hanged with him, did steal and rob for covetousness, so the bishop of Rome did sell his masses and trentals, with such other paltry, for covetousness; and there being in a great anger (as appeared) against the bishop of Rome, spake with a loud voice these words following "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord, deliver us!"

And then adding further to the same, he spake unto the people,—"All you that be true Christian men, say with me, Amen." And immediately thereupon three hundred persons and more, to the judgment and estimation of those that were there present, answered and said, "Amen," three times together at the least.

After this it happened, that when Tooley had read the bill the first time, it fell from him, and a certain young man (who was thought to be a prentice) stooped down and took up the bill, and climbed up by the cart, and delivered it unto Tooley again, which he again did read to the people. That done, he delivered unto one of the marshal's officers the book aforesaid, and willed him to deliver it unto one Haukes, saving, that it was his book. Furthermore, he delivered one of the prayers, written in a paper, to one Robert Bromley, sergeant, who desired to have it of him. Upon the top of which bill was written a line, containing these words, "Beware of Antichrist;" and subscribed underneath, "Per me Thomam Harold, prisoner in the Marshalsea, enemy to

antichrist." For the bill aforesaid, Robert Bromley was brought afterward *coram nobis*; and was fain to ask pardon of the bishop, and to detest all the words of Tooley, and glad so to escape.

Thus while Tooley had made his prayers, as is abovesaid, to be delivered from the pope's tyranny, by the same prayers he fell into great tyranny. For so soon as the bruit of this fact came unto the ears of the priests and mitred prelates, they were not a little mad thereat, thinking it not tolerable that so great a reproach should be done against the holy father. Calling therefore for a council together, as though it had been a matter of great importance, Tooley's talk at his death was debated among themselves.

At last, after much pro and contra, they all consented to those men's judgments, who thought it meet that the violating of the pope's Holiness should be revenged with fire and faggot. And I do easily believe that Cardinal Pole was no small doer in this sentence; for as Winchester and Bonner did always thirst after the blood of the living, so Pole's lightning was for the most part kindled against the dead; and he reserved this charge only to himself, I know not for what purpose, except peradventure, being loth to be so cruel as the other, he thought nevertheless by this means to discharge his duty towards the pope. By the same cardinal's like lightning and fiery fist the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, which had lain almost two years in their graves, were taken up and burned at Cambridge, as Tooley's carcass was here at London. And besides this, because he would show some token of his diligence in both universities, he caused Peter Martyr's wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the churchyard, and to be buried on the dunghill. of these two prodigious acts ye shall hear more hereafter. But now to our purpose of Tooley, who, having ended his prayer, was hanged and put into his grave, out of which he was digged again, by the commandment of the bishops; and because he was so bold to derogate the authority of the bishop of Rome, at the time of his death, it pleased them to judge and condemn him as a heretic, upon the commandment of the council's letter, as here appeareth.

A letter sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, from the council, concerning Tooley.

"After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship, understanding that of late amongst others that have suffered about London for their offences, one lewd person that was condemned for felony died very obstinately, professing at the time of his death sundry heretical and erroneous opinions; like as we think it not convenient that such a matter should be overpassed without some example to the world, so have we thought good to pray your Lordship to cause further inquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed to the making out of such process as by the ecclesiastical laws is provided in that behalf. And so we bid your Lordship heartily well to fare.

"From Hampton Court, the 28th of April, 1555.

"Your Lordship's loving friends.

Step. Winton, chancellor.

F. Shrewsbury

John Gage.

Thomas Cheney.

R. Rochester.

William Peter.

Rich. Southwell."

Anon after, a citation was set up upon Paul's church door under the bishop of London's great seal.

When the time of this citation was expired, and this Tooley being cited did not appear, next in order of law came the suspension (whereas one suspension had been enough for him); and after that cometh the excommunication, that is, that no man should eat and drink with him: or if any met him by the way, he should not bid him good morrow; and besides that, he should be excluded from the communion of the church. These things being prepared in such manner, as in such cases full wisely they use to do, at length one stood out for the nonce, that made answer to certain articles, rehearsed in judgment openly, and that in the behalf of the dead man. But when the poor dead man could neither speak for himself, nor did (as they said) sufficiently answer them by the other—to avoid the name of a heretic—first witnesses were provided against him. whose names were Henry Clark, esquire, Thomas May, keeper of the Marshalsea, Philip Andrew, under-marshal, William Holingworth, fishmonger, William Gellard, William Walton, chandler, Richard Longman, merchant-tailor, Philip Britten, John Burton, brewer, Thomas Smith, sergeant. Then he was for a heretic condemned, and so committed to the secular power, namely, to the sheriffs of London, who, with the like diligence, went about to execute their charge. Therefore receiving the man, (being suspended, excommunicated, condemned as a heretic, and besides that, dead,) they laid him on the fire to be burned, namely, for a continual remembrance thereof: this was done the fourth day of June.

## 286. Thomas Haukes.

The history and martyrdom of the worthy servant of Christ, Thomas Haukes, gentleman; with his examinations and answers had with Bishop Bonner, recorded and penned with his own hand.

Immediately after the story of Doctor Taylor, mention before was made of six men brought and convented before Bishop Bonner upon the eighth day of February; the names of which martyrs were, Stephen Knight, William Pygot, Thomas Tomkins, John Laurence, William Hunter. In which number was also Thomas Haukes, and condemned likewise with them the ninth day of the foresaid month of February. But because his execution did not so shortly follow with theirs, but was prolonged to this present tenth day of the month of June, wherewith we are now in hand, it followeth therefore now consequently to enter tractation thereof; first, beginning briefly with his godly conversation and institution of life, then showing of his troubles, also of his examinations and conflicts with the bishop and other adversaries, according as the order of his story doth require.

As touching therefore his education and order of life, first, he was of the country of Essex, born of an honest stock, in calling and profession a courtier, brought up daintily from his childhood, and like a gentleman. Besides that, he was of such comeliness and stature, so well endued with excellent qualities, that he might seem on every side a man (as it were) made for the purpose. But his gentle behaviour toward others, and especially his fervent study and singular love unto true religion and godliness, did surmount all the rest. Wherein as God did singularly adorn him, even so he, being such a valiant martyr of God, may seem to nobilitate the whole company of other holy martyrs, and as a bright star to make the church of God and his truth, of themselves bright and clear, more gloriously to shine by his example.

For if the conquests of martyrs are the triumphs of Christ, (as St. Ambrose doth notably and truly write,) undoubtedly Christ in few men hath either conquered more notably, or triumphed more gloriously, than in this young man: he stood so wisely in his cause, so godly in his life, and so constantly in his death.

But to the declaration of the matter: first, this Haukes, following the guise of the court, as he grew in years, entered service with the lord of Oxford, where he remained a good space, being there right well esteemed and loved of all the household, so long as Edward the Sixth lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, religion to decay, godliness not only to wax cold, but also to be in danger every where, and chiefly in the houses of great men. Haukes, misliking the state of things, and especially in such men's houses, rather than he would change the profession of true godliness which he had tasted, thought to change the place; and so, forsaking the nobleman's house, departed thence to his own home, where more freely he might give himself to God, and use his own conscience.

But what paradise in this world shall a man find so secret for himself, whither that old wicked serpent cannot creep, whereby he may have some matter to overthrow the quietness of the godly? Now in the mean season (as it happened) Haukes, keeping his house at home, had

born unto him a young son, whose baptism was deferred to the third week, for that he would not suffer him to be baptized after the papistical manner; which thing the adversaries not able to suffer, laying hands upon him, did bring him to the earl of Oxford, there to be reasoned with, as not sound in religion, in that he seemed to contemn the sacraments of the church.



he earl, either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself not able to weigh with him in such cases of religion, sent him up to London with a messenger, and letters; and so, willing to clear his own hands, put him in the hands of Bonner, bishop of London; the contents of which his letter sent to Bonner, be these.

"Most reverend father in God, he it known unto you, that I have sent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the county of Essex, who hath a child that hath remained unchristened more than three weeks; who, being upon the same examined, hath denied to have it baptized as it is now used in the church; whereupon I have sent

him to your good Lordship, to use as ye think best, by your good discretion."

When the bishop had perused this letter, and afterward read it to Master Haukes, he, hearing the same, thought with himself that he should not be very well used, seeing he was put to his discretion. Then wrote the bishop a letter again to him that sent the prisoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in setting forth the queen's proceedings. Then began the bishop to enter communication with Master Haukes, first asking, what should move him to leave his child unchristened so long? To whom Master Haukes answered thus again as followeth:

Private talk or conference between Haukes and Bonner.

Haukes.—"Because we be bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God."

Bonner.—"Why! baptism is commanded by the word of God."

Haukes.—"His institution therein I do not deny."

Bonner.—"What deny ye then?"

Haukes.—"I deny all things invented and devised by man."

Bonner.—"What things be those that be devised by man, that ye be so offended withal?"

Haukes.—"Your oil, cream, salt, spittle, candle, and conjuring of water, &c."

*Bonner*.—"Will ye deny that, which all the whole world, and your father, hath been contented withal?"

*Haukes.*—"What my father and all the whole world have done, I have nothing to do withal: but what God hath commanded me to do, to that stand I."

Bonner.—"The catholic church hath taught it."

*Haukes.*—"What is the catholic church?

"Bonner.—"It is the faithful congregation, wheresoever it he dispersed throughout the whole world."

Haukes.—"Who is the head thereof?"

*Bonner.*—"Christ is the head thereof."

Haukes.—"Are we taught in Christ, or in the church now?"

*Bonner*.—"Have ye not read in John viii. where he said, he would send his Comforter, which should teach you all things?"

*Haukes.*—"I grant you it is so, that he would send his Comforter—but to what end? Forsooth to this end, that he should lead you into all truth and verity; and that is not to teach a new doctrine."

*Bonner*.—"Ah, sir? ye are a right Scripture man; for ye will have nothing but the Scripture. There is a great number of your countrymen of your opinion. Do you know one Knight and Pygot?"

Haukes.—"Knight I know, but Pygot I do not know."

*Bonner.*—"I thought ye were acquainted with him: it seemeth so by your judgment. What preachers do ye know in Essex?"

Haukes.—"I know none."

Bonner.—"Do ye not know one Baget there?"

Haukes.—"Yes forsooth, I know him."

Bonner.—"What manner of man is he?"

Haukes.—"An honest man so far as I know."

Bonner.—"Do you know him if ye see him?"

Haukes.—"Yea, that I do."

Then said he to one of his servants, "Go call me Baget hither." And then he said to me, "Ye seem to be a very proud man, and a stubborn."—He that brought me up stood all this while by.

- Haukes.—"What should move your Lordship so to say?"
- Bonner.—"Because I see in a man that came with you, much humility and lowliness."
- Haukes.—"It seemeth your Lordship speaketh that to me, because I make no courtesy to you:"—and with that came Baget. Then the bishop said to Baget "How say ye, sir? know ye this man?"
- Baget.—"Yea forsooth, my Lord:"—with that Baget and I shook hands. Then said the bishop to Baget, "Sir, this man hath a child which hath lain three weeks unchristened (as I have letters to show); who refuseth to have it baptized, as it is now used in the church:—how say you thereto?"
- *Baget.*—"Forsooth, my Lord, I say nothing thereto." [with low courtesy to the hard ground.]
- *Bonner*.—"Say you nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and used in the church or not."
- *Baget.*—"I beseech your Lordship to pardon me: he is old enough; let him answer for himself."
- *Bonner.*—"Ah, sir knave! are ye at that point with me?" "Go call me the porter," said he, to one of his men "Thou shalt sit in the stocks, and have nothing but bread and water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and have I you at this point?"

Then came the bishop's man, and said, "The porter is gone to London:" then said the bishop to Baget, "Come with me;" and he went away with him, and commanded me away, and bade one of his gentlemen to talk with me, (who was one of his own teaching,) who desired, amongst other things, to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in Essex, and what men they were, that were my teachers.

Haukes. "When I see your commission I will make you answer."—And then immediately came the bishop again: but ere he came, his man and I had much talk. Then the bishop sat down under a vine in his orchard, and called Baget to him, whom he carried away, and brought again; and called me also, and said to Baget "How say ye now, sir, unto baptism? Say, whether it be to be frequented and used in the church, as it is now, or no?"

Baget.—"Forsooth, my Lord, I say it is good."

*Bonner*.—"I befool your heart; could ye not have said so before? Ye have wounded this man's conscience." Then the bishop turned to me and said, "How say ye now, sir? This man is turned and converted."

*Haukes.*—"I build my faith neither upon this man, neither upon you, but only upon Christ Jesus; who (as Paul saith) is the founder and author of all men's faith."

*Bonner*.—"I perceive ye are a stubborn fellow. I must be glad to work another way with you, to win you."

Haukes.—"Whatsoever ye do, I am ready to suffer it: for I am in your hands to abide it."

*Bonner*.—"Well, ye are so; come on your ways; ye shall go in, and I will use you Christian-like: you shall have meat and drink, such as I have in my house: but in any wise talk not "

Haukes.—"I purpose to talk nothing but the word of God and truth."

Bonner.—"I will have no heresy talked on in my house."

*Haukes.*—"Why, is the truth become heresy? God hath commanded that we should have none other talk in our houses, in our beds, at our meat, and by the way, but all truth."

Bonner.—"If ye will have my favour, be ruled by my counsel."

Haukes.—"Then I trust you will grant me my request."

Bonner.—"What is that?"

*Haukes.*—"That your doctors and servants give me none occasion: for if they do, I will surely utter my conscience."

Then commanded he his men to take in Baget, and let not Haukes and him talk together. And so thus we departed, and went to dinner; and I dined at the steward's table. After dinner, his chaplains and his men began to talk with me. But amongst all others, there was one Darbishire, principal of Broadgates in Oxford, and the bishop's kinsman, who said to me, that I was too curious; "for ye will have," said he, "nothing but your little pretty God's book."

Haukes.—"And is it not sufficient for my salvation?" "Yes," said Darbishire, "it is sufficient for our salvation, but not for our instruction."

Haukes.—"God send me the salvation, and you the instruction."

And as we thus reasoned, came the bishop, who said unto me, "I gave you a commandment, that you should not talk."

Haukes.—"And I desired you, that your doctors and servants should give me none occasion."—Then went we into his orchard again, he and his doctors and I.

*Bonner*.—"Would not ye be contented to have that your child should be christened after the book that was set out by King Edward?"

Haukes.—"Yes, with a good will: it is a thing that I desire."

*Bonner*.—"I thought so: ye would have the same thing. The principal is in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and, in necessity, it may serve."

Haukes.—"Christ did use it without any such necessity: and yet we lack the chiefest point."

Bonner.—"What is that?"

Haukes.—"Go teach all nations, baptizing them, &c."

Bonner.—"Thou speakest that, because I am no preacher."

*Haukes.*—"I speak the text: I do not mean you." Then spake all the doctors and his men that were with him "He speaketh it of you, my Lord" [with a great noise that they made].

Bonnet.—"Will ye be content to tarry here, and your child shall be baptized, and you shall not know of it, so that you will agree to it?"

*Haukes.*—"If I would so have done, I needed not to have come to you: for I had the same counsel given before."

*Bonner*.—"You seem to be a lusty young man; you will not give your head for the washing; you will stand in the defence of it for the honour of your country. Do ye think that the queen and I cannot command it to he done, in spite of your teeth?"

*Haukes.*—"What the queen and you can do, I will not stand in it: but ye get my consent never the sooner."

Bonner.—"Well, you are a stubborn young man: I perceive I must work another way with you."

Haukes.—"Ye are in the hands of God: and so am I."

Bonner.—"Whatsoever you think, I will not have you speak such words unto me."—And so we departed until evensong time; and ere evensong was begun, my Lord called for me to come to him into the chapel, and said; "Haukes! thou art a proper young man, and God hath done his part unto thee; I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knowest that I am thy pastor, and one that should answer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I should answer for thy soul."

Haukes.—"That I have said, I will stand to it, God willing: there is no way to remove it."

*Bonner*.—"Nay, nay, Haukes, thou shalt not be so wilful. Remember Christ bade two go into his vineyard: the one said he would, and went not; the other said he would not, and went."

Haukes.—"The last went."

Bonner.—"Do thou likewise, and I will talk friendly with thee; how sayest thou? It is in the sixth of St. John, I am the bread of life; and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world: and whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life. My flesh is very meat indeed, and my blood is very drink indeed. And he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Do ye believe this?"

Haukes.—"Yea, I must needs believe the Scriptures."

Bonner.—"Why! then I trust that you be sound in the blessed sacrament."

Haukes.—"I beseech your Lordship to feel my conscience no further than in that I was accused in unto you."

*Bonner.*—"Well, well! let us go unto evensong."—With that I turned my back to go out of the chapel.

Bonner.—"Why, will you not tarry evensong?"

Haukes.—"No, forsooth."

Bonner.—"And why?"

Haukes.—"For I will not."

*Bonner.*—"And why will ye not?

Haukes.—"For because I have no edifying thereby, for I understand no Latin."

Bonner.—"Why? you may pray by yourself. What books have ye?"

Haukes.—"I have the New Testament, the books of Solomon, and the Psalter."

Bonner.—"Why, I pray you, tarry here, and pray you on your Psalter."

Haukes.—"I will not pray in this place, nor in any such."

Then said one of his chaplains, "Let him go, my Lord; and he shall be no partaker with us in our prayers."

Haukes.—"I think myself best at ease when I am furthest from you."—And so the bishop went to evensong, and I came down and walked between the hall and the chapel in the court, and tarried there till evensong was done. And within an hour after that evensong was done, the bishop sent for me into his chamber where he lay himself; and when I came, there was he, and three of his chaplains.

*Bonner*.—"Ye know of the talk that was between you and me, as concerning the sacrament. You would not have your conscience sought any further, than in that ye were accused of "

Haukes.—"I thought you would not be both mine accuser and judge."

*Bonner*.—"Well, ye shall answer me to the sacrament of baptism, the sacrament of penance, and the sacrament of matrimony."

Haukes.—"There are none of these, but I dare speak my conscience in them."

Bonner.—"The sacrament of the altar ye seem to be sound in."

Haukes.—"In the sacrament of the altar?—why, sir, I do not know it."

*Bonner*.—"Well, we will make you to know it, and believe in it too, ere ever we have done with you."

Haukes.—"No, that shall ye never do."

Bonner.—"Yes, a faggot will make you do it."

*Haukes.*—"No, no, a point for your faggot! What God thinketh meet to be done, that shall ye do; and more ye shall not do."

*Bonner.*—"Do ye not believe that there remaineth in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration be spoken, no more bread, but the very body and blood of Christ?"—and at that word he put off his cap.

Haukes.—"I do believe as Christ hath taught me."

Bonner.—"Why, did not Christ say, Take, eat, this is my body?"

*Haukes.*—"Christ said so: but therefore it followeth not, that the sacrament of the altar is so as you teach; neither did Christ ever teach it so to be."

Bonner.—"Why? the catholic church taught it so; and they were of Christ's church."

*Haukes.*—"How prove you it? The apostles never taught it so. Read Acts ii. and xx. Neither Peter nor Paul ever taught it, neither instituted it so."

*Bonner.*—"Ah, sir! ye will have no more than the Scripture teacheth, but even as Christ hath left it bare."

Haukes.—He that teacheth me any otherwise, I will not believe him."

Bonner.—"Why? then ye must eat a lamb, if ye will have but Christ's institution only."

*Haukes.*—"Nay, that is not so; before that Christ did institute the sacrament, that ceremony ceased, and then began the sacrament."

Bonner.—"Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the institution thereof."

Haukes.—"Then I would be glad to learn."

Bonner.—"Marry, we will teach you: but you are so stubborn that ye will not learn."

Haukes.—"Except ye learn me by the word of God, I will never credit you, nor believe you:" and thus we concluded. Then the bishop and his chaplains laughed and said, "Jesu, Jesu! what a stubbornness and arrogantness is this! "And this was in his chamber where he lay. Then said the bishop to me, "Go ye down, and drink; for it is fasting day: it is Midsummer Even, but I think ye love neither fasting nor praying."

*Haukes.*—"I will never deny fasting, neither praying; so that it be done as it ought to be done, and without hypocrisy or vain-glory."

Bonner.—"I like you the better for that:" and so we left for that night.

The next day the bishop went to London: for Fecknam was made dean that day, and I tarried still at Fulham. Then did the bishop's men desire me to come to mass, but I did utterly refuse it, answering them as I did their master. That night the bishop came home to Fulham again.

Talk between Harpsfield and Thomas Haukes.

Then upon the Monday morning, very early, the bishop did call for me. There was with him Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, to whom the bishop said, "This is the man which I told you of, who would not have his child christened, nor will have any ceremonies."

*Harpsfield.*—"Christ used ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took spittle, and made the blind man to see?"

*Haukes.*—"I wot well that; but Christ did never use it in baptism. If ye will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it unto."

Harpsfield.—"Admit your child die unchristened: what a heavy case stand you in!"

Haukes.—"I admit that, if it do: what then?"

Harpsfield.—"Marry, then are ye damned, and your child both."

Haukes.—"Judge you no further than ye may by the Scriptures."

Harpsfield.—"Do ye not know that your child is born in original sin?"

Haukes.—"Yes, that I do."

Harpsfield.—"How is original sin washed away?"

Haukes.—"By true faith and belief of Christ Jesus."

Harpsfield.—"How can your child, being an infant, believe?"

Haukes.—"The deliverance of it from sin, standeth in the faith of his parents."

*Harpsfield.*—"How prove you that?"

*Haukes.*—"By St. Paul, in 1 Cor. vii.: The unbelieving man is sanctified by the believing woman; and the unbelieving woman is sanctified by the believing man; or else were your children unclean."

*Harpsfield.*—"I will prove that they whom thou puttest thy trust in, will be against thee in this opinion."

Haukes.—"Who be those?"

Harpsfield.—"Your great learned men in Oxford."

Haukes.—"If they do it by the Scriptures, I will believe them."

*Bonner*.—"Recant, recant. Do you not know that Christ said, Except ye be baptized, ye cannot be saved:"

Haukes.—"Doth Christianity stand in outward ceremonies, or no?"

Bonner.—"Partly it doth: what say you to that?"

*Haukes.*—"I say as St. Peter saith, Not the washing of water purgeth the filthiness of the flesh, but a good conscience consenting unto God."

Harpsfield.—"Beware of pride, brother, beware of pride!"

Haukes.—"It is written, Pride serveth not for men, nor yet for the sons of men."

Bonner.—"Let us make an end here.—How say you to the mass, sirrah?"

Haukes.—"I say, it is detestable, abominable, and profitable for nothing."

Bonner.—"What! nothing profitable in it What say you to the Epistle and Gospel?"

Haukes.—"It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used."

Bonner.—"Well, I am glad that ye somewhat recant: recant all, recant all."

Haukes.—"I have recanted nothing; nor will do."

Bonner.—"How say you to Confiteor?"

*Haukes.*—"I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, and a blasphemy against God and his Son Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, save only to Christ Jesus."

*Bonner*.—"To trust to any, we bid you not: but to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you. Do ye not know, when ye come into the court, ye cannot speak with the king and the queen, unless ye call to some of the privy-chamber that are next to the king and queen?"

*Haukes.*—"They that list, receive your doctrine. You teach me that I should not believe nor trust in any, but to call on them: and St. Paul saith, How should I call upon him, on whom I believe not?"

Bonner.—"Will you have nobody to pray for you, when you be dead?"

Haukes.—"No, surely; except you can prove it by the Scriptures."

Then the bishop pointed unto Harpsfield, and said unto me, "Is it not well done to desire this man to pray for me?"

*Haukes.*—"Yes, surely; so long as we live, prayer is available of the righteous man: but this man's prayer, you being dead, profiteth nothing at all."

Bonner.—"Will ye grant the prayer of the righteous man to prevail?"

Haukes.—"I grant it doth for the living, but not for the dead."

Bonner.—"Not for the dead!"

Haukes.—"No, forsooth; for David saith, No man can deliver his brother from death, nor make agreement unto God for him: for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that ye must let that alone for ever. Also Ezekiel saith, Though Noah, Daniel, or Job dwelt among them, yet can they in their righteousness exceed no further than themselves."

Then the bishop said to Harpsfield, "Sir, ye see this man hath no need of our Lady, neither of any of the blessed saints. Well! I will trouble you no longer. I did call you, hoping that you should do some good on him; but it will not be."—And he said to me, "Sir, it is time to begin with you. We will rid you away, and then we shall have one heretic less."

Harpsfield.—"What books have you?"

Haukes.—"The New Testament, Solomon's books, and the Psalter."

Harpsfield.—"Will you read any other books:"

Haukes.—"Yea, if you will give me such books as I will require."

Harpsfield.—"What books will you require?

"Haukes.—"Latimer's books, my Lord of Canterbury's book, Bradford's sermons, Ridley's books."

*Bonner.*—"Away, away! He will have no books but such as maintain his heresies:"—and so they departed, for Harpsfield was booted to ride unto Oxford; and I went to the porter's lodge again.

# The next day's talk.

The next day came thither an old bishop, who had a pearl in his eye; and he brought with him to my Lord a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine. For he had lost his living, because he had a wife. Then the bishop called me again into the orchard, and said to the old bishop "This young man hath a child, and will not have it christened."

Haukes.—"I deny not baptism."

*Bonner*.—"Thou art a fool; thou canst not tell what thou wouldest have;"—and that he spake with much anger.

*Haukes.*—"A bishop must be blameless or faultless, sober, discreet, no chider, nor given to anger."

*Bonner*.—"Thou judgest me to be angry: no, by my faith, am I not: "—and stroke himself upon the breast.

Then said the old bishop, "Alas, good young man! you must be taught by the church, and by your ancients; and do as your forefathers have done before you."

*Bonner.*—"No, no! he will have nothing but the Scriptures, and God wot, he doth not understand them. He will have no ceremonies in the church, no not one. What say you to holy water?"

Haukes.—"I say to it, as to the rest, and to all that be of his making that made them."

Bonner.—"Why, the Scriptures do allow it."

Haukes.—"Where prove you that?"

Bonner.—"In the Book of Kings, where Elizeus threw salt into the water."

Haukes.—"Ye say truth; that is written 2 Kings ii. 'The children of the prophets came to Elizeus, saying, The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters be corrupted. This was the cause that Elizeus threw salt into the water, and it became sweet and good: and so when our waters be corrupted, if ye can by putting in of salt make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your ceremonies."

Bonner.—"How say you to holy bread?"

Haukes.—"Even as I said to the other. What Scripture have you to defend it?"

*Bonner*.—"Have ye not read where Christ fed five thousand men with five loaves and three fishes?"

Haukes.—"Will ye make that holy bread? There Christ dealt fish with his holy bread."

Bonner.—"Look, I pray you, how captious this man is!"

*Haukes.*—"Christ did not this miracle, or other, because we should do the like miracle; but because we should believe and credit his doctrine thereby."

Bonner.—"Ye believe no doctrine, but that which is wrought by miracles."

*Haukes.*—"No, forsooth; for Christ saith, These tokens shall follow them that believe in me: they shall speak with new tongues, they shall cast out devils, and if they drink any deadly poison, it shall not hurt them."

Bonner.—"With what new tongues do ye speak?"

*Haukes.*—"Forsooth, whereas, before that I came to the knowledge of God's word, I was a foul blasphemer and filthy talker, since I came to the knowledge thereof, I have lauded God, praised God, and given thanks unto God, even with the same tongue: and is not this a new tongue?"

Bonner.—"How do you cast out devils?"

*Haukes.*—"Christ did cast them out by his word; and he hath left the same word, that whosoever doth credit and believe it, shall cast out devils."

Bonner.—"Did you ever drink any deadly poison?"

*Haukes.*—"Yea, forsooth, that I have; for I have drunken of the pestilent traditions and ceremonies of the bishop of Rome."

Bonner.—"Now you show yourself to be a right heretic."

- Haukes.—"I pray you, what is heresy?"
- Bonner.—"All things that are contrary to God's word."
- Haukes.—"If I stand in any thing contrary thereto, then am I worthy to be so called."
- *Bonner*.—"Thou art one; and thou shalt be burned, if thou stand and continue in this opinion. Ye think we are afraid to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant you."
- *Haukes.*—"Where prove you that Christ or any of his apostles did kill any man for his faith?"
  - Bonner.—"Did not Paul excommunicate?"
- *Haukes.*—"Yes, my Lord; but there is a great difference between excommunicating and burning."
- *Bonner*.—"Have ye not read of the man and the woman in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Peter destroyed?"
- *Haukes.*—"Yes, forsooth; I have read of one Ananias, and Sapphira .his wife, which were destroyed for lying against the Holy Ghost, which serveth nothing to your purpose."
  - Bonner.—"Well, you will grant one yet."
- *Haukes.*—"Well, if you will have us to grant you be of God, then show mercy; for that God requireth."
- *Bonner*.—"We will show such mercy unto you, as ye showed unto us: for my benefice or bishopric was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to live upon."
- Haukes.—"I pray ye, my Lord, what do you give him now that was in the bishopric or benefice before that ye came again to it?"—Whereunto he answered me never a word; for he turned his back unto me, and talked with other men, saying, that he was very sorry for me, but he trusted that I would turn with St. Paul, because I was so earnest: and so he departed, and went to dinner, and I to the porter's lodge again. After dinner I was called into the hall again, and the bishop desired the old bishop to take me into his chamber "for I would be glad," said he, "if ye could convert him." So he took me into his chamber, and sat him down in a chair, and said to me, "I would to God I could do you some good. Ye are a young man, and I would not wish you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear somewhat."
- Haukes.—"I will bear with nothing that is contrary to the word of God." And I looked that the old bishop should have made me an answer, and he was fast asleep.—Then I departed out of the chamber alone, and went to the porter's lodge again, and there saw I the old bishop last: I suppose he is not yet awake.

#### Talk between Fecknam and Haukes.

The next day came Fecknam unto me and said, "Are ye he, that will have no ceremonies?"

Haukes.—"What mean you by that?"

Fecknam.—"Ye will not have your child christened but in English; and you will have no ceremonies."

Haukes.—"Whatsoever the Scripture commandeth to be done, I refuse not."

Fecknam.—"Ceremonies are to be used by the Scriptures."

Haukes.—"Which be those?"

Fecknam.—"How say you by Paul's breeches?"

Haukes.—"I have read no such thing."

*Fecknam.*—"Have ye not read in the Acts of the Apostles how things went from Paul's body, and they received health thereby?"

*Haukes.*—"I have read in Acts xix, how there went partlets and napkins from Paul's body: is it that you mean?"

Fecknam.—"Yea, the same is it: what say you to those ceremonies?"

Haukes.—"I say nothing to the ceremonies; for the text saith, that God did so work by the hands of Paul, that there went partlets and napkins from him, &c. So that it seemed by the text, that it was God that wrought, and not the ceremonies."

Fecknam.—"How say ye to the woman that came behind Christ, and touched the hem of his vesture?—Did not her disease depart from her by that ceremony?"

Haukes.—"No, forsooth; for Christ turned back, and said to Peter, Who is it that toucheth me? And Peter said, Thou seest the people thrust thee, and askest thou, Who touched me? Somebody hath touched me, saith Christ; for virtue hath gone out of me.—I pray you, whether was it the virtue that healed this woman, or his vesture?"

Fecknam.—"Both."

Haukes.—"Then is not Christ true; for he said, Go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole."

Bonner.—"Away, away to the sacrament; for these are but mere trifles to that."

Fecknam.—"How say ye, sirrah? Christ took bread, and brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body."

Haukes.—"I grant Christ said so."

Fecknam.—"And is it not so? '

Haukes.—"No, forsooth; I do not understand it so."

Fecknam.—"Why, then is Christ a liar?"

Haukes.—"I think ye will so prove him."

Fecknam.—"Will I?—why I have spoken the words that Christ spake."

*Haukes.*—"Is every word to be understood as Christ spake it? Christ said, I am a door, a vine; I am a king, a way, &c."

Fecknam.—"Christ spake these words in parables."

Haukes.—"And why speaketh he this in parables, when he said, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way, &c., more than this, when he said, This is my body?—for after the same phrase of speech, as he saith, This is my body; so saith he, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way; he saith not, I am like a door, like a vine, &c."

Then Fecknam stood up, and said, "I had such a one before me this other day. Alas! these places serve nothing for your purposes. But I perceive ye hang and build on them that be at Oxford."

Haukes.—"What mean you by that?"

Fecknam.—"I mean Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley."

Haukes.—"I know nothing else by them, but that they be both godly and learned."

*Fecknam.*—"Wilt thou trust to such dolts? One of them hath written a book, wherein he affirmeth a real presence in the sacrament."

Haukes.—"What he hath done, I know not; but what he doth, I know."

Fecknam.—"Ridley hath preached at Paul's Cross openly, that the devil believeth better than you: for he believeth that Christ is able of stones to make bread; and ye will not believe Christ's body in the sacrament: and yet thou buildest thy faith upon them."

Haukes.—"I build my faith upon no man, and that shall ye well know: for if those men, and as many more as they be, should recant, and deny that they have said or done, yet will I stand to it; and by this shall ye know that I build my faith upon no man."

Bonner.—"If any of those recant, what will ye say to it?"

Haukes.—"When they recant, I will make you an answer."

Bonner.—"Then thou wilt say as thou dost now, for all that."

Haukes.—"Yea, indeed, will I, and that, trust to it, by God's grace."

*Bonner*.—"I dare say Cranmer would recant, so that he might have his living." And so the bishop and Fecknam departed from me with great laughing, and I went again to the porter's lodge.

# Talk between Haukes and Chedsey.

The next day came Dr. Chedsey to the bishop; and then was I called into the garden to the bishop and him. The bishop declared unto him, that I had stood stubbornly in the defence against the christening of my child, and against the ceremonies of the church, and that I would not have it christened but in English.

Then said Dr. Chedsey, "Then he denieth the order of the catholic church."

Bonner.—"Yea, he thinketh that there is no church but in England and in Germany."

Haukes.—"And ye think that there is no church but the church of Rome.".

*Chedsey.*—"What say ye to the church of Rome?"

*Haukes.*—"I say it is a church of a sort of vicious cardinals, priests, monks, and friars, which I will never credit nor believe."

*Chedsey.*—"How say ye to the bishop of Rome?"

Haukes.—"From him and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us."

*Chedsey.*—"Marry, so may we say, from King Henry the Eighth, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us."

Haukes.—"Where were ye whiles that he lived, that ye would not say so?"

Chedsey.—"I was not far."

Haukes.—"Where were ye in his son's days?"

*Chedsey.*—"In prison."

Haukes.—"It was not for your well doing."

*Bonner*.—"He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear mass: for neither the mass, neither the sacrament of the altar, can he abide, neither will he have any service but in English."

Chedsey.—"Christ never spake in English."

*Haukes.*—"Neither spake he ever any Latin; but always in such a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And Paul saith, That tongues profit us nothing. He maketh a similitude between the pipe and the harp, and except it be understood what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himself to the battle: so if I hear the tongue which I do not understand, what profit have I thereby? no more than he hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth."

*Chedsey.*—"If he understand Paul's saying, he speaketh it under a prophecy, If one prophesy to you in tongues, &c."

Haukes.—"Forsooth Paul speaketh plainly of tongues; for tongues serve not for them that believe."

Chedsey.—"I tell you Paul speaketh altogether upon prophecy."

Haukes.—"Paul maketh a distinction between prophesying and tongues, saying, That if any man speak with tongues, let it be by two or three at the most, and let another interpret it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keep silence in the congregation, and let himself pray unto God: and then let the prophets speak two or three, and that by course; and let the other judge. And if any revelation be made to him that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace: so that it seemeth that Paul maketh a distinction between tongues and prophesying."

*Bonner*.—"The order was taken in the catholic church that the Latin tongue should serve through the whole world, because that they should pray all generally together in one tongue; and that to avoid all contention and strife, and to have one universal order through the whole world."

Haukes.—"This did your councils of Rome conclude."

Bonner.—"Understand ye what the general councils of Rome meant?"

*Haukes.*—"Indeed all your general councils of Rome be in Latin, and I am an Englishman: therefore I have nothing to do with them."

*Chedsey.*—"Ye are to blame, being an unlearned man, to reprove all the councils throughout all the whole world."

*Haukes.*—"I reprove them not, but Paul rebuketh them, saying, If any man preach any other doctrine than that which I have taught, do you hold him accursed."

Chedsey.—"Hath any man preached any other doctrine unto you?"

Haukes.—"Yea, I have been taught another gospel since I came into this house."

*Chedsey.*—"What gospel have ye been taught?"

*Haukes.*—"Praying to saints and to our Lady, and trust in the mass, holy bread, holy water, and in idols."

Chedsey.—"He that teaches you so, teacheth not amiss."

Haukes.—"Cursed be he that teacheth me so; for I will not trust him nor believe him!

"Bonner.—"You speak of idols, and you know not what they mean."

*Haukes.*—"God hath taught us what they be: for whatsoever is made, graven, or devised by man's hand, contrary to God's word, the same is an idol. What say you to that?"

*Chedsey.*—"What be those that ye are so offended withal?"

Haukes.—"The cross of wood, silver, copper, or gold, &c."

*Bonner.*—"What say ye to that?"

*Haukes.*—"I say it is an idol. What say you to it?"

Bonner.—"I say every idol is an image, but every image is not an idol."

Haukes.—"I say, what difference is there between an idol and image?"

*Bonner*.—"If it be a false god, and an image made of him, that is an idol: but if an image be made of God himself, it is no idol, but an image, because he is a true God."

Haukes.—"Lay your image of your true God and of your false god together, and ye shall see the difference. Have not your images feet and go not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hands and feel not, mouths and speak not?—and even so have your idols."

*Chedsey.*—"God forbid, saith St. Paul, that I should rejoice in any thing else, but the cross of Christ Jesus."

Haukes.—"Do ye understand Paul so? Do ye understand Paul?"—unto the which he answered me never a word

*Bonner*.—"Where can we have a godlier remembrance when we ride by the way, than to see the cross?"

*Haukes.*—"If the cross were such a profit unto us, why did not Christ's disciples take it up, and set it on a pole, and carry it in procession, with *Salve, festa dies*?"

Chedsey.—"It was taken up."

Haukes.—"Who took it up? Helene, as ye say; for she sent a piece of it to a place of religion, where I was with the visitors when that house was suppressed, and the piece of the holy cross (which the religious had in such estimation, and had robbed many a soul, committing idolatry to it) was called for; and when it was proved, and all come to all, it was but a piece of a lath, covered over with copper, double gilded as it had been clean gold!"

Bonner.—"Fie, fie! I dare say thou slanderest it."

Haukes.—"I know it to be true, and do not believe the contrary."—And thus did the bishop and the doctor depart in a great fume; and Chedsey said unto me, as he was about to depart, "It is pity that thou shouldest live, or any such as thou art." I answered, "In this case I desire not to live, but rather to die."

Chedsey.—"Ye die boldly, because ye would glory in your death, as Joan Butcher did."

*Haukes.*—"What Joan Butcher did, I have nothing to do withal: but I would my part might be to-morrow."—"God make you in a better mind," said they both; and so they departed, and I went to the porter's lodge with my keeper.

The next day Dr. Chedsey preached in the bishop's chapel, and did not begin his sermon until all the service was done: and then came the porter for me, and said, "My Lord would have you come to the sermon."—And so I went to the chapel-door, and stood without the door.

*Bonner.*—"Is not this fellow come?"

Haukes.—"Yes, I am here."

Bonner.—"Come in, man."

*Haukes.*—"No, that I will not." He called again, and I answered, "I will come no nearer;" and so I stood at the door. Then said the bishop, "Go to your sermon."

Then Dr. Chedsey put the stole about his neck, and carried the holy water-sprinkle unto the bishop, who blessed him and gave him holy water, and so he went to his sermon.

The text that he treated on was in Matthew xvi.: Whom do men say that I the Son of man am? Peter said, Some say that thou art Elias, some say that thou art John Baptist, some say thou art one of the prophets. But whom say ye that I am? Then said Peter, Thou art Christ the Son of

the ever-living God. Then left he the text there, and said, Whose sins soever ye bind, are bound "which authority," said he, "is left to the heads of the church, as my Lord here is one, and so unto all the rest that be underneath him. But the church hath been much kicked at sith the beginning; yet kick the heretics, spurn the heretics never so much, the church doth stand and flourish."— And then he went straightway to the sacrament, and said his mind on it, exalting it above the heaven (as the most of them do); and so returned to his place again, saying, Whose sins ye do remit, are remitted and forgiven: and so he applied it to the bishops and the priests to forgive sins, and said, "All that be of the church will come and receive the same." And this he proved by St. John, (chap. xi.,) saying, that Christ Caine to raise Lazarus, who, when he was risen, was bound in bands: then said Christ to them that were in authority, (who were his disciples,) Go ye and loose him; loose him you. And this was the effect of his sermon, applying all to them, that they have the same authority that Christ spake of to his apostles: and so ended his sermon, and they went to dinner.

Another communication between Thomas Haukes and the bishop.

And, after dinner, I was called into the chapel, where were certain of the queen's servants, and other strangers whom I did not know.

Bonner.—"Haukes! how like you the sermon?"

Haukes.—"As I like all the rest of his doctrine."

Bonner.—"What! are ye not edified thereby?"

Haukes.—"No, surely."

Bonner.—"It was made only because of you."

*Haukes.*—"Why? then am I sorry that ye had no more heretics here, as ye call them: I am sorry that ye have bestowed so much labour on one, and so little regarded."

*Bonner*.—"Well, I will leave you here, for I have business: I pray you talk with him, for if ye could do him good," said he, "I would be glad."

This the bishop spake to the queen's men, who said unto me, "Alas! what mean you to trouble yourself about such matters against the queen's proceedings?"

Haukes.—"Those matters have I answered before them that be in authority: and unless I see you have a further commission, I will answer you nothing at all." Then said the bishop's men, (which were many,) "My Lord hath commanded you to talk with them."

*Haukes.*—"If my Lord will talk with me himself, I will answer him." They cried, "Faggots! burn him, hang him, to prison with him: it is pity that he liveth! Lay irons upon him!" and with a great noise they spake these words. Then in the midst of all their rage I departed from them, and went to the porter's lodge again.

# *The next day's talk.*

The next day the bishop called me into his chamber and said, "Ye have been with me a great while, and ye are never the better, but worse and worse: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but send you to Newgate."

Haukes.—"My Lord, you can do me no better pleasure."

Bonner.—"Why, would you so fain go to prison?"

Haukes.—"Truly I did look for none other, when I came to your hands."

*Bonner*.—"Come on your ways; ye shall see what I have written."—Then did he show me certain articles, and these are the contents of them:

"Whether the catholic church do teach and believe, that Christ's real presence doth remain in the sacrament or no, after the words of consecration, according to the words of St. Paul, which are these: Is not the bread which we break the partaking of the body of Christ, and the cup which we bless, the partaking of the blood of Christ? which if it were not so, Paul would never have said it "

*Haukes.*—"What your church doth, I cannot tell: but I am sure that the holy catholic church doth neither so take it, nor believe it."

*Bonner.*—"Whether doth the catholic church teach and believe the baptism that now is used in the church, or no?"

Haukes.—"I answered to it, as I did to the other question before." Then did the bishop with much flattery counsel me to be persuaded, and to keep me out of prison, which I utterly refused, and so we departed. And I supposed that the next day I should have gone to prison; and so I had, save for the archdeacon of Canterbury, whose name is Harpsfield, whom the bishop had desired to talk with me, and [who] began to persuade me concerning the sacrament, and the ceremonies: and after much talk he said, "that the sacrament of the altar was the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, which did hang upon the cross."

*Haukes.*—"He was upon the cross both alive and dead: which of them was the sacrament? The archdeacon answered, "Alive."

Haukes.—"How prove you that?"

*Harpsfield.*—"You must believe. Doth not St. John say, He is already condemned that believeth not?"

*Haukes.*—"St. John saith, He that believeth not in the Son of God is already condemned, but he saith not, He that believeth not in the sacrament is already condemned."

Harpsfield.—"There is no talk with you; for ye are both without faith and learning; and therefore I will talk no more with you in Scripture." Then two that stood by bade me [Haukes] enter further in talk with him; and then said I unto him, "Why is the rood-loft set betwixt the body of the church and the chancel?"

*Harpsfield.*—"I cannot tell; for ye have asked a question which you cannot assoil yourself."

Haukes.—"Yes, that I can: for this saith one of your own doctors: 'that the body of the church doth represent the church militant, and the chancel the church triumphant: and so, because we cannot go from the church militant to the church triumphant, but that we must bear the cross of Christ; this is the cause of the rood-loft being between the body of the church and the chancel."

Harpsfield.—"This is well and clerkly concluded."

*Haukes.*—"As all the rest of your doctrine is:"—and so, with many persuasions on his part, we ended, and so departed: and I, to the porter's lodge again.

# Another day's talk.

The next day in the morning, which was the first day of July, the bishop did call me himself from the porter's lodge, commanding me to make me ready to go to prison, and to take such things with me, as I had of mine own. And I said, "I do neither intend to bribe, neither to steal, God willing." Then he did write my warrant to the keeper of the Gatehouse at Westminster, and delivered it to Harpsfield, who, with his own man and one of the bishop's men, brought me to prison, and delivered the warrant and me both to the keeper: and this was contained in the warrant:

"I will and command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this warrant, and that he be kept as a safe prisoner, and that no man speak with him, and that ye deliver him to no man, except it be the council, or to a justice: for he is a sacramentary, and one that speaketh against baptism; a seditious man, a perilous man to be abroad in these perilous days."

And thus was I received, and they departed. And there I remained thirteen days, and then the bishop sent two of his men unto me, saying, "My Lord would be glad to know how ye do." I answered them, "I do like a poor prisoner." They said, "My Lord would know, whether ye be the same man that ye were when ye departed." I said, "I am no changeling." They said, "My Lord would be glad that ye should do well." I said, "If my Lord will me any good, I pray you desire him to suffer my friends to come to me." So they said they would speak for me, but I heard no more of them.

This is the first examination of me Thomas Haukes, being examined by Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London, and by his chaplains and doctors, at Fulham, four miles from London, where I lay, till I came to prison to Westminster: and after his two men had been with me, I heard no more of him till the third day of September.

Here followeth the second time of mine examination, the which was the third day of September: for the bishop did send his men for me to come to his palace of London; and so my keeper and his men brought me to his palace the same day.

The bishop of Winchester, then being chancellor, preached that day at Paul's Cross, and the bishop of London said to my keeper, "I think your man will not go to the sermon to-day."

Haukes.—"Yes, my Lord, I pray you let me go: and that which is good I will receive, and the rest I will leave behind me;" and so I went. And when the sermon was done, I and my keeper came to the bishop's house, and there we remained till dinner was done: and after dinner the bishop called for me, and asked me, if I were the same man that I was before.

Haukes.—"I am no changeling, nor none will be."

Bonner.—"Ye shall find me no changeling neither."—And so he returned into his chamber, and there he did write the side of a sheet of paper, and all that while I stood in the great chamber, and as many with me as might well stand in the chamber. And as I stood there, Dr. Smith came unto me, (who once recanted, as it appeared in print,) saying, that he would be glad to talk brotherly with me. I asked him what he was. Then said they that stood by, "He is Dr. Smith." Then said I, "Are you he that did recant?" And he said, "it was no recantation, but a declaration."

Haukes.—"You were best to term it well, for your own honesty."

*Dr. Smith.*—"Shall I term it as it pleaseth you?"

Haukes.—"To be short with you, I will know whether ye will recant any more or no, before that I talk with you, credit you, or believe you:"—and so I departed from him to the other side of the chamber. Then said the bishop's men and his chaplains, that my Lord commanded me to talk with him. Then they that stood by cried with a great noise, "Hang him, burn him! it is pity that he liveth, that disobeyeth my Lord's commandment."

Then said one Miles Huggard, "Where prove you that infants were baptized?"

*Haukes.*—"Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Sir, here is none excepted."

Master Haggard.—"What, shall we go to teach children?"

*Haukes.*—"That word doth trouble you; it might be left out full well: it is too much for you to teach. Is not your name Miles Huggard?"

Huggard.—"So am I called."

Haukes.—"Be you not a hosier, and dwell in Pudding Lane?"

Huggard.—"Yes, that I am, and there I do dwell."

Haukes.—"It would seem so, for ye can better skill to eat a pudding, and make a hose, than in Scripture either to answer or oppose." With that he was in great rage, and did chafe up and down. Then I desired that some man would take the pain to walk the gentleman, he did fret so for anger. Then one that stood by me (who was parson of Hornchurch and Romford in Essex) said, "Alas, what do you mean: a young man to be so stubborn? There seemeth too much pride in you."

Haukes.—"Are not ye the parson of Hornchurch?"

Parson.—"Yes, that I am."

Haukes.—"Did you not set such a priest in your benefice?"

Parson.—"Yes, for a shift."

*Haukes.*—"Like will to like; such master, such man; for I know that priest to be a very vile man, as any could be."

I asked the parson, what kin he was to the weathercock of Paul's? and he fell in a great laughter with the rest of his companions. He said, that I did rail. Then said another that stood by unto me, "What book have you here?" I answered, "The New Testament." "May I look in it?" said he. "Yea, that ye may." said I. And so he looked in my book, and said it was corrupt. I answered him, "If the things contained in it be true, then are ye all false prophets." He said that he would oppose me in the first word of the Testament, saying, "Here is a generation of Christ "and Esay saith, "No man can tell his generation."

Haukes.—"What meaneth Esay by that?" "I would learn of you." said he.

*Haukes.*-"Ye would be angry, if the scholar should teach the master: but if ye will have me to teach you, I will tell you Esay's meaning."

Then said he, "No man can tell the generation between the father and the son: but you (I dare say) did know it before."

Haukes.—"Why then Esay denieth not the generation."

Then said he, "Why is Christ called Christ?"

Haukes.—"Because he is a Messias."

Then said he, "Why is he called a Messias?"

Haukes.—"Because he was so prophesied by the prophets."

Then said he, "Why is your book called a book?"

Haukes.—"These words do breed more strife than godly edifying."

"Beware," said he, "that ye do not decline from the church; for if you do, you will prove yourself a heretic."

Haukes.—"Even as ye do call us heretics, that do incline to Christ's church from your church; so are ye all false prophets that do decline from Christ's church to your own church. And by this shall all men know you to be false prophets, if ye say, 'This saith the church: 'and will not say, This saith our Lord."—And so he went his way, as though he had a flea in his ear.

Then came another and said unto me, he would talk with me; for he perceived (as he said) that I was angry, and out of patience.

Haukes.—"I will see your commission, or ever I talk with you, or with any man more."—For I wist not how to be rid of them, they came so thick about me; for I said, that I came to talk with my Lord, and not with any of them.

With that came the bishop, bringing a letter in his hand, the which he had written in my name, and read it unto me after this manner. "I, Thomas Haukes, do here confess and declare before my said ordinary Edmund, bishop of London, that the mass is abominable and detestable, and full of all superstition; and also as concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, (commonly called the sacrament of the altar,) that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe," &c.

*Haukes.*—"Stop there, my Lord: what I have believed, what have you to do withal? But what I do believe, to that stand I, and will."—Then he took his pen, and said that he would scrape it out for my pleasure, and so he did to my thinking.

Then he went further with his writing, and said, "I, Thomas Haukes, have talked with my said ordinary, and with certain good, godly, and learned men. Notwithstanding I stand still in mine opinion."

*Haukes.*—"Shall I grant you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet grant myself to stand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly, and learned men."

*Bonner.*—"Ye will grant that ye have talked with us: the other I will put out for your pleasure." Then said all his doctors, "If your Lordship be ruled by him, he will cause you to put out all together." And then he read more to me "Here unto this bill have I set my hand;" and then he offered me the bill and his pen, and bade me set my hand to it.

Haukes.—"Ye get not my hand to any thing of your making or devising."

Bonner.—"Wilt not thou set to thy hand? It shall be to thy shame for the denying of it."

And then he called all his doctors, and said, he would have every man's hand to it that was in the chamber; and so he had all their hands to it and said, "He that will not set his hand to it, I would he were hanged;" and so said all his chaplains and doctors with a great noise.

Then the bishop thrust me on the breast with great anger; and said he would be even with me, and with all such proud knaves in Essex.

Haukes.—"Ye shall do no more than God shall give you leave."

Bonner.—"This gear shall not be unpunished—trust to it."

*Haukes.*—"As for your cursings, railings, and blasphemings, I care not for them: for I know the moths and worms shall eat you, as they eat cloth or wool."

Bonner.—"I will be even with you when time shall come."

*Haukes.*—"You may in your malice destroy a man: but, when ye have done, ye cannot do so much as make a finger; and ye be meetly even with some of us already."

Bonner.—"If I do thee any wrong, take the law of me."

*Haukes.*—"Solomon saith, Go not to law with a judge; for he will judge according to his own honour."

Bonner.—"Solomon saith, Give not a fool an answer."

*Haukes.*—"What! do you count me a fool?"

Bonner.—"Yea, by my troth do I; and so dost thou me too: but God forgive thee, and so do I."

*Haukes.*—"Thought is free, my Lord." Then took Bonner the bill, and read it again; and when he saw that he could not have my hand to it, then he would have had me to take it into my hand, and to give it to him again.

Haukes.—"What needeth that ceremony? Neither shall it come into my hand, heart, or mind." Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his bosom, and in a great anger went his way, and called for his horse and went to horse-back; for the same day he rode in visitation into Essex. And so went I to prison, from whence I came with my keeper. And this was the second time of my examination.

Written by me Thomas Haukes, who desire all faithful men and brethren to pray unto God, to strengthen me in his truth unto the end.—Pray, pray, gentle brethren, pray!

*The public examination of Thomas Haukes at the bishop's consistory.* 

After all these private conferences, persuasions, and long debatings, had with Thomas Haukes in the bishop's house, as hitherto hath been declared, the bishop, seeing no hope to win him to his wicked ways, was fully set to proceed openly against him after the ordinary course of his popish law. Whereupon Thomas Haukes, shortly after, was cited with the rest of his other fellows above specified, to wit, Thomas Tomkins, Stephen Knight, William Pygot, John Laurence, and William Hunter, to appear in the bishop's consistory, the eighth day of February, this present year, viz. 1555. Upon which appearance, was laid against him in like order as to the other, first the bill of his confession, written with Bonner's hand, to the which bill ye heard before how this blessed servant of God denied to subscribe.

After which bill of confession being read, and he constantly standing to the said confession, the bishop then assigned him with the other five the next day following, which was the ninth of February, to appear before him again, to give a resolute answer what they would stick unto. Which day being come, and these foresaid six prisoners being severally called before the bishop, at the coming of Thomas Haukes, the bishop willed him to remember what was said to him yesterday, and now, while he had time and space, to advise with himself what he would answer, for he stood upon life and death. "Well," quoth Master Haukes again, "I will willingly receive whatsoever shall be put upon me." Then were certain other interrogatories or articles commenced against him by the said bishop (in like manner as to the other) to the number of four, with another bill also, which Bonner brought out of his bosom, containing private matters against the said Thomas Haukes, which the bishop called heresies and errors, but we may better call them Christian verities. To the which matter being read, the said Haukes answered openly again, saying that it was true, and that he was glad it was so true as it was; with more words to the like effect. And this was in the forenoon, the ninth day of February. In the afternoon again the said Haukes appearing and hearing the foresaid bill of his confession, with the articles and interrogatories read unto him, with like constancy in answering again to the bishop, "My Lord," said he, "as you, being my great friend, have caused these my sayings to be written; so do you cause them to he read: and yet I will never go from them." And then, being exhorted by the bishop, with many fair words, to return again to the bosom of the mother church. "No, my Lord," said he, "that will I not: for if I had a hundred bodies, I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than I will abjure or recant." And so continuing still in the same song, notwithstanding that the doctors and lawyers were ever calling upon him to come again to the unity of the church, he ever kept them off with this answer, that he would never go from the belief he was in, so long as he believed. Whereupon Bonner, at the last, read the sentence of death upon him; and so was he condemned the same day with the residue of his fellows, which was the ninth of February. Nevertheless his execution was prolonged, and he remained in prison till the tenth day of June. Then was he committed to the hands and the charge of the Lord Riche, who, being assisted with power sufficient of the worshipful of the shire, had the foresaid Thomas Haukes down into Essex, with six other fellow prisoners whose stories hereafter follow, there to suffer martyrdom, Haukes at Coggeshall, the others severally in other several places.

Thomas Haukes by the way used much exhortation to his friends; and whensoever opportunity served to talk with them, he would familiarly admonish them.

A little before his death, certain there were of his familiar acquaintance and friends, who frequented his company more familiarly, who seemed not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his constancy, and by his talk; yet notwithstanding, the same again, being feared with the sharpness of the punishment which he was going to, privily desired that in the midst of the flame he would show them some token, if he could, whereby they might be the more certain, whether the pain of such burning were so great that a man might not therein keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promised them to do; and so, secretly between them, it was agreed, that if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be suffered, then he should lift up his hands above his head towards heaven, before he gave up the ghost. Not long after, when the hour was come, Thomas Haukes was led away to the place appointed for the slaughter, by the Lord Riche and his assistants, who, being now come unto the stake, there mildly and patiently addressed himself to the fire, having a strait chain cast about his middle, with no small multitude of people on every side compassing him about: unto whom after he had spoken many things, especially unto the Lord Riche, reasoning with him of the innocent blood of the saints; at length, after his fervent prayers first made and poured out unto God, the fire was set unto him. In the which when he continued long, and when his speech was taken away by violence of the flame, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed with the fire, so that now all men thought certainly he had been gone, suddenly, and contrary to all expectation, the blessed servant of God, being mindful of his promise afore made, reached up his hands burning on a light fire, which was marvellous to behold, over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing, as it seemed, struck or clapped them three times together. At the sight whereof there followed such applause and outcry of the people, and especially of them which understood the matter, that the like hath not commonly been heard. And so the blessed martyr of Christ, straightway sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit, A. D. 1555, June 10. And thus have you plainly and expressly described unto you the whole story, as well of the life as of the death of Thomas Haukes, a most constant and faithful witness of Christ's holy gospel.

#### LETTERS.

An epistle to the congregation, by Thomas Haukes.

"Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be alway with you all, (my dear brethren and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ for ever,) and his Holy Spirit conduct and lead you all, in all your doings, that you may always direct your deeds according to his holy word; that when he shall appear to reward every man according to their works, ye may, as obedient children, be found watching, ready to enter into his everlasting kingdom, with your lamps burning; and, when the Bridegroom shall show himself, ye need not to be ashamed of this life which God hath lent you, which is but transitory, vain, and like unto a vapour that for a season appeareth and vanisheth away: so soon passeth away all our terrestrial honour, glory, and felicity. For all flesh, saith the prophet, is grass, and all his glory as the flower of the field, which for a season showeth her beauty, and as soon as the Lord bloweth upon it, it withereth away, and departeth. For in this transitory and dangerous wilderness, we are as pilgrims and strangers following the footsteps of Moses, among many unspeakable dangers, beholding nothing with our outward man, but all vain vanities and vexation of mind; subject to hunger, cold, nakedness, bonds, sickness, loss, labours, banishment; in danger of that dreadful dragon, and his sinful seed, to be devoured, tempted, and tormented, who ceaseth not behind

every bush to lay a bait, when we walk awry to have his pleasure upon us; casting abroad his apples in all places, times, and seasons, to see if Adam will be allured and enticed to leave the living God and his most holy commandments, whereby he is assured of everlasting life; promising the world at will, to all that will fall down in all ages, and for a mess of pottage sell and set at nought the everlasting kingdom of heaven. So frail is flesh and blood; and, in especial, Israel is most ready to walk awry, when he is filled with all manner of riches, as saith the prophet.

"Therefore I am bold in bonds (as entirely desiring your everlasting health and felicity) to warn you, and most heartily desire you, to watch and pray; for our estate is dangerous, and requireth continual prayer. For on the high mountains doth not grow most plenty of grass, neither are the highest trees farthest from danger, but seldom sure, and always shaken of every wind that bloweth. Such a deceitful thing (saith our Saviour) is honour and riches, that without grace it choketh up the good seed sown on his creatures, and blindeth so their seeing, that they go groping at noonday in darkness: it maketh a man think himself somewhat, that is nothing at all. For though for our honour we esteem ourselves and stand in our own light, yet when we shall stand before the living God, there shall be no respect of persons: for riches help not in the day of vengeance; neither can we make the Lord partial, for money. But as ye have ministered unto the saints, so shall ye receive the reward, which I am fully persuaded and assured shall be plenteously poured upon you all, for the great goodness showed unto the servants of the living God. And I most heartily beseech Almighty God to pour forth a plenteous reward upon you for the same, and that he will assist you with his Holy Spirit in all your doings, that ye may grow, as ye have begun, unto such a perfection as may be to God's honour, your own salvation, and the strengthening of the weak members of Christ. For though the world rage, and blaspheme the elect of God, ye know that it did so unto Christ, his apostles, and to all that were in the primitive church, and shall be, unto the world's end.

"Therefore believe in the light while ye have it, lest it be taken away from you; if you shall seem to neglect the great mercy of God that hath been opened unto you, (and your hearts consented unto it,) that it is the very and only truth pronounced by God's only Son Jesus Christ, by the good will of our heavenly Father: therefore I say, in the bowels of my Lord Jesus Christ, stick fast unto it; let it never depart out of your hearts and conversation, that you with us and we with you at the great day, being one flock as we have one Shepherd, may rise to the life immortal, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour. Amen.

"Yours in him that liveth for ever.

THOMAS HAUKES."

Here followeth another letter of Thomas Haukes, sent to his wife after his condemnation, being prisoner in Newgate; the copy whereof is this:

"Grace be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, which gave himself for our sins, to deliver us from this present evil world, through the good will of God our Father, to whom be praise for ever and ever. Amen.

"My dear yoke-fellow in the Lord, forasmuch as the Lord hath not only called me to work in his vineyard, but hath also fulfilled his good work in me, (I trust to his glory, and to the

comfort of all those that look for his coming,) I thought it my duty, dear yoke-fellow, to write unto you some lessons out of God's book; and if you will direct yourself thereafter, doubt not of it but God, who refuseth none that will come to him with their whole heart, will assist you with his Holy Spirit, and direct you in all his ways, to his honour and glory, who grant it for his mercy sake. Amen.

"First, I exhort you to fear God; to serve and honour his holy name; to love him with all your heart, soul, and mind; to believe faithfully all his promises; to lay sure hold upon them, that in all your troubles, whatsoever they are, ye may run straight to the great mercy of God, and he will bring you forth of them. Keep you within his wings; then shall ye be sure that neither devil, flesh, nor hell, shall be able to hurt you.

"But take heed; if you will not keep his holy precepts and laws, and to the uttermost of your power call for the help of God to walk in the same, but will leave them, and run to all abominations with the wicked world, and do as they do; then be sure to have your part with the wicked world in the burning lake that never shall be quenched. Therefore beware of idolatry, which doth most of all stink before the face of Almighty God, and was of all good men most detested from the beginning of the world. For the which, what kingdoms, nations, and realms, God hath punished with most terrible plagues, with fire, brimstone, hunger, sword, and pestilence, &c., to the utter subversion of them, it is manifestly to be seen through the whole Bible. Yea, his own peculiar people, whom he had done so much for, when they fell from him and went and served other gods, contrary to his commandment, he utterly destroyed and rooted them out from off the earth: and as many as died in that damnable state, not repenting their abominable evil, he threw them into the pit of hell. Again, how he hath preserved those that abhor superstition and idolatry, and that have only taken hold upon God with their whole heart, to serve him, and to love him, to fear him, &c .: —it is most manifestly to be seen even from the beginning, out of what great dangers he hath ever delivered them: yea, when all hope of deliverance was past as touching their expectation, even then, in the sight of all his enemies, would he work his godly will and purpose, to the utter amazing and destruction of all those that were his manifest enemies.

"Further, I exhort you, in the bowels of Christ, that you will exercise and be stedfast in prayer; for prayer is the only mean to pierce the heavens, to obtain at the hand of God whatsoever we desire; so that it be asked in faith. Oh what notable things do we read in Scriptures that have been obtained through fervent prayer! We are commanded to call upon him for help, aid, and succour, in necessities and troubles, and he hath promised to help us. Again, they that will not call upon him with their whole heart, but upon other dead creatures, in whom there is no help, (for there was none found worthy to open the book, but only the Lamb Christ which was killed for our sins,) I say, who that will refuse his help, must even by the terrible judgments of God come utterly to confusion: as it hath, and is daily manifest to be seen. And whatsoever you desire of God in your prayer, ask it for Jesus Christ's sake, for whom and in whom God hath promised to give us all things necessary. And though that which we ask come not by and by at the first and second calling, yet continue still knocking, and he will at the length open his treasures of mercy, so that ye shall be sure to obtain; for he hath so promised, if we continue in faith, hoping surely in him. These former lessons, with all such instructions as I have told you by mouth, I do wish that you would most earnestly learn; and then I doubt not, but God,

who is the giver of all grace, will assist you in all your doings, that ye may be found worthy of his kingdom, which is prepared through Christ.

"Further, whereas it hath pleased God to send us children, my desire is that they may be brought up in the fear of God and in his laws. And this is to certify you, that ye deliver in any wise my eldest son unto Master Throgmorton, who, upon his good will, hath promised me to bring him up according to my desire; and, I trust, as God hath put into his heart. See therefore that ye deliver him in any wise without delay; and as for the other, if ye shall seem to be burdened with him, (which I think nature will not suffer,) my desire is, that it be brought up in the fear of God to the uttermost of your endeavour, with some honest man that hath the fear of God before his eyes; and let us give thanks unto God who hath given them us, beseeching him that they may be counted worthy to be of that flock that shall stand on the right hand of the majesty of God, when he shall judge the world. Amen.

"Yet once again I warn you, that ye continue in fervent prayer, as I said before; then shall ye be sure, that God, even of his own mercy, according as he hath promised, will be a husband unto you, and provide better for you than ever I was able to do; yea, he will cause all men that fear him to pity you, to help you, to succour you in all your necessities, so that if any will do you wrong, he will be avenged on him. Moreover I wish you to keep company with those of whom ye may learn to come to a more perfect knowledge in God, and I doubt not but God will provide that such will be glad to receive you, if you shall profess and go forward in his truth.

"Finally, and to make an end, I desire you that ye take heed with whom ye couple yourself. See that he be a man that feareth God, loveth his laws, and will walk in the same to the uttermost of his power: such a one as can be content to love you, and to care for you. Take heed he be no brawler, no drunkard, no wicked person, not given to filthiness, no worldling, no dicer, nor carder: in fine, no filthy person, but choose you such a one as God may be glorified in both your lives. And again, on your part, love him, serve him, obey him in all godliness, as long as God shall give you life in this world. Then shall ye both be sure to obtain that kingdom which God the Father hath prepared, and Jesus Christ obtained for you, that never shall have end, where I trust to abide your coming. Amen.

"By your husband.
THOMAS HAUKES."

Ye heard before, in the letter of Thomas Haukes written to his wife, mention made concerning his eldest son to be sent to Master Throgmorton. Now what he writeth himself to the said Master Throgmorton touching the same matter, by this his letter to the said party, hereunder ensuing, may appear.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, and assist you in all your thoughts, words, and works, that he in all things, as most worthy, may be glorified, and that the blessing of Abraham may be poured plenteously on you and all your posterity.

"Whereas the love of God hath moved you to require my son to be brought up before your eyes, and the selfsame love hath also moved me in like case to leave him in your hands, as

unto a father in mine absence, I shall require you in God's behalf, according to your promise, that ye will see him brought up in the fear of the Lord, and instructed in the knowledge of his holy word, that he may thereby learn to leave the evil, and know the good, and always be pricked forward with fatherly instructions, to follow my footsteps, that as Almighty God hath made me worthy, through his special grace, to work his will in obedience, he may learn to follow me his father in the like, to God's honour and praise: and this I require you in God's behalf to fulfil, or cause to be fulfilled, as ye, before the living God, will make answer for the same. I have left for the child certain books which shall be delivered unto you, wherein his instruction and salvation lieth, if he learn and practise the same. And thus most humbly beseeching you, once again, to be as good to him as your promise was unto me, that is, to be a father, and a wall of defence unto him in all troubles, I leave him in your hand through the Lord Jesus, and desire him to bless both him and you according to his good promise: and all that good which ye shall do unto him, I shall most heartily desire the everlasting God to recompense unto you in his kingdom, where I hope to meet both him and you among all God's elect. To which God be all praise, honour, and glory. Amen.

"Yours and all men's in Christ Jesus. THOMAS HAUKES."

# 287. Thomas Wats.

The history of Thomas Wats, examined, tried, and burnt for the truth of the gospel.

Thomas Wats of Billericay, within the county of Essex, of the diocese of London, was by his occupation a linen draper; who, before he was apprehended, had sold and made away his cloth in his shop, and disposed his things, being set in order, to his wife and children, and gave away much of his cloth unto the poor. For he looked always to be taken by God's adversaries and his, as shortly after came indeed to pass; so that, upon the twenty-sixth day of April, he was apprehended and brought before the Lord Riche and other commissioners at Chelmsford, and there, being accused for not coming to the church, was upon the same examined before the Lord Riche, Henry Tyrrel, Sir Anthony Brown, Edmund Tyrrel, Thomas Mildman, John Wiseman, Roger Appleton, Richard Weston, Justice Gaudy, &c.: the sum and principal effect of which examination hereunder followeth briefly expressed.

When this Thomas Wats came before the Lord Riche and other the justices, whose names are specified in the letter following, (which they sent unto the bishop of London against him,) at the sessions at Chelmsford, the Lord Riche said these words or the like in effect unto him. "Wats, ye be brought hither, as I understand, because of disobedience to the king and the queen's laws. Ye will not come to the church, ye will not hear mass, &c., but have your conventicles a sort of you in corners, contrary to the king's and queen's proceedings." Unto which his words Wats answered and said "My Lord, if I have offended a law, I am subject here to the law." Then Anthony Brown, justice, said unto him, "Wats, I pray thee tell me who hath been thy schoolmaster to teach thee this gear, or where didst thou first learn this religion?" "Forsooth," quoth Wats, "even of you, sir: you taught it me, and none more than you. For in King Edward's days in open sessions you spake against this religion now used; no preacher more. You then said the mass was abominable, and all their trumpery besides, wishing and earnestly exhorting that none should believe therein, and that our belief should be only in Christ: and you said then, whosoever should bring in any strange nation to rule here, it were treason, and not to be suffered."

Then said Brown to my Lord Riche, "He belies me, my Lord. What a knave is this! he will soon belie me behind my back, when he doth it before my face"—and my Lord Riche said again, "I dare say he doth so."

After these words, Wats took occasion to speak somewhat of King Philip and of his coming in; but what it was I could not justly learn. But thus much was heard, that after those words spoken, the bench among themselves stood up, and said one to another, "Treason!" saving one good man, called Justice Gaudy, who a little before was about to speak: but, when he heard them cry "treason," he held down his head as one grieved and troubled at their doings.

In conclusion, the commissioners being weary of him, or else not willing to meddle further in such high matters, sent him up to the bishop of London, with their letter withal, importing the cause of his sending up, as the contents thereof hereunder follow to be seen.

A letter sent by certain justices in Essex to Bonner, bishop of London.

"After our most hearty commendations to your good Lordship, these shall be to advertise you, that at our sessions of Oyer and Terminer holden at Chelmsford the twenty-sixth day of April last past, here came before us in open court one Thomas Wats of Billericay within your diocese, by ordinary process: and then and there being examined why he refused to come to his parish church, and there to receive the sacrament of the altar, and hear divine service, according to the institution of holy church, he openly there answered generally, that like as the service of the church set out in the days of the late King Edward the Sixth, was said by us now to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught; so he said, that all that is now used and done in that church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught, with divers other erroneous and arrogant words: and therefore we have thought good to send him to your Lordship, to be further examined by you of his particular opinions, as to your pastoral office shall seem convenient; certifying you further, that in our opinion he is one of the most arrogant heretics that hath been heard speak, or ever came before you, and not meet to be kept here in any gaol, as well for fear of corrupting others, as for divers and sundry other special causes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leaving to molest your good Lordship, we commit you to the Holy Ghost.— Given at Chelmsford the twenty- seventh of April, Anno 1555.

"Your good Lordship's most assured.

R. Riche.

Henry Tyrrel.

Anthony Brown.

Edmund Tyrrel.

Thomas Mildmay.

John Wiseman.

Roger Appleton.

Richard Weston."

Now when the bishop had received him, how he used him it is easy (by his common practices with others) to judge. What his private conferences were I know not, but what was publicly done in the consistory at Paul's (the common stage for these tragedies) you shall here see.

The first appearance of Thomas Wats in the bishop's consistory.

First upon Thursday, being the second day of May, Thomas Wats was brought thither before the bishop of London; and there, being examined upon his words had before the Lord Riche and others, (as is contained in their letters,) he did earnestly affirm the same to be true. Whereupon the bishop objected, and examined him upon these articles following, to the which he answered, as under may appear.

"I. First, that the said Thomas Wats was of Billericay, and so of the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

"II. Item, that he believed not in the sacraments of the holy and catholic church, as the catholic Church of Rome, and all other churches, members of the same, ever hitherto have believed, and is taught of all good and faithful people; nor hath allowed the sacraments, rites, usages, or ceremonies of the said church, but hath despised the same.

"III. Item, that he believeth, and also hath taught others, that the substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration: and that the said material bread and wine are the signs and tokens of Christ's body hanged upon the cross, and of his blood there shed: and that in the said sacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Christ's body and blood, and nothing else.

"IV. Item, that he believeth, and doth precisely affirm, that the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in substance, is not in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and no where else.

"V. Item, that he believeth, affirmeth, and saith, that the mass now used in the Church of Rome, here in England, and other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedness; and that Christ did never institute it, nor ordain it, nor yet allow it as a good and laudable thing to be used in his church.

"VI. Item, that he believeth and affirmeth, that auricular confession to be made unto the priest is not necessary, but superfluous: and that it is enough for a man to believe only, and to confess himself unto God, without any priest or minister at any time, though he may have the priest to confess him unto.

"VII. Item, that he believeth that Luther, Wickliff, Dr. Barnes, and all others that have holden against the sacrament of the altar, and suffered death by fire, or otherwise, for the maintenance of the said opinion, were good men and faithful servants and martyrs of Christ in so believing and dying.

"VIII. Item, that he hath and doth believe, that to fast, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable: for if a man shall be saved, he shall be saved without doing of them; and if he shall be damned, they shall not help him, or do him any good at all.

"IX. That the said Wats of late coming into open court at the sessions before the Lord Riche, Sir Henry Tyrrel, knight, Anthony Brown, esquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confess, that he had refused to come to the church, and to hear there the divine service, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the church: because that like as the service of the church, set out in the days of the late King Edward the Sixth, was said and alleged to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught; so he (the said Thomas Wats) then and there said openly before the said commissioners, that all that is now used and done in the church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and altogether naught: and that he did also then utter before the said commissioners other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his soul, and to the evil example of the people there present.

"X. Item, that he the said Thomas, by reason of the premises, was and is to be taken, had, reported, and judged as a manifest and open heretic; and for the same, by the order of ecclesiastical laws, is to be declared accursed; and being obstinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the secular power, there to be punished as a heretic.

"XI. Item, that he, over and besides all these offences and trespasses aforesaid, had also added this trespass; that is to wit, that he had believed and deliberately spoken that the Church of Rome, in her rites, ceremonies, sacraments, constitutions, and traditions, is the synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had consented and agreed in opinion and belief with one John Tooley, of late hanged at Charing Cross, who, at the time of his executing, desired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, with all his enormities; as who should say, that his authority and doings were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

"XII. Item, that the premises and every part thereof be true, notorious, manifest, and openly spoken and talked of amongst the honest and credible persons in great multitude; and that of all and singular the same within Billericay aforesaid, and other places thereabout, being of the diocese of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof."

The answer of the said Thomas Wats to the aforesaid articles.

"To the Ist he said and confessed the same to be true in every part thereof.

"To the IInd article he answered, that he believeth in all the sacraments according to Christ's institution, and the catholic church; but not according to the bishop of Rome's church: and further said, that he doth not believe now, as he had done in times past—for in time past he believed as the church then believed, but now he doth not so believe; for the Church of Rome hath deceived us—and therefore, he said, he did not believe as the Church of Rome believeth, but as Christ hath taught him. And further said, that he was so taught to believe by preaching of one Master Alvey, and others whose names he remembered not; which Alvey, he said, did preach the word of God truly and sincerely.

"To the IIIrd he answered, that he hath and doth believe, that Christ's body is in heaven, and no where else; and further, that he will never believe that Christ's body is in the sacrament.

"To the IVth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

"To the Vth, that he did believe that the mass is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from that his belief.

"To the VIth, that he neither did, nor yet doth believe that the priest can absolve him of his sins: howbeit he denieth not but it is good to ask counsel at the priest's mouth.

"To the VIIth he said, that he knew not what the opinions of the said persons named in the said article were; and in case the said persons did believe, that the body and blood of Christ were really, and in very deed, in the sacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men.

But in case they did believe that the body and blood of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good Christian men.

"To the VIIIth, that he had not spoken as is contained in this article; but said, that he hath and doth believe, that fasting, prayers, and alms-deeds, be works of a lively faith.

"To the IXth he confessed, that he did utter and speak, as in this article is contained; and, further, desireth God that he might die in that faith and belief, wherein he now is.

"To the Xth he answered and said, that he will submit himself herein to the order of the law: and further said, that he trusteth that with God he shall be blessed, although with men he be accursed.

"To the XIth he said, that he believed that the bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and his church. And as for Tooley he said, he did never see nor know him; but in case the said Tooley did wish and pray as is contained in the article, then he did likewise wish and consent with him therein.

"To the XIIth he answered, that all which before he confessed to be true, is also true; and all that he hath denied to be true, be denieth again to be true, and believeth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed.

"By me, THOMAS WATS."

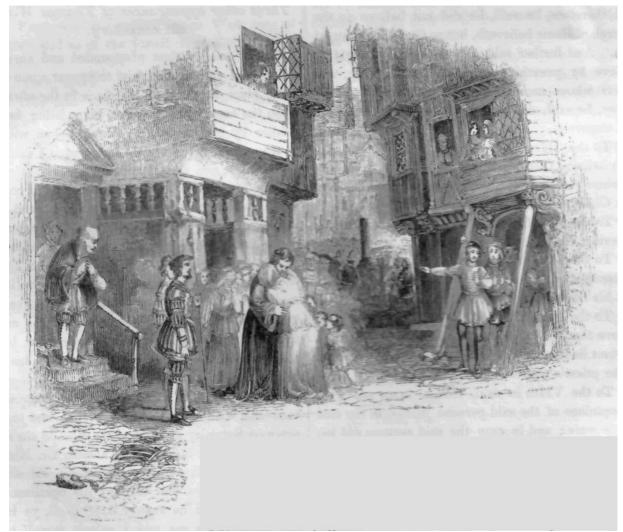
Three other appearances of Thomas Wats in the consistory.

These articles thus propounded and answered, the bishop commanded him to appear again in the same place at three of the clock in the afternoon, upon the same day; at which hour, being brought thither by his keeper, the bishop began with him in this wise; "Wats! you know what I said unto you to-day, and what I appointed unto you at this time. The time is now come: weigh and consider with yourself, that you are but a man, and albeit that ye will wilfully cast away your body, yet cast not so away your soul; but while ye have time, return and confess the truth." Whereunto Thomas Wats answered and said, "I am weary to live in such idolatry as ye would have me to live in;" upon which answer the bishop caused his articles again to be read. He thereto answered as before, and further, subscribed the same with his own hand.

The bishop, after many persuasions to cause him to recant, willed him to depart as then, and to come again on Saturday at eight of the clock in the morning; where, the bishop being absent, Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, as then being his deputy, did sit, and earnestly exhorted him to deny his opinions. To whom in the end he answered "Well, ye have a law to condemn me, and I submit myself to the law; but not to the laws of the church, as you call it: and further I do affirm, and will stand to mine answers that I have made."

Whereupon Dr. Harpsfield willed him to appear there again upon Friday, being the tenth day of the same month of May. Upon which day the bishop privately sent the said Thomas Wats into his chamber, and there, with many fair promises tempted and tried him, whether he would revoke his errors, as he then termed them. But Wats answered him in this sort "I will not believe

your church, neither the Romish church; and therefore you do but labour in vain thus to travail with me." He was hereupon again dismissed for that time until Friday the seventeenth day of May, and then commanded to appear in the consistory; which commandment he obeyed, and having the accustomed former articles ministered unto him, made then such answers as before.



Wats with his Wife and Children

Thus being tossed to and fro from day to day, and hour to hour, he was at the last, the eighteenth day of the month of May, brought into the consistory, where first was made a brief recital of all the former process: and there the said Wats, being, by the bishop and others, willed to deny his profession, made this final answer "God keep me from the doctrine that ye would have me to come unto, which ye have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in that that I have done; for I will stand to mine answers."

The bishop, perceiving his fair flattering promises nothing to prevail, and having no great store of other reasons to persuade with, put forth his last and strongest argument of condemnation; which being ended, he was delivered to the sheriffs of London, and by them was sent to Newgate, where he remained until the ninth day of June, or (as some record) to the twenty-second of May: at which time he was carried unto Chelmsford, and there was brought to Scot's house, keeping then an inn in Chelmsford, where, as they were eating meat with Haukes and the rest that came down to their burning, they prayed together both before and after their meat.

Then Wats went and prayed privately to himself, and afterward came to his wife and his six children being there, and said these words in effect:

"Wife, and my good children! I must now depart from you. Therefore hence-forth know I will see you no more; but, as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom, I charge you, see you do obey, and fear him: and beware ye turn not to this abominable papistry, against the which I shall, anon, by God's grace, give my blood. Let not the murdering of God's saints cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be the stronger in the Lord's quarrel, and I doubt not but he will be a merciful Father unto you." All these and such-like words spake he unto them, and they unto him; of whom two, as it is said, offered to be burnt with him. In the end he bade them farewell, and kissed them all, and was carried to the fire.

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spake to my Lord Riche these or the like words "My Lord," saith he, "beware, beware! for you do against your own conscience herein; and without you repent, the Lord will revenge it: for you are the cause of this my death."

# 288. Concerning the Childbed of Queen Mary, as it Was Rumoured among the People.

Long persuasion had been in England with great expectation, for the space of half a year or more, that the queen was conceived with child. This report was made by the queen's physicians, and others nigh about the court; so that divers were punished for saying the contrary: and commandment was given, that in all churches, supplication and prayer should be made for the queen's good delivery; the certificate whereof ye may read before in the letter of the council sent to Bonner, and also the same, moreover, may appear by provision made before in act of parliament for the child.

And now, forasmuch as in the beginning of this month of June, about Whitsuntide, the time was thought to be nigh that this young master should come into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses, with the cradle and all, were prepared, and in a readiness; suddenly, upon what cause or occasion it is uncertain, a certain vain rumour was blown in London of the prosperous deliverance of the queen, and the birth of the child; insomuch that the bells were rung, bonfires and processions made, not only in the city of London, and in most other parts of the realm, but also in the town of Antwerp guns were shot off upon the river by the English ships, and the mariners thereof rewarded with a hundred pistolets, or Italian crowns, by the lady regent, who was the queen of Hungary. Such great rejoicing and triumph was for the queen's delivery, and that there was a prince born. Yea, divers preachers, namely, one the parson of St. Anne within Aldersgate, after procession and *Te Deum* sung, took upon him to describe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a prince it was, as the like had not been seen.

In the midst of this great ado, there was a simple man (this I speak but upon information) dwelling within four miles of Berwick, that never had been before half way to London, which said concerning the bonfires made for Queen Mary's child, "Here is a joyful triumph; but at length all will not prove worth a mess of pottage" as indeed it came to pass; for in the end all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of men were much deceived. For the people were certified, that the queen neither was as then delivered, nor after was in hope to have any child.

At this time many talked diversely. Some said this rumour of the queen's conception was spread for a policy; some others affirmed that she was deceived by a tympany, or some other like disease, to think herself with child, and was not; some thought she was with child, and that it did by some chance miscarry, or else that she was bewitched; but what was the truth thereof the Lord knoweth, to whom nothing is secret.

One thing of mine own hearing and seeing, I cannot pass over unwitnessed: There came to me, whom I did both hear and see, one Isabel Malt, a woman dwelling in Aldersgate Street in Horn Alley, not far from the house where this present book was printed, who before witness

made this declaration unto us: that she, being delivered of a man-child upon Whit Sunday in the morning, which was the eleventh day of June, anno 1555, there came to her the Lord North, and another lord to her unknown, dwelling then about Old Fish Street, demanding of her if she would part with her child, and would swear that she never knew nor had any such child; which if she would, her son (they said) should be well provided for, she should take no care for it; with many fair offers, if she would part with the child. After that, came other women also, of whom one they said should have been the rocker; but she in no wise would let go her son, who at the writing hereof being alive, and called Timothy Malt, was of the age of thirteen years and upward.

Thus much, I say, I heard of the woman herself. What credit is to be given to her relation, I deal not withal, but leave it to the liberty of the readers to believe it they that list: to them that list not, I have no further warrant to assure them.

Among many other great preparations made for the queen's deliverance of child, there was a cradle very sumptuously and gorgeously trimmed, upon the which cradle for the child appointed, these verses were written, both in Latin and English.

"Quam Mariæ sobolem, Deus optime, summe, dedisti, Anglia incolumem redde, tuere, rege."

"The child which thou to Mary, O Lord of might! hast send, To England's joy, in health preserve,—keep, and defend!"

# 289. Protestant Books Condemned By The Council

About this time there came over into England a certain English book, giving warning to Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certain close practices for recovery of abbey-lands, which book was called, A Warning for England; whereof ye shall understand more, God willing, when we come to the Spanish inquisition: so that by the occasion of this book, upon the thirteenth day of this month came out a certain proclamation, set forth in the name of the king and queen, repealing and disannulling all manner of books written or printed, whatsoever should touch any thing the impairing of the pope's dignity; whereby not only much godly edification was hindered, but also great peril grew among the people. The copy of which proclamation here followeth.

"Whereas by the statute made in the second year of King Henry the Fourth concerning the repressing of heresies, there is ordained and provided a great punishment, not only for the authors, makers, and writers of books containing wicked doctrine, and erroneous and heretical opinions, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the holy church, and likewise for their fautors and supporters; but also for such as shall have or keep any such books or writings, and not make delivery of them to the ordinary of the diocese or his ministers, within a certain time limited in the said statute, which act or statute being by authority of parliament of late revived, was also openly proclaimed, to the intent the subjects of the realm upon such proclamation should the rather eschew the danger and penalty of the said statute; and as yet nevertheless, in most parts of the realm, the same is neglected, and little regarded: the king and queen our sovereign lord and lady, therefore, &c., straitly charge and command: that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from henceforth presume to bring or convey, or cause to be brought or conveyed into this realm, any books, writings, or works hereafter mentioned; that is to say, any book or books, writings or works, made or set forth, by or in the name of Martin Luther, or any book or books, writings or works, made or set forth, by or in the name of Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, John Calvin, Pomerane, John Alasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardine, Ochin, Erasmus, Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, otherwise called Friar Barnes, John Bale, otherwise called Friar Bale, Justus Jonas, John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, William Tyndale, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Basil, otherwise called Thomas Beacon, John Frith, Roy, and the book commonly called Hall's Chronicle, or any of them in the Latin tongue, Dutch tongue, English tongue, Italian tongue, or French tongue, or any other like book, paper, writing, or work, made, printed, or set forth, by any other person or persons, containing false doctrine contrary and against the catholic faith, and the doctrine of the catholic church. And also that no person or persons presume to write, print, utter, sell, read, or keep any, or cause to be written, printed, uttered, or kept, any of the said books, papers, works, or writings, or any book or books, written or printed in the Latin or English tongue, concerning the common service and administration set forth in English to be used in the churches of this realm in the time of King Edward the Sixth, commonly called "The Communion Book, or Book of Common Service and Ordering of Ministers, otherwise called, The Book set forth by authority of Parliament, for

Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments," or to be used in the mother tongue within the Church of England; but shall, within the space of fifteen days next after the publication of this proclamation, bring or deliver, or cause the said books, writings, and works, and every of them remaining in their custodies and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the ordinary of the diocese, where such books, works, or writings be or remain, or to his chancellor or commissaries, without fraud, colour, or deceit, at the said ordinary's will and disposition to be burnt, or otherwise to be used or ordered by the said ordinaries, as by the canons or spiritual laws it is in that case limited and appointed, upon pain that every offender contrary to this proclamation, shall incur the danger and penalties contained in the said statute, and as they will avoid their Majesties' high indignation and displeasure, and further answer at their uttermost perils.

"And their Majesties, by this proclamation, give full power and authority to all bishops and ordinaries, and all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs of cities and towns corporate, and other head officers within this realm and the dominions thereof, and expressly command and will the same and every of them, that they and every of them, within their several limits and jurisdictions, shall in the default and negligence of the said subjects, after the said fifteen days expired, inquire and search out the said books, writings, and works; and for this purpose enter into the house or houses, closets, and secret places of every person, of whatsoever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and suspected to keep any such book, writing, or works, contrary to this proclamation: and that the said justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other head officers above specified, and, every of them within their said limits and jurisdictions, finding any of the said subjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, shall commit every such offender to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till the same offender or offenders have received such punishment as the said statute doth limit and appoint in this behalf.

"Given under our signs manual, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 13th day of June, the first and second years of our reigns."

"Imprinted by John Cawood, anno 1555."

Articles to be inquired upon by the wardens of every company, touching seditious books, especially touching the book called, A Warning for England.

- "I. Whether they have seen any of the aforesaid books?
- "II. Whether they have heard of any of the said books?
- "III. Where they were, and in what place they have seen them?
- "IV. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the sea; especially from Zurich, Strasburg, Frankfort, Wezel, Emden, and Delsburg?
- "V. Whom they know, or vehemently suspect, to be common carriers of letters, or money, thither from hence?
- "VI. That they bring to my Lord Mayor all such seditious books as they have, or shall have found hereafter."

# 290. Some Papistical Blasphemies.

In the previous chapter thou hast heard, Christian reader! the profound and learned censure of the catholic Church of England, what books they mislike and reject as heretical, schismatical, and pernicious. Against the which catholic censure of these learned fathers, I have not at this time to infer: neither doth my leisure now serve to write apologies in defence of these authors here condemned. Only so much leave it may please the reader to grant me to set before him here a pair of balances, wherein to weigh the books on the one side condemned, with the books on the other side allowed, to the end that we, weighing the one with the other, may discern the better between them, which part weigheth best with God's holy truth and true catholic church, against manifest idolatry and palpable abomination. And now therefore, as they have in this present proclamation given their condemnation upon these books above recited; so I desire thee to give thy censure upon their books, by them allowed, and upon the matter in them contained, and mark well what good stuff it is.

And first to begin with the Primer in English for children, after the use of Salisbury, imprinted with privilege according to letters-patent of the king and queen's Majesties in the reign of Queen Mary. Let us repeat and survey some part of thesaid Primer, (for to express all, it were too long,) beginning with the first lesson of our Lady, in these words:

"Holy Mary, mother most pure of virgins all, Mother and daughter of the King Celestial, So comfort us in our desolation. That by thy prayer and special mediation. We enjoy the reward of thy heavenly reign," &c.

Confer this with the Scriptures, good reader, and judge uprightly whether this doctrine be tolerable in the church or not. It followeth more in the Second Lesson:

"Holy Mary, of all godly the godliest.

Pray for us, of all holy the holiest;

That he our prayers accept may in good wise.

Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the skies," &c.

In the Third Lesson.

"Thy Son beseech, with humble intercession.

To purge us clean of our transgression;

That so being redeemed we may the place ascend,

Where thou dwellest with him world without end."

#### The Versicle.

"Pray for the people, entreat for the clergy, make intercession for the devout woman-kind; let all feel thy help, that worthily solemnize thy memorial," &c.

#### Another Versicle.

"Holy Mother of God, make thy petition. That we may deserve Christ's promission," &c.

And in the anthem after Benedictus, thus it followeth:-

"We beseech thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Christ, that we, being supported by thy help, may deserve to attain the kingdom of heaven."

Furthermore in the collect after it followeth:

"And grant, that through the gracious intercession of the Virgin thy Mother, we may be delivered from this present heaviness, and have the fruition of eternal gladness."

It followeth moreover in the said Primer thus, concerning the material cross.

"O God, which hast ascended thy most holy cross, and hast given light to the darkness of the world, vouchsafe by the virtue of thy cross to illumine, visit, and comfort both our hearts and bodies," &c.

Moreover, in the name of St. John Baptist thus it prayeth:-

"O Lord, defend us alway through the continual succours of St. John Baptist. For the more frail we be, the more need we have to be relieved with necessary prayers," &c.

In which words note, good reader, not only the absurdity of doctrine, but also the stolidity of the reason. For whereas their doctrine pretendeth that St. John Baptist should pray for us, here we pray to God for St. John Baptist, that he will hear his prayer praying for us. It followeth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paul:-

"Hear us mercifully; and grant thæt through the merits of them both, we may obtain the glory everlasting," &c.

of St. Andrew.

"So let him, O Lord, be a continual petitioner for us to thee," &c.

#### of St. Lawrence thus:-

"St. Lawrence the deacon did work a great work. For by the virtue of the holy cross, he gave sight to the blind," &c.

And how can this be true, when the holy cross was not yet found in the time of St. Lawrence? For Helen which first found the cross, as they say, came after St. Lawrence more than forty years.

of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.

"By the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend, Make us, Christ, to climb, whither Thomas did ascend."

of St. Nicholas.

"O God, which hast glorified blessed Nicholas, thy holy bishop, with innumerable miracles, grant, we beseech thee, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell."

of Mary Magdalene.

"Grant, we beseech thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchase for us the bliss everlasting," &c.

Another prayer of our Lady.

"The dolorous compassion of God's sweet Mother Bring us to the bliss of Almighty God the Father," &c.

Another prayer in the said Primer to our Lady.

"Establish us in peace and tranquillity. And change the name of sinful Eva: Loose thy prisoners from captivity, Unto the blind give sight again: Deliver us from malignity. To the end we may some grace attain: Show thyself to be a Mother. So that he accept our petition. Deliver us from bondage of sin."

Item.

"Holy Mother, succour the miserable, comfort the weak-spirited, give courage to the desperate, pray for the people, make intercession for the clergy, and be a mean for the devout womankind," &c.

### Another blasphemous prayer.

"O thou meek Mother, have mercy therefore On wretches, for whom thou haddest these paines all, Seeing thy Son that vine-cluster pressed sore: And from the pestilence of death eternal. Keep us by voiding the Send infernal. And join us with them which rewarded be 'With eternal life, seeing the Deity."

## Another blasphemy in the said Primer.

"Hail Queen, mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, our hope. Unto thee do we cry and sigh, weeping and wailing. Come off, therefore, our patroness; cast upon us thy pitiful eyes; and after this our banishment, show to us the blessed fruit of thy womb. O Gate of glory! be for us a reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expel: wipe the spots of sins unclean," &c.

Item, to our Lady.

"The fruit of thy womb everlasting We may behold through thy deserving," &c.

Item.

"Grant, we beseech thee, that by her merits and prayers we may attain to that unspeakable joy, where she, being assumpt, doth now rejoice with thee in heaven for ever."

And thus much hitherto of this Catholic Primer, called our Lady's Matins; whereunto, if it were not tedious for the reader, we would also adjoin our Lady's Psalter, to the intent that all indifferent readers, as they have seen what books these catholic fathers have condemned and do condemn for heretical; so the same also may see and judge, what books on the other side they approve as lawful and catholic. And forasmuch as it is not known peradventure to all men, what our Lady's Psalter is, or what it meaneth; yea, and some peradventure will deny any such book of our Lady's Psalter to be written or approved, here therefore we will first produce the name of the author, who was Bonaventure, a seraphical doctor, bishop also and cardinal, canonized moreover by Pope Sixtus the Fourth, anno 1482, for a saint in the calendar, who, in his book thus entitled in Latin, Incipit Psalterium beatem Virginis, compilatum per Seraphicum Doctorem Sanctum Bonaventuram Episcopum Albanensem, necnon sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Presbyterum Cardinalem, in honorem genetricis, &c., (fol. 84, in the second part of his whole works, which were imprinted at Strasburgh, anno 1495,) to show himself a devout servant to his Lady, hath taken every psalm of David's Psalter, (which be peculiarly made and referred to Almighty God,) and hath in divers of the said psalms and verses put out the name of the Lord, and hath placed in the name of our Lady. This being done through the whole psalms and every one of them, it is now called our Lady's Psalter, used to be sung and said in the praise and service of our Lady. A brief taste whereof, for example's sake, (for, to show all, it were too long,) we thought here to exhibit unto the reader in order, as followeth:-

"Here beginneth the Psalter of the blessed Virgin, made by the seraphical doctor St. Bonaventure, the bishop of Albano, and cardinal of the holy Church of Rome."

- 1. "Blessed is the man which understandeth thy name, O Virgin Mary; thy grace shall comfort his soul. Thou shalt bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of justice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All women thou passest in the beauty of thy body; all angels and archangels in the excellency of thy holiness. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified every where," &c.—"Glory be to the Father," &c.
- 2. "Why do our enemies fret and imagine vain things against us? Let thy right hand defend us, O Mother of God, terribly confounding and destroying them as a sword. Come unto her, all ye that labour and are troubled, and she will give rest unto your souls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance shall stablish and comfort you. Bless her with all your heart; for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father," &c.
- 3. "Why are they so many, O Lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou shalt persecute and destroy them. Loose the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my sorrow and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my soul. Bring me unto the haven of salvation, and restore my spirit unto my Maker and Creator. Glory be to the Father," &c.
- 4. "When I called to thee, thou heardest me, O my Lady, and out of thy high throne thou didst vouchsafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themselves to devour me, and out of the hands of such as seek after my life, thy grace shall deliver me: because thy mercy and thy pity are great towards all them that call upon thy holy name. Blessed he thou, O Lady, for ever, and thy majesty for ever and ever. Glorify her, all nations of the earth," &c.
- 5. "Hear my words, O Lady," &c. "Turn our mourning into gladness, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power dash their heads in pieces."
- 6. "O Lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in God's anger, nor to be chastened in his heavy displeasure," &c. "From the gate and deep pit of hell, with thy holy prayers deliver us. Let the everlasting gates be opened, that we may show forth thy marvellous works for ever. Because neither the dead, nor they that be in hell, shall praise thee, O Lady, but they which shall obtain by thy grace life everlasting."
- 7. "O my Lady, in thee will I put my trust; deliver me from mine enemies, O Lady. Stop the mouth of the lion, and bind the lips of the persecutors. Make no tarrying for thy name's sake, to show thy mercy upon me. Let the brightness of thy countenance shine upon us, that our conscience may be saved before the most highest. If the enemy do persecute my soul, O Lady, help me that he destroy me not."
- 9. "I will give thanks to thee, O Lady, with my whole heart, and will show forth among the nations thy praise and glory," &c. "They shall find grace through thee, the finder out of grace

and salvation. The humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveness; heal thou the sores of their heart," &c.

- 10. "In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust," &c. "Seek her even from your youth, and she shall glorify you," &c. "Her mercy take from us the multitude of our sins, and give unto us plenteousness of merits," &c.
- 12. "Save me, O Mother of love, and fountain of mercy," &c. "Thou thyself alone hast gone about the compass of the earth, to help them that call upon thee."
- 13. "How long dost thou forget me, O Lady, and dost not deliver me in the day of my trouble? How long shall mine enemy triumph over me? With thy mighty power destroy him," &c. "We magnify thee the finder and the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired," &c.
- 16. "Preserve me, O Lady, for in thee have I put my trust," &c. "Blessed be thy breasts, [from] which, with thy deifying milk, didst [thou] nourish the Saviour," &c.
- 18. "I will love thee, O Lady of heaven and earth; I will call upon thy name among the nations. Confess yourselves unto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and she shall strengthen you against your enemies," &c. "All ye cloisterers, honour her, for she is your helper and special advocate. Be thou our refreshing and rest, for thou art the marvellous foundation of all religion."
- 20. "Hear us, O Lady, in the day of trouble," &c. "Cast us not away in the time of our death, but succour our soul when it forsaketh the body. Send an angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the enemies," &c. "In torments and pain let it feel thy comfort, and grant to it a place among the elect of God."
- 25. "To thee, O Lady, do I lift up my soul," &c. "Let not the snares of death prevail against me,"
  - 26. "Be thou my guide to the heavenly rest, and to the company of angels associate me."
- 26. "Judge thou me, O Lady, for I am fallen from mine innocency: but because I put my trust in thee, therefore I shall not fall," &c.
- 27. "O Lady, let the brightness of thy face be my light, and let the clearness of thy grace shine unto my mind," &c.
- 28. "To thee, O Lady," &c. "Have mercy upon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of thy truth deliver me," &c.
- 31. "In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust; let me not be confounded for ever: in thy glory receive me. Thou art my strength and my refuge, my consolation and protection," &c. "Deliver me from the snare that they have laid for me, because thou art my helper. Into thy hands I commend my spirit," &c.

- 34. "I will always praise our Lady," &c. "In perils, in adversity, call upon her, and in time of need ye shall find succour. Let her conversation be an example unto you, and follow the virtue of her humility. Because therefore, O Lady, thou wast humble and lowly, thou didst compel the Word increate to take flesh of thee."
- 36. "The wicked man said," &c. "Let him depart from his evil purpose. O Mother of God, turn the countenance of God toward us: compel him to be merciful unto sinners. Blessed be thy empery and dominion in heaven, and blessed be thy magnificence upon the earth."
- 45. "My heart is inditing a good matter, O Lady," &c. "By thy holiness let my sins be purged; by thy integrity let me obtain incorruption," &c.
- 47. "Clap your hands, all ye people," &c. "For she is the gate of life, the door of salvation, the reconciler of our life; the hope of the penitent, the comfort of the sorrowful, the blessed peace of hearts, and salvation. Have mercy upon me, O Lady; have mercy upon me; for thou art the light and hope of all that put their trust in thee."
- 51. "Have mercy upon me, O Lady, which art called the Mother of mercy; and in the bowels of thy great compassion cleanse me from mine iniquities."
  - 54. "O Lady, in thy name save me, and from mine unrighteousness deliver me," &c.
- 70. "Make haste, O Lady, to help me," &c. "Have mercy on thy servants, upon whom thy name is invocated," &c.
- 71. "In thee, Lady, have I put my trust: let me not be confounded for ever; in thy mercy deliver me," &c.
- 79. "O Lady, the, Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou didst join unto Christ by thy merits," &c.
- 89. "Thou that rulest Israel," &c. "The favour of life cometh from her, and all health floweth out of her heart," &c.
- 91. "Whoso dwelleth in the help of the Mother of God, shall dwell in the shadow of her protection," &c. "Cry unto her in your dangers, and the scourge shall not come near your tabernacle. The fruit of grace shall be to him whoso trusteth in her, and the gate of paradise shall be open unto him."
- 95. "Come let us rejoice to our Lady," &c. "Receive our souls at our last end, and bring them into everlasting rest," &c.
- 105. "Praise our Lady, and call upon her name," &c. "Everlasting salvation is in thy hand, O Lady," &c.
  - 110. "The Lord said unto our Lady, Sit here, my Mother, on my right hand," &c.

- 114. "In the passing of my soul out of this world, come and meet it, O Lady, and receive it," &c. "Be to it a ladder to the kingdom of heaven, and a right way to the paradise of God," &c.
- 119. "The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and therefore I will search out the way of thy justifications," &c. "I will covet for ever to praise thee, O Lady, when thou shalt teach me thy justifications," &c.
- 125. "They that put their trust in thee, O Mother of God, shall not be afraid of the face of their enemy," &c.
- 127. "Except our Lady shall build the house of our heart, the building thereof shall not continue."
- 128. "Blessed is every one that feareth our Lady, and blessed be all they which know to do her will," &c.
  - 130. "Out of the deep I:have called unto thee, O Lady, O Lady, hear my voice," &c.
  - 132. "O Lady, remember David, and all them that call upon thy name," &c.
  - 134. "Behold and bless now our Lady, all ye that put your trust in her holy name."
- 136. "At the floods of Babylon," &c. "There is no propitiation to be found without her," &c.
  - 140. "Deliver me, O Lady, from all evil, and from the infernal enemy defend me," &c.
- 145. "Our eyes look up and trust in thee. Do thou send us meat and food convenient," &c. "My tongue shall speak thy praise, and shall bless thee for ever."
- 148. "Praise thou our Lady, O Jerusalem, and glorify her also, O thou Sion; for she buildeth up thy walls, and blesseth thy children. Her grace maketh thee fat, and giveth peace unto thy coasts," &c.

I could recite also other things more of like blasphemy, following immediately after this Psalter of our Lady, in the seraphical doctor aforesaid, as these:

"Behold, my Lady, my saviour; I will be bold in thee, and will not fear," &c. "Because thou art my strength, and art become my salvation," &c.

"Rejoice, O all mankind, because the Lord thy God hath given unto thee such a mediatrix," &c.

"I will confess to thee, O Lady, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and hast revealed them to the little ones."

"O thou wicked and peevish generation, acknowledge our Lady thy saviour. Is not she the mother that hath possessed thee, and in faith hath begotten thee?"

"O thou blessed, in thy hands is laid up our salvation," &c.

"In thy name let every knee bend, in heaven and earth, and in hell."

"Like as an infant cannot live without the nurse, so neither canst thou have salvation without our Lady."

"Whoso will be saved, before all things he must needs hold his belief of our Lady: which belief, unless every one shall hold perfect and sound, he shall perish, without doubt, for ever."

Moreover, after these so horrible things and intolerable to be heard, consequently in the next tractation followeth the Rosary or Garland of our Lady, compiled by the said St. Bonaventure; wherein these words are to be read as followeth:

"O mediatrix between God and man, the Lord hath worthily magnified thee, that thou only shouldest conceive his Son. Wherefore, O good Mary our mediatrix, mother of grace, and mother of mercy," &c.

And moreover, within few lines it followeth in these words:

"Therefore, O our empress and Lady most bountiful, by the authority of a mother command, command (I say) thy well-beloved Son, that he will stir up our minds from the love of worldly things, to heavenly desires," &c.

Item, "O the advocate of the miserable, the eyes of thy servants be directed to thee," &c.

To these premises I might also adjoin the horrible and most blasphemous words of the said Bonaventure in the said book, fol. 100, p. 2, col. 1, which I beseech thee to read and note, "What greater goodness can be, than that Christ is content to be captive upon the altar?"

Whereupon he speaketh in the person of Jeremy, saying:

"Behold, I am in your hands; do with me as you see good," &c. "Where note," saith he, "that when any duke or prince is taken prisoner for his subjects, he is not let go, before he pay some great sum of money for his ransom. Even so neither we ought to let Christ go out of our hands, being our prisoner and captive, except he grant unto us remission of our sins and his heavenly kingdom. The priest therefore lifteth up the body of Christ upon the altar, as though he said thus, Behold him whom the whole world is not able to comprehend; he is holden here our captive; wherefore let us hold him fast, and not let him go before we obtain of him our requests," &c.

*Notes: The Church of Rome examined.* 

Is not here good catholic stuff, Christian reader, trow you? Confer, I beseech you, this doctrine with the doctrine of the apostles, who teach us that we are fully complete in Christ, and I will refer me to no better judge than to your own conscience. And now therefore, if any man have been in doubt in times past of the doctrine and proceedings of the Church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind errors, with blasphemy intolerable, and idolatry abominable, or not, here now may he he fully certified and resolved. For where was ever idolatry or blasphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Matins and Psalter of our Lady? If idolatry be to make an idol to be worshipped as God, which is no God, what do we here but make an idol of our Lady, (as we call her,) to be worshipped with no less dignity, glory, authority, reverence, and service, than is the Lord God himself? And as he is called our Lord, so she is called our Lady. And if he be King, yet she is the Queen of heaven. And though he have the name of God, yet she beareth so the title of the Mother of God; that as mothers have authority over their children, so she is willed to show herself to be his mother, to cause him to grant our petitions. Finally, if he be our patron, yet is she our patroness. The commandment saith, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." And what worship or service can we give to God, more than we do ascribe unto her? or what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Christ our Saviour, which is not equally asked of her? To save our souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the desperate, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from the fiend, to bring to heaven, &c. To her we pray, we cry, we creep, we sigh, we groan, we knock and kneel, to her we trust; and if we believe not also in our Lady, we be heretics *ipso facto*.

Furthermore, as Christ our only Lord and Saviour hath his church and congregation, which professeth his name, of whom we are called Christians; so neither is she likewise without her chapels, her cloisters, her chapters, fraternities, and brotherhoods, which professing her name in like sort, are called our Lady's Brethren, or White Friars, besides an innumerable sort of other patrons of churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar church and religion by himself, yet all these together be included under the general devotion of our Lady, their supreme patroness and governess.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the commandment, which saith, "Him only shalt thou serve." What service hath the Lord in all the church, but our Lady also jointly with him hath the like? Her mass, her matins, her even-song, her hours and compline, her rosaries, her anthems, her collects, her primer, her psalter; her holy-days likewise, yea, five to one. Finally, as the Lord hath his prayer called the Lord's Prayer, so hath she her Ave Marias, yea, ten Ayes to one Paternoster; yea, and read further in the said Bonaventure, and ye shall see her also to have her *Te Deum*, her *Benedictus*, her *Magnificat*; and also her *Ouicunque vult*.

If the Lord our God had not expressed unto us his own will by plain words, limiting unto us by express injunction what to believe, what to follow, and how to worship and serve him, and how to receive from him our salvation; but had left us to the imagination of our own inventions, every man to shift for himself after his own policy; then, peradventure, this way taken by the pope's church, to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remission, and salvation, might have some rhyme or reason; but now God's word doth bind us, doth prescribe and limit us precisely, in every point touching salvation, what to believe, and what to

do, showing us plainly that we cannot be saved, but by the blood of his Son only, neither can be justified but by faith only in the same Christ his Son: wherefore, not to believe that which he hath promised, is infidelity, and to follow any other belief than he hath set us, is plain idolatry. The which two special errors most commonly do follow the doctrine of the Romish church, as not only in this Primer and Psalter of our Lady aforesaid, but also in all their proceedings, teachings, and preachings besides, may well appear. For whereas the Scripture doth perfectly promise and pronounce us to be justified through our faith in Christ, and willeth us to seek our salvation no where else, but only in the merits of Jesus: the institution of the Church of Rome neither will receive that God hath freely given, (wherein standeth infidelity,) neither yet will seek the same there where they should, but in the merits and prayers of our Lady, of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas of Canterbury; and by the worthiness of the material cross, and such other unlawful means, wherein standeth plain idolatry. And yet such books as these can be suffered among the catholics to be current, as good, wholesome, and lawful books; whereas the other, which lead us the true way from infidelity and blind idolatry to true Christianity, in no wise can be sufferable. But of this to complain it is vain. Wherefore to pass from this proclamation, let us proceed (God willing) in the course of our history.

# 291. Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, Thomas Osborne, and Others.



ention was made before, in the story of Thomas Haukes, of six prisoners besides, which were sent down with him to Essex, the same time as he went to execution; of which six prisoners, three were sent to be burned, the other three to recant, and to do penance: of whom it followeth next in the story now to entreat. The names of which six were these, Thomas Osmond, fuller; William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver; Thomas Osborne, fuller; Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver; Thomas Brodehill, weaver; Richard Web, weaver; being all of the town of Coggeshall. All which six Coggeshall men, next after the examination of Thomas Haukes, and

Thomas Wats, were sent up to Bonner to be examined, by the earl of Oxford 'and Sir Philip Paris, knight, with a letter also with them sent, the copy whereof here followeth.

"After our hearty commendations unto your good Lordship, this shall be to advertise the same, that the constables of Coggeshall within your diocese, have brought before us this day six persons dwelling in the town of Coggeshall aforesaid, whose names hereafter do follow, videlicet, Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver; John Wallet, fuller; Thomas Brodehill, weaver; Richard Web, weaver; William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver; and Thomas Osborne, fuller; for that they, at the feast of Easter now last, have not obeyed to the order of the holy catholic church in receiving of the sacraments, but obstinately refusing the same, besides the holding of divers other opinions, contrary to the faith of the said church. Wherefore we have thought it good to send the same persons unto your good Lordship further to be ordered, as in such case shall appertain. Thus we commit your good Lordship to the keeping of Almighty God.—From Heddingham the first of May, Anno 1555.

"Your Lordship's assuredly, OXFORD. PHILIP PARIS."

Thus the said prisoners being sent up the first day of May, were brought before the said bishop the seventeenth of the said month, to be examined upon divers and sundry articles ministered and objected against them; whereunto they were compelled to answer, and to put their hands to the same.

These articles in the same form and manner of words are commonly objected to all others that follow after, with the same answers also thereunto annexed. In which articles thou mayest note, reader, the crafty and subtle handling of these lawyers and registrars, who so deceitfully frame their articles and positions, that unless a man do advisedly consider them, it is hard for a simple man to answer to them, but he shall be snared and entangled. So they paint their church with such a visage of universal, whole, holy, catholic—as who should say, he that denieth Rome,

denieth the holy church of Christ here in earth. Likewise in examining them, and specially the simple sort in the matter of the sacrament, to the material bread in the sacrament they put this word "only" very captiously and fraudulently, to take them at the worst advantage, making the people believe that they take the holy sacrament to be no better than only common bread: when they do not so, but make a difference between the same, both in the use, honour, and name thereof.

Again, when the examinates hold but only against the erroneous points of Romish religion, these bishops in their interrogatories give out the matter so generally, as though the said examinates in general spake against all the articles of faith taught in Rome, Spain, England, France, Scotland, &c.

Moreover, concerning Latin service, in such crafty form of words they propound their article, that it might appear to the people, these men do deny any service to be lawful in any place, country, or language, but only in English.

And as these articles are craftily, captiously, and deceitfully in form of words devised by these bishops and their notaries: so the answers again to the same, be no less subtlely framed, and after the most odious manner put down in the name of the examinates; which being read unto them, thus without further advice they were constrained, upon a sudden, to subscribe the same with their hands. Whereby, if any word escaped their hand, peradventure not considerately subscribed, there the papists take their advantage against them, to defame them, and to bring them into hatred with the people.

These articles thus propounded and answered, they were until the afternoon dismissed; at what time they did again appear, and there were examined, and travailed with by fair and flattering speeches, as well of the bishop as of others his assistants, to recant and revoke their opinions, who notwithstanding remained constant and firm, and therefore, after the common usage of their ecclesiastical laws, were sent away again until the next day, being Saturday, and the eighteenth day of May. Then in the forenoon the bishop, using his accustomed manner of proceeding, which he had used before as well with them as with others, did likewise dismiss them; and at last, in the afternoon, condemned them as heretics, and so delivered them to the sheriffs, in whose custody they remained until they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and by him were executed; Chamberlain at Colchester, the fourteenth of June; Thomas Osmond at Manningtree, the fifteenth of June; and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich, the same fifteenth day in the month of June.

## 292. John Bradford.

As touching the first country and education of John Bradford, he was born at Manchester in Lancashire. His parents did bring him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in some honest condition. Then he became servant to Sir John Harrington, knight, who in the great affairs of King Henry the Eighth, and King Edward the Sixth, which he had in hand when he was treasurer of the king's camps and buildings, at divers times, in Boulogne, had such experience of Bradford's activity in writing, his expertness in the art of auditors, as also of his faithful trustiness, that not only in those affairs, but in many other of his private business he trusted Bradford in such sort, that above all others he used his faithful service.

Thus continued Bradford certain years in a right honest and good trade of life, after the course of this world, like to come forward, (as they say,) if his mind could have so liked, or had been given to the world as many other be. But the Lord, who had elected him unto a better function, and preordained him to preach the gospel of Christ in that hour of grace which, in his secret counsel, he had appointed, called this his chosen child to the understanding and partaking of the same gospel of life: in which call he was so truly taught, that forthwith this effectual call was perceived by the fruits. For then Bradford did forsake his worldly affairs and forwardness in worldly wealth, and, after the just account given to his master of all his doings, he departed from him; and with marvellous favour to further the kingdom of God by the ministry of his holy word, he gave himself wholly to the study of the Holy Scriptures. The which his purpose to accomplish the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the university of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In Cambridge his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge and godly conversation, so pleased all men, that within one whole year after that he had been there, the university did give him the degree of a master of arts.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall did give him a fellowship in their college with them: yea, that man of God, Martin Bucer, so liked him, that he had him not only most dear unto him, but also oftentimes exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. Unto which Bradford answered always, that he was unable to serve in that office through want of learning. To the which Bucer was wont to reply, saying, "If thou have not fine manchet bread, yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee." And while Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, that worthy bishop of London, and glorious martyr of Christ, according to the order that then was in the Church of England, called him to take the degree of a deacon, which order, because it was not without some such abuse, as to the which Bradford would not consent, the bishop yet, perceiving that Bradford was willing to enter into the ministry, was content to order him deacon without any abuse, even as he desired. This being done, he obtained for him a licence to preach, and did give him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

In this preaching office by the space of three years, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can testify. Sharply he opened and reproved sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life. After the death of blessed young King Edward the Sixth, when Queen Mary had gotten the crown, still continued Bradford diligent in preaching, until he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the queen and her council. To the doing whereof (because they had no just cause) they took occasion to do this injury, for such an act as among Turks and infidels would have been with thankfulness rewarded, and with great favour accepted, as indeed it did no less deserve. The fact was this: the thirteenth of August, in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary, Master Bourn, then bishop of Bath, made a seditious sermon at Paul's Cross in London, as partly is declared before, to set popery abroad, in such sort that it moved the people to no small indignation, being almost ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of Bishop Bonner, who then was his master, nor yet the commandment of the mayor of London, whom the people ought to have obeyed, stay their rage; but the more they spake, the more the people were incensed. At length Bourn, seeing the people in such a mood, and himself in such peril, (whereof he was sufficiently warned by the hurling of a drawn dagger at him, as he stood in the pulpit,) and that he was put from ending his sermon, fearing lest (against his will) he should there end his wretched life, desired Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to stand in his place and speak to the people. Good Bradford, at his request, was content, and there spake to the people of godly and quiet obedience: whom as soon as the people saw to begin to speak unto them, so glad they were to hear him, that they cried with a great shout,—"Bradford, Bradford; God save thy life, Bradford!"—well declaring not only what affection they bare unto him, but also what regard they gave unto his words. For after that he had entered a little to preach unto them, and to exhort them to quiet and patience, eftsoons all the raging ceased, and in the end quietly departed each man to his house. Yet in the mean season (for it was a long time before that so a great multitude could all depart) Bourn thought (and truly) himself not yet full sure of his life till he were safely housed, notwithstanding that the mayor and sheriffs of London were there at hand to help them. Wherefore he desired Bradford not to depart from him till he were in safety: which Bradford, according to his promise, performed. For while the mayor and sheriffs did lead Bourn to the schoolmaster's house, which is next to the pulpit, Bradford went at his back, shadowing him from the people with his gown, and so to set him safe.

Let the reader now consider the peril of Bourn, the charity of Bradford, and the headiness of the multitude, and also the grudging minds of certain, which yet still there remained behind; grieved not a little in their minds, to see that so good a man should save the life of such a popish priest, so impudently and openly railing against King Edward; among whom one gentleman said these words: "Ah Bradford, Bradford, thou savest him that will help to burn thee. I give thee his life. If it were not for thee, I would (I assure thee) run him through with my sword." Thus Bourn for that time, through Bradford's means, escaped bodily death: but God hath his judgment to be showed in the time appointed.

The same Sunday in the afternoon, Bradford preached at the Bow Church in Cheapside, and reproved the people sharply for their seditious misdemeanour. After this he did abide still in London, with an innocent conscience, to try what should become of his just doing. Within three days after, he was sent for to the Tower of London, where the queen then was, to appear there

before the council. There was he charged with this act of saving of Bourn, which act they there called seditious, and also objected against him for preaching, and so by them he was committed first to the Tower, then unto other prisons, out of which neither his innocency, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase to him liberty of body, till by death (which he suffered for Christ's cause) he obtained the heavenly liberty, of which neither pope nor papist shall ever deprive him.

From the Tower he came to the King's Bench in Southwark: and after his condemnation, he was sent to the Compter in the Poultry in London: in which two places, for the time he did remain prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him: where also the sacrament was often ministered, and through his means (the keepers so well did bear with him) such resort of good folks was daily to his lecture, and to the ministration of the sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled therewith. Preaching, reading, and praying was all his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day; which was but very little when he took it; and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to muse with himself, having his hat overhis eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. Very gentle be was to man and child, and in so good credit with his keeper, that at his desire in an evening (being prisoner in the King's Bench in Southwark) he had licence, upon his promise to return again that night, to go into London without any keeper to visit one that was sick, lying by the Still-yard. Neither did he fail his promise, but returned to his prison again, rather preventing his hour, than breaking his fidelity: so constant was he in word and in deed.

Of personage he was somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He slept not commonly above four hours in the night; and in his bed, till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in no gaming or other pastime, but only in honest company, and comely talk, wherein be would spend a little time after dinner at the board; and so to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well spent, wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others, &c. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally participate that he had to his fellow prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the thieves, pick-purses, and such others that were with him in prison, where he lay on the other side, unto whom he would give godly exhortation, to learn the amendment of their lives by their troubles; and, after that so done, distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

By the way, this I thought not to conceal. While he was in the King's Bench, and Master Saunders in the Marshalsea, both prisoners, on the backside of those two prisons they met many times, and conferred together when they would: so mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midst of their troubles; and the said Bradford was so trusted with his keeper, and had such liberty in the backside, that there was no day but that he might have easily escaped away, if he would; but that the Lord had another work to do for him. In the summer time, while he was in the said King's Bench, he had liberty of his keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a merchant's house of his acquaintance, and horse and all things prepared for him for that journey, and the party in readiness that should ride with him: but God prevented him by sickness that he went not at all.

One of his old friends and acquaintance came unto him while he was prisoner, and asked him, if he sued to get him out, what then he would do, or whither he would go? Unto whom he

made answer, as not caring whether he went out or no: but if he did, he said he would marry, and abide still in England secretly, teaching the people as the time would suffer him, and occupy himself that way. He was had in so great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude, which never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death: yea, and a number also of the papists themselves wished heartily his life. There were few days in which he was thought not to spend some tears before he went to bed, neither was there ever any prisoner with him but by his company he greatly profited; as all they will yet witness, and have confessed of him no less, to the glory of God, whose society he frequented; as among many, one special thing I thought to note, which is this:

Bishop Ferrar, being in the King's Bench prisoner, as before you have heard, was travailed withal of the papists in the end of Lent, to receive the sacrament at Easter in one kind, who, after much persuading, yielded to them, and promised so to do. Then (so it happened by God's providence) the Easter-even, the day before he should have done it, was Bradford brought to the King's Bench, prisoner; where the Lord making him his instrument, Bradford only was the mean that the said Bishop Ferrar revoked his promise and word, and would never after yield to be spotted with that papistical pitch; so effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy servant of his. Such an instrument was he in God's church, that few or none there were that knew him, but esteemed him as a precious jewel and God's true messenger.

The night before Bradford was had to Newgate, which was the Saturday night, he was sore troubled divers times in his sleep by dreams, how the chain for his burning was brought to the Compter gate, and how the next day, being Sunday, he should be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield; as indeed it came to pass accordingly, which hereafter shall be showed. Now he, being vexed so oftentimes in this sort with these dreams, about three of the clock in the morning he waked him that lay with him, and told him his unquiet sleep, and what he was troubled withal. Then, after a little talk, Master Bradford rose out of the bed, and gave himself to his old exercise of reading and prayer, as always he had used before; and at dinner, according to his accustomed manner, he did eat his meat, and was very merry, nobody being with him from morning to night, but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that day communication of death, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the ripeness of sin in that time.

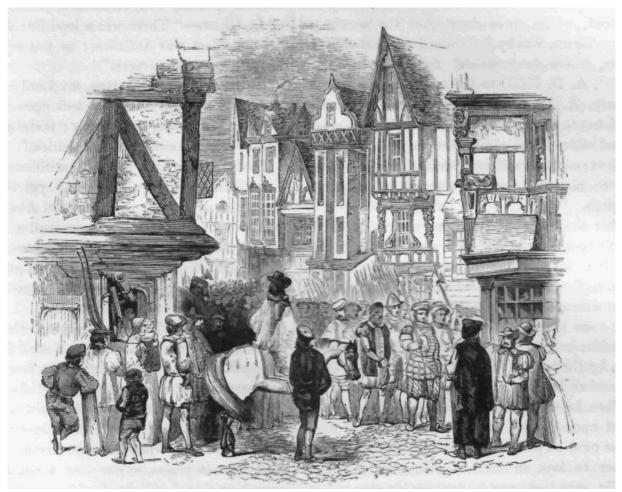
In the afternoon they two walking together in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up, as one half amazed, and seeming much troubled, being almost windless, said, "O Master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news." "What is that?" said he. "Marry," quoth she, "tomorrow you must be burned; and your chain is now a buying, and soon you must go to Newgate." With that Master Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, "I thank God for it; I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof!" And so, thanking her for her gentleness, he departed up into his chamber, and called his friend with him, who when he came thither, he went secretly himself alone a long time, and prayed: which done, he came again to him that was in his chamber, and took him divers writings and papers, and showed him his mind in those things what he would have done, and after they had spent the afternoon till night in many and sundry such things, at last came to him half a dozen of his friends more, with whom all the evening he spent the time in prayer, and other good exercise, so wonderfully, that it was marvellous to hear and see his doings.

A little before he went out of the Compter, he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with such plenty of tears, and abundant spirit of prayer, that it ravished the minds of the hearers. Also when he shifted himself with a clean shirt that was made for his burning, (by one Master Walter Marlar's wife, who was a good nurse unto him, and his very good friend,) he made such a prayer of the wedding-garment, that some of those that were present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as throughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, he made likewise a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with exhortation to them to fear and serve God, continually labouring to eschew all manner of evil. That done, he turned him to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for his Christ's sake. Then being beneath in the court, all the prisoners cried out to him, and bade him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before, with weeping tears.

The time they carried him to Newgate, was about eleven or twelve o'clock in the night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad: and yet, contrary to their expectation in that behalf, was there in Cheapside and other places, (between the Compter and Newgate,) a great multitude of people that came to see him, which most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears; and he again as gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare. Now, whether it were a commandment from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents, or whether it were merely devised of the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, or no, I cannot tell; but a great noise there was overnight about the city by divers, that Bradford should be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by four of the clock in the morning, before it should be greatly known to any. In which rumour, many heads had divers minds; some thinking the fear of the people to be the cause thereof: others thought nay, that it was rather because the papists judged his death would convert many to the truth, and give a great overthrow to their kingdom. So some thought one thing, and some another, that no just conjecture of the cause could be known that ever I heard yet. But this was certain, the people prevented the device suspected: for the next day, at the said hour of four o'clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield such a multitude of men and women, that many being in admiration thereof, thought it was not possible that they could have warning of his death, being so great number, in so short a time, unless it were by the singular providence of Almighty God.

Well, this took not effect as the people thought; for that morning it was nine o'clock of the day, before Master Bradford was brought into Smithfield; who, in going through Newgate thitherward, spied a friend of his whom he loved, standing on the one side of the way to the keeper's housewards, unto whom he reached his hand over the people, and plucked him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet night-cap, and also his handkerchief, with other things besides. And after a little secret talk with him, and each of them parting from other, immediately came to him a brother-in-law of his,called Roger Beswick, who, as soon as he had taken the said Bradford by the hand, one of the sheriffs of London, called Woodrofe, came with his staff, and brake the said Roger's head, that the blood ran about his shoulders; which sight Bradford beholding with grief, bade his brother farewell, willing him to commend him to his mother and the rest of his friends, and to get him to some surgeon betimes: so they, departing, had little or no talk at all together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield with a great company of

weaponed men, to conduct him thither, as the like was not seen at any man's burning: for in every corner of Smithfield there were some, besides those that stood about the stake.



Bradford on his way to execution

Bradford then, being come to the place, fell flat to the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then rising again, and putting off his clothes unto his shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man of twenty years of age, joyfully and constantly, whose name was John Leaf: touching the order and manner of whose burning, more shall be said (God willing) hereafter. In the mean time we will now show forth the sundry examinations, conflicts, and conferences between him and other his adversaries, during the time of his imprisonment, which was in all two years lacking one month and a half; which examinations here follow to be declared.

It was before a little above declared, that John Bradford, within three days after the sermon of Master Bourn, was by the council committed to the Tower, where he remained from the month of August, A. D. 1553, to the twenty-second day of January, A. D. 1555; upon which day he was called out to examination before Stephen Winchester and other of the commissioners.

The effect of which examination and communication which passed between him and them, proceeded in manner as followeth.

After the lord chancellor, and the residue of the queen's council in commission with him, had ended their talk with Master Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's, the under-marshal of the King's Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford; who, being come into the presence of the council sitting at a table, kneeled down on his knee; but immediately, by the lord chancellor, was bidden to stand up: and so he did.

When he was risen, the lord chancellor earnestly looked upon him, to have, belike, over-faced him: but he gave no place; that is, he ceased not in like manner to look on the lord chancellor still continually, save that once he cast up his eyes to heaven-ward, sighed for God's grace, and so over-faced him.

Then the lord chancellor, as it were amazed, and something troubled, spake thus to him in effect: that of long time he had been imprisoned justly for his seditious behaviour at Paul's Cross, the thirteenth of August, in the year 1553, for his false preaching and arrogance, taking upon him to preach without authority. "But now," quoth he, "the time of mercy is come: and therefore the queen's Highness, minding to offer unto you mercy, hath by us sent for you, to declare and give the same, if so be you will with us return: and if you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, Iwarrant you." This was the sum of his words, and in manner the same words which he spake. To these words John Bradford spake (after reverent obeisance made) in this manner:—

"My Lord and Lords all; I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence be it spoken) unjustly, for that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwise, but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithful subject, both in going about to save the now bishop of Bath, then Master Bourn, the preacher at the Cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly."

At these words, or rather before he had fully finished, the said lord chancellor something snuffed, and speaking with an admiration, said:-

L. Chan.—"There was a loud lie: for," quoth he, "the fact was seditious; as you my Lord of London can bear witness."

*Bonner.*—"You say true, my Lord; I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and lead the people malapertly; thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition."

*Bradford.*—"My Lords, notwithstanding my Lord Bishop's seeing and saying, yet the truth I have told, as one day my Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the world, when we shall all come and appear before him. In the mean season, because I cannot be believed of you, I must and am ready to suffer, as now your sayings be, whatsoever God shall license you to do unto me."

- L. Chan.—"I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shows thou makest: but all is lies thou speakest. And again, I have not forgotten how stubborn thou wast when thou wast before us in the Tower, whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, where-through worthily thou hast been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of."
- *Brad.*—"My Lord, as I said I say again, that I stand as before you, so before God; and one day we shall all stand before him: the truth then will he the truth, though now ye will not so take it. Yea, my Lord, I dare say, that my Lord of Bath, Master Bourn, will witness with me, that I sought his safe-guard with the peril of mine own life; I thank God there-for.
  - Bonner.—"That is not true: for I myself did see thee take upon thee too much."
- *Brad.*—"No, I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of Master Bourn himself, as, if he were here present, I dare say he would affirm. For he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your Honours, if I did or said any thing that did not beseem me, if your Lordships would tell me wherein it was, I should and would shortly make you answer."
- L. Chan.—"Well, to leave this matter: how sayest thou now? Wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou shalt receive the queen's mercy and pardon."
- *Brad.*—"My Lord, I desire mercy with God's mercy; but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from! although (I thank God there-for) my conscience doth not accuse me, that I did speak any thing wherefore I should need to receive the queen's mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to God's laws, and the laws of the realm at that present, and did make much to quietness."
- L. Chan.—"Well, if thou make this babbling rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee, know for truth that the queen is minded to make a purgation of all such as thou art."
- *Brad.*—"The Lord, before whom I stand as well as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have sought, and seek in this behalf: his mercy I desire, and also would he glad of the queen's favour, to live as a subject without clog of conscience. But otherwise, the Lord's mercy is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands which will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it be his pleasure. There are twelve hours in the day, and as long as they last, so long shall no man have power thereon: therefore his good will be done. Life, in his displeasure, is worse than death; and death, with his true favour, is true life."
- *L. Chan.*—"I know well enough, that we shall have glorious talk enough of thee: be sure therefore that as thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so shalt thou receive."

*Brad.*—"I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine than, by God's grace, I am, and hope shall be, ready to confirm with my life. And as for the devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry you could so prove it."

*Durham.*—"Why, tell me, what say you by the ministration of the communion, as now you know it is?"

Brad.—"My Lord, here I must desire of your Lordship and of all your Honours a question, before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question, wherewith you now begin. I have been six times sworn that I shall in no case consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority on the bishop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your Honours to tell me, whether you ask me this question by his authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may answer you any thing in his authority, which you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid."

Sec. Bourne.—"Hast thou been sworn six times? What office hast thou borne?"

*Brad.*—"Forsooth I was thrice sworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted master of arts; when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke hall; and when I was there, the visitors came thither, and sware the university. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry; when I had a prebend given me; and when I was sworn to serve the king, a little before his death."

L. Chan.—"Tush, Herod's oaths a man should make no conscience at."

*Brad.*—"But, my Lord, these were no Herod's oaths, no unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God's word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your book, De Vera Obedientia."

"My Lords," quoth another of the council that stood by the table, (Master Rochester, I ween,) "I never knew wherefore this man was in prison before now: but I see well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad. What the cause was that he was put in prison, I know not; but I now well know that not without a cause he was, and is to be, kept in prison."

*Bourne.*—"Yea, it was reported this parliament time by the earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him, in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curseth all that teach any false doctrine, (for so he calleth that which is not according to that he taught,) and most heartily exhorted them to whom he writeth to continue still in that they have received by him, and such-like as he is." All which words divers of the council affirmed. Whereunto the said Master Bourne added, saying, "How say you, sir? have you not thus seditiously written and exhorted the people?"

*Brad.*—"I have not written nor spoken any thing seditiously, neither (I thank God therefor) have I admitted any seditious cogitation, nor I trust ever shall do."

Bourne.—"Yea, but thou hast written letters."

L. Chan.—"Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he saith?"

*Brad.*—"That I have written, I have written."

*Southwell.*—"Lord God, what an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaveth himself before the queen's council!"—Whereat one looked upon another with disdainful countenances.

- *Brad.*—"My Lords and Masters, the Lord God, which is and will be judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am certain I stand now before his Majesty; so, with reverence in his sight, I stand before you, and unto you accordingly in words and gesture I desire to behave myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it. In the mean season I shall suffer with all due obedience your sayings and doings too, I hope."
- *L. Chan.*—"These be gay glorious words of reverence; but, as in all other things, so herein also, thou doest nothing but lie."
- *Brad.*—"Well, I would God, the author of truth, and abhorrer of lies, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and show a terrible judgment on me here present, if I have purposed or do purpose to lie before you, whatsoever you shall ask me."
- L. Chan." Why then dost thou not answer? Hast thou written such letters as here we objected against thee?"
- *Brad.*—"As I said, my Lord, that I have written, I have written. I stand now before you, which either can lay my letters to my charge or no: if you lay any thing to my charge that I have written, if I deny it, I am then a liar."
- *L. Chan.*—"We shall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be short, be short. Wilt thou have mercy?"
- *Brad.*—"I pray God give me his mercy; and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuse it: but, otherwise, I will none."

Here now was much ado, one speaking this, and another that, of his arrogancy, in refusing the queen's pardon, which she so lovingly did offer unto him: whereto Bradford answered thus:

*Brad.*—"My Lords, if I may live as a quiet subject without clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwise I behave myself, then I am in danger of the law. In the mean season I ask no more but the benefit of a subject, till I be convinced of transgression. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done."

Upon these words my Lord Chancellor began a long process of the false doctrine wherewith the people were deceived in the days of King Edward, and so turned the end of his talk to Bradford, saying, "How sayest thou?"

*Brad.*—"My Lord, the doctrine taught in King Edward's days was God's pure religion: the which as I then believed, so do I now more believe it than ever I did, and therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it by God's grace, even as he will, to the world, than I was when I first came into prison."

Durham.—"What religion mean you in King Edward's days? What year of his reign?"

*Brad.*—"Forsooth even the same year, my Lord, that the king died, and I was a preacher." Here wrote Secretary Bourne I wot not what.

Now after a little pausing, my lord chancellor beginneth again to declare, that the doctrine taught in King Edward's days was heresy; using for probation and demonstration thereof, no Scripture nor reason, but this: that it ended with treason and rebellion, "so that," quoth he, "the very end were enough to improve that doctrine to be naught."

*Brad.*—"Ah, my Lord! that you could enter in God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine that you now so magnify."

 $\it L.~Chan.$ —"What meanest thou by that? I ween we shall have a snatch of rebellion even now."

*Brad.*—"My Lord, I mean no such end as you would gather: I mean an end which no man seeth, but such as enter into God's sanctuary. If a man look on present things, he will soon deceive himself."

Here now did my Lord Chancellor offer again mercy; and Bradford answered, as before, mercy with God's mercy should be welcome, but otherwise he would none. Whereupon the lord chancellor did ring a little bell, belike to call in somebody: for there were present none in manner, but only those before named, and the bishop of Worcester. Now when one was come in; "It is best," quoth Master Secretary Bourne, "that you give the keeper a charge of this fellow." So was the under-marshal called in.

L. Chan.—"Ye shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference with any man, but by your knowledge; and suffer him not to write any letters," &c., "for he is of another manner of charge unto you now, than he was before."

And so they departed, Bradford looking as cheerfully as any man could do, declaring thereby even a desire to give his life for confirmation of that he had taught and written.

The effect of the second examination of John Bradford.

After the excommunication of John Rogers, John Bradford was called in, and standing before the lord chancellor and other bishops set with him, the said lord chancellor spake thus in effect:

"Whereas before the twenty-second of January, the said Bradford was called before them, (the said lord chancellor, &c...) and they offered unto him the queen's pardon, although he had contemned the same, and further said, that he would stiffly and stoutly maintain and defend the erroneous doctrine taught in the days of King Edward the Sixth, yet, in consideration that the queen's Highness was wonderfully merciful, they thought good eftsoons to offer the same mercy again, before it were too late "therefore advise you well," said he, "there is yet space and grace before we so proceed that you be committed to the secular power, as we must do and will do, if you will not follow the example of Master Barlow, and Master Cardmaker;" whom he there commended, adding oratoriously amplifications to move the said Bradford to yield to the religion presently set forth.

After the lord chancellor's long talk, Bradford began on this sort to speak:

Brad.—"My Lord, and my Lords all! as now I stand in your sight before you, so I humbly beseech your Honours to consider, that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who, as David doth witness, is in the congregation of judges, and sitteth in the midst of them judging; and as you would your place to be now of us taken as God's place, so demonstrate yourselves to follow him in your sitting; that is, seek no guiltless blood, nor hunt by questions to bring into the snare, them which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guiltless: if guilty, then proceed and give sentence accordingly: if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have."

Here the lord chancellor replied, and said, that the said Bradford began with a true sentence, *Deus stetit in synagoga*, &c. "But," quoth he, "this and all thy gesture declare but hypocrisy and vainglory." And further he made much ado to purge himself, that he sought not guiltless blood; and so began a long process how that Bradford's fact at Paul's Cross was presumptuous, arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the people, which could not but turn to much disquietness, "in that thou," speaking to Bradford, "wast so refract and stout in religion at that present. For the which, as thou wast then committed to prison, so hitherto thou hast been kept in prison, where thou hast written letters to no little hurt to the queen's people, as by report of the earl of Derby, in the parliament house, was credibly declared." And to this he added, "that the said Bradford did stubbornly behave himself the last time he was before them: and therefore not for any other thing now I demand of thee," quoth he, "but of and for thy doctrine and religion."

Brad.—"My Lord, whereas you accuse me of hypocrisy and vain-glory, I must and will leave it to the Lord's declaration, which one day will open yours and my truth and hearty meanings; in the mean season, I will content myself with the testimony of mine own conscience, which if it yield to hypocrisy, could not but have God to be my foe also; and so both God and man were against me. And as for my fact at Paul's Cross, and behaviour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did thing, which God used to public benefit, I think that my deed was one; and yet, for it, I have been and am kept of long time in prison. And as for letters and religion, I answer, as I did the last time I was before you."

L. Chan.—"There didst thou say stubbornly and malapertly, that thou wouldest manly maintain the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's days."

- Brad.—"My Lord, I said the last time I was before you, that I had six times taken an oath, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf; and therefore durst I not answer to any thing that should be demanded so, lest I should be forsworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, saving mine oath, I said that I was more confirmed in the doctrine set forth publicly in the days of King Edward, than ever I was before I was put in prison: and so I thought I should be, and think yet still I shall be found more ready to give my life as God will, for the confirmation of the same."
- L. Chan.—"I remember well that thou madest much ado about needless matter, as though the oath against the bishop of Rome were so great a matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in such sort as thou hast done: for thou pretendest a conscience in it, which is nothing else but mere hypocrisy."
- *Brad.*—"My conscience is known to the Lord: and whether I deal herein hypocritically or no, he knoweth. As I said therefore then, my Lord, so I say again now, that for fear lest I should be perjured, I dare not make answer to any thing you shall demand of me, if my answering should consent to the confirming or practising of any jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England."
- L. Chan.—"Why didst thou begin to tell that we are dii, and sit in God's place, and now wilt thou not make us an answer?"
- *Brad.*—"My Lord, I said, you would have your place taken of us now as God's place; and therefore I brought forth that piece of Scripture, that ye might the more be admonished to follow God and his ways at this present, who seeth us all, and well perceiveth whether of conscience I pretend this matter of the oath or no."
- L. Chan.—"No, all men may well see thine hypocrisy: for if for thine oath's sake thou didst not answer, then wouldest thou not have spoken as thou didst, and have answered me at the first: but now men well perceive, that this is but a starting-hole to hide thyself in, because thou darest not answer, and so wouldest escape; blinding the simple people's eyes, as though of conscience you did all you do."
- Brad.—"That which I spake at the first, was not a replication or an answer to that you spake to me: and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did speak, than you did: but, when I perceived you did not consider it, but came to ask matter, whereto by answering I should consent to the practising of jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf here in England, and so be forsworn; then of conscience and simplicity I spake as I do yet again speak, that I dare not for conscience' sake answer you. And therefore I seek no starting-holes, nor go about to blind the people, as God knoweth. For if you of your honours shall tell me, that you do not ask me any thing whereby mine answering should consent to the practising of the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, ask me wherein you will, and you shall hear that I will answer you as flatly as any ever did that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God: for I look, and have looked for nothing else at your hands of long time; but I am afraid, when death cometh, I should have matter to trouble my conscience, by the guiltiness of perjury, and therefore do I answer as I do."

L. Chan.—"These be gay glorious words, full of hypocrisy and vain-glory, and yet dost thou not know that I sit here as bishop of Winchester in mine own diocese, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too?"

*Brad.*—"My Lord, give me leave to ask you this question, that my conscience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here, before God, all this audience being witness, that you demand of me nothing whereby mine answering should consent to and confirm the practice of jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England, and your Honour shall hear me give you as flat and as plain answers briefly, to whatsoever you shall demand me, as ever any did."

Here the lord chancellor was wonderfully offended, and spake much how the bishop of Rome'sauthority needed no confirmation of Bradford's answering, nor of any such as he was; and turned his talk to the people, how that Bradford followed crafty covetous merchants, who because they would lend no money to their neighbours when they were in need, would say that they had sworn oft, that they would never lend any more money, because their debtors had so oft deceived them. "Even so thou," quoth he to Braford, "dost at this present, to cast a mist in the people's eyes, to blear them with a heresy, (which is greater, and more hurtful to the commonwealth, than the other is,) pretend thine oath, whereby the people might make a conscience where they should not. Why speakest thou not?"

*Brad.*—"My Lord, as I said, I say again: I dare not answer you for fear of perjury, from which God defend me: or else I could tell you that there is a difference between oaths. Some be according to faith and charity, as the oath against the bishop of Rome: some be against faith and charity; as this, to deny by oath, my help to my brother in his need."

Here my Lord Chancellor again was much offended, still saying that Bradford durst not answer, and further made much ado to prove, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was against charity. But Bradford answered, that howsoever his Honour took him, yet he was assured of his meaning, that no fear but the fear of perjury made him unwilling to answer.

"For, as for death, my Lord," quoth Bradford, "as I know there are twelve hours in the day, so with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it shall be his good time, then I shall depart hence: but in the mean season I am safe enough, though all the people had sworn my death. Into his hands have I committed it, and do—his good will be done! And saving mine oath, I will answer you in this behalf, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was not, nor is, against charity."

L. Chan.—"How prove you that?"

*Brad.*—"Forsooth I prove it thus:

Argument.

"Nothing is against charity, which is with God's word, and not against it.

"The oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England is with God's word, and is not against it.

"Ergo, The oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England, is not against charity."

L. Chan.—"Is it not against God's word, that a man should take a king to be supreme head of the church in his realm?"

*Brad.*—"No, saving still mine oath, it is not against God's word, but with it, being taken in such sense as it may well be taken: that is, attributing to the king's power the sovereignty in all his dominion."

L. Chan.—"I pray you where find you that?"

*Brad.*—"I find it in many places, but specially in Romans xiii., where St. Paul writeth, Every soul to be subject to the superior power: but what power? The power verily which beareth the sword; which is not the spiritual, but the temporal power: as Chrysostom full well noteth upon the same place, which your Honour knoweth better than I. He (Chrysostom I mean) there plainly showeth that bishops, prophets, and apostles, are obedient to the temporal magistrates."

Here yet more the lord chancellor was stirred, and said, how that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the queen for his oath "and so," quoth he, "this man would make God's word a warrant of disobedience: for he will answer the queen on this sort, that when she saith, 'Now swear to the bishop of Rome, or obey his authority,' 'No,' will he say, 'for I should be forsworn;' and so he makes the queen no queen."

*Brad.*—"No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the queen's Highness, but denying obedience in this part, if she should demand it. For I was sworn to King Edward, not simply, (that is, not only concerning his own person,) but also concerning his successors, and therefore in denying to do the queen's request herein, I deny not her authority, nor become disobedient."

*L. Chan.*—"Yes, that thou doest;" and so he began to tell a long tale, how, if a man should make an oath to pay to me a hundred pounds by such a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor should say, "No, you cannot do it: for I am forsworn then."

Here Bradford desired my Lord Chancellor not to trifle it, saying, that he wondered his Honour would make solemn oaths made to God, trifles in that sort; and make so great a matter concerning vows (as they call it) made to the bishop for marriage of priests. At these words the lord chancellor was much offended, and said, he did not trifle "but," quoth he, "thou goest about to deny obedience to the queen, who now requireth obedience to the bishop of Rome."

*Brad.*—"No, my Lord; I do not deny obedience to the queen, if you would discern between genus and species. Because I may not obey in this, ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reason. As if a man let or sell a piece of his inheritance, yet, this notwithstanding, all his

inheritance is not let or sold: and so in this case, all obedience I deny not, because I deny obedience in this branch."

*L. Chan.*—"I will none of these similitudes."

*Brad.*—"I would not use them, if that you went not about to persuade the people, that I mean that which I never meant: for I myself not only mean obedience, but will give ensample of all most humble obedience to the queen's Highness, so long as she requireth not obedience against God."

L. Chan.—"No, no, all men may see your meaning well enough. There is no man, though he be sworn to the king, that doth therefore break his oath, if he afterwards be sworn to the French king and to the emperor."

*Brad.*—"It is true, my Lord, but the cases be not like. For here is an exception: 'Thou shalt not swear to the bishop of Rome at any time.' If, in like manner, we were sworn, 'Thou shalt not serve the emperor,' &c., you see there were some alteration and more doubt. But I beseech your Honour remember what you yourself have written, answering the objections here against in your book, De Vera Obedientia: 'Let God's word, and the reason thereof, bear the bell away.'"

Here the lord chancellor was thoroughly moved, and said still, how that Bradford hath written seditious letters, and perverted the people thereby, and did stoutly stand, as though he would defend the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's time, against all men; "and now," quoth he, "he saith he dare not answer."

Brad.—"I have written no seditious letters; I have not perverted the people; but that which I have written and spoken, that will I never deny, by God's grace. And whereas your Lordship saith, that I dare not answer you: that all men may know that I am not afraid, saving mine oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you answer, by God's grace, although I now see my life lieth thereon. But, O Lord! into thy hands I commit it, come what come will; only sanctify thy name in me, as in an instrument of thy grace: Amen. Now ask what you will, and you shall see I am not afraid, by God's grace, flatly to answer."

*L. Chan.*—"Well then, how say you to the blessed sacrament? Do you not believe there Christ to be present concerning his natural body?"

*Brad.*—"My Lord, I do not believe that Christ is corporally present at and in the due administration of the sacrament. By this word 'corporally' I mean that Christ is there present corporally unto faith."

L. Chan.—"Unto faith? we must have many more words to make it plain."

Brad.—"You shall so: but first give me leave to speak two words."

L. Chan.—"Speak on."

Brad.—"I have been now a year and almost three quarters in prison, and in all this time you never questioned me hereabout, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril; but now have you a law to hang up and put to death, if a man answer freely, and not to your appetite: and so now you come to demand this question. Ah, my Lord! Christ used not this way to bring men to faith: no more did the prophets or apostles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugene the pope: 'I read that the apostles stood to be judged; but I read not, that they sat to judge. This shall be, that was,' &c."

Here the lord chancellor was appalled, as it seemed, and said most gently that he used not this means. "It was not my doing," quoth he, "although some there be that think this to be the best way: for I, for my part, have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes." Which thing the bishop of London confirmed, and so did almost all the audience, that he had been ever too mild and too gentle. At which words Bradford spake thus:

*Brad.*—"My Lord, I pray you stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel it: for hitherto I never felt it."

As soon as ever he had spoken thus, the lord chancellor (belike thinking that Bradford would have had mercy and pardon) said, that with all his heart, not only he, but the queen's Highness, would stretch out mercy, if with them he would return.

*Brad.*—"Return, my Lord! God save me from that going back: I mean it not so, but I mean, that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower; you forbade me paper, pen, and ink; and never in all that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And, I thank God, that I perceive now ye have kept me in prison thus long, not for any matter ye had, but for matter ye would have; God's good will be done."

Here now were divers telling my Lord it was dinner-time. And so he rose up, leaving Bradford speaking, and saying that in the afternoon they would speak more with him. And so was he had into the vestry, and was there all that day till dark night, and so was conveyed again to prison.

In the mean time, about four of the clock the same afternoon, a gentleman, called Master Thomas Hussey of Lincolnshire, who was once an officer in the duke of Norfolk's house, did come into the vestry to inquire for one Stoning: and when it was answered him by the undermarshal's officers of the King's Bench, that there was none such, he entered into the house, and took acquaintance of John Bradford, saying, that he would commune and speak with him the next morning, for old acquaintance.

The next morning, about seven of the clock, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein John Bradford did lie, and, being with him, he began a long oration, how that of love and old acquaintance he came unto him, to speak that which he would further utter.

"You did," said the gentleman, "so wonderfully behave yourself before the lord chancellor, and other bishops yesterday, that even the veriest enemies you have, did see that they have no matter against you: and therefore I advise you [speaking as though it came of his own

good will, without making any other man privy, or any other procuring him, as he said] this day—for anon you shall be called before them again—to desire a time, and men to confer withal: so shall all men think a wonderful wisdom, gravity, and godliness in you: and by this means you shall escape present danger, which else is nearer than you be aware of."

To this John Bradford answered:

*Brad.*—"I neither can nor will make any such request: for then shall I give occasion to the people, and to all others, to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confess; the which thing I do not, for thereof I am most assured, and therefore I will give no such offence."

As they were thus talking, the chamber-door was unlocked, and Dr. Seton came in, who, when he saw Master Hussey, "What, sir," quoth he, "are you come before me?" "O Lord!" said Bradford in his heart to God, "goeth the matter thus? This man told me, no man knew of his coming: Lord! give me grace to remember thy lesson, Beware of those men, &c. Cast not your pearls before dogs: for I see these men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may bear witness with the other."

Dr. Seton, after some by-talk of Bradford's age, of his country, and such like, began a gay and long sermon of my Lord of Canterbury, Master Latimer, and Master Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to answer any thing at all; and that therefore my Lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the bishop of Durham and others: all which talk tended to this end, that John Bradford should make the like suit, being in nothing to be compared in learning to my Lord of Canterbury. To this John Bradford briefly answered as he did before to Master Hussey. With this answer neither the doctor nor gentleman being contented, after many persuasions, Master Doctor said thus:

Dr. Seton.—"I have heard much good talk of you, and even yesternight a gentleman made report of you at the lord chancellor's table, that ye were able to persuade as much as any that he knew. And I, (though I never heard you preach, and to my knowledge did never see you before yesterday,) yet methought your modesty was such, your behaviour and talk so without malice and impatience, that I would be sorry you should do worse than myself. And I tell you further, I do perceive my Lord Chancellor hath a fantasy towards you: wherefore be not so obstinate, but desire respite and some learned man to confer withal," &c.

But John Bradford kept still one answer "I cannot, nor I will not so offend the people. I doubt not, but I am most certain of the doctrine I have taught."

Here Master Doctor Seton waxed hot, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vain-glorious, and "spake like a prelate."

But Bradford answered, "Beware of judging, lest you condemn yourself." But still Master Doctor Seton urged him, showing him how merciful my Lord Chancellor was, and how charitably they entertained him.

"I never saw any justice, much less love; I speak for my part," quoth Bradford, "in my Lord Chancellor. Long have I been unjustly imprisoned, and handled in the same uncharitably: and now my Lord hath no just matter against me."

This talk served not the doctor's purpose: wherefore he went from matter to matter, from this point to that point. Bradford still gave him the hearing, and answered not; for he perceived that they both did come but to fish for some things which might make a show that my Lord Chancellor had justly kept him in prison.

When all their talk took no such effect as they would or looked for, Master Hussey asked Bradford:

Hussey.—"Will ye not admit conference, if my Lord Chancellor should offer it publicly?"

*Brad.*—"Conference! if it had been offered before the law had been made, or if it were offered so that I might be at liberty to confer, and as sure as he with whom I should confer, then it were something: but else I see not to what other purpose conference should be offered, but to defer that which will come at the length, and the lingering may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my Lord shall make such an offer of his own motion, I will not refuse to confer with whomsoever he shall appoint."

Master Doctor, hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatsoever pleased him. Then Bradford, perceiving by them that he should shortly be called for, besought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wisdom and grace of him; "for," quoth he, "otherwise I am helpless" and so they with much ado departed. Then Bradford went to God, and made his prayers, which the Lord of his goodness did graciously accept in his need; praised therefore be his holy name! Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was led to the aforesaid church, and there tarried, uncalled for, till eleven of the clock, that is, till Master Saunders was excommunicated

The effect and sum of the last examination of John Bradford, in the church of St. Mary Overy's.

After the excommunication of Laurence Saunders, John Bradford was called in, and, being brought in before the lord chancellor and other the bishops there sitting, the lord chancellor began to speak thus in effect: that if Bradford, being now effsoons come before them, would answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the catholic church with them, he yet might find mercy, because they would be loth to use extremity.—Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

After the lord chancellor had ended his long oration, Bradford began to speak thus:

"As yesterday I besought your Honours to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God to follow him, which seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtle questions: so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day; for that you know well enough, that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your Lordships to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein; but that ye might be more admonished to do that, which none doth

so much as he should do.—For our nature is so much corrupt, that we are very oblivious and forgetful of God. Again, as yesterday I pretended mine oath and oaths against the bishop of Rome, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction for him, or on his behalf in the realm of England; so do I again at this day, lest I should be perjured. And, last of all, as yesterday the answers I made were by protestation and saving mine oath, so I would your Honours should know that mine answers shall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltiness of perjury."

At these words the lord chancellor was wroth, and said, that they had given him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the blessed sacrament, "which yesterday," quoth he, "before us you uttered."

*Brad.*—"My Lord, you gave me no time of any such deliberation, neither did I speak any thing of the sacrament, which you did disallow. For when I had declared a presence of Christ to be there to faith, you went from that matter to purge yourself, that you were not cruel, and so went to dinner."

*L.Chan.*—"What! I perceive we must begin all again with thee. Did I not yesterday tell thee plainly, that thou madest a conscience where none should be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?"

Brad.—"No indeed, my Lord: you said so, but you proved it not yet, nor ever can do."

L. Chan.—"O Lord God! what a fellow art thou! Thou wouldest go about to bring into the people's heads, that we—all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and all the whole realm—be perjured. O what a heresy is this! Here, good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is. If I should make an oath I would never help my brother, nor lend him money in his need; were this a good answer to tell my neighbour, desiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?"

*Brad.*—"O my Lord, discern betwixt oaths that be against charity and faith, and oaths that be according to faith and charity, as this is against the bishop of Rome."

Here the lord chancellor made much ado, and a long time was spent about oaths, which were good and which were evil; he captiously asking often of Bradford a direct answer concerning oaths: which Bradford would not give simply, but with a distinction; whereat the chancellor was much offended. But Bradford still kept him at the bay, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was a lawful oath, using thereto the lord chancellors own book, De Vera Obedientia, for confirmation.

At the length they came to this issue, Who should be judge of the lawfulness of the oath? and Bradford said the word of God, according to Christ's word, John xii., My word shall judge; and according to the testimony of Isaiah and Micah, that God's word, coming out of Jerusalem, shall give sentence among the Gentiles. "By this word," quoth Bradford, "my Lord, I will prove the oath against the bishop of Rome's authority, to be a good, a godly, and a lawful oath."

So that the lord chancellor left his hold, and, as the other day he pretended a denial of the queen's authority and obedience to her Highness, so did he now. But Bradford, as the day before, proved, that obedience in this point to the queen's Highness, if she should demand an oath to the bishop of Rome, being denied, was not a general denial of her authority, and of obedience to her; "no more," quoth he, "than the sale, gift, or lease of a piece of a man's inheritance, proveth it a sale, gift, or lease of the whole inheritance."

And thus much ado was made about this matter: the lord chancellor talking much, and using many examples of debt, of going out of town to-morrow by oath, and yet tarrying till Friday, and such like; which trifling talk Bradford did touch, saying, that it was a wonder his Honour weighed conscience no more in this, and would be so earnest in vows of priests' marriages made to bishops, and be careless for solemn oaths made to God and to princes. Summa, this was the end. The lord chancellor said, the queen might dispense with it, and did so to all the whole realm. But Bradford said, that the queen's Highness could do no more but remit her right: as for the oath made to God, she could never remit, forasmuch as it was made unto God. At which words the lord chancellor chafed wonderfully, and said, that in plain sense I slandered the realm of perjury; "and therefore," quoth he to the people, "you may see how this fellow taketh upon him to have more knowledge and conscience than all the wise men of England; and yet he hath no conscience at all."

Brad.—"Well, my Lord, let all the standers-by see who hath conscience. I have been a year and a half in prison: now, before all this people, declare wherefore I was imprisoned, or what cause you had to punish me. You said the other day in your own house, my Lord of London witnessing with you, that I took upon me to speak to the people undesired. There he sitteth by you. I mean my Lord of Bath, which desired me himself, for the passion of Christ, I would speak to the people: upon whose words I, coming into the pulpit, had like to have been slain with a dagger, (which was hurled at him, I think,) for it touched my sleeve. He then prayed me I would not leave him; and I promised him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day; and so went out of the pulpit and entreated with the people, and at length brought him myself into a house. Besides this, in the afternoon I preached at Bow church, and there, going up into the pulpit, one willed me not to reprove the people; for, quoth he, you shall never come down alive, if you do it. And yet, notwithstanding, I did in that sermon reprove their fact, and called it sedition at the least twenty times. For all which my doing, I have received this recompence, prison for a year and a half and more, and death now, which you go about. Let all men be judge where conscience is."

In speaking of these words, there was endeavour to have letted it: but Bradford still spake on, and gave no place till he had made an end, speak what they would. And then the lord chancellor said, that for all that fair tale, his fact at the Cross was naught.

*Brad.*—"No, my fact was good, as you yourself did bear witness with me. For when I was at the first before you in the Tower, you yourself did say, that my fact was good;' but,' quoth you, thy mind was evil.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'then, my Lord, in that you allow the fact, and condemn the mind. Forasmuch as otherwise I cannot declare my mind to man but by saying and doing, God one day, I trust, will open it to my comfort, what my mind was, and yours is."

Here the lord chancellor was offended, and said, that he never said so. "I," quoth he, "had not so little wit I trow, as not to discern betwixt meaning and doing" and so brought forth, little to the purpose, many examples to prove that men construe things by the meaning of men, and not by their doings. But when this would not serve, then cometh he to another matter, and said, that Bradford was put in prison at the first because he would not yield, nor be conformable to the queen's religion.

*Brad.*—"Why, my Lord? your Honour knoweth that you would not reason with me in religion; but said, a time should afterwards be found out, when I should be talked withal. But if it were as your Lordship saith, that I was put in prison for religion, in that my religion was then authorized by public laws of the realm, could conscience punish me or cast me in prison therefor? Wherefore let all men be judges, in whom conscience wanteth."

Here came forth Master Chamberlain of Woodstock, and spake to my Lord Chancellor, how that Bradford had been a serving man, and was with Master Harrington.

L. Chan.—"True, and did deceive his master of sevenscore pounds: and because of this he went to be a gospeller and a preacher, good people; and yet you see how he pretendeth conscience."

*Brad.*—"My Lord, I set my foot by his, whosoever he be, that can come forth and justly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my master. And as you are chief justicer by office in England, I desire justice upon them that so slander me, because they cannot prove it."

Here my Lord Chancellor and Master Chamberlain were smitten blank, and said they heard it. "But," quoth my Lord Chancellor, "we have another manner of matter than this against you: for you are a heretic." "Yea," quoth the bishop of London, "he did write letters to Master Pendleton, which knoweth his hand as well his own: your Honour did see the letters."

*Brad.*—"That is not true; I never did write to Pendleton since I came to prison, and therefore I am not justly spoken of."

Bonner.—"Yea, but you indited it."

Brad.—"I did not, nor know what you mean, and this I offer to prove."

Here came in another, I trow they call him Master Allen, one of the clerks of the council, putting the lord chancellor in remembrance of letters written into Lancashire.

L. Chan.—"You say true: for we have his hand to show."

*Brad.*—"I deny that you have my hand to show of letters sent into Lancashire, otherwise than before you all I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful."

Here was all answered, and then the lord chancellor began a new matter.

- L. Chan.—"Sir," quoth he, "in my house the other day, you did most contemptuously contemn the queen's mercy; and further said, that you would maintain the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's days against all men; and this you did most stoutly."
- Brad.—"Well, I am glad that all men see now you have had no matter to imprison me afore that day justly. Now say I, that I did not contemptuously contemn the queen's mercy, but would have had it, (though, if justice might take place, I need it not,) so that I might have had it with God's mercy, that is, without doing or saying any thing against God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, because I cannot tell how you will stretch this word maintenance, I will repeat again that which I spake. I said I was more confirmed in the religion set forth in King Edward's days, than ever I was: and if God so would, I trusted I should declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and testification thereof. So I said then, and so I say now. As for otherwise to maintain it, than pertaineth to a private person by confession, I thought not, nor think not."
- *L. Chan.*—"Well, yesterday thou didst maintain false heresy concerning the blessed sacrament; and therefore we gave thee respite till this day to deliberate."
- *Brad.*—"My Lord, as I said at the first, I spake nothing of the sacrament, but that which you allowed; and therefore you reproved it not, nor gave me any time to deliberate."
  - L. Chan.—"Why! didst thou not deny Christ's presence in the sacrament?"
- *Brad.*—"No, I never denied nor taught, but that to faith, whole Christ, body and blood, was as present as bread and wine to the due receiver."
- *L. Chan.*—"Yea, but dost thou not believe that Christ's body naturally and really is there, under the forms of bread and wine?"
- *Brad.*-"My Lord, I believe Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver: as for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not."
- Here was Bradford called *diabolus*, a slanderer "for we ask no question," quoth my Lord Chancellor, "of transubstantiation, but of Christ's presence."
- *Brad.*—"I deny not his presence to the faith of the receiver; but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread is transubstantiate."
  - *Worcester.*—"If he be not included, how is he then present?"
- *Brad.*—"Forsooth, though my faith can tell how, yet my tongue cannot express it; nor you, otherwise than by faith, hear it, or understand it."

Here was much ado, now one doctor standing up and speaking thus, and others speaking that, and the lord chancellor, talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius: but still Bradford kept him at this point, that Christ is present to faith; and that there is no

transubstantiation nor including of Christ in the bread: but all this would not serve them. Therefore another bishop asked this question: whether the wicked man received Christ's very body or no? And Bradford answered plainly, "No." Whereat the lord chancellor made a long oration, how that it could not be that Christ was present, except that the evil man received it. But Bradford put away all his oration in few words, that grace was at that present offered to his Lordship, although he received it not "So that," quoth he, "the receiving maketh not the presence, as your Lordship would infer: but God's grace, truth, and power, is the cause of the presence, which grace the wicked that lack faith cannot receive." And here Bradford prayed my Lord, not to divorce that which God had coupled together. "He hath coupled all these together: Take, eat, this is my body. He saith not, See, peep, this is my body; but, Take, eat. So that it appeareth this is a promise depending upon condition, if we take and eat.

Here the lord chancellor and other bishops made a great ado, that Bradford had found out a toy that no man else ever did, of the condition; and the lord chancellor made many words to the people thereabout. But Bradford said thus, "My Lord, are not these words, Take, eat, a commandment? And are not these words, This is my body, a promise? If you will challenge the promise, and do not the commandment, may you not deceive yourself?" Here the lord chancellor denied Christ to have commanded the sacrament, and the use of it.

*Brad.*—"Why, my Lord, I pray you tell the people what mood *accipite, manducate*, is; is it not plain to children, that Christ, in so saying, cornmandeth?"

At these words the lord chancellor made a great toying and trifling at the imperative mood, and fell to parsing or examining, as he should teach a child; and so concluded that it was no commandment, but such a phrase as this, "I pray you give me drink, which," quoth he, "is no commandment, I trow." But Bradford prayed him to leave toying and trifling, and said thus:

*Brad.*—"My Lord, if it be not a commandment of Christ to take and eat the sacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of necessity, which God leaveth free? as you do in making it a necessary commandment, once a year, for all that be of discretion, to receive the sacrament."

Here the lord chancellor called him again *diabolus* or calumniator, and began out of these words, Let a man prove himself, and so eat of the bread ["yea, bread," quoth Bradford] and drink of the cup, to prove that it was no commandment to receive the sacrament "for then," quoth he, "if it were a commandment, it should bind all men, in all places, and at all times."

*Brad.*—"O my Lord, discern between commandments: some be general, as the Ten Commandments, that they bind always, in all places, and all persons; some be not so general, as this of the supper, the sacrament of baptism, of the thrice appearing before the Lord yearly at Jerusalem, of Abraham offering of Isaac, &c."

Here my Lord Chancellor denied the cup to be commanded of Christ: "for then," quoth he, "we should have eleven commandments."

*Brad.*—"Indeed I think you think as you speak: for else would you not take the cup from the people, in that Christ saith, Drink ye all of it. But how say you, my Lords? Christ saith to you bishops especially, Go and preach the gospel. Feed Christ's flock, &c. Is this a commandment, or no?"

Here was my Lord Chancellor in a chafe, and said as pleased him. Another, the bishop of Durham I ween, asked Bradford, when Christ began to be present in the sacrament—whether before the receiver received it, or no?

Bradford answered, that the question was curious, and not necessary; and further said, that as the cup was the new testament, so the bread was Christ's body to him that received it duly, but yet so, that the bread is bread. "For," quoth he, "in all the Scripture ye shall not find this proposition, 'There is no bread." And so he brought forth Chrysostom, *Si in corpore essemus. In summa*, much ado was hereabouts; they calling Bradford heretic, and he, desiring them to proceed on in God's name, looked for that which God appointed for them to do.

L. Chan.—"This fellow is now in another heresy of fatal necessity, as though all things were so tied together that of mere necessity all must come to pass."

But Bradford prayed him to take things as they be spoken, and not wrest them into a contrary sense.

"Your Lordship," quoth Bradford, "doth discern betwixt God and man. Things are not, by fortune, to God at any time, though to man they seem so sometimes. I speak but as the apostles said; Lord, quoth they, see how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the prelates, are gathered together against thy Christ, to do that which thy hand and counsel hath before ordained for them to do."

Here began the lord chancellor to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, *laicus*, (layman,) "Why," quoth he, "art thou no priest?"

*Brad.*—"No, nor ever was, either priest, either beneficed, either married, either any preacher, afore public authority had established religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion; and yet I am thus handled at your hands; but God, I doubt not, will give his blessing where you curse."

And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake. And so, praying God to give him repentance, and a good mind, after the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, and so had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Compter in the Poultry, in the same city of London; this being then purposed of his murderers, that he should be delivered from thence to the earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in the town of Manchester, where he was born: but their purpose concerning the place was afterward altered, for they burned him in London.

After the condemnation of Master Bradford, which was the last day of January, Master Bradford, being sent into prison, did there remain until the first day of July, during all which

time, divers other conferences and conflicts he sustained with sundry adversaries, which repaired unto him in the prison: of whom first Bishop Bonner, coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor, the fourth day of February, entered talk with the said Master Bradford, the effect whereof here ensueth.

Private talk had with John Bradford, by such as the prelates sent unto him, after the time of condemnation, by his own writing.

Upon the fourth of February, that is, the same day Master Rogers was burned, Bonner, bishop of London, came to the Compter in the Poultry, to degrade Dr. Taylor, about one of the clock at afternoon. But before he spake to Master Taylor, he called for John Bradford which was prisoner there, whom when he saw, he put off his cap, and gave him his hand, saying:

*Bonner*.—"Because I perceive that ye are desirous to confer with some learned men, therefore I have brought Master Archdeacon Harpsfield to you. And I tell you, you do like a wise man. But I pray you go roundly to work, for the time is but short."

*Brad.*—"My Lord, as roundly as I can I will go to work with you: I never desired to confer with any man, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will have one to talk with me, I am ready."

*Bonner*.—"What," quoth the bishop in a fume to the keeper, "did you not tell me that this man desired conference?"

Keeper.—"No, my Lord, I told you that he would not refuse to confer with any; but I did not say that it is his desire."

*Bonner.*—"Well, Master Bradford, you are well beloved, I pray you consider yourself, and refuse not charity when it is offered."

*Brad.*—"Indeed, my Lord, this is small charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, which never brake your laws. In Turkey a man may have charity; but in England I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my faith, so soon as I uttered it at your requests, before I had committed any thing against the laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom ye will. But to say that I desire to confer, that do I not."

Bonner.—"Well, well." And so he called for Master Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

Another private matter of talk between Master Bradford and Willerton, Creswell, Harding, Harpsfield, and others.

On another day of February, one Master Willerton, chaplain of the bishop of London, did come to confer with Bradford; but when he perceived that Bradford desired not his coming, and therefore wished rather his departing than abiding, "Well, Master Bradford," quoth he; "yet I pray you let us confer a little: perchance you may do me good, if I can do you none." Upon which words Bradford was content, and so they began to talk. Willerton spake much of the

doctors, the fathers, of the bread in John vi., &c., labouring to prove transubstantiation, and that wicked men do receive Christ.

But Bradford, on the contrary part, improved his authorities, so that they came to this issue, that Willerton should draw out of the Scriptures and doctors his reasons, and Bradford would peruse them; and if he could not answer them, then he would give place. Likewise also should Bradford draw out his reasons out of the Scriptures and doctors, to which Willerton should answer if he could: and so for that day they departed.

The next day following in the morning, Willerton sent half a sheet of paper written on both sides, containing no reasons how he gathered his doctrine, but only bare sentences; The bread which I will give is my flesh: and the places in Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., and 1 Cor. x. and xi., with some sentences of the doctors, all which made as much against him as with him.

In the afternoon he came himself, and there they had a long talk to little effect. At the length Willerton began to talk of the church, saying, that "Bradford swerved from the church."

*Brad.*—"No, that I do not, but ye do. For the church is Christ's spouse, and Christ's obedient spouse, which your church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lord's cup, and of service in the English tongue."

*Willerton.*—"Why? It is not profitable to have the service in English; for it is written, The lips of the priest should keep the law, and out of his mouth man must look for knowledge."

*Brad.*—"Should not the people, then, have the Scriptures? Wherefore serveth this saying of Christ, Search the Scriptures?"

Will.—"This was not spoken to the people, but to the scribes and learned men."

*Brad.*—"Then the people must not have the Scriptures?"

Will.—"No, for it is written, They shall be all taught of God."

*Brad.*—"And must we learn all at the priests?"

Will.—"Yea."

*Brad.*—"Then I see you would bring the people to hang up Christ, and let Barabbas go; as the priests did then persuade the people."

At which words Master Willerton was so offended, that he had no lust to talk any more. In the end Bradford gave him the reasons which he had gathered against transubstantiation, and prayed him to frame his into the form of reasons, "and then," quoth Bradford, "I will answer them."

"Well, I will do so," said Willerton, "but first I will answer yours." The which thing until this day he hath not done.

On the twelfth of February, there came one of the earl of Derby's servants to Bradford, saying, "My Lord hath sent me to you: he willeth you to tender yourself, and he will be a good lord to you."

*Brad.*—"I thank his Lordship for his good will towards me: but in this case I cannot tender myself more than God's honour."

Servant.—"Ah, Master Bradford! consider your mother, sisters, friends, kinsfolk, and country; what a great discomfort will it be unto them to see you die as a heretic!"

*Brad.*—"I have learned to forsake father, mother, brother, sister, friend, and all that ever I have, yea, even mine own self; for else I cannot be Christ's disciple."

Serv.—"If my Lord should obtain for you that ye might depart the realm, would you not be content to be at the queen's appointment, where she would appoint you beyond the sea."

*Brad.*—"No, I had rather be burned in England than be burned beyond the seas. For I know that if she should send me to Paris, Louvain, or some such place, forthwith they would burn me."

Talk between Master Bradford and one Percival Creswell: and after that with Dr. Harding.

Upon the fourteenth of February, Percival Creswell, an old acquaintance of Bradford's, came to him, bringing with him a kinsman of Master Fecknam's, who, after many words, said.

Creswell.—"I pray you let me make labour for you."

Bradford.—"You may do what ye will."

Cres.—"But tell me what suit I should make for you."

*Brad.*—"Forsooth, that ye will do, do it not at my request, for I desire nothing at your hands. If the queen will give me life, I will thank her. If she will banish me, I will thank her. If she will burn me, I will thank her. If she will condemn me to perpetual imprisonment, I will thank her."

Hereupon Creswell went away, and about eleven of the clock be and the other man came again, and brought a book of More's making, desiring Bradford to read it over. Bradford taking the book, said:

Brad."Good Percival, I am settled for being moved in this article."

Cres.—"Oh! if ever ye loved me, do one thing for me."

Brad.—"What is it?"

*Cres.*—"Desire and name what learned man or men ye will have to come unto you; my Lord of York, my Lord of Lincoln, my Lord of Bath, and others will gladly come unto you."

*Brad.*—"No, never will I desire them, or any other, to come to confer with me; for I am as certain of my doctrine as I am of any thing. But for your pleasure, and also that all men may know I am not ashamed to have my faith sifted and tried, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them "

So they went their way. About three of the clock in the afternoon, Master Doctor Harding, who was the bishop of Lincoln's chaplain, came to Bradford, and after a great and solemn protestation, showing how that he had prayed to God, before he came, to turn his talk to Bradford's good, he began to tell of the good opinion he had of Bradford; and spent the time in such tattling, so that their talk was to little purpose, save that Bradford prayed him to consider from whence he was fallen, and not to follow the world, nor to love it; for the love of God is not where the world is. But Harding counted Bradford in a damnable estate, as one being out of the church; and therefore willed him to take heed of his soul, and not to die in such an opinion.

"What, Master Harding!" quoth Bradford, "I have heard you, with these ears, maintain this that I stand in."

*Harding*.—"I grant that I have taught that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a subtle doctrine; but otherwise I never taught it."

And so he, inveighing against marriages of priests, and namely against Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Luther, and such, which for breaking their vows were justly given up into heresies, (as he said,) Bradford seeing him altogether given up to popery, after admonishment thereof, bade him farewell.

Talk between Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon, and Master Bradford.

On the twenty-fifth of February, Percival Creswell came with Master Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and a servant waiting upon him. After formal salutations, he made a long oration, of which this is a short sum; that all men, even the infidels, Turks, Jews, Anabaptists, and Libertines, desire felicity as well as the Christians, and how that every one thinketh they shall attain to it by their religion. To which Bradford answered briefly, that he spake not far amiss.

*Harpsfield.*—"But the way thither is not all alike: for the infidels by Jupiter and Juno, the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his Talmud, do believe to come to heaven. For so may I speak of such as believe the immortality of the soul."

Brad.—"You speak truly."

Harps.—"Well, then, here is the matter; to know the way to this heaven."

- *Brad.*—"We may not invent any manner of ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself doth witness: I am the way."
- *Harps.*—"It is true that you say, and false also. I suppose that you mean by Christ, believing in Christ."
- *Brad.*—"I have learned to discern betwixt faith and Christ. Albeit I confess, that whoso believeth in Christ, the same shall be saved."
- *Harps.*—"No, not all that believe in Christ; for some shall say, Lord, Lord, have we not cast out devils? &c. But Christ will answer in the day of judgment to these, Depart from me, I know you not."
- *Brad.*—"You must make difference betwixt believing, and saying, I believe: as for example, if one should say and swear he loveth you, for all his saying, ye will not believe him when you see he goeth about to utter and do all the evil against you that he can."
- *Harps*.—"Well, this is not much material. There is but one way, Christ. How come we to know him? Where shall we seek to find him?"
  - Brad.—"Forsooth, we must seek him by his word, and in his word, and after his word."
- *Harps*.—"Very good: but tell me now how first we came into the company of them that could tell us this, but by baptism?"
- *Brad.*—"Baptism is the sacrament, by the which outwardly we are ingrafted into Christ: I say outwardly, because I dare not exclude from Christ all that die without baptism. I will not tie God, where he is not bound. Some infants die, whose parents desire baptism for them, and cannot have it."
  - *Harps.*—"To those we may think perchance that God will show mercy."
- *Brad.*—"Yea, the children whose parents do contemn baptism will not I condemn, because the child shall not bear the father's offence."
- Harps.—"Well, we agree, that by baptism then we are brought, and, as a man would say, begotten to Christ: for Christ is our Father, and the church his spouse is our mother. As all men naturally have Adam for their father, and Eve for their mother; so all spiritual men have Christ for their Father, and the church for their mother: and as Eve was taken out of Adam's side, so was the church taken out of Christ's side; whereout flowed blood, for the satisfaction and purgation of our sins."
  - Brad.—"All this is truly spoken."
  - Harps.—"Now then, tell me whether this church of Christ hath not been always?"

- *Brad.*—"Yea, since the creation of man, and shall be for ever."
- Harps.—"Very good. But yet tell me whether this church is a visible church, or no?"
- *Brad.*—"It is no otherwise visible, than Christ was here on earth; that is, by no exterior pomp or show that setteth her forth commonly; and therefore to see her we must put on such eyes, as good men put on to see and know Christ when he walked here on earth: for as Eve was of the same substance that Adam was of, so was the church of the same substance that Christ was of, flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones; as Paul saith, Ephes. v. Look, therefore, how Christ was visibly known to be Christ, when he was on earth, that is, by considering him after the word of God, so is the church known."
- *Harps.*—"I do not come to reason at this present, and therefore I will go on forward. Is not this church a multitude?"
- *Brad.*—"Yes, that it is. Howbeit, *Latet anguis in herba*, as the proverb is; for in your question is a subtlety. What visible multitude was there in Elias's time, or when Moses was on the mount, Aaron and all Israel worshipping the calf?"
  - *Harps.*—"Ye divert from the matter."
- *Brad.*—"No, nothing at all. For I do prevent you, knowing well where about you go. And therefore fewer words might well serve, if that you so would."
- *Harps*.—"Well, I perceive you have knowledge, and by a little perceive I the more. Tell me yet more, whether this multitude have not the ministry or preaching of God's word?"
- *Brad.*—"Sir, ye go about the bush. If ye understand preaching for confessing of the gospel, I will go with you: for else, if you will, you may know that persecution often letteth preaching."
  - Harps.—"Well, I mean it so. Tell me yet more: hath it not the sacraments administered?"
- *Brad.*—"It hath the sacraments, howbeit the administration of them is often letted. But I will put you from your purpose, because I see where about you go. If heretics have baptism, and do baptize, as they did in St. Cyprian's time, you know this baptism is baptism, and not to be reiterate."

This Bradford did speak, that the standers-by might see, that though the papist's church have baptism which we have received of them, yet therefore it is not the true church, neither need we to be baptized again.

- Harps.—"You go far from the matter, and I perceive you have more errors than one."
- *Brad.*—"So you say; but that is not enough till you prove them."

*Harps.*—"Well, this church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the gospel, and the ministration of the sacraments? And, yet more, hath it not the power of jurisdiction?"

*Brad.*—"What jurisdiction is exercised in persecution and affliction?"

Harps.—"I mean by jurisdiction, admonishing one another, and so forth."

*Brad.*—"Well, go to; what then?"

*Harps*.—"It hath also succession of bishops." And here Harpsfield made much ado to prove that this was an essential point.

*Brad.*—"You say as you would have it; for if this part fail you, all the church that you go about to set up, will fall down. You shall not find in all the Scripture this your essential part of succession of bishops. In Christ's church antichrist will sit. And Peter telleth us, as it went in the old church, afore Christ's coming, so will it be in the new church, since Christ's coming: that is, as there were false prophets, and such as bear rule were adversaries to the true prophets, so shall there be (saith he) false teachers, even of such as are bishops, and bear rule amongst the people."

*Harps.*—"You go always out of the matter: but I will prove further the succession of bishops."

Brad.—"Do so."

Harps.—"Tell me, were not the apostles bishops?"

*Brad.*—"No, except you will make a new definition of a bishop: that is, give him no certain place."

*Harps*.—"Indeed, the apostles' office was not the bishops' office, for it was universal; but yet Christ instituted bishops in his church, as Paul saith, he hath given pastors, prophets, &c., so that I trow it be proved by the Scriptures the succession of bishops to be an essential point."

*Brad.*—"The ministry of God's word and ministers be an essential point. But to translate this to the bishops and their succession, is a plain subtlety: and therefore, that it may be plain, I will ask you a question. Tell me, whether that the Scripture knew any difference between bishops and ministers, which ye called priests?"

Harps.—"No."

*Brad.*—"Well, then, go on forwards, and let us see what ye shall get now by the succession of bishops; that is, of ministers, which cannot be understood of such bishops as minister not, but lord it."

*Harps.*—"I perceive that you are far out of the way. By your doctrine you can never show in your church, a multitude which ministereth God's word and his sacraments, which hath

jurisdiction and succession of bishops, which hath from time to time believed as you believe, beginning now, and so going upwards, as I will do of our doctrine; and therefore are ye out of the church, and so cannot be saved. Perchance you will bring me downwards a show to blear people's eyes; but to go upwards, that you can never do, and this is the true trial."

*Brad.*—"Ye must and will, I am assured, give me leave to follow the Scriptures, and examples of good men."

Harps.—"Yea."

*Brad.*—"Well, then, Stephen was accused and condemned, as I am, that he had taught new and false doctrine, before the fathers of the church then, as they were taken. Stephen for his purgation improveth their accusation. But how? doth he it by going upwards? No, but by coming downwards, beginning at Abraham, and continuing still till Esaias's time, and the people's captivity. From whence he maketh a great leap until the time he was in, which was (I think) upon four hundred years, and called them by their right names, hellhounds, rather than heaven-hounds. On this sort will I prove my faith, and that can you never do yours."

Harps.—"Yea, sir, if we did know that you had the Holy Ghost, then could we believe you."

Here Bradford would have answered, that Stephen's enemies would not believe he had the Holy Ghost, and therefore they did as they did: but, as he was in speaking, Master Harpsfield rose up; and the keeper and others that stood by began to talk gently, praying Bradford to take heed to what Master Archdeacon spake, who still said, that Bradford was out of the church.

Brad.—"Sir, I am most certain that I am in Christ's church, and I can show a demonstration of my religion from time to time continually.—God our Father, for the name and blood of his Christ, be merciful unto us, and unto all his people, and deliver them from false teachers and blind guides, through whom, alas, I fear me, much hurt will come to this realm of England. God our Father bless us, and keep us in his truth and poor church for ever. Amen!"

Then the archdeacon departed, saying, that he would come again the next morning.

The next day's talk between Dr. Harpsfield and Master Bradford.

Upon the sixteenth of February in the morning, the archdeacon, and the other two with him, came again, and after a few by-words spoken, they sat down.

Master Archdeacon Harpsfield began a very long oration, first repeating what they had said, and how far they had gone over-night; and therewith did begin to prove upwards succession of bishops here in England for eight hundred years: in France at Lyons for twelve hundred years: in Spain at Seville for eight hundred years: in Italy at Milan for twelve hundred years, labouring by this to prove his church. He used also succession of bishops in the East church for the more confirmation of his words, and so concluded with an exhortation, and an interrogation: the exhortation, that Bradford would obey this church; the interrogation, whether Bradford could

show any such succession for the demonstration of his church (for so he called it) which followed. Unto this long oration, Bradford made this short answer:

Brad.—"My memory is evil, so that I cannot answer particularly your oration. Therefore I will generally do it, thinking because your oration is rather to persuade than to prove, that a small answer will serve. If Christ or his apostles, being here on earth, had been required by the prelates of the church then, to have made a demonstration of that church by succession of such high priests as had approved the doctrine which he taught, I think that Christ would have done as I do: that is, have alleged that which upholdeth the church, even the verity, the word of God taught and believed, not by the high priests, which of long time had persecuted it, but by the prophets and other good simple men which perchance were counted for heretics of the church: which church was not tied to succession, but to the word of God. And this to think St. Peter giveth me occasion, when he saith, that as it went in the church before Christ's coming, so shall it go in the church after his coming: but then the pillars of the church were persecutors of the church; therefore the like we must look for now."

*Harps.*—"I can gather and prove succession in Jerusalem of the high priests from Aaron's time."

Brad.—"I grant, but not such succession as allowed the truth."

Harps.—"Why! did they not allow Moses's law?"

Brad.—"Yes, and keep it, as touching the books thereof; as you do the Bible, and Holy Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you have done and do; and therefore the persecution which they stirred up against the prophets and Christ, was not for the law, but for the interpretation of it: for they taught as you do now, that we must fetch the interpretation of the Scriptures at your hands. But to make an end, death I look daily for, yea, hourly, and I think my time be but very short. Therefore I had need to spend as much time with God as I can, whilst I have it, for his help and comfort; and therefore I pray you bear with me, that I do not now particularly, and in more words, answer your long talk. If I saw death not so near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your oration, if you would give me the sum of it, and I would answer accordingly; but because I dare not, nor I will not, leave off looking and preparing for that which is at hand, I shall desire you to hold me excused, because I do as I do; and heartily thank you for your gentle good will. I shall heartily pray God our Father to give you the same light and life I do wish to myself."

And so Bradford began to rise up. But then began Master Archdeacon to tell him that he was in very perilous case; and that he was sorry to see him so settled. "As for death, whether it be nigh or far off, I know not, neither forceth it, so that you did die well."

*Brad.*—"I doubt not in this case but that I shall die well: for as I hope and am certain my death shall please the Lord, so I trust I shall die cheerfully, to the comfort of his children."

*Harps.*—"But what if you be deceived?"

*Brad.*—"What if you should say the sun did not shine now?"—and the sun did shine through the window where they sat.

Harps.—"Well, I am sorry to see you so secure and careless."

*Brad.*—"Indeed I am more carnally secure and careless than I should be: God make me more vigilant. But in this case I cannot be so secure, for I am most assured I am in the truth."

Harps.—"That are ye not; for you are out of the catholic church."

*Brad.*—"No, though you have excommunicated me out of your church, yet am I in the catholic church of Christ, and am, and by God's grace shall be, a child, and an obedient child, of it for ever: I hope Christ will have no less care for me, than he had for the blind man excommunicated of the synagogue. And further, I am sure that the necessary articles of the faith, I mean the twelve articles of the Creed, I confess and believe with that which you call the holy church, so that even your church hath taken something too much upon her to excommunicate me for that, which, by the testimony of my Lord of Durham in the book of the sacrament lately put forth, was free many a hundred years after Christ, for us to believe or not believe."

*Harps*.—"What is that?"

Brad.—"Transubstantiation."

Harps.—"Why: ye are not condemned therefore only."

Brad.—"For that, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body."

Harps.—"You agree not with us in the presence, nor in any thing else."

*Brad.*—"How you believe you know: for my part I confess a presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver."

Harps.—"Nay, you must believe a real presence in the sacrament."

*Brad.*—"In the sacrament? Nay, I will not shut him in, nor tie him to it otherwise than faith seeth and perceiveth. If I should include Christ really present in the sacrament, or tie him to it otherwise than to the faith of the receiver, then the wicked men should receive him, which I do not, nor will, by God's grace, believe."

*Harps*.—"More pity: but a man may easily perceive, you make no presence at all, and therefore you agree not therein with us."

Brad.—"I confess a presence, and a true presence, but to the faith of the receiver."

"What," quoth one that stood by, "of Christ's very body which died for us?"

- *Brad.*—"Yea, even of whole Christ, God and man, to feed the faith of him that receiveth it."
- *Harps*.—"Why? this is nothing else but to exclude the omnipotency of God, and all kind of miracle in the sacrament."
- *Brad.*—"I do not exclude his omnipotency, but you do it rather; for I believe that Christ can accomplish his promise, the substance of bread and wine being there, as well as the accidents, which you believe not. When we come to the sacrament, we come not to feed our bodies, and therefore we have but a little piece of bread; but we come to feed our souls with Christ by faith, which the wicked do want, and therefore they receive nothing but *panem Domini*, as Judas did, and not *panem Dominum*, as the other apostles did."
  - Harps.—"The wicked do receive the very body of Christ, but not the grace of his body."
- *Brad.*—"They receive not the body, for Christ's body is no dead carcass: he that receiveth it, receiveth the Spirit, which is not without grace, I trow."
- *Harps*.—"Well, you have many errors. You count the mass for abomination, and yet St. Ambrose said mass;" and so he read, out of a book written, a sentence of St. Ambrose to prove it.
- *Brad.*—"Why, sir? the mass, as it is now, was nothing so in St. Ambrose's time. Was not the most part of the canon made since by Gregory and Scholasticus?"
- *Harps*.—"Indeed a great piece of it was made (as ye say) by Gregory: but Scholasticus was before St. Ambrose's time."
- *Brad.*—"I ween not: howbeit I will not contend. St. Gregory saith, that the apostles said mass without the canon, only with the Lord's Prayer."
- *Harps.*—"You say true: for the canon is not the greatest part of the mass, the greatest part is the sacrifice, elevation, transubstantiation, and adoration."
  - *Brad.*—"I can away with none of those."
- *Harps*.—"No, I think the same: but yet *hoc facite*, telleth plainly the sacrifice of the church "
- *Brad.*—"You confound sacrifices, not discerning betwixt the sacrifice of the church, and for the church. The sacrifice of the church is no propitiatory sacrifice, but a gratulatory sacrifice; and as for hoc facite, is not referred to any sacrificing, but to the whole action of taking, eating," &c.
- *Harps*.—"You speak not learnedly now: for Christ made his supper only to the twelve apostles, not admitting his mother or any of the seventy disciples to it. Now the apostles do signify the priests."

*Brad.*—"I think that you speak as you would men should understand it: for else you would not keep the cup away from the laity. We have great cause to thank you, that you will give us of your bread: for I perceive you order the matter so as though Christ had not commanded it to his whole church "

Then Harpsfield would have proved elevation by a place of Basil.

*Brad.*—"I have read the place, which seemeth to make nothing for elevation: but be it as it is, this is no time for me to scan the doubtful places of the doctors with you. I have been in prison long without books and all necessaries for study, and now death draweth nigh, and I, by your leave, must now leave off, to prepare for him."

*Harps.*—"If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in soul or body. For you are in a perilous case both ways."

*Brad.*—"Sir, I thank you for your good will. My case is as it is. I thank God it was never so well with me; for death to me shall be life."

*Creswell.*—"It were best for you to desire Master Archdeacon that he would make suit for you, that you might have a time to confer."

*Harps.*—"I will do the best I can: for I pity his case."

*Brad.*—"Sir, I will not desire any body to sue for time for me. I am not wavering, neither would I that any body should think I were so. But if you have the charity and love you pretend towards me, and thereto do think that I am in an error, I think the same should move you to do as you would be done to. As ye think of me, so do I of you, that you are far out of the way; and I do not only think it, but also am thereof most assured."

And in this and such-like gentle talk they departed.

The talk of Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, and Day, bishop of Chichester, with Master Bradford

The twenty-third of the same month, the archbishop of York and the bishop of Chichester came to the Compter to speak with Bradford. When he was come before them, they both, and especially the bishop of York, used him very gently: they would have him to sit down, and because he would not, they also would not sit. So they all stood, and whether he would or not, they would needs he should put on, not only his night-cap, but his upper cap also, saying unto him, that obedience was better than sacrifice.

Now thus standing together, my Lord of York began to tell Bradford how that they were not sent to him, but of love and charity they came to him: and he, for that acquaintance also which he had with Bradford, more than the bishop of Chichester had. Then, after commending Bradford's godly life, he concluded with this question, how he was certain of salvation, and of

his religion? After thanks for their good will, Bradford answered, "By the word of God—even by the Scriptures—I am certain of salvation and religion."

*York.*—"Very well said: but how do ye know the word of God and the Scriptures, but by the church?"

Brad.—"Indeed, my Lord, the church was and is a mean to bring a man more speedily to know the Scriptures and the word of God, as was the woman of Samaria a mean that the Samaritans knew Christ: but as when they had heard him speak, they said, Now we know that he is Christ, not because of thy words, but because we ourselves have heard him; so after we come to the hearing and reading of the Scriptures showed unto us, and discerned by the church, we do believe them, and know them as Christ's sheep—not because the church saith, they are the Scriptures, but because they be so; being thereof assured by the same Spirit which wrote and spake them."

York.—"You know, in the apostles' time, at the first, the word was not written."

*Brad.*—"True, if you mean it for some books of the New Testament: but else for the Old Testament Peter telleth us, We have a more sure word of prophecy: not that it is simply so, but in respect of the apostles, who, being alive and compassed with infirmity, attributed to the word written more firmity, as wherewith no fault could be found; whereas for the infirmity of their persons men perchance might have found some fault at their preaching: albeit in very deed no less obedience and faith ought to have been given to the one, than to the other; for all proceedeth forth of one Spirit of truth."

York.—"That place of Peter is not so to be understood of the word written."

Brad.—"Yea, sir, that it is, and of none other."

Chichester.—"Y ea, indeed Master Bradford doth tell you truly in that point."

*York.*—"Well, you know that Irenæus and others do magnify much, and allege the church against the heretics, and not the Scripture."

*Brad.*—"True, for they had to do with such heretics as did deny the Scriptures, and yet did magnify the apostles; so that they were enforced to use the authority of those churches wherein the apostles had taught, and which had still retained the same doctrine."

*Chich.*—"You speak the very truth; for the heretics did refuse all Scriptures, except it were a piece of Luke's Gospel."

*Brad.*—"Then the alleging of the church cannot be principally used against me, which am so far from denying of the Scriptures, that I appeal unto them utterly, as to the only judge."

*York.*—"A pretty matter, that you will take upon you to judge the church: I pray you where hath your church been hitherto? for the church of Christ is catholic and visible hitherto."

- *Brad.*—"My Lord, I do not judge the church, when I discern it from that congregation, and those which be not the church; and I never denied the church to be catholic and visible, although at sometimes it is more visible than at some."
- *Chich.*—"I pray you tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine was, these four hundred years?"
- *Brad.*—"I will tell you, my Lord, or rather you shall tell yourself, if you will tell me this one thing: where the church was in Elias's time, when Elias said, that he was left alone?"
  - Chich.—"That is no answer."
- *Brad.*—"I am sorry that you say so: but this will I tell your Lordship, that if you had the same eyes wherewith a man might have espied the church then, you would not say it were no answer. The fault why the church is not seen of you, is not because the church is not visible, but because your eyes are not clear enough to see it."
- *Chich.*—"You are much deceived in making this collation betwixt the church then and now."
- *York.*—"Very well spoken, my Lord; for Christ said, *Edificabo ecclesiam*, I will build my church; and not I do, or have built it; but, I will build it."
- *Brad.*—"My Lords, Peter teacheth me to make this collation, saying, as in the people there were false prophets, which were most in estimation afore Christ's coming, so shall there be false teachers amongst the people after Christ's coming; and very many shall follow them. And as for your future tense, I hope your Grace will not thereby conclude Christ's church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the church but by Christ's work only: for Paul and Apollos be but waterers."
  - *Chich.*—"In good faith I am sorry to see you so light in judging the church."
- *York.*—"He taketh upon him, as they all do, to judge the church. A man shall never come to certainty that doth as they do."
- *Brad.*—"My Lords, I speak simply what I think, and desire reason to answer my objections. Your affections and sorrows cannot be my rules. If that you consider the order and case of my condemnation, I cannot think but that it should something move your Honours. You know it well enough, (for you heard it,) no matter was laid against me, but what was gathered upon mine own confession. Because I did deny transubstantiation, and the wicked to receive Christ's body in the sacrament, therefore I was condemned and excommunicated, but not of the church, although the pillars of the church (as they be taken) did it."
- *Chich.*—"No; I heard say the cause of your imprisonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the sword in the one hand, and the mattock in the other."

- Brad.—"My Lord, I never meant any such thing, nor spake any thing in that sort."
- *York.*—"Yea, and you behaved yourself before the council so stoutly at the first, that you would defend the religion then; and therefore worthily were you prisoned."
- *Brad.*—"Your Grace did hear me answer my Lord Chancellor to that point. But put case I had been so stout as they and your Grace make it, were not the laws of the realm on my side then? Wherefore unjustly was I prisoned: .only that which my Lord Chancellor propounded, was my confession of Christ's truth against transubstantiation, and of that which the wicked do receive, as I said."
  - *York.*—"You deny the presence."
  - *Brad.*—"I do not, to the faith of the worthy receivers."
  - *York.*—"Why! what is that to say other than that Christ lieth not on the altar?"
  - *Brad.*—"My Lord, I believe in no such presence."
  - Chich.—"It seemeth that you have not read Chrysostom, for he proveth it."
- *Brad.*—"Hitherto I have been kept well enough without books: howbeit this I do remember of Chrysostom, that he saith, that Christ lieth upon the altar, as the seraphim with their tongs touch our lips with the coals of the altar in heaven, which is a hyperbolical locution, of which you know Chrysostom is full."
- *York.*—"It is evident that you are too far gone: but let us come then to the church, out of the which ye are excommunicate."
- *Brad.*—"I am not excommunicate out of Christ's church, my Lord, although they which seem to be in the church, and of the church, have excommunicated me, as the poor blind man was (John ix.); I am sure Christ receiveth me."
  - York.—"You do deceive yourself."

Here, after much talk of excommunication, at length Bradford said:

- "Assuredly as I think you did well to depart from the Romish church, so I think ye have done wickedly to couple yourselves to it again; for you can never prove it, which you call the mother church, to be Christ's church."
- *Chich.*—"Ah, Master Bradford! you were but a child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the university, I went with the world: but, I tell you, it was always against my conscience."

- *Brad.*—"I was but a child then, howbeit, as I told you, I think you have done evil: for ye are come, and have brought others, to that wicked man which sitteth in the temple of God, that is, in the church; for it cannot be understood of Mahomet, or any out of the church, but of such as bear rule in the church."
- *York.*—"See how you build your faith upon such places of Scripture as are most obscure, to deceive yourself, as though ye were in the church, where you are not."
- *Brad.*—"Well, my Lord, though I might by fruits judge of you and others, yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the church. And if I were in your case, I would not condemn him utterly that is of my faith in the sacrament; knowing as you know, that at the least eight hundred years after Christ, as my Lord of Durham writeth, it was free to believe or not to believe transubstantiation."
- *York.*—"This is a toy that you have found out of your own brain; as though a man not believing as the church doth, (that is, transubstantiation,) were of the church."
- Chich.—"He is a heretic, and so none of the church, that doth hold any doctrine against the definition of the church; as a man to hold against transubstantiation. Cyprian was no heretic, though he believed re-baptizing of them which were baptized of heretics, because he held it before the church had defined it; whereas if he had holden it after, then had he been a heretic."
- *Brad.*—"Oh, my Lord! will ye condemn to the devil any man that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith, (wherein I take the unity of Christ's church to consist,) although in some points he believe not the definition of that which ye call the church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the articles of our belief, though in other things he dissent from your definitions, yet he shall be saved."
  - "Yea," said both the bishops, (York and Chichester,) "this is your divinity."
- *Brad.*—"No, it is Paul's; who saith, that if they hold the foundation, Christ, though they build upon him straw and stubble, yet they shall be saved."
  - York.—"Lord God! how you delight to lean, to so hard and dark places of the Scriptures."
- *Chich.*—"I will show you how that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter:" and so he read a place of Luther making for his purpose.
- *Brad.*—"My Lord, what Luther writeth, as you much pass not, no more do I in this case. My faith is not builded on Luther, Zuinglius, or Œcolampadius, in this point: and indeed to tell you truly, I never read any of their works in this matter. As for them, I do think assuredly that they were, and are, God's children, and saints with him."
  - York. "Well, you are out of the communion of the church."
  - Brad.—"I am not; for it consisteth and is in faith."

- *York.*—"Lo, how you make your church invisible; for you would have the communion of it to consist in faith."
- *Brad.*—"For to have communion with the church needeth no visibleness of it; for communion consisteth, as I said, in faith, and not in exterior ceremonies, as appeareth both by Paul, who would have one faith, and by Irenæus to Victor, for the observation of Easter; saying that disagreeing of fasting should not break the agreeing of faith."
- *Chich.*—"The same place hath often even wounded my conscience, because we dissevered ourselves from the see of Rome."
  - Brad.—"Well, God forgive you; for you have done evil to bring England thither again."

Here my Lord of York took a book of paper of common-places, and read a piece of St. Augustine Contra Epistolam Fundamenti, how that there were many things that did hold St. Augustine in the bosom of the church: consent of people and nations; authority confirmed with miracles, nourished with hope, increased with charity, established with antiquity "besides this, there holdeth me in the church," said Augustine, "the succession of priests from Peter's seat until this present bishop. Last of all, the very name of catholic doth hold me," &c. "Lo," quoth he, "how say you to this of St. Augustine? Paint me out your church thus."

- *Brad.*—"My Lord, these words of St. Augustine make as much for me as for you: although I might answer, that all this, if they had been so firm as you make them, might have been alleged against Christ and his apostles: for there was the law and the ceremonies consented on by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquity, and continual succession of bishops from Aaron's time until that present."
- *Chich.*—"In good faith, Master Bradford, you make too much of the state of the church before Christ's coming."
- *Brad.*—"Therein I do but as Peter teacheth, 2 Pet. ii., and Paul very often. You would gladly have your church here very glorious, and as a most pleasant lady. But as Christ saith, *Beatus est quicunque non fuerit offensus per me*; so may his church say, Blessed are they that are not offended at me."
  - York.—"Yea, you think that none is of the church, but such as suffer persecution."
- *Brad.*—"What I think, God knoweth: I pray your Grace judge me by my words and speaking, and mark what Paul saith, All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution. Sometimes Christ's church hath rest here; but commonly it is not so, and specially towards the end her form will be more unseemly."
- *York.*—"But what say you to St. Augustine? where is your church that hath the consent of people and nations?"

- *Brad.*—"Even all people and nations that be God's people have consented with me, and I with them, in the doctrine of faith."
  - York.—"Lo, you go about to shift off all things."
  - Brad.—"No, my Lord; I mean simply, and so speak, God knoweth."
  - York.—"St. Augustine doth here talk of succession, even from Peter's seat."
  - Brad.—"Yea, that seat then was nothing so much corrupt as it is now."
- *York.*—"Well, you always judge the church." *Brad.*—"No, my Lord; Christ's sheep discern Christ's voice, but they judge it not; so they discern the church, but judge her not."
  - York.—"Yes, that they do."
- *Brad.*—"No, and it like your Grace; and yet full well may one not only doubt, but judge also of the Romish church; for she obeyeth not Christ's voice, as Christ's true church doth."
  - York.—"Wherein?"
- *Brad.*—"In Latin service, and robbing the laity of Christ's cup in the sacrament; and in many other things, in which it committeth most horrible sacrilege."
  - *Chich.*—"Why, Latin service was in England when the pope was gone."
- *Brad.*—"True; the time was in England when the pope was away, but not all popery—as in King Henry's days."
- *York.*—"Latin service was appointed to be sung and had in the choir, where only were *clerici*, that is, such as understood Latin; the people sitting in the body of the church, praying their own private prayers; and this may well be yet seen by making of the chancel and choir so as the people could not come in, or hear them."
- *Brad.*—"Yea, but both in Chrysostom's time, and also in the Latin church in St. Jerome's time, 'all the church,' saith he, 'answereth again mightily, Amen:' whereby we may see that the prayers were made so, that both the people heard them and understood them."
  - *Chich.*—"Ye are to blame, to say that the church robbeth the people of the cup."
- Brad.—"Well, my Lord, term it as it please you; all men know that the laity hath none of it."
- *Chich.*—"Indeed I would wish the church would define again, that they might have it, for my part."

*Brad.*—"If God make it free, who can define to make it bond?"

*York.*—"Well, Master Bradford, we leese our labour; for ye seek to put away all things which are told you to your good: your church no man can know."

Brad.—"Yes, that ye may well."

*York.*—"I pray you whereby?"

*Brad.*—"Forsooth Chrysostom saith, 'alonely by the Scriptures:' and this speaketh he very oftentimes, as ye well know."

*York.*—"Indeed that is of Chrysostom in *Opere imperfecto*, which may be doubted of. The thing whereby the church may be known best, is succession of bishops."

*Brad.*—"No, my Lord, Lyra full well writeth upon Matthew, that 'The church consisteth not in men, by reason either of secular or temporal power; but in men endued with true knowledge, and confession of faith, and of verity.' And in Hilary's time, you know he writeth to Auxentius, that the church was hidden rather in caves and holes, than did glister and shine in thrones of pre-eminence."



HEN came one of their servants and told them, that my Lord of Durham tarried for them at Master York's house; and this was after that they had tarried three hours with Bradford. And after that their man was come, they put up their written books of common-places, and said that they lamented his case: they willed him to read over a book which did Dr. Crome good. And so, wishing him good in words, they went their way, and poor Bradford to his prison.

After this communication with the bishops ended, within two days following came into the Compter two Spanish friars to talk with Master Bradford, sent (as they said) by the earl of

Derby; of whom the one was the king's confessor, the other was Alphonsus, who had before written a popish book against heresies, the effect of which their reasoning here likewise followeth.

On the twenty-fifth day of February, about eight of the clock in the morning, two Spanish friars came to the Compter where Bradford was prisoner; to whom Bradford was called. Then the one friar, which was the king's confessor, asked in Latin (for all their talk was in Latin) of Bradford, whether he had not seen or heard of one Alphonsus, that had written against heresies?

Brad.—"I do not know him."

*Confessor*.—"Well, this man [pointing to Alphonsus] is he. We are come to you of love and charity, by the means of the earl of Derby, because you desired to confer with us."

- *Brad.*-"I never desired your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other: but, seeing you are come of charity, as you say, I cannot but thank you; and as touching conference, though I desire it not, yet I will not refuse to talk with you, if you will."
- *Alph.*—"It were requisite that you did pray unto God, that ye might follow the direction of God's Spirit, that be would inspire you, so that ye be not addict to your own self-will or wit."

Whereupon Bradford made a prayer, and besought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the wills, words, and works of his children for ever.

- *Alph.*—"Yea, you must pray with your heart. For if you speak but with tongue only, God will not give you his grace."
- *Brad.*—"Sir, do not judge, lest ye be judged. You have heard my words: now charity would have you leave the judgment of the heart to God."
- *Alph.*—"You must be as it were a neuter, and not wedded to yourself, but as one standing in doubt. Pray and be ready to receive what God shall inspire; for in vain laboureth our tongue to speak else."
- Brad.—"Sir, my sentence, if you mean it for religion, must not be in a doubting or uncertain, as I thank God I am certain in that for which I am condemned: I have no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be most certain of it; and therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it; for it is his truth. And because it is so certain and true that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and confer it with you, or any man; in respect whereof I am both glad of your coming, and thank you for it."
  - *Alph.*—"What is the matter whereof you were condemned? We know not."
- *Brad.*—"Sir, I have been in prison almost two years: I never transgressed any of their laws where-for I might justly be prisoned; and now am I condemned, only because I frankly confessed (whereof I repent not) my faith concerning the sacrament, when I was demanded in these two points: one, that there is no transubstantiation; the other, that the wicked do not receive Christ's body."
- *Alph.*—"Let us look a little on the first. Do you not believe that Christ is present really and corporally in the form of bread?"
- *Brad.*—"No, I do believe that Christ is present to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is present bread and wine to the senses and outward man: as for any such presence of including and placing Christ, I believe not, nor dare believe."
  - Alph.—"I am sure you believe Christ's natural body is circumscriptible."

And here he made much ado of the two natures of Christ, how that the one is every where, and the other is in his proper place; demanding such questions as no wise man would

have spent any time about. At length, because the friar had forgotten to conclude, Bradford put him in mind of it, and thus then at length he concluded: How that because Christ's body was circumscriptible, concerning the human nature in heaven, therefore it was so in the bread.

*Brad.*—"How hangeth this together? Even as if you should say, because you are here, ergo, it must needs follow that you are at Rome. For thus you reason,—Because Christ's body is in heaven, ergo, it is in the sacrament under the form of bread: which no wise man will grant."

*Alph.*—"Why! will you believe nothing but that which is expressly spoken in the Scriptures?"

*Brad.*—"Yes, sir, I will believe whatsoever you shall by demonstration out of the Scriptures declare unto me."

"He is obstinate," quoth Alphonsus to his fellow: and then turning to Bradford, said, "Is not God able to do it?"

*Brad.*—"Yes, but here the question is of God's will, and not of his power."

*Alph.*—"Why! doth he not say plainly, This is my body?"

Brad.—"Yes, and I deny not but that it is so, to the faith of the worthy receiver."

*Alph.*—"To the faith!—how is that?"

*Brad.*—"Forsooth, sir, as I have no tongue to express it; so I know ye have no ears to hear and understand it. For faith is more than man can utter."

Alph.—"But I can tell all that I believe."

*Brad.*—"You believe not much then; for if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more thereof than you can tell, you will not yet desire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable and receivable than the mouth, so it conceiveth more than tongue can express."

*Alph.*—"Christ saith it is his body."

Brad.—"And so say I, after a certain manner."

Alph.—"After a certain manner? that is, after another manner than it is in heaven."

*Brad.*—"St. Augustine telleth it more plainly, that it is Christ's body after the same manner as circumcision was the covenant of God, and the sacrament of faith is faith; or, to make it more plain, as baptism and the water of baptism is regeneration."

*Alph*.—"Very well said: baptism and the water thereof is a sacrament of God's grace and Spirit in the water cleansing the baptized."

*Brad.*—"No, sir, away with your enclosing; but this I grant, that after the same sort Christ's body is in the bread, on which sort the grace and Spirit of God is in the water."

*Alph.*—"In water is God's grace, by signification."

*Brad.*—"So is the body in the bread in the sacrament."

Mph.—"You are much deceived, in that you make no difference between the sacraments that be standers, and the sacraments that are transitory and passers-by. As for example, the sacrament of Orders, which you deny, though St. Augustine affirm it; it is a standard, although the ceremony be past. But in baptism, so soon as the body is washed, the water ceaseth to be a sacrament."

*Brad.*—"Very good; and so it is in the supper of the Lord: no longer than it is in use, is it Christ's sacrament."

Here was this friar in a wonderful rage, and spake so high (as often he had done before) that the whole house rang again, chafing with *om* and *cho*. He hath a great name of learning, but surely he hath little patience; for if Bradford had been any thing hot, one house could not have held them. At the length he cometh to this point, that Bradford could not find in the Scripture baptism and the Lord's supper to bear any similitude to each other. And here he triumphed before the conquest, saying, that these men would receive nothing but Scripture, and yet were able to prove nothing by the Scripture.

*Brad.*—"Be patient, and you shall see that by the Scripture I will find baptism and the Lord's supper coupled together."

Alph.—"No, that canst thou never do. Let me see a text of it."

*Brad.*—"Paul saith; that as we are baptized into one body, we have drunk of one spirit, meaning the cup in the Lord's supper."

Alph.—"Paul hath no such words."

Brad.—"Yes, that he hath."

Confessor.—"I trow, he hath not."

Brad.—"Give me a Testament, and I will show you."

So a priest that sat by them gave him his Testament, and he showed them the plain text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine the friar found this simple shift, that Paul spake not of the sacrament.

*Brad.*—"Well, the text is plain enough, and there are of the fathers which do so understand the place: for Chrysostom doth expound it so."

Alphonsus, who had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this foil, turned the leaves of the book from leaf to leaf, till he came to the place (1 Cor. xi.); and there he read how that he was guilty who made no difference of the Lord's body.

*Brad.*—"Yea, but therewith he saith, He that eateth of the bread; calling it bread still: and that after consecration, (as ye call it,) as in 1 Cor. x., he saith, The bread which we break, &c."

*Alph.*—"Oh how ignorant are ye, which know not that things, after their conversion, do retain the same names which they had before, as Moses' rod!"

Here Alphonsus, calling for a Bible, after he had found the place began to triumph: but Bradford cooled him quickly, saying:

*Brad.*—"Sir, *there* is mention made of the conversion, as well as that the same appeared to the sense: but *here* ye cannot find it so. Find me one word how the bread is converted, and I will then say, ye bring some matter that maketh for you."

At these words the friar was troubled, and at length he said, how that Bradford hanged on his own sense.

*Brad.*—"No, that do I not; for I will bring you forth the fathers of the church eight hundred years after Christ, to confirm this which I speak."

Alph.—"No, you have the church against you."

Brad.—"I have not Christ's church against me."

*Alph.*—"Yes, that you have. What is the church?"

Brad.—"Christ's wife, the chair and seat of verity."

*Alph.*—"Is she visible?"

*Brad.*—"Yea, that she is to them that will put on the spectacles of God's word to look on her."

*Alph.*—"This church hath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good fathers from Christ's ascension, even for eight hundred years at the least continually."

*Brad.*—"What will you so prove? Transubstantiation?"

*Alph.*—"Yea, that the bread is turned into Christ's body."

Brad.—"You speak more than you can do."

*Alph.*—"That do I not."

Brad.—"Then will I give place."

Alph.—"Will you believe?"

*Brad.*—"Belief is God's gift; therefore cannot I promise. But I tell you that I will give place; and I hope I shall believe his truth always, so good is he to me in Christ my Saviour."

Here the friar found a great fault with Bradford, that he made no difference betwixt *habitus* and *actus*: as though *actus*, which he called credulity, had been in our power. But this he let pass, and came again, asking Bradford, if he could prove it as he said, whether he would give place?"Yea, that I will." Then called he for paper, pen, and ink, to write; and then said I, "What and if that I prove, by the testimony of the fathers, that continually, for eight hundred years after Christ at the least, they did believe that the substance of bread doth remain in the sacrament—what will ye do?"

*Alph.*—"I will give place."

*Brad.*—"Then write you here, that you will give place if I so prove; and I will write that I will give place if you so prove: because ye are the ancient, ye shall have the pre-eminency."

Here the friar fumed marvellously, and said, "I came not to learn at thee: are not here witnesses? [meaning the two priests] be not they sufficient?" But the man was so chafed, that if Bradford had not passed over this matter of writing, the friar would have fallen to plain scolding. At the length the king's confessor æsked Bradford what the second question was?

*Brad.*—"That wicked men receive not Christ's body in the sacrament, as St. Augustine speaketh of Judas, that he received the bread of the Lord, but not the Lord the bread."

Alph.—"St. Augustine saith not so."

Brad.—"Yes, that doth he."

So they arose and talked no more of that matter. Thus went they away, without bidding Bradford farewell.—After they were gone, one of the priests came, and willed Bradford not to be so obstinate.

*Brad.*—"Sir, be not you so wavering; in all the Scripture cannot you find me *non est panis*."

Priest.—"Yes, that I can in five places."

Brad.—"Then I will eat your book."

So the book was opened, but no place found; and he went his way smiling, "God help us."

*Talk between Master Bradford and Dr. Weston, and others.* 

It followed after this, upon the twenty-first of March, that by means of one of the earl of Derby's men, there came to the Compter to dinner one Master Collier, once warden of Manchester, and the said servant of the earl of Derby, of whom Master Bradford learned that Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, would be with him in the afternoon about two of the clock. At dinner time—when the said warden did discommend King Edward, and went about to set forth the authority of the pope, which Bradford withstood, defending the king's faith, that it was catholic, and that the authority of the bishop of Rome's supremacy was usurped, bringing forth the testimony of Gregory, which affirmeth the name of supreme head to be a title of the forerunner to antichrist—a woman prisoner was brought in; whereupon the said Bradford took occasion to rise from the table, and so went to his prison-chamber to beg of God grace and help therein, continuing there still until he was called down to speak with Master Weston, who was then come in.

Master Bradford then being called down, so soon as he was entered into the hall, Master Weston very gently took him by the hand, and asked how he did; with such other talk. At length he willed avoidance of the chamber: so they all went out, save Master Weston himself, Master Collier, the earl of Derby's servant, the subdean of Westminster, the keeper, Master Claydon, and the parson of the church where the Compter is.

Now then he began with Master Bradford, to tell how that he was often minded to have come unto him, being thereto desired of the earl of Derby "and," quoth he, "after that I perceived by this man, that you could be contented rather to speak with me, than any others, I could not but come to do you good, if I can; for hurt you be sure I will not."

"Sir," quoth Master Bradford, "when I perceived by the report of my Lord's servant, that you did bear me good will: more (as he said) than any other of your sort, I told him then, that therefore I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you should come unto me. This did I say," quoth Bradford, "otherwise I desired not your coming."

"Well," quoth Weston, "now I am come to talk with you: but before we shall enter into any talk, certain principles we must agree upon, which shall be this day's work. First," quoth he, "I shall desire you to put away all vain-glory, and not hold any thing for the praise of the world."

*Brad.*—"Sir, St. Augustine maketh that indeed a piece of the definition of a heretic; which if I cannot put away clean, (for I think there will be a spice of it remain in us, as long as this flesh liveth,) yet I promise you, by the grace of God, that I purpose not to yield to it. God I hope will never suffer it to bear rule in them that strive there against, and desire all the dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us."

*West.*—"I am glad to hear you say so, although indeed I think you do not so much esteem it as others do. Secondly, I would desire you that you will put away singularity in your judgment and opinions."

*Brad.*—"Sir, God forbid that I should stick to any singularity or private judgment in God's religion. Hitherto I have not desired it, neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other doctrine than is public and catholic; understanding catholic as good men do, according to God's word "

West.—"Very well; this is a good day's work. I hope to do you good; and therefore, now, thirdly, I shall pray you to write me *capita* of those things whereupon you stand in the sacrament, and to send them to me betwixt this and Wednesday next: until which time, yea, until I come to you again, be assured that you are without all peril of death. of my fidelity, I warrant you; therefore away with all dubitations," &c.

*Brad.*—"Sir, I will write to you the grounds I lean to in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcome be it: this which you require of me, shall be no great let to me therein."

West.—"You know that St. Augustine was a Manichean, yet was he converted at the length; so have I good hope of you."

*Brad.*—"Sir, because I will not flatter you, I would you should flatly know, that I am even settled in the religion, wherefore I am condemned."

*West.*—"Yea, but if it be not the truth, and you see evident matter to the contrary, will you not then give place?"

*Brad.*—"God forbid, but that I should always give place to the truth."

West.—"I would have you to pray so."

*Brad.*—"So I do, and that he will more and more confirm me in it; as I thank God be hath done and doth."

West.—"Yea, but pray with a condition, if you be in it."

*Brad.*—"No, sir, I cannot pray so, because I am settled and assured of his truth."

"Well," quoth Weston, "as the learned bishop answered St. Augustine's mother, that though he was obstinate, yet the tears of such a mother could not but win her son: so," quoth he, "I hope your prayers [for then Bradford's eyes did show that he had wept in prayer] cannot but he heard of God, though not as you would, yet as best shall please God. Do ye not," quoth he, "remember the history thereof?"

"Yea, sir," quoth Bradford, "I think it be of St. Ambrose."

West.—"No, that it is not."

And here Weston would have laid a wager, and began to triumph, saying to Bradford, "As you are overseen herein, so are you in other things."

*Brad.*—"Well, sir, I will not contend with you for the name. This (I remember) St. Augustine writeth in his Confessions."

After this talk, Weston began to tell Master Bradford, how the people were by him procured to withstand the queen. Whereunto Bradford, answering again, bade him hang him up as a traitor and a thief, if ever he encouraged any to rebellion: which thing his keeper, and others that were there of the priests, affirmed on his behalf: so, much talk there was to little purpose at that time. Dr. Weston declared moreover how he had saved men going in the cart to be hanged, and such like. The end was this, that Bradford should send unto him *capita doctrinæ* of the supper, and after Wednesday he would come unto him again. And thus departed he, after that he had drunk to him in beer and wine. I omit here talk of Oxford, of books of German writers, of the fear of death, and such other talk, which is to no purpose.

Another disputation or talk between Master Bradford and Dr. Pendleton.

In the mean time, when Master Bradford had written his reasons and arguments, and had sent them to Dr. Weston, in short space after, (about the twenty-eighth of March,) there came to the Compter Dr. Pendleton, and with him the foresaid Master Collier, sometime warden of Manchester, and Stephen Bech. After salutations Master Pendleton began to speak to Bradford, that he was sorry for his trouble. "And further," quoth Pendleton, "After that I did know you could be content to talk with me, I made the more speed, being as ready to do thee good, and pleasure thee what I can, as ye would wish."

*Bradford.*—"Sir, the manner how I was content to speak with you, was on this sort: Master Bech was often in hand with me whom he should bring unto me, and named you amongst others; and I said, that I had rather speak with you, than with any of all the others. Now the cause why I so would, I will briefly tell you. I remember that once you were (as far as a man might judge) of the religion that I am of at this present, and I remember that you have set forth the same earnestly. Gladly therefore would I learn of you what thing it was that moved your conscience to alter, and gladly would I see what thing it is that you have seen since, which you saw not before."

Pendleton.—"Master Bradford, I do not know wherefore you are condemned."

*Brad.*—"Transubstantiation is the cause wherefore I am condemned, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body: wherein I would desire you to show me what reasons, which before you knew not, did move your conscience now to alter. For once (as I said) you were as I am in religion."

Here Master Pendleton, half amazed, began to excuse himself, if it would have been, as though he had not denied fully transubstantiation indeed, "although I said," quoth he, "that the word was not in Scripture;" and so he made an endless tale of the thing that moved him to alter: "but," said he, "I will gather to you the places which moved me, and send you them." And here he desired Bradford, that he might have a copy of that which he had sent to Master Weston; the which Bradford did promise him.

Some reasoning also they had, whether evil men did receive Christ's body, Bradford denying, and Pendleton affirming. Bradford said that they received not the spirit: ergo, not the body; for it is no dead carcass. Hereto Bradford brought also St. Augustine, how Judas received *panem Domini*, and not *panem Dominum*; and how that he must be in Christ's body, which must receive the body of Christ. But Pendleton went about to put it away with *idem*, and not *ad idem*, and how that *in corpore Christi* was to be understood of all that be in the visible church with God's elect. Bradford denied this to be St. Augustine's meaning; and said, also, that the allegation of *idem*, and not *ad idem*, could not make for that purpose. They talked more of transubstantiation, Pendleton bringing forth Cyprian; *panis natura mutatur*, &c. And Bradford said, that in that place *natura* did not signify substance. As the nature of an herb is not the substance of it, so the bread changed in nature is not to be taken for changed in substance; for now it is ordained, not for the food of the body simply, but rather for the soul. Here also Bradford alleged the sentence of Gelasius. Pendleton said, that he was a pope. "Yea," said Bradford, "but his faith is my faith in the sacrament, if ye would receive it."

They reasoned also whether *accidentia* were *res*, or no. If they be properly res, said Bradford, then are they substances; and if they be substances they are earthly, and then are there earthly substances in the sacrament, as Irenæus saith, which must needs be bread. But Pendleton said that the colour was the earthly thing; and called it "an accidental substance."

I omit the talk they had of my Lord of Canterbury, of Peter Martyr's book, of Pendleton's letter laid to Bradford's charge when he was condemned, with other talk more of the church; whether *die ecclesiæ* was spoken of the universal church, or of a particular (which Pendleton at the length granted to be spoken of a particular church): also of vain-glory, which he willed Bradford to beware of; and such-like talk. A little before his departing Bradford said thus, "Master Doctor, as I said to Master Weston the last day, so say I unto you again, that I am the same man in religion against transubstantiation still, which I was when I came into prison; for hitherto I have seen nothing in any point to infirm me." At which words Pendleton was something moved, and said that it was no catholic doctrine. "Yes," quoth Bradford, "and that will I prove even by the testimony of the catholic fathers until the council of Lateran, or thereabouts." Thus Pendleton went his way, saying, that he would come oftener to Bradford.—God our Father be with us all, and give us the spirit of his truth for ever. Amen.

The same day in the afternoon, about five of the clock, came Master Weston to Bradford; and after gentle salutations, he desired the company every man to depart; and so they two sat down. And after that he had thanked Bradford for his writing unto him, he pulled out of his bosom the same writing which Bradford had sent him. The writing is this that followeth.

Certain reasons against transubstantiation, gathered by John Bradford, and given to Dr. Weston and others.

"That which is former (saith Tertullian) is true; that which is later is false. But the doctrine of transubstantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally afore the council of Lateran, about 1215 years after Christ's coming, under Pope Innocent, the third of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to believe it, or not believe it, as the bishop of

Durham doth witness in his book of the Presence of Christ in his Supper, lately put forth: ergo, the doctrine of transubstantiation is false.

- "2. That the words of Christ's supper be figurative, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy or proportion of the sacraments, and the sentences of all the holy fathers, which were and did write for the space of 1000 years after Christ's ascension, do teach. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no transubstantiation.
- "3. That the Lord gave to his disciples bread, and called it his body, the very Scriptures do witness. For he gave that, and called it his body, which he took in his hands, whereon he gave thanks; which also he brake, and gave to his disciples, that is to say, bread; as the fathers Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and all the residue, which are of antiquity, do affirm. But inasmuch as the substance of bread and wine is another thing than the substance of the body and blood of Christ, it plainly appeareth that there is no transubstantiation.
- "4. The bread is no more transubstantiate than the wine: but that the wine is not transubstantiate, St. Matthew and St. Mark do teach us: for they witness, that Christ said that he would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, which was not blood, but wine: and therefore it followeth, that there is no transubstantiation. Chrysostom upon Matthew, and St. Cyprian, do affirm this reason.
- "5. As the bread in the Lord's supper is Christ's natural body, so is it his mystical body: for the same Spirit that spake of it, This is my body, did say also, For we many are one bread, one body, &c.

But now it is not the mystical body by transubstantiation, and therefore it is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

- "6. The words spoken over the cup in St. Luke and St. Paul, are not so mighty and effectual as to transubstantiate it: for then it, or that which is in it, should be transubstantiate into the new testament. Therefore the words spoken over the bread, are not so mighty as to make transubstantiation.
- "7. All that doctrine which agreeth with those churches which be apostolic mother churches, or original churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holdeth that which these churches received of the apostles, the apostles of Christ, Christ of God. But it is manifest, that the doctrine taught at this present of the Church of Rome, concerning transubstantiation, doth not agree with the apostolic and mother churches in Greece, of Corinth, of Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica, Ephesus, which never taught transubstantiation; yea, it agreeth not with the doctrine of the Church of Rome taught in time past. For Gelasius the pope, setting forth the doctrine which that see did then hold, doth manifestly confute the error of transubstantiation, and reproveth them of sacrilege, which divide the mystery, and keep from the laity the cup. Therefore the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeth not with the truth."

This was the writing which Weston pulled out of his bosom: and yet, before he began to read it, he showed Bradford that he asked of his conversation at Cambridge since his last being

with him; "and," quoth he, "Master Bradford, because you are a man not given to the glory of the world, I will speak it before your face: your life I have learned was such there always, as all men, even the greatest enemies you have, cannot but praise it; and therefore I love you much better than ever I did; but now I will read over your arguments, and so we will confer them. Such they are, that a man may well perceive you stand on conscience, and therefore I am the more ready and glad to pity you." So he began to read the first; to the which he said, that though the word transubstantiation began but lately, yet the thing always was, and hath been since Christ's institution.

*Brad.*—"I do not contend, or hang upon the word only, but upon the thing, which is as new as the word."

Then went Weston to the second, and there brought out St. Augustine, how that if an evil man, going to the devil, did make his will, his son and heir would not say his father did lie in it, or speak tropically: much more Christ, going to God, did never lie, or use any figurative speech in his last will and testament. "Do you not remember this place of St. Augustine;" said he?

*Brad.*—"Yes, sir, but I remember not that St. Augustine hath those words, tropicè or figurative, as you rehearse them: for any man may speak a thing figuratively, and lie not: and so Christ did in his last supper."

After this Weston went to the third, and brought forth Cyprian, bow that the nature of bread is turned into flesh. "Here," saith he, "my Lord of Canterbury expoundeth nature' for quality,' by Gelasius. The which interpretation serveth for the answer of your third argument, that Christ called bread his body; that is, the quality, form, and appearance of bread. And further the Scripture is wont to call things by the same names which they had before, as Simon the leper; he was not so presently, but because he had been so."

*Brad.*—"Cyprian wrote before Gelasius: therefore Cyprian must not expound Gelasius, but Gelasins Cyprian: and so they both teach, that bread remaineth still. As for things having still the names they had, it is no answer, except you could show that this now were not bread, as easily as a man might have known and seen then Simon to have been healed and clear from his leprosy."

After this, Weston went to the fourth, of the cup, the which he did not fully read, but digressed into a long talk of Cyprian's epistle De Aquariis: also of St. Augustine; expounding the breaking of bread by Christ to his two disciples going to Emmaus, to be the sacrament, with such other talk to no certain purpose: and therefore Bradford prayed him, that inasmuch as he had written the reasons that stablished his faith against transubstantiation, so he would likewise do to him, that is, answer him by writing, and show him more reasons in writing to confirm transubstantiation; which Dr. Weston promised to do, and said that he would send or bring it to Master Bradford again within three days.

Thus, when he had over-read the arguments, and here and there spoken little to the purpose for the avoiding of them, and Bradford had prayed him to give him in writing his answers, then he began to tell Bradford how and what he had done for Grimoald, and how that

Bradford needed not to fear any reproach or slander he should suffer: meaning belike to have Bradford secretly to come to them, as Grimoald did; for he subscribed.

*Brad.*—"Master Dean, I would not gladly that you should conceive of me that I pass of shame of men simply in this matter: I rather would have you to think of me, as the very truth is, that hitherto as I have not heard or seen any thing to infirm my faith against transubstantiation, so I am no less settled in it, than I was at my first coming hither. I love to be plain with you, and to tell you at the first, as you shall find at the last."

West.—"In good faith, Master Bradford, I love you the better for your plainness; and do not think otherwise of me, but that you shall find me plain in all my talk with you."

Here Weston began to ask Bradford of his imprisonment and condemnation: and so Bradford told him altogether, how he had been handled; whereat Weston seemed to wonder: yea, in plain words he said, that Bradford had been handled otherwise than he had given cause; and so showed Bradford how that my Lord of Bath reported that he had deserved a benefit at the queen's hand, and at all the council's. In this kind of talk they spent an hour almost, and so, as one weary, Bradford rose up, and Weston called to the keeper, and before him he bade Bradford be of good comfort, and said that he was out of all peril of death. "Sir," quoth the keeper, "but it is in every man's mouth that he shall die to-morrow." Whereat Weston seemed half amazed, and said, he would go say even-song before the queen, and speak to her in his behalf. But it is to be thought that the queen had almost supped at that present; for it was past six of the clock.

Before the keeper, Bradford told Weston again that still he was one man, and even as he was at the first; and till he should see matter to teach his conscience the contrary, he said he must needs so continue. The keeper desired Bradford to hearken to Master Doctor's counsel, and prayed Master Doctor to be good unto him: and so after they had drunk together, Master Doctor with most gentle words took his leave for three days.

Now when he was gone, the keeper told Bradford, that Master Doctor spake openly how that he saw no cause why they should burn him: which sentence, for the ambiguity of the meaning, made him somewhat sorry, lest he had behaved himself in any thing, wherein he had gathered any conformableness to them in their doctrine, "which, God knoweth," saith Bradford, "I never as yet did." God our Father bless us, as his children, and keep us from all evil for ever. Amen.

Another talk or conference between Master Bradford and Doctor Weston.

On the fifth day of April came Master Doctor Weston to the Compter, about two of the clock in the afternoon, who excused himself for being so long absent; partly by sickness, partly for that Dr. Pendleton told him that he would come unto him; "and partly for that," quoth he, "I withstood certain monks, which would have come again into Westminster; "telling him, moreover, how that the pope was dead. And also declared unto him, how he had spoken to the queen in his behalf, and how that death was not near to him. Last of all Weston excused himself for not answering his arguments against transubstantiation; "because my coming today," quoth he, "was more by fortune, than of purpose."

*Brad.*—"I would gladly, Master Doctor, if it please you, see your answers to my arguments."

Weston.—"Why? you have remembered something that I spake to you, when I was last with you."

*Brad.*—"No, sir, I never called them in manner to mind, since that time, as well because I hoped you would have written them; as also for that they seemed not to be so material."

Weston.—"In good faith, I cannot see any other or better way for you, than for to submit yourself to the judgment of the church."

Brad.—"Marry so will I, sir, if so be by the church you understand Christ's church."

Weston.—"Lo, you take upon you to judge the church."

Brad.—"No, sir, that I do not; in taking upon me to discern, I do not judge the church."

Weston.—"Yes, that you do; and make it invisible."

Brad.—"I do neither."

Weston.—"Why, who can see your church?"

*Brad.*—"Those, sir, that have spiritual eyes, wherewith they might have discerned Christ's visible conversation here upon earth."

*Weston.*—"Nay, Christ's church hath three tokens, that all men may look well upon; namely, unity, antiquity, and consent."

*Brad.*—"These three may be as well in evil as in good; as well in sin as in virtue; as well in the devil's church, as in God's church—as for an example; idolatry amongst the Israelites had all those three. Chrysostom telleth plainly, as you well know, that the church is well known, *tantummodo per Scripturas*, alonely by the Scriptures."

*Weston.*—"In good faith, you make your church invisible, when you will have it known alonely by the Scriptures."

*Brad.*—"No, sir, the Scriptures do plainly set forth to us the church, that all men may well enough thereby know her, if they list to look."

Weston.—"The church is like a tower or town upon a hill, that all men may see."

*Brad.*—"True, sir, all men that be not blind. Visible enough is the church, but men's blindness is great. Impute not therefore to the church, that which is to be imputed to men's blindness."

- Weston.—"Where was your church forty years ago, or where is it now, except in a corner of Germany?"
- *Brad.*—"Forsooth, sir, the church of God is dispersed, and not tied to this or that place, but to the word of God; so that where it is, there is God's church, if it be truly taught."
- *West.*—"Lo, is not this to make the church invisible? Point me out a realm a hundred years past, which maintained your doctrine."
- *Brad.*—"Sir, if you will, or would well mark the state of the church before Christ's coming, with it now, (as St. Paul and Peter willeth us,) I think you would not look for such shows of the church to be made, as to point it by realms. You know that in Elias's time, both in Israel and elsewhere, God's church was not pointable; and therefore cried he out, that he was left alone "
- *West.*—"No, marry; did not God say that there were seven thousand which had not bowed their knees to Baal? Lo then seven thousand. Show me seven thousand a hundred years ago of your religion."
- *Brad.*—"Sir, these seven thousand were not known to men: for then Elias would not have said, that he had been before left alone. And it is plain enough, by that which the text hath, namely, that God saith, *Reliqui mihi*, I have reserved to me seven thousand. Mark that it saith, God hath reserved to himself, to his own knowledge; as I doubt not but a hundred years ago God had his seven thousand in his proper places, though men knew not thereof."
- West.—"Well, Master Bradford, I will not make your case worse than for transubstantiation: although I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make you it yourself not worse. If I can do you good, I will: hurt you I will not. I am no prince, and therefore I cannot promise you life, except you will submit yourself to the definition of the church."
- *Brad.*—"Sir, so that you will define me your church, that under it you bring not in a false church, you shall not see but that we shall soon be at a point."
- West.—"In good faith, Master Bradford, I see no good will be done; and therefore I will wish you as much good as I can, and hereafter I will perchance come or send to you again."

And so he sent for Master Weal, and departed.—Now after his departing, came the keeper, Master Claydon, and Stephen Bech; and they were very hot with Bradford, and spake with him in such sort that he should not look but to have them utter enemies unto him, notwithstanding the friendship they both had hitherto pretended. God be with us, and what matter is it who be against us?

Among divers which came to Master Bradford in prison, some to dispute and confer, some to give counsel, some to take comfort, and some to visit him, there was a certain gentlewoman's servant, which gentlewoman had been cruelly afflicted, and miserably handled by

her father and mother and all her kindred, in her father's house, for not coming to the mass, and like at length to have been pursued to death, had not the Lord delivered her out, of her father's house, being put from all that ever she had. This gentlewoman's servant, therefore, being sent to Master Bradford with commendations, had this talk with him, which I thought here not to overslip.

This servant or messenger of the foresaid gentlewoman, coming to Master Bradford, and taking him by the hand, said, "God be thanked for you: how do you do?"

Master Bradford answered, "Well; I thank God. For as men in sailing, which be near to the shore or haven where they would be, would be nearer; even so the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be."

*Servant.*—"Sir, I have never seen you so strong and healthsome of body, as methinketh you be now, God be thanked for it."

"Why," quoth Bradford, "I have given over all care and study, and only do I covet to be talking with him, whom I have always studied to be withal."

Serv.—"Well, God hath done much for you since the time that I first knew you, and hath wrought wondrously in you to his glory."

*Brad.*—"Truth it is: for he hath dealt favourably with me, in that he hath not punished me according to my sins, but hath suffered me to live, that I might seek repentance."

*Serv.*—"Truly, we hear say, there is a rod made so grievous, out of the which I think no man shall pluck his head."

*Brad.*—"Well, let all that be of Christ's flock, arm themselves to suffer: for I think verily, God will not have one of his to escape untouched, if he love him; let them seek what means or ways they can."

Serv.—"Well, sir, there goeth a talk of a friar that should preach before the king, and should tell him, that he should be guilty of the innocent blood that hath been shed of late."

"Verily," quoth Bradford, "I had a book within these two days of his writing, and therein he saith, that it is not meet nor convenient that the heretics should live; and therefore I do marvel how that talk should rise: for I have heard of it also, and I have also talked with this friar (he is named friar Fonso) and with divers other; and I praise God they have confirmed me: for they have nothing to say but that which is most vain."

Serv.—"Sir, father Cardmaker hath him commended unto you."

Brad.—"How doth he? how doth he?"

Serv.—"Well, God be thanked."

*Brad.*—"I am very glad thereof: for indeed my Lord Chancellor did cast him in my teeth; but, as David saith, God hath disappointed him."

Serv.—"Forsooth (God's name be praised) he is very strong."

*Brad.*—"And, I trust, so are we. What else? our quarrel is most just: therefore let us not be afraid."

Serv.—"My mistress hath her recommended unto you."

Brad.—"How doth she?"

Serv.—"Well, God be praised, but she hath been sorer afflicted with her own father and mother, than ever you were with your imprisonment, and yet God hath preserved her, I trust, to his glory."

Brad.—"I pray you tell her, I read this day a goodly history, written by Basil the Great, of a virtuous woman which was a widow, and was named Juletta. She had great lands and many children, and nigh her dwelled a cormorant, which, for her virtuousness and godly living, had great indignation at her; and of very malice he took away her lands, so that she was constrained to go to the law with him. And, in conclusion, the matter came to the trial before the judge, who demanded of this tyrant why he wrongfully withheld these lands from this woman? He made answer and said, he might so do: 'for,' saith he, 'this woman is disobedient to the king's proceedings; for she will in no wise worship his gods, nor offer sacrifice unto them.' Then the judge, hearing that, said unto her, 'Woman, if this be true, thou art not only like to lose thy land, but also thy life, unless that thou worship our gods, and do sacrifice unto them.' This godly woman, hearing that, stept forth to the judge, and said, 'Is there no remedy but either to worship your false gods, or else to lose my lands and life? Then farewell suit, farewell lands, farewell children, farewell friends; yea, and farewell life too: and, in respect of the true honour of the ever living God, farewell all.' And with that saying did the judge commit her to prison, and afterward she suffered most cruel death. And being brought to the place of execution, she exhorted all women to be strong and constant: 'for,' saith she, 'ye were redeemed with as dear a price as men. For although ye were made of the rib of the man, yet be you all of his flesh: so that also, in the case and trial of your faith towards God, ye ought to be as strong.' And thus died she constantly, not fearing death. I pray you tell your mistress of this history."

Serv.—"That shall I, sir, by God's grace: for she told me that she was with you and Master Saunders, and received your gentle counsel."

*Brad.*—"We never gave her other counsel but the truth; and in witness thereof, we have and will seal it with our bloods. For I thought this night that I had been sent for, because at eleven of the clock there was such rapping at the door."

Then answered a maid, and said, "Why then I perceive you were afraid."

*Brad.*—"Ye shall hear how fearful I was; for I considered that I had not slept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was asleep, these men came into the next chamber and sang, as it was told me; and yet, for all my fearfulness, I heard them not: therefore belike I was not afraid, that slept so fast."

Serv.—"Do you lack any thing towards your necessity?"

Brad.—"Nothing but your prayers; and I trust I have them, and you mine."

Serv.—"I saw a priest come to you to-day in the morning."

Brad.—"Yea, he brought me a letter from a friar, and I am writing an answer."

Serv.—"Then we let you: therefore the living God be with you."

Brad.—"And with you also, and bless you."

"Amen," said he; and gave him thanks and departed.

Thus still in prison continued Bradford, until the month of July, in such labours and sufferings as he before always had sustained in prison. But when the time of his determined death was come, he was suddenly conveyed out of the Compter where he was prisoner, in the night season, to Newgate, as afore is declared; and from thence he was carried the next morning to Smithfield, where he, constantly abiding in the same truth of God which before he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent, and to return to Christ, and sweetly comforting the godly young springal of nineteen or twenty years old, which was burned with him, cheerfully he ended his painful life, to live with Christ.

Lines in memory of John Bradford, martyr.

Lament we may both day and night
For this our brother dear;
Bradford, a man, both just and right,
There were but few his peer.
For God's true servant he was known
In every city and town:
His word amongst them he hath sown
Till it was trodden down.

There was no man could him appeach Neither in word nor deed; But that he lived as he did teach, In fear of God and dread. Since that the time he did profess God's holy word most true, No riches, substance more or less, Could turn his heart anew.

From God's true word he would not slide, Though it was to his pain;
But in the truth he did abide,
All men might know it plain.
The wicked men, they did him take,
And promise him much store,
To cause him this his God forsake,
And preach the truth no more.

But he, for all that they could say, Would not his God displease; But trusted, at the judgment clay, His joy would then increase. And where they punished him therefore, Full well he did it take: He thought no pains could be so sore To suffer for Christ's sake.

Alas! the people did lament,
When that they did hear tell
That he in Smithfield should be burnt,
No more with us to dwell.
His preaching was both true and good,
His countenance meek and mild;
Alas! the shedding of his blood
Pleas'd neither man nor child:

Save only they, which had the law At that time in their hand; Which still desire more in to draw, And catch them in their band. O wicked men of little grace! Was ever the like seen So many men, in such a space, To death consumed clean?

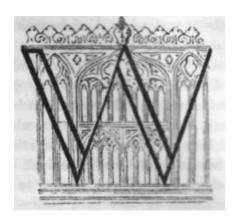
How many of you papists all Would not with speed return From your doctrine papistical, If that you knew to burn! And where you would not give him leave His mind forth for to break; All men of God will him believe, Though little he did speak.

In going to the burning fire, He talked all the way: The people then he did desire For him that they would pray. And when he came unto the place

Whereas then he should die, Full meek the fire he did embrace, And said, "Welcome to me."

A servant true of God, I say, With him that time did burn; Because in God's word he did stay, Not willing to return. But quietly were both content Their death to take truly; Which made the people's hearts to rent Their deathful pangs to see.

# 293. John Leaf, Burnt with Bradford.



ith John Bradford was burnt one John Leaf, an apprentice to Humfrey Gawdy, tallow-chandler, of the parish of Christ-Church in London, of the age of nineteen years and above, born at Kirby Moorside, in the county of York; who, upon the Friday next before Palm Sunday, was committed to the Compter in Bread Street, by an alderman of London, who had rule and charge of that ward, or part of the city, where the said Leaf did dwell. After, he, coming to examination before Bonner, gave a firm and Christian testimony of his doctrine and profession, answering to such articles as were objected to him by the said bishop.

First, as touching his belief and faith in the said sacrament of the altar, he answered, that after the words of consecration, spoken by the priest over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance; and further did hold and believe, that the said sacrament of the altar, as it is now called, used, and believed in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable; and also said further, that he believed, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest over the material bread and wine, there is not the selfsame substance of Christ's body and blood there contained; but bread and wine, as it was before: and further said, that he believed, that when the priest delivereth the said material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivereth but only material bread and wine; and the communicants do receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and spiritually, in faith, they receive Christ's body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine: and also affirmed, that he believed auricular confession not to be necessary to be made unto a priest; for it is no point of soul-health—neither that the priest hath any authority given him by the Scripture to absolve and remit any sin.

Upon these his answers, and testimony of his faith, he, at that time being dismissed, was bid the Monday next, being the tenth of June, to appear again in the said place, there and then to hear the sentence of his condemnation; who so did: at what time the foresaid bishop, propounding the said articles again to him, as before, essaying by all manner of ways to revoke him to his own trade, that is, from truth to error, notwithstanding all his persuasions, threats, and promises, found him the same man still, so planted upon the sure rock of truth, that no words nor deeds of men could remove him.

Then the bishop, after many words to and fro, at last asked him, if he had been Master Rogers's scholar? To whom the foresaid John Leaf answered again, granting him so to be, and that he the same John did believe in the doctrine of the said Rogers, and in the doctrine of Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, who of late were burned for the testimony of Christ, and that he would die in that doctrine that they died for: and after other replications again

of the bishop, moving him to return to the unity of the church, he, with a great courage of spirit, answered again in these words: "My Lord," quoth he, "you call mine opinion heresy: it is the true light of the word of God." And again, repeating the same, he professed that he would never forsake his staid and well-grounded opinion, while the breath should be in his body. Whereupon the bishop, being too weak either to refute his sentence or to remove his constancy, proceeded consequently to read the popish sentence of cruel condemnation: whereby this godly and constant young man, being committed to the secular power of the sheriffs there present, was then adjudged, and not long after suffered the same day with Master Bradford, confirming with his death that which he had spoken and professed in his life.

# 294. The Execution of Bradford and Leaf.



The execution of Bradford and Leaf

The behaviour of Master Bradford, preacher, and of the young man that suffered with him in Smithfield, named John Leaf, a prentice, who both suffered for the testimony of Christ.

First, when they came to the stake in Smithfield to be burned, Master Bradford, lying prostrate on the one side of the stake, and the young man John Leaf on the other side, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themselves the space of a minute of an hour. Then one of the sheriffs said to Master Bradford, "Arise, and make an end; for the press of the people is great."

At that word they both stood up upon their feet, and then Master Bradford took a faggot in his hand, and kissed it, and so likewise the stake. And when he had so done, he desired of the sheriffs that his servant might have his raiment; "for," said he, "I have nothing else to give him: and besides that, he is a poor man." And the sheriff said he should have it. And so forthwith Master Bradford did put off his raiment, and went to the stake: and, holding up his hands, and casting his countenance up to heaven, he said thus, "O England, England, repent thee of thy sins, repent thee of thy sins. Beware of idolatry, beware of false antichrists; take heed they do not deceive you." And as he was speaking these words, the sheriff bade tie his hands, if he would not be guiet. "O Master Sheriff," said Master Bradford, "I am guiet: God forgive you this, Master Sheriff." And one of the officers which made the fire, hearing Master Bradford so speaking to the sheriff, said, "If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and were best hold your peace." To the which words Master Bradford gave no answer; but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him; and turned his head unto the young man that suffered with him, and said, "Be of good comfort, brother; for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night:" and so spake no more words that any man did hear, but, embracing the reeds, said thus; "Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate, that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it."

And thus they both ended their mortal lives, most like two lambs, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the price of the game that they had long run at; to the which I beseech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Touching Master Woodrofe the sheriff, mention is made a little before how churlishly here he answered Master Bradford at the stake, not suffering him to speak, but commanding his hands to be tied, &c. The like extremity, or worse, he used also before to Master Rogers, whereof ye have heard before.

The said Woodrofe, sheriff, above mentioned, was joined in office with another, called Sir William Chester, for the year 1555. Between these two sheriffs such difference there was of judgment and religion, that the one (that is, Master Woodrofe) was wont commonly to laugh, the other to shed tears, at the death of Christ's people. And whereas the one was wont to restrain, and to beat the people, which were desirous to take them by the hands that should be burned: the other sheriff, contrariwise again, with much sorrow and mildness behaved himself, which I wish here to be spoken and known to the commendation of him, although I do not greatly know the party.

Furthermore, here by the way to note the severe punishment of God's hand against the said Woodrofe, as against all such cruel persecutors, so it happened, that within half a year after the burning of this blessed martyr, the said sheriff was so stricken on the right side, with such a palsy or stroke of God's hand, (whatsoever it was,) that for the space of eight years after, till his dying day, be was not able to turn himself in his bed, but as two men with a sheet were fain to stir him; and withal such an insatiable devouring came upon him, that it was monstrous to see. And thus continued he the space of eight years together.

# 295. The Letters of Master Bradford.

This godly Bradford and heavenly martyr, during the time of his imprisonment, wrote sundry comfortable treatises, and many godly letters; of which, some he wrote to the city of London, Cambridge, Walden, Lancashire, and Cheshire, and divers to his other private friends. By the which foresaid letters, to the intent it may appear how godly this man occupied his time being prisoner, what special zeal he bare to the state of Christ's church, what care he had to perform his office, how earnestly he admonished all men, how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted, how faithfully he confirmed those whom he had taught, I thought here good to place the same: and although to exhibit here all the letters that he wrote (being in number so many, that they are able to fill a book) it cannot well be compassed, yet, nevertheless, we mind to excerpt the principal of them; referring the reader for the residue to the book of Letters of the Martyrs, where they may he found.

And first, forasmuch as ye heard in the story before, how the earl of Derby complained in the parliament house, of certain letters written of John Bradford out of prison, to Lancashire, and also how he was charged both of the bishop of Winchester and of Master Allen with the same letters; to the intent the reader more perfectly may understand what letters they were, being written indeed to his mother, brethren, and sisters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation, we will begin first with the same letters; the copy, with the contents whereof, is this, as followeth

A comfortable letter of Master Bradford to his mother, a godly matron, dwelling in Manchester, and to his brethren and sisters, and other of his friends there.

"Our dear and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ—whose prisoner at this present (praised be his name there-for) I am—preserve and keep you, my good mother, with my brothers and sisters, my father, John Treves, Thomas Sorrocold, Laurence and James Bradshaw, with their wives and families, &c., now and for ever. Amen.

"I am at this present in prison, (sure enough for starting,) to confirm that I have preached unto you: as I am ready, I thank God, with my life and blood to seal the same, if God vouchsafe me worthy of that honour. For, good mother and brethren, it is a most special benefit of God, to suffer for his name's sake and gospel, as now I do: I heartily thank God for it, and am sure that with him I shall be partaker of his glory; as Paul saith, If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him. Therefore be not faint-hearted, but rather rejoice, at the least for my sake, which now am in the right and high way to heaven: for by many afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. Now will God make known his children. When the wind doth not blow, then cannot a man know the wheat from the chaff; but when the blast cometh, then flieth away the chaff, but the wheat remaineth, and is so far from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleansed from the chaff, and known to be wheat. Gold, when it is cast into the fire, is the more precious: so are God's children by the cross of affliction. Always God beginneth his judgment at his house. Christ and the apostles were in most misery in the land of Jewry, but yet the whole land smarted for it

after; so now God's children are first chastised in this world, that they should not be damned with the world; for surely, great plagues of God hang over this realm.

"Ye all know there was never more knowledge of God, and less godly living, and true serving of God. It was counted a foolish thing to serve God truly, and earnest prayer was not past upon. Preaching was but a pastime. The communion was counted too common. Fasting to subdue the flesh, was far out of use. Alms was almost nothing. Malice, covetousness, and uncleanness, were common every where, with swearing, drunkenness, and idleness. God therefore now is come, as you have heard me preach, and because he will not damn us with the world, he beginneth to punish us—as me for my carnal living. For, as for my preaching, I am most certain it is and was God's truth, and I trust to give my life for it, by God's grace: but because I lived not the gospel truly, but outwardly, therefore doth he thus punish me; nay, rather in punishing blesseth me. And indeed I thank him more of this prison, than of any parlour, yea, than of any pleasure that ever I had: for in it I find God my most sweet good God always. The flesh is punished, first, to admonish us now heartily to live as we profess; secondly, to certify the wicked of their just damnation, if they repent not.

"Perchance you are weakened in that which I have preached, because God doth not defend it, as you think, but suffereth the popish doctrine to come again and prevail: but you must know, good mother, that God by this doth prove and try his children and people, whether they will unfeignedly and simply hang on him and his word. So did he with the Israelites, bringing them into a desert, after their coming out of Egypt, where (I mean the wilderness) was want of all things, in comparison of that which they had in Egypt. Christ, when he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth nor quietness with him, but rather war: The world, saith he, shall rejoice, but ye shall mourn and weep; but your weeping shall be turned into joy. And therefore happy are they that mourn and weep, for they shall be comforted. They are marked then with God's mark in their foreheads, and not with the beast's mark—I mean the pope's shaven crown, who now, with his shavelings, rejoice: but woe unto them, for they shall be cast down! they shall weep and mourn. The rich glutton had here his joy, and Lazarus sorrow; but afterwards the time was changed. The end of carnal joy is sorrow. Now let the whoremonger joy with the drunkard, swearer, covetous, malicious, and blind buzzard, Sir John: for the mass will not bite them, neither make them to blush, as preaching would. Now may they do what they will,—come devils to the church, and go devils home—for no man must find fault: and they are glad of this. Now they have their heart's desire, as the Sodomites had when Lot was gone. But what followed! Forsooth when they cried, 'Peace; all shall be well!' then came God's vengeance, fire and brimstone from heaven, and burnt up every mother's child: even so, dear mother, will it do to our papists.

"Wherefore fear God; stick to his word though all the world swerve from it. Die you must once; and when, or how, can you not tell. Die therefore with Christ; suffer for serving him truly and after his word: for sure may we be, that of all deaths it is most to be desired to die for God's sake. This is the most safe kind of dying: we cannot doubt but that we shall go to heaven, if we die for his name's sake. And that you shall die for his name's sake, God's word will warrant you, if you stick to that which God by me hath taught you. You shall see that I speak as I think; for, by God's grace, I will drink before you of this cup, if I be put to it.

"I doubt not but God will give me his grace, and strengthen me thereunto: pray that he would, and that I refuse it not. I am at a point, even when my Lord God will, to come to him. Death nor life, prison nor pleasure, (I trust in God,) shall be able to separate me from my Lord God and his gospel. In peace, when no persecution was, then were you content and glad to hear me; then did you believe me: and will ye not do so now, seeing I speak that which I trust by God's grace, if need be, to verify with my life? Good mother, I write before God to you, as I have preached before him.

"It is God's truth I have taught: it is that same infallible word whereof he said, Heaven and earth shall pass, but my word shall not pass. The mass, and such baggage as the false worshippers of God and enemies of Christ's cross (the papists I say) have brought in again, to poison the church of God withal, displeaseth God highly, and is abominable in his sight. Happy may be he which of conscience suffereth loss of life or goods in disallowing it! Come not at it. If God be God, follow him: if the mass be God, let them that will, see it, hear, or be present at it, and go to the devil with it. What is there as God ordained? His supper was ordained to be received of us in the memorial of his death, for the confirmation of our faith, that his body was broken for us, and his blood shed for pardon of our sins: but in the mass there is no receiving, but the priest keepeth all to himself alone. Christ saith, take, eat: No, saith the priest, Gape, peep.' There is a sacrificing, yea, killing of Christ again as much as they may. There is idolatry in worshipping the outward sign of bread and wine. There is all in Latin: you cannot tell what he saith. To conclude, there is nothing as God ordained. Wherefore, my good mother, come not at it.

"'Oh,' will some say, 'it will hinder you, if you refuse to come to mass, and to do as other do.' But God will further you, (be you assured,) as you shall one day find; who hath promised to them that suffer hinderance or loss of any thing in this world, his great blessing here, and, in the world to come, life everlasting.

"You shall be counted a heretic: but not of others than of heretics, whose praise is a dispraise. You are not able to reason against the priests, but God will that all they shall not be able to withstand you. Nobody will do so but you only. Indeed no matter, for few enter into the narrow gate which bringeth to salvation. Howbeit, you shall have with you (I doubt not) father Traves, and other my brothers and sisters to go with you therein: but, if they will not, I your son in God, I trust, shall not leave you an inch, but go before you. Pray that I may, and give thanks for me. Rejoice in my suffering, for it is for your sakes, to confirm the truth I have taught. Howsoever you do, beware this letter come not abroad, but into father Traves' hands: for, if it should be known that I have pen and ink in the prison, then would it be worse with me. Therefore to yourselves keep this letter, commending me to God and his mercy in Christ Jesus, who make me worthy for his name's sake, to give my life for his gospel and church' sake.—Out of the Tower of London, the sixth day of October, 1553.

"My name I write not for causes, you know it well enough: like the letter never the worse. Commend me to all our good brethren and sisters in the Lord. Howsoever you do, be obedient to the higher powers, that is, in no point either in hand or tongue rebel; but rather, if they command that which with good conscience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and suffer whatsoever they shall do or say. By patience possess your souls."

After the time that Master Bradford was condemned, and sent to the Compter, it was purposed of his adversaries (as ye heard before) that he should be had to Manchester, where he was born, and there be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the city of London, thinking to take his last *vale* of them in this letter.

## A fruitful letter to the city of London.

"To all that profess the gospel and true doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the city of London, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in prison, but also excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine, wisheth mercy, grace, and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and piety from God the Father of mercy, through the merits of our alone and omni-sufficient Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

My dearly beloved brethren in our Saviour Christ! although the time I have to live is very little, (for hourly I look when I should be had hence, to be conveyed into Lancashire, there to be burned, and to render my life, by the providence of God, where I first received it by the same providence,) and although the charge is great to keep me from all things whereby I might signify any thing to the world of my state; yet having, as now I have, pen and ink, through God's working, maugre the head of Satan and his soldiers, I thought good to write a short confession of my faith, and thereto join a little exhortation unto you all, to live according to your profession.

"First, for my faith, I do confess, and pray all the whole congregation of Christ to bear witness with me of the same, that I believe constantly, through the gift and goodness of God, (for faith is God's only gift,) all the twelve articles of the symbol or creed, commonly attributed to the collection of the apostles. This my faith I would gladly particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the simple; but, alas! by starts and stealth I write in manner that I write, and therefore I shall desire you all to take this brevity in good part. And this faith I hold, not because of the creed itself, but because of the word of God, the which teacheth and confirmeth every article accordingly. This word of God, written by the prophets and apostles, left and contained in the canonical books of the whole Bible, I do believe to contain plentifully all things necessary to salvation, so that nothing (as necessary to salvation) ought to be added thereto; and therefore the church of Christ, nor none of his congregation, ought to be burdened with any other doctrine, than what, hereout, hath its foundation and ground. In testimony of this faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general and supreme head of his catholic and universal church here or elsewhere upon earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation, and Christ's real, corporal, and carnal presence in his supper, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine

"To believe Christ our Saviour to be the Head of his church, and kings in their realms to be the supreme powers, to whom every soul oweth obedience, and to believe that in the supper of Christ (which the sacrament of the altar, as the papists call it, and use it, doth utterly overthrow) is a true and very presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver, but not to the stander-by and looker-upon, as it is a true and very presence of bread and wine to the senses of men: to believe this, I say, will not serve, and therefore as a heretic I am condemned, and shall

be burned; whereof I ask God heartily mercy that I do no more rejoice than I do, having so great cause, as to be an instrument wherein it may please my dear Lord God and Saviour to suffer.

"For albeit my manifold sins, even since I came into prison, have deserved at the hands of God, not only this temporal, but also eternal fire in hell, much more then my former sinful life, which the Lord pardon for his Christ's sake, as I know he of his mercy hath done, and never will lay mine iniquities to my charge, to condemnation, so great is his goodness (praised therefore be his holy name): although, I say, my manifold and grievous late sins have deserved most justly all the tyranny that man or devil can do unto me; and therefore I confess that the Lord is just, and that his judgments be true and deserved on my behalf; yet the bishops and prelates do not persecute them in me, but Christ himself, his word, his truth, and religion. And therefore I have great cause, yea, most great cause, to rejoice that ever I was born, and hitherto kept of the Lord; that by my death, which is deserved for my sins, it pleaseth the heavenly Father to glorify his name, to testify his truth, to confirm his verity, to repugn his adversaries. O good God and merciful Father, forgive my great unthankfulness, especially herein!

"And you, my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I humbly and heartily, in his bowels and blood, do now (for my last vale and farewell in this present life) beseech you, and every of you, that you will consider this work of the Lord accordingly. First, by me be admonished to beware of hypocrisy and carnal security: profess not the gospel with tongue and lips only, but in heart and verity: frame and fashion your lives accordingly: beware God's name be not evil spoken of, and the gospel less regarded by your conversation. God forgive me that I have not so heartily professed it as I should have done, but have sought much myself therein. The gospel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine; and therefore cannot be put in old bottles, without more great hurt than good to the bottles. If we will talk with the Lord, we must put off our shoes and carnal affections: if we will hear the voice of the Lord, we must wash our garments and be holy: if we will be Christ's disciples, we must deny ourselves, take up our cross and follow Christ. We cannot serve two masters. If we seek Christ's kingdom, we must seek also for the righteousness thereof. To this petition, Let thy kingdom come, we must join, Thy will be done, done on earth as it is in heaven. If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers of it only, we sore deceive ourselves: if we hear the gospel, and love it not, we declare ourselves to be but fools, and builders upon the sand. The Lord's Spirit hateth feigning; deceitfulness the Lord abhorreth; if we come to him, we must beware that we come not with a double heart; for then may chance that God will answer us according to the block which is in our heart, and so we shall deceive ourselves and others.

"To faith see that we couple a good conscience, lest we make a shipwreck. To the Lord we must come with fear and reverence. If we will be gospellers, we must be Christ's; if we be Christ's, we must crucify our flesh with the lusts and concupiscences thereof; if we will be under grace, sin must not bear rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw nigh to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elsewhere, lest the Lord's wrath wax hot, and he take from us the good remaining. In no case can the kingdom of Christ approach to them that repent not. Therefore, my dearly beloved, let us repent, and be heartily sorry that we have so carnally, so hypocritically, so covetously, so vaingloriously, professed the gospel. For all these I confess myself, to the glory of God, that he may cover mine offences in the day of judgment. Let the anger and plagues of God (most justly fallen upon us) be applied to every one of our deserts; that, from the bottom of our

hearts, every one of us may say, It is I, Lord, that have sinned against thee: it is my hypocrisy, my vain-glory, my covetousness, uncleanness, carnality, security, idleness, unthankfulness, self-love, and such like, which have deserved the taking away of our good king; of thy word and true religion; of thy good ministers by exile, imprisonment, and death; it is my wickedness that causeth success and increase of authority and peace to thine enemies. O be merciful, be merciful unto us! Turn to us again, O Lord of hosts, and turn us unto thee: correct us, but not in thy fury, lest we be consumed in thine anger: chastise us not in thy wrathful displeasure: reprove us not, but in the midst of thine anger remember thy mercy! For if thou mark what is done amiss, who shall be able to abide it? but with thee is mercifulness, that thou mightest be worshipped. O then be merciful unto us, that we might truly worship thee! Help us for the glory of thy name: be merciful unto our sins, for they are great. O heal us and help us, for thine honour. Let not the wicked people say, Where is their God? &c.

"On this sort, my right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our sins; repent us of our former evil life; heartily and earnestly purpose to amend our lives in all things; continually watch in prayer; diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the Holy Scriptures; labour after our vocation to amend our brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkness: let us fly from all idolatry: let us abhor the antichristian and Romish rotten service; detest the popish mass; abrenounce their Romish god; prepare ourselves to the cross; be obedient to all that are in authority in all things that be not against God and his word,—for then, answer with the apostles, It is more meet to obey God than man. Howbeit, never for any thing resist or rise against the magistrates. Avenge not yourselves, but commit your cause to the Lord, to whom vengeance pertaineth; and he, in his time, will reward it. If you feel in yourselves a hope and trust in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to bear, be assured the Lord will be true to you, and you shall be able to bear all brunts: but, if you want this hope, fly, and get you hence, rather than, by your tarrying, God's name should be dishonoured.

"In sum, cast your care on the Lord, knowing for most certain, that he is careful for you. With him all the hairs of your head are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish without his good pleasure and will; much more then, nothing shall happen to your bodies, which shall not be profitable, howsoever for a time it seem otherwise to your senses. Hang on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but also when you have no means,—yea, when all means be against you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he most chiefly requireth at your hands; namely, believe that you are his children through Christ, that he is your Father and God through him, that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences, that he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When you fall, he will put under his hand; you shall not lie still. Before you call upon him, he heareth you; out of evil he will finally bring you, and deliver you to his eternal joy. Doubt not, my dearly beloved, hereof; doubt not, I say, this will God your Father do for you—not in respect of yourselves, but in respect of Christ, your Captain, your Pastor, your Keeper, out of whose hands none shall be able to catch you—in him be quiet, and often consider your dignity; namely, how that ye be God's children, the saints of God, citizens of heaven, temples of the Holy Ghost, the thrones of God, members of Christ, and lords over all

"Therefore be ashamed to think, speak, or do any thing that should be unseemly for God's children, God's saints, Christ's members, &c. Marvel not, though the devil and the world hate

you—though ye be persecuted here—for the servant is not above his master. Covet not earthly riches; fear not the power of man; love not this world, nor things that be in this world; but long for the Lord Jesus's coming, at which time your bodies shall be made like unto his glorious body; when he appeareth you shall be like unto him; when your life shall thus be revealed, then shall ye appear with him in glory.

"In the mean season live in hope thereof. Let the life you lead, be in the faith of the Son of God; For the just doth live by faith: which faith flieth from all evil, and followeth the word of God, as a lantern to her feet, and a light to her steps. Her eyes be above, where Christ is; she beholdeth not the things present, but rather things to come; she glorieth in affliction; she knoweth that the afflictions of this life are not like to be compared to the glory which God will reveal to us, and in us. of this glory God grant us here a lively taste; then shall we run after the scent it sendeth forth! It will make us valiant men, to take to us the kingdom of God; whither the Lord of mercy bring us in his good time through Christ our Lord—to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

"My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught here unto you: but that, my country must have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards every of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offensive and negligent behaviour when I was amongst you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught unto you by preaching in all places where I have come; God's name therefore be praised. Confess Christ when you be called, whatsoever cometh thereof; and the God of peace be with us all. Amen.

—This eleventh of February, 1555.
"Your brother in bonds for the Lord's sake, JOAN BRADFORD."

A letter to the university and town of Cambridge.

"To all that love the Lord Jesus and his true doctrine, being in the university and town of Cambridge, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only prisoned, but also condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all godliness from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

"Although I look hourly when I should be had to the stake, my right dearly beloved in the Lord, and although the charge over me is great and strait, yet, having by the providence of God secretly pen and ink, I could not but something signify unto you my solicitude which I have for you and every of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth (specially in this matter wherein I am condemned) disputed and preached, that it is needless to do any more, but only to put you in remembrance of the same: but hitherto have you not heard it confirmed, and as it were sealed up, as now you do and shall hear by me; that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I have deserved (through my uncleanness, hypocrisy, avarice, vain-glory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, whereof I accuse myself, to my confusion before the world, that before God through Christ I might, as my assured hope is I shall,

find mercy) eternal death, and hell fire, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me; yet, my dearly beloved, it is not these, or any of these things, wherefore the prelates do persecute me, but God's verity and truth; yea, even Christ himself is the only cause and thing wherefore I am now condemned, and shall be burned as a heretic, because I will not grant the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general and supreme head of his church here, and every where upon earth, by God's ordinance; and because I will not grant such corporal, real, and carnal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, as doth transubstantiate the substance of bread and wine, and is received of the wicked, yea, of dogs and mice. Also I am excommunicated, and counted as a dead member of Christ's church, as a rotten branch, and therefore shall be cast into the fire.

"Therefore ye ought heartily to rejoice with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchsafed our mother to bring up any child in whom it would please him to magnify his holy name as he doth, and I hope, for his mercy and truth's sake, will do in me, and by me. Oh, what such benefit upon earth can it be, as that I, which deserved death by reason of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of God's verity and truth? Thou, my mother the university, hast not only had the truth of God's word plainly manifested unto thee by reading, disputing, and preaching publicly and privately; but now, to make thee altogether excuseless, and as it were almost to sin against the Holy Ghost, if thou put to thy helping hand with the Romish rout to suppress the verity, and set out the contrary, thou hast my life and blood as a seal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed; or else to confound thee, and bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and clergy, which now fill up the measure of their fathers which slew the prophets and apostles, that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon the earth, may be required at their hands.

"of this, therefore, I thought good before my death, as time and liberty would suffer me, (for love and duty I bear unto thee,) to admonish thee, good mother, and my sister the town, that you would call to mind from whence you are fallen, and study to do the first works. You know (if you will) these matters of the Romish supremacy, and the antichristian transubstantiation, whereby Christ's supper is overthrown, his priesthood evacuate, his sacrifice frustrate, the ministry of his word unplaced, repentance repelled, faith fainted, godliness extinguished, the mass maintained, idolatry supported, and all impiety cherished: you know, I say, (if you will,) that these opinions are not only beside God's word, but even directly against it; and therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

Therefore, for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and blood I beseech you, to take Christ's collyrium and eye-salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see what you do and have done in admitting (as I hear you have admitted, yea, alas, authorized, and by consent confirmed) the Romish rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not the dog returned to his own vomit. Be not the sow that was washed, returned to her wallowing in the mire. Beware lest that Satan enter in with seven other spirits, and then *postrema* shall be worse than the first. It had been better ye had never known the truth, than after knowledge to run from it. Ah! woe to this world and the things therein, which have now so wrought with you! O that ever this dirt of the devil should daub up the eye of the realm! for thou, O mother, art as the eye of the realm. If thou be light, and give shine, all the body shall fare the better; but if thou the light be darkness, alas,

how great will the darkness be! What is man whose breath is in his nostrils, that thou shouldest thus be afraid of him?

"O what is honour and life here? Bubbles. What is glory in this world, but shame? Why art thou afraid to carry Christ's cross? Wilt thou come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup? Dost thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Dost thou not know that as the old Babylon had the children of Judah in captivity, so hath this Rome the true Judah; that is, the confessors of Christ? Dost thou not know that as destruction happened unto it, so shall it do unto this? And trowest thou that God will not deliver his people now, when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his people to come out from her, and wilt thou give ensample to the whole realm to run unto her? Hast thou forgotten the woe that Christ threateneth to offence-givers? Wilt thou not remember that it were better that a millstone were hanged about thy neck, and thou thrown into the sea, than thou shouldest offend the little ones?

"And alas, how hast thou offended! yea, and how dost thou still offend! Wilt thou consider things according to the outward show? Was not the synagogue more seemly and like to be the true church, than the simple flock of Christ's disciples? Hath not the whore of Babylon more costly array, and rich apparel externally to set forth herself, than the homely housewife of Christ? Where is the beauty of the king's daughter the church of Christ—without or within? Doth not David say, within? O remember that as they are happy which are not offended at Christ, so are they happy which are not offended at his poor church. Can the pope and his prelates mean honestly, which make so much of the wife, and so little of the Husband? The church they magnify, but Christ they contemn. If this church were an honest woman, (that is, Christ's wife,) except they would make much of her Husband, Christ, and his word, she would not be made much of them.

"When Christ and his apostles were upon earth, who was more like to be the true church? they, or the prelates, bishops, and synagogue? If a man should have followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the more part, should not Christ and his company have been cast out of the doors? Therefore bade Christ, Search the Scriptures. And, good mother, shall the servant be above his master? Shall we look for other entertainment at the hands of the world, than Christ and his dear disciples found? Who were taken in Noah's time for the church; poor Noah and his family, or others? Who was taken for God's church in Sodom; Lot, or others?

And doth not Christ say, As it was then, so shall it go now towards the coming of the Son of man? What meaneth Christ when he saith, Iniquity shall have the upper hand? Doth not he tell that charity shall wax cold? And who seeth not a wonderful great lack of charity in those, which would now be taken for Christ's church? All that fear God in this realm truly, can tell more of this than I can write

"Therefore, dear mother, receive some admonition of one of thy poor children, now going to be burned for the testimony of Jesus. Come again to God's truth; come out of Babylon; confess Christ and his true doctrine; repent that which is past; make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the readings and preachings of God's prophet, the true preacher, Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God, now something seen by thy children Leaver and others. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horn, Scory,

Ponet, &c., something awake thee. Let the imprisonment of thy dear sons, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, move thee. Consider the martyrdom of thy chickens, Rogers, Saunders, Taylor. And now cast not away the poor admonition of me, going to be burned also, and to receive the like crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. Be not as Pharaoh was: for then will it happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? Hardness of heart. And what then? Destruction eternally, both of body and soul. Ah, therefore, good mother! awake, awake; repent, repent; buskle thyself, and make haste to turn to the Lord: for else it shall be more easy for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for thee. O harden not your hearts. O stop not your ears today in hearing God's voice, though it be by me, a most unworthy messenger. O fear the Lord; for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree.

"You know I prophesied truly to you before the Sweat came, what would come, if you repented not your carnal gospelling. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both town and university, if you repent not; if you leave not your idolatry; if you turn not speedily to the Lord; if you still be ashamed of Christ's truth, which you know.

"O Perne, repent! O Thompson, repent! O you doctors, bachelors, and masters, repent! O mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers, repent, repent, repent, that you may escape the near vengeance of the Lord! Rend your hearts, and come apace, calling on the Lord. Let us all say, *peccavimus*, we have all sinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord! Deal not with us after our deserts, but be merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. O pardon us our offences! In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hosts, for the glory of thy name's sake. Spare us, and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked people say, Where is now their God? O for thine own sake, for thy name's sake, deal mercifully with us. Turn thyself unto us, and us unto thee, and we shall praise thy name for ever.

"If in this sort, my dearly beloved, in heart and mouth we come unto our Father, and prostrate ourselves before the throne of his grace, then surely, surely we shall find mercy. Then shall the Lord look merrily upon us, for his mercy's sake in Christ: then shall we hear him speak peace unto his people; for he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion: he cannot be chiding for ever: his anger cannot last long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we shall have our sorrow to cease; for he is exorable, and hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner: he rather would our conversion and turning.

"O turn ye now and convert yet once again, I humbly beseech you, and then the kingdom of heaven shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive the joys prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if ye repent not, but be as you were, and go on forwards with the wicked, following the fashion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers: you shall perish in your wickedness; your blood will be upon your own heads; your parts shall be with hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; ye shall be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever: eternal shame, sorrow, woe, and misery, shall be both in body and soul to you, world without end. Oh, therefore, right dear to me in the Lord! turn you, turn you; repent you, repent you; amend, amend your lives; depart from evil; do good; follow peace and pursue it. Come out from Babylon; cast off the works of darkness; put on Christ; confess his truth; be not ashamed of

his gospel; prepare yourselves to the cross; drink of God's cup before it come to the dregs; and then shall I, with you and for you, rejoice in the day of judgment, which is at hand; and therefore prepare yourselves thereto, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my vale in æternum, with you in this present life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meetingin his kingdom: Amen, Amen.—Out of prison the eleventh of February, Anno 1555.

"Your own in the Lord for ever, JOHN BRADFORD."

A letter to Lancashire and Cheshire, and specially to Manchester.

"To all those that profess the name and true religion of our Saviour Christ in Lancashire and Cheshire, and specially abiding in Manchester and thereabout—John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in bonds, but also condemned for the same true religion, wisheth mercy and grace, peace and increase of all godliness, from God the Father of all pity, through the deserts of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit the Comforter, for ever. Amen.

"I heard it reported credibly, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my heavenly Father hath thought it good to provide, that as I have preached his true doctrine and gospel amongst you by word, so I shall testify and confirm the same by deed: that is, I shall with you leave my life, which by his providence I first received there, (for in Manchester was I born,) for a seal to the doctrine I have taught with you, and amongst you: so that if from henceforth you waver in the same, you have none excuse at all. I know the enemies of Christ, which exercise this cruelty upon me, (I speak in respect of mine offence, which is none to them-wards,) think, by killing of me amongst you, to affray you and others, lest they should attempt to teach Christ truly, or believe his doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my heavenly Father will, by my death, more confirm you in his truth for ever. And therefore I greatly rejoice to see Satan and his soldiers supplanted in their own sapience, which is plain foolishness amongst the wise indeed; that is, amongst such as have heard God's word, and do follow it: for they only are counted wise of the wisdom of God our Saviour.

"Indeed if I should simply consider my life with that which it ought to have been, and as God in his law requireth, then could I not but cry as I do, Righteous art thou, O Lord, and all thy judgments are true. For I have much grieved thee, and transgressed thy holy precepts, not only before my professing the gospel, but since also: yea, even since my coming into prison I do not excuse, but accuse myself before God and all his church, that I have grievously offended my Lord God; I have not loved his gospel as I should have done; I have sought myself, and not simply and only his glory and my brethren's commodity; I have been too unthankful, secure, carnal, hypocritical, vain-glorious, &c.: all which my evils, the Lord of mercy pardon me for his Christ's sake, as I hope, and certainly believe, he hath done for his great mercy in Christ our Redeemer.

"But when I consider the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I do no more rejoice than I do: for it is God's verity and truth; so that the condemnation is not a condemnation of Bradford simply, but rather a condemnation of Christ and of his truth. Bradford

is nothing else but an instrument, in whom Christ and his doctrine are condemned. And therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice; rejoice and give thanks with me and for me, that ever God did vouchsafe so great a benefit to our country, as to choose the most unworthy (I mean myself) to be one, in whom it would please him to suffer any kind of affliction: much more this violent kind of death, which I perceive is prepared for me with you, for his sake. All glory and praise be given unto God our Father, for his great and exceeding mercy towards me, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"But perchance you will say unto me, 'What is the cause for the which you are condemned? We hear say, that ye deny all presence of Christ in his holy supper, and so make it a bare sign and common bread, and nothing else.' My dearly beloved, what is said of me, and what will be, I cannot tell. It is told me that Pendleton is gone down to preach with you, not as he once recanted, (for you all know how he hath preached contrary to that he was wont to preach afore I came amongst you,) but to recant that which he hath recanted. How he will speak of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am burned, I much pass not: for he that is so uncertain, and will speak so often against himself, I cannot think he will speak well of me, except it make for his purpose and profit: but of this enough.

"Indeed the chief thing which I am condemned for, as a heretic, is because I deny in the sacrament of the altar (which is not Christ's supper, but a plain perverting of it, being used as the papists now use it) to be a real, natural, and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine; that is, because I deny transubstantiation, which is the darling of the devil, and daughter and heir to antichrist's religion, whereby the mass is maintained, Christ's supper perverted, his sacrifice and cross imperfected, his priesthood destroyed, the ministry taken away, repentance repelled, and all true godliness abandoned. In the supper of our Lord, or sacrament of Christ's body and blood, I confess and believe that there is a true and very presence of the whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver, (but not of the stander-by and looker-on,) as there is a very true presence of bread and wine to the senses of him that is partaker thereof. This faith, this doctrine, which consenteth with the word of God, and with the true testimony of Christ's church, (which the popish church doth persecute,) will I not forsake, and therefore I am condemned as a heretic, and shall be burned. But, my dearly beloved, this truth (which I have taught, and you have received, I believed, and do believe, and therein give my life) I hope in God shall never be burned, bound, nor overcome; but shall triumph, have victory, and be at liberty, maugre the head of all God's adversaries. For there is no counsel against the Lord, nor can any device of man be able to defeat the verity in any other than such as be children of unbelief, which have no love to the truth, and therefore are given up to believe lies: from which plague the Lord of mercy deliver you and all the realm, my dear hearts in the Lord, I humbly beseech his mercy: Amen.

"And to the end you might be delivered from this plague—right dear to me in the Lord—I shall, for my farewell with you for ever in this present life, heartily desire you all, in the bowels and blood of our most merciful Saviour Jesus Christ, to attend unto these things which I now shall shortly write unto you out of the holy Scriptures of the Lord.

"You know a heavy plague (or rather plagues) of God is fallen upon us, in taking away our good king and true religion, God's true prophets and ministers, &c.; and setting over us such

as seek not the Lord after knowledge: whose endeavours God prospereth wonderfully to the trial of many, that his people may both better know themselves, and be known. Now the cause hereof is our iniquities and grievous sins. We did not know the time of our visitation: we were unthankful unto God: we contemned the gospel, and carnally abused it, to serve our hypocrisy, our vain-glory, our viciousness, avarice, idleness, security, &c. Long did the Lord linger and tarry to have showed mercy upon us, but we were ever the longer the worse. Therefore most justly hath God dealt with us, and dealeth with us: yea, yet we may see that his justice is tempered with much mercy, whereto let us attribute that we are not utterly consumed: for if the Lord should deal with us after our deserts, alas! bow could we abide it? In his anger therefore, seeing he doth remember his mercy undeserved, (yea, undesired on our behalf,) let us take occasion the more speedily to go out to meet him, not with force of arms, (for we are not so able to withstand him, much less to prevail against him,) but to beseech him to be merciful unto us, and, according to his wonted mercy, to deal with us.

"Let us arise with David, and say, Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for in thy sight no flesh living shall be justified. Let us send ambassadors with the centurion, and say, Lord, we are not worthy to come ourselves unto thee; speak the word, and we shall have peace. Let us penitently, with the publican, look down on the earth, knock our hard hearts to burst them, and cry out, O God, be merciful unto us wretched sinners. Let us, with the lost son, return and say, O Father, we have sinned against heaven and earth, and before thee, we are unworthy to be called thy children. Let us, I say, do on this sort; that is, heartily repent us of our former evil life, and unthankful gospelling past, convert and turn to God with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercy through Christ, and heartily calling upon his holy name; and then, undoubtedly, we shall find and feel otherwise than yet we feel, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we shall feel peace of conscience between God and us, which peace passeth all understanding; and outwardly we shall feel much mitigation of these miseries, if not an utter taking of them away.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, I, your poorest brother now departing to the Lord, for my *vale in æternum* for this present life, pray you, beseech you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, for all the mercies of God in Christ showed unto you, most earnestly beg and crave of you out of prison, (as often out of your pulpits I have done,) that you will repent you, leave your wicked and evil life, be sorry for your offences, and turn to the Lord; whose arms are wide open to receive and embrace you, whose stretched-out hand to strike to death stayeth, that he may show mercy upon you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comfort; he will not the death of a sinner, but rather that ye should return, convert, and amend. He hath no pleasure in the destruction of men; his long-suffering draweth to repentance before the time of vengeance and the day of wrath, which is at hand, doth come.

"Now is the axe laid to the root of the tree, utterly to destroy the impenitent. Now is the fire gone out before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? Oh! therefore repent you, repent you. It is enough to have lived as we have done: it is enough to have played the wanton gospellers, the proud protestants, hypocritical and false Christians; as, alas, we have done. Now the Lord speaketh to us in mercy and grace: oh! turn before he speaketh in wrath. Yet is there mercy with the Lord, and plenteous redemption: yet he hath not forgotten to show mercy to them that call upon him. Oh! then call upon him while he may be found; for he is rich in mercy, and

plentiful to all them that call upon him. So that he that calleth on the name of the Lord, shall be saved. If your sins be as red as scarlet, the Lord saith, he will make them as white as snow. He hath sworn, and never will repent him thereof, that he will never remember our iniquities: but as he is good, faithful, and true, so will he be our God, and we shall be his people; his law will he write in our hearts, and ingraft in our minds, and never will he have in mind our unrighteousness.

"Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn you to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Saviour, to the Lord your Comforter. Oh! why do you stop your ears and harden your hearts to-day, when you hear his voice by me your poorest brother? Oh! forget not how that the Lord hath showed himself true, and me his true preacher, by bringing to pass these plagues, which at my mouth you oft heard before they came to pass: specially when I treated of Noah's flood, and when I preached of the twenty-second chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, on St. Stephen's day, the last time that I was with you. And now, by me the Lord sendeth you word, dear countrymen, that if you will go on forward in your impenitency, carnality, hypocrisy, idolatry, covetousness, swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, &c. (wherewith, alas! alas! our country floweth); if (I say) you will not turn and leave off, seeing me now burned amongst you, to assure you on all sides how God seeketh you, and is sorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to destroy you, to take vengeance upon you; oh! your blood will be upon your own heads: you have been warned, and warned again, by me in preaching, by me in burning.

"As I said therefore, I say again, my dear hearts and dearlings in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you; cease from doing evil, study to do well, away with idolatry, flee the Romish god and service, leave off from swearing, cut off carnality, abandon avarice, drive away drunkenness; fly from fornication and flattery, murder and malice; destroy deceitfulness, and cast away all the works of darkness. Put on pity and godliness; serve God after his word, and not after custom; use your tongues to glorify God by prayer, thanksgiving, and confession of his truth, &c. Be spiritual, and by the Spirit mortify carnal affections; be sober, holy, true, loving, gentle, merciful, and then shall the Lord's wrath cease, not for this our doing's sake, but for his mercy's sake. Go to, therefore, good countrymen, take this counsel of the Lord, by me now sent unto you, as the Lord's counsel, and not as mine, that in the day of judgment I may rejoice with you, and for you; the which thing I heartily desire, and not to be a witness against you. My blood will cry for vengeance, as against the papists, God's enemies, (whom I beseech God, if it be his will, heartily to forgive, yea, even them which put me to death and are the causers thereof; for they know not what they do,) so will my blood cry for vengeance against you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, if ye repent not, amend not, and turn not unto the Lord.

"Turn unto the Lord yet once more, I heartily beseech thee, thou Manchester, thou Ashton-under-Line, thou Bolton, Bury, Wigan, Liverpool, Mottram, Stockport, Winsley, Eccles, Preston, Middleton, Radcliff, and thou city of Westchester, where I have truly taught and preached the word of God. Turn, I say unto you all, and to all the inhabitants thereabouts, unto the Lord our God, and he will turn unto you; he will say unto his angel, It is enough, put up the sword. The which thing that he will do, I humbly beseech his goodness, for the precious blood's sake of his dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Ah, good brethren! take in good part these my last words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and negligences in behaviour amongst you. The Lord of mercy pardon us all our offences, for our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake: Amen.

"Out of prison ready to come to you, the eleventh of February, Anno 1555."

## To the town of Walden.

"To the faithful, and such as profess the true doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, dwelling at Walden and thereabouts, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now in bands and condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace, mercy, and peace, with the increase of all godliness in knowledge and living, from God the Father of all comfort, through the deserts of our alone and full Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the mighty working of the most Holy Spirit the Comforter, for ever. Amen.

"When I remember how that by the providence and grace of God I have been a man, by whom it hath pleased him through my ministry to call you to repentance and amendment of life, something effectually, as it seemed, and to sow amongst you his true doctrine and religion, lest that by my affliction, and storms now arisen to try the faithful, and to conform them like to the image of the Son of God, into whose company we are called, you might be faint-hearted; I could not but, out of prison secretly, (for my keepers may not know that I have pen and ink,) write unto you a signification of the desire I have, that you should not only be more confirmed in the doctrine I have taught amongst you, which (I take on my death, as I shall answer at the day of doom) I am persuaded to be God's assured, infallible, and plain truth: but also should, after your vocation, avow the same by confession, profession, and living. I have not taught you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, fables, tales, or untruths; but I have taught you the verity, as now by my blood, gladly (praised be God there-for) I do seal the same.

"Indeed, to confess the truth unto you, and to all the church of Christ, I do not think of myself, but that I have most justly deserved, not only this kind, but also all kinds of death, and that eternally, for mine hypocrisy, vain-glory, uncleanness, self-love, covetousness, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnal professing of God's holy gospel, living therein not so purely, lovingly, and painfully as I should have done. The Lord of mercy, for the blood's sake of Christ, pardon me, as I hope, yea, I certainly believe he hath done, for his holy name's sake through Christ. But, my dearly beloved, you and all the whole world may see, and easily perceive, that the prelates persecute in me another thing than mine iniquities, even Christ himself, Christ's verity and truth, because I cannot, dare not, nor will not, confess transubstantiation, and how that wicked men, yea, mice and dogs, eating the sacrament, which they term of the altar, (thereby overthrowing Christ's holy supper utterly,) do eat Christ's natural and real body born of the Virgin Mary.

"To believe and confess as God's word teacheth, the primitive church believed, and all the catholic and good holy fathers taught five hundred years at the least after Christ, that in the supper of the Lord, (which the mass overthroweth, as it doth Christ's priesthood, sacrifice, death, and passion, the ministry of his word, true faith, repentance, and all godliness,) whole Christ, God and man, is present by grace to the faith of the receivers, but not of the standers-by and lookers-on, as bread and wine is to their senses, will not serve: and therefore I am condemned and shall be burned out of hand as a heretic. 'Wherefore I heartily thank my Lord God, that will and doth vouch me worthy to be an instrument, in whom he himself doth suffer. For you see my affliction and death is not simply because I have deserved no less, but much more at his hands and justice; but rather because I confess his verity and truth, and am not afraid through his gift that to do, that you also might be confirmed in his truth. Therefore, my dearly beloved, I heartily

do pray you, and so many as unfeignedly love me in God, to give, with me and for me, most hearty thanks to our heavenly Father, through our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, for this his exceeding great mercy towards me, and you also, that your faith waver not from the doctrine I have taught, and ye have received. For what can you desire more, to assure your consciences of the verity taught by your preachers, than their own lives?

"Go to, therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, waver not in Christ's religion truly taught you, and set forth in King Edward's days. Never shall the enemies be able to burn it, and prison it, and keep it in bonds. Us they may prison; they may bind and burn as they do, and will do, so long as shall please the Lord: but our cause, religion, and doctrine which we confess, they shall never be able to vanquish and put away. Their idolatry and popish religion shall never be built in the consciences of men that love God's truth. As for those that love not God's truth, that have no pleasure to walk in the ways of the Lord, over those, I say, the devil shall prevail: for God will give them strong illusion to believe lies. Therefore, dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, I humbly beseech you and pray you in the bowels and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, now going to the death for the testimony of Jesus, as oftentimes I have done before this present out of your pulpit, that you would live the Lord's truth; love (I say) to live it, and frame your lives thereafter. Alas! you know the cause of all these plagues fallen upon us, and of the success which God's adversaries have daily, is for our not loving God's word.

"You know how that we were but gospellers in lips, and not in life. We were carnal, concupiscentious, idle, unthankful, unclean, covetous, arrogant, dissemblers, crafty, subtle, malicious, false, backbiters, &c.; and even glutted with God's word; yea, we loathed it, as did the Israelites the manna in the wilderness; and therefore as to them the Lord's wrath waxed hot, so doth it unto us. So that there is no remedy, but that (for it is better late to turn, than never to turn) we confess our faults even from the bottom of our hearts, and with hearty repentance (which God work in us all for his mercy's sake) we run unto the Lord our God, who is exorable, merciful, and sorry for the evil poured out upon us, and cry out unto him with Daniel, saying, We have sinned, we have sinned grievously, O Lord God! against thy Majesty. We have heaped iniquity upon iniquity, the measure of our transgressions floweth over, so that justly are thy vengeanceand wrath fallen upon us. For we are very miserable, we have contemned thy long-suffering, we have not hearkened to thy voice. When thou hast called us by preachers, we hardened our hearts; and therefore now deserve that thou send thy curse hereupon to harden our hearts also, that we should henceforth have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hearts and understand not, lest we should convert and be saved. Oh be merciful unto us! spare us, good Lord, and all thy people, whom thou hast dearly bought. Let not thine enemies triumph altogether, and always against thee; for then will they be puft up. Look down and behold the pitiful complaint of the poor; let the sorrowful sighing of the simple come in thy sight, and be not angry with us for ever. Turn us, O Lord God of hosts, unto thee, and turn thee unto us, that thou mayest be justified in thy sweet sentences, and overcome when thou art judged, as now thou art of our adversaries. For they say, Where is their God? Can God deliver them now? Can their gospel serve them? O Lord, how long? for the glory of thy name, and for thy honour's sake, in the bowels and blood of Jesus Christ, we humbly beseech thee, come and help us, for we are very miserable.

"On this sort I say, dearly beloved! let us publicly and privately bewail our sins; but so that hereto we join ceasing from wilfulness and sin of purpose: for else the Lord heareth not our

prayers, as David saith. And in St. John it is written, The impenitent sinners God heareth not. Now, impenitent are they which purpose not to amend their lives: as for example, not only such as follow still their pleasures, uncleanness, carnality; but those also which, for fear or favour of men, do against their consciences consent to the Romish rags, and resort to the rotten religion, communicating in service and ceremonies with the papists; thereby declaring themselves to love more the world than God; to fear man more than Christ; to dread more the loss of temporal things than eternal; in whom it is evident that the love of God abideth not. For he that loveth the world, hath not God's word abiding in him, saith St. John: therefore, my dear hearts, and dear again in the Lord, remember what you have professed, Christ's religion and name, and the renouncing of the devil, sin, and the world.

"Remember that before ye learned A, B, C, your lesson was Christ's cross. Forget not that Christ will have no disciples, but such as will promise to deny themselves, and take up their cross, (mark, take it up,) and follow him, and not the multitude, custom, &c. Consider, for God's sake, that if we gather not with Christ, we scatter abroad.

What should it profit a man to win the whole world, and lose his own soul? We must not forget that this life is a wilderness, and not a paradise; here is not our home: we are now in warfare; we must needs fight, or else be taken prisoners. of all things we have in this life, we shall carry nothing with us. If Christ be our Captain, we must follow him as soldiers: if we keep company with him in affliction, we shall be sure of his society in glory: if we forsake not him, he will never forsake us: if we confess him, he will confess us; but, if we deny him, he will deny us; if we be ashamed of him, he will be ashamed of us. Wherefore, as he forsook his Father, and heaven, and all things to come to us; so let us forsake all things, and come to him, being sure and most certain that we shall not lose thereby. Your children shall find, and feel it double, yea, treble, whatsoever you lose for the Lord's sake; and you shall find and feel peace of conscience, and friendship with God, which is more worth than all the goods of the world.

"My dearly beloved, therefore, for the Lord's sake, consider these things which I now write unto you of love, for my *vale*, and last farewell for ever, in this present life. Turn to the Lord; repent you of your evil and unthankful life; declare repentance by the fruits; take time while ye have it; come to the Lord while he calleth you; run into his lap while his arms be open to embrace you; seek him while he may be found; call upon him while time is convenient; forsake and flee from all evil, both in religion, and in the rest of your life and conversation. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and praise God in the day of his visitation. 'O! come again, come again, you strange children, and I will receive you, saith the Lord. Convert and turn to me, and I will turn unto you. Why will ye needs perish? As sure as I live (sweareth the Lord) I will not your death; turn therefore unto me. Can a woman forget the child of her womb? If she should, yet I will not forget you, saith the Lord your God. 'I am he, I am he which put away your sins for mine own sake.'

"O then, dear friends, turn I say unto your dearest Father. Cast not these sweet and loving words to the ground, and at your tail; for the Lord watcheth on his word to perform it: which is in two sorts; to them that lay it up in their hearts, and believe it, will he pay all, and eternal joy and comfort. But to them that cast it at their backs, and will forget it, to them (I say) will he pour out indignation and eternal shame. Wherefore I heartily yet once more beseech and pray you, and

every of you, not to contemn this poor and simple exhortation, which now out of prison I make unto you, or rather the Lord by me. Loth would I be to be a witness against you in the last day; as of truth I must be, if ye repent not; if ye love not God's gospel; yea, if ye love it not.

"Therefore (to conclude) repent; love God's gospel; live it in all your conversation; so shall God's name be praised, his plagues be mitigated, his people comforted, and his enemies ashamed. Grant all this, thou gracious Lord God, to every one of us, for thy dear Son's sake, our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be eternal glory for ever and ever. Amen.

The twelfth of February, Anno 1555. "By the bondman of our Lord, and your poor afflicted brother, JOHN BRADFORD."

To my loving brethren, B. C., &c., their wives, and whole families. John Bradford.

"I beseech the ever-living God to grant you all, my good brethren and sisters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual sense of his mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever. Amen.

"The world, my brethren, seemeth to have the upper hand; iniquity overfloweth; the truth and verity seemeth to be suppressed; and they which take part therewith, are unjustly entreated; as they which love the truth, lament to see and hear as they do. The cause of all this, is God's anger and mercy: his anger, because we have grievously sinned against him; his mercy, because he here punisheth us, and as a father nurtureth us. We have been unthankful for his word; we have contemned his kindness; we have been negligent in prayer; we have been too carnal, covetous, licentious, &c.; we have not hastened to heaven-ward, but rather to hell-ward. We were fallen almost into an open contempt of God and all his good ordinances; so that of his justice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger, as now he hath done, in taking his word and true service from us, and permitting Satan to serve us with antichristian religion; and that in such sort, that if we will not yield to it, and seem to allow it in deed and outward fact, our bodies are like to be laid in prison, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

"This should we look upon as a sign of God's anger procured by our sins; which, my good brethren, every of us should now call to our memory oftentimes, so particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, ask earnestly mercy for them, and submit ourselves to bear in this life any kind of punishment which God will lay upon us for them. This should we do in consideration of God's anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is seen, and should be seen in us, my dearly beloved, in this: that God doth vouchsafe to punish us in this present life. If he should not have punished us, do not you think that we should have continued in the evils we were in? Yes, verily, we would have been worse, and have gone forwards in hardening our hearts by impenitence, and negligence of God and true godliness. And then, if death had come, should not we have perished both soul and body in eternal fire in perdition? Alas, what misery should we have fallen into, if God should have suffered us to have gone on forward in our evils! No greater sign of damnation there is, than to lie in evil and sin unpunished of God, as now the papists, my dearly beloved, are cast into Jezebel's bed of security;

which, of all plagues, is the most grievous that can be. They are bastards and not sons, they are not under God's rod of correction.

"A great mercy it is, therefore, that God doth punish us: for if he loved us not, he would not punish us. Now doth he chastise us, that we should not be damned with the world. Now doth he nurture us, because he favoureth us. Now may we think ourselves God's house and children, because be beginneth his chastising at us: now calleth he us to remember our sins past. Wherefore? That we might repent, and ask mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, justify us, and make us his children; and so begin to make us here like unto Christ, that we might be like unto him elsewhere, even in heaven, where already we are set by faith with Christ; and at his coming in very deed, we shall then most joyfully enjoy, when our sinful and vile bodies shall be made like to Christ's glorious body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all things subject to himself.

"Therefore, my brethren, let us in respect hereof not lament, but laud God; not be sorry, but be merry; not weep, but rejoice and be glad, that God doth vouchsafe to offer us his cross; thereby to come to him to endless joys and comforts. For if we suffer, we shall reign; if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven; if we be not ashamed of his gospel now, he will not be ashamed of us in the last day, but will be glorified in us, crowning us with crowns of glory and endless felicity: for blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Be glad, saith Peter, for the Spirit of God resteth upon you. After that you are a little afflicted, God will comfort, strengthen, and confirm you. And therefore, my good brethren, be not discouraged for cross, for prison, or loss of goods; for confession of Christ's gospel and truth which ye have believed, and lively was taught amongst you in the days of our late good king, and most holy prince, King Edward. This is most certain, if you lose any thing for Christ's sake, and for contemning the antichristian service set up again amongst us; as you, for your parts, even in prison shall find God's great and rich mercy, far passing all worldly wealth; so shall your wives and children, in this present life, find and feel God's providence, more plentifully than tongue can tell: for he will show merciful kindness on thousands of them that love him. The good man's seed shall not go a begging his bread. You are good men, so many as suffer for Christ's sake.

"I trust you all, my dearly beloved, will consider this gear with yourselves, and in the cross see God's mercy, which is more sweet, and to be set by, than life itself, much more than any muck or pelf of this world. This mercy of God should make you merry and cheerful; for the afflictions of this life are not to be compared to the joys of the life prepared for you. You know the way to heaven is not the wide way of the world, which windeth to the devil, but it is a strait way, which few walk in; for few live godly in Christ Jesus; few regard the life to come; few remember the day of judgment; few remember how Christ will deny them before his Father, that do deny him here; few consider that Christ will be ashamed of them in the last day, which are ashamed of his truth and true service; few cast their accounts, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance; few regard the condemnation of their own consciences, in doing that which inwardly they disallow; few love God better than their goods.

"But, I trust, you are of this few, my dearly beloved; I trust you be of that little flock, which shall inherit the kingdom of heaven; I trust you are the mourners and lamenters which

shall be comforted with comfort, which never shall be taken from you, if now you repent your former evils; if now you strive against the evils that are in you; if now you continue to call upon God; if now you defile not your bodies with any idolatrous service used in the antichristian churches; if you molest not the good Spirit of God, which is given you as a gage of eternal redemption, a counsellor and master to lead you into all truth; which good Spirit I beseech the Father of mercy to give to us all, for his dear Son's sake Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace, which is able to help you all, and save you all that believe it, follow it, and serve God thereafter.

"And of this I would ye were all certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbered; so that not one of them shall perish, neither shall any man or devil be able to attempt any thing, much less to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your heavenly Father, which loveth you most tenderly, shall give them leave; and when he hath given them leave, they shall go no further than he will, nor keep you in trouble any longer than he will. Therefore cast on him all your care, for he is careful for you. Only study to please him, and to keep your consciences clean and your bodies pure from the idolatrous service, which now every where is used, and God will marvellously and mercifully defend and comfort you; which thing he do for his holy name's sake, in Christ our Lord. Amen."

To his dearly-beloved in Christ, unto a godly couple, Erkinalde Rawlins and his wife.

"God, our dear and most merciful Father through Christ, be with you, my good brother and sister, as with his children for ever; and in all things so guide you with his Holy Spirit, the leader of his people, as may be to his glory, and your own everlasting joy and comfort in him: Amen. Because I have oftentimes received from either of you comfort corporally, (for the which I beseech the Lord, as to make me thankful, so to recompense you both now and eternally,) I cannot but go about (Lord, help hereto for thy mercy's sake!) to write something for your comfort spiritually.

"My dearly beloved! look not upon these days, and the afflictions of the same here with us, simply as they seem unto you; that is, as dismal days, and days of God's vengeance; but rather as lucky days, and days of God's fatherly kindness towards you, and such as you be; that is, towards such as repent their sins and evil life past, and earnestly purpose to amend, walking not after the will of the world, and most part of men, for the preservation of their pelf, which (will they, nill they) they shall leave sooner or later; and to whom or how it shall be used, they know not. Indeed, to such as walk in their wickedness, and wind on with the world, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance; and their beginning of sorrow is but now, because they contemn the physic of their Father, which by this purging time and cleansing days would work their weal, which they will not: and because they will not have God's blessing, which both ways he hath offered unto them, by prosperity and adversity, therefore it shall be kept far enough from them. As when the sick man will no kind of physic at the hands of the physician, he is left alone, and so the malady increaseth, and destroyeth him at the length.

To such men, indeed, these days are and should be doleful days, and days of woe and weeping, because their damnation draweth nigh.

"But unto such as be penitent, and are desirous to live after the Lord's will, (among whom I do not only count you, but, as far as a man may judge, I know ye are,) unto such, I say, this time is and should be comfortable. For first, now your Father chastiseth you and me for our sins; for the which if he would have destroyed us, then would he have letten us alone, and left us to ourselves, in nothing to take to heart his fatherly visitation, which here it pleaseth them to work presently, because elsewhere he will not remember our transgressions, as Paul writeth: he chastiseth us in this world, lest with the world we should perish. Therefore, my dear hearts, call to mind your sins to lament them, and to ask mercy for them in his sight, and withal undoubtedly believe to obtain pardon and assured forgiveness of the same, for twice the Lord punisheth not for one thing.

"So that I say, first we have cause to rejoice for these days, because our Father suffereth us not to lie in Jezebel's bed, sleeping in our own sins and security, but, as mindful of us, doth correct us as his children. Whereby we may be certain, that we be no bastards, but children; for he chastiseth every child whom he receiveth. So that they which are not partakers of his chastising, or that contemn it, declare themselves to be bastards, and not children, as I know you are, which, as ye are chastised, so do ye take it to heart accordingly. And therefore be glad, my dear hearts and folks, knowing certainly, even by these visitations of the Lord, that ye are his dear elect children, whose faults your Father doth visit with the rod of correction, but his mercy will he never take away from us. Amen.

"Secondly, ye have cause to rejoice for these days, because they are days of trial, wherein not only ye yourselves, but also the world, shall know that ye be none of his, but the Lord's dearlings. Before these days came, Lord God! how many thought of themselves, they had been in God's bosom; and so were taken, and would be taken of the world! But now we see whose they are: for to whom we obey, his servants we are. If we obey the world, (which God forbid, and hitherto ye have not done it,) then are we the world's; but if we obey God, then are we God's: which thing, (I mean, that ye are God's,) these days have declared both to you, to me, and to all others that know you, better than ever we knew it. Therefore ye have no cause to sorrow, but rather to sing, in seeing yourselves to be God's babes, and in seeing that all God's children do so count you.

"What though the world repine thereat? What though he kick? What though he seek to trouble and molest you? My dear hearts, he doth but his kind: he cannot love the Lord, which liveth not in the Lord: he cannot brook the child, that hateth the father: he cannot mind the servant, that careth not for the master. If ye were of the world, the world would love you; ye should dwell quietly; there would be no grief, no molestation. If the devil dwelt in you, (which the Lord forbid,) he would not stir up his knights to besiege your house, to snatch your goods, or suffer his fiends to enter into your hogs. But because Christ dwelleth in you, (as he doth by faith,) therefore stirreth he up his first-begotten son, the world, to seek how to disquiet you, to rob you, to spoil you, to destroy you: and perchance your dear Father—to try and to make known unto you, and to the world, that ye are destinate to another dwelling than here on earth, to another city than man's eyes have seen at any time hath given or will give power to Satan, and to the world, to take from you the things which he hath lent you; and, by taking them away, to try your fidelity, obedience, and love towards him, (for ye may not love them above him,) as by giving that ye have, and keeping it, he hath declared his love towards you.

"Satan perchance telleth God, (as he did of Job,) that ye love God for your goods' sake. What now then, if the Lord, to try you with Job, shall give him power on your goods and body accordingly—should ye be dismayed? should ye despair? should ye be faint-hearted? Should ye not rather rejoice, as did the apostles, that they were counted worthy to suffer any thing for the Lord's sake? O forget not the end that happened to Job: for as it happened to him, so shall it happen unto you. For God is the same God, and cannot long forget to show mercy to them that look and long for it; as I know ye do, and I pray you so to do still. For the Lord loveth you, and never can nor will forget to show and pour out his mercy upon you. After a little while that he hath afflicted and tried you, saith Peter, he will visit, comfort, and confirm you. As to Jacob wrestling with the angel, at the length morning came, and the sun arose; so, dear hearts, doubtless it will happen unto you. Howbeit, do ye as Job and Jacob did; that is, order and dispose your things that God hath lent you, as ye may, and whiles ye have time. Who knoweth whether God hath given you power thus long, even to that end?

"Go to therefore; dispose your goods, prepare yourselves to trial, that either ye may stand to it like God's champions, or, else, if you feel such infirmity in yourselves that ye be not able, give placeto violence, and go where you may with free and safe conscience serve the Lord. Think not this counsel to come by chance, or fortune, but to come from the Lord. Other oracles we may not look for now. As God told Joseph in a dream by an angel, that he should fly; so if you feel such infirmity in yourselves, as should turn to God's dishonour and your own destruction withal, know that at this present I am as God's angel, to admonish you to take time whiles ye have it, and to see that in no case God's name by you might be dishonoured. Joseph might have objected the omission of his vocation, as perchance ye will do: but, dear hearts, let vocations and all things else give place to God's name, and the sanctifying thereof.

"This I speak, not as though I would not have you rather to tarry, and to stand it: but I speak it in respect of your infirmity, which if you feel to be so great in you, that you are not certain of this hope, that God will never tempt you above your ability; fly and get you hence, and know that thereby God will have you tried to yourselves and to others. For by it you shall know how to take this world, and that your home here is no home, but that ye look for another; and so give occasion to others less to love this world, and perchance to some to doubt of their religion: wherein though they be earnest, yet would they not lose so much as ye do for your religion, which ye do confirm to me and others, by your giving place to violence.

"Last of all, ye have cause to rejoice over these our days, because they be the days of conformation, in the which, and by which, God our heavenly Father maketh us like unto Christ's image here, that we may be like unto him elsewhere. For if that we suffer with him, then we shall reign also with him: if we be buried with him, then we shall rise with him again: if that we company with him in all troubles and afflictions, then we shall rejoice with him in glory: if we now sow with him in tears, we shall reap with him in gladness: if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven: if we take his part, he will take ours: if we lose aught for his name's sake, he will give us all things for his truth's sake. So that we ought to rejoice and be glad; for it is not given to every one to suffer loss of country, life, goods, house, &c., for the Lord's sake. What can God the Father do more unto us, than to call us into the camp with his Son? what may Christ our Saviour do more for us, than to make us his warriors? what can the Holy Ghost do to us above this, to mark us with the cognizance of the Lord of hosts?

"This cognizance of the Lord standeth not in forked caps, tippets, shaven crowns, or such other baggage and antichristian pelf; but in suffering for the Lord's sake. The world shall hate you, saith Christ. Lo, there is the cognizance and badge of God's children: the world shall hate you. Rejoice therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice, that God doth thus vouchsafe to begin to conform you, and to make you like to Christ. By the trial of these days ye are occasioned more to repent, more to pray, more to contemn this world, more to desire life everlasting; more to be holy, (for holy is the end wherefore God doth afflict us,) and so to come to God's company: which thing because we cannot do, as long as this body is as it is, therefore by the door of death we must enter with Christ into eternal life, and immortality of soul and body; which God of his mercy send shortly, for our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake: Amen."

To mine own dear brother, Master Lawrence Saunders, prisoner in the Marshalsea.

"My good brother, I beseech our good and gracious Father always to continue his gracious favour and love towards us, and by us, as by instruments of his grace, to work his glory and the confusion of his adversaries. Out of the mouth of infants and babes he will show forth his praise, to destroy the enemy, &c.

"I have perused your letters to myself, and have read them to others; for answer whereof, if I should write what Doctor Taylor and Master Philpot do think, then must I say, that they think the salt sent unto us by your friend is unseasonable: and indeed I think they both will declare it heartily, if they should come before men. As for me, if you would know what I think, my good and most dear brother Lawrence, because I am so sinful and so conspurcate (the Lord knoweth I lie not) with many grievous sins, which I hope are washed away *sanguine Christi nostri*, I neither can nor would be consulted withal, but as a cipher in Agrime. Howbeit, to tell you how and what I mind, take this for a sum: I pray God in no case I may seek myself; and indeed (I thank God therefore) I purpose it not.

"That which remaineth, I commit to my Lord God; and I trust in him, that he will do according to this: Cast thy care on the Lord, &c. Cast all your care upon him, &c. Reveal unto the Lord thy way, and trust, &c. Who that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall compass him about. I did not, nor do I know, but by your letters, *quod eras* we shall come *coram nobis*. Mine own heart, still stick to, It shall be given you, &c. For the Lord is faithful. He will in temptation make a way that ye may be able to bear it. The Lord knoweth how to rid out of temptation the godly, &c. O would God I were godly! The Lord knoweth how to deliver out of temptation such as trust in him, &c. I cannot think that they will offer any kind of indifferent or mean conditions: for if we will not *adorare bestiam*, we never shall be delivered, but against their will, think I. God, our Father and gracious Lord, make perfect the good he hath begun in us!

"He will do it, my brother, my dear brother, whom I have in my inward bowels to live and die with. O if I were with you!' Pray for me, my own heart-root in the Lord.

"For ever your own, JOHN BRADFORD."

#### Another letter to Master Lawrence Saunders.

"God's sweet peace in Christ be with you, my good brother in the Lord Jesus, and with all your con-captives. Amen.

"I was letted this morning from musing on that which I was purposed to have thought on by reason of you, against whom I saw myself guilty of negligence, even in this point that I would not write,—I should say, that I had not written unto you as yet: therefore out of hand in manner I prepared myself to purge myself hereof; not that I will go about to excuse my fault, (for that were more to load me,) but by asking both God and you pardon, to get it no more laid to my charge. Now when I was thus purposing, and partly doing, cometh there one with a letter from you: for the which as I have cause to thank God and you, (howbeit not so that you should think I give not the whole to God,) so I see myself more blameworthy, for this long holding my peace. Howbeit, good brother, in this I have given a demonstration to you, to behold my negligence in all other things, and especially in praying for you, and for the church of God, which for my sins and hypocrisy (hypocrisy indeed even in this writing; God deliver me from it!) have deserved to be punished. Just is God, for we have deserved all kind of plagues at his hands: but yet merciful is he that will on this wise chastise us with this world, that we should not be condemned with the world. He might otherwise have punished us; I mean, he might have for other causes cast us in prison, me especially, than for his gospel and word's sake. Praised therefore be his name, which voucheth us worthy this honour. Ah! good God, forgive us our sins, and work by this thy fatherly correction on us, on me especially, effectually to love thee and thy Christ; and with joyfulness unto the end to carry thy cross through thick and thin. Always set before our eyes, not this gallows on earth, if we will stick to thee, but the gallows in hell, if we deny thee, and swerve from that we have professed.

"Ah! good brother, if I could always have God, his majesty, mercy, heaven, hell, &c., before mine eyes, then should I *obdurare*, as Paul writeth of Moses: He endured, saith he, as he that saw him which is invisible. Pray for me, as I know you do, and give thanks also: for, in the Lord I trust, I shall not waver. If I walk by the valley of the shadow of death, I will not fear, for thou art with me, O Lord. I think we shall be shortly called forth; for now *legem habent*, *et secundum legem*, &c., otherwise will they not reason with us; and I think their sheet-anchor will be, to have us to subscribe; the which thing if we do, though with this condition, 'so far as the thing subscribed to repugneth not against God's word,' yet this will be offensive. Therefore let us *vadere planè*, and so *sanè*; I mean, let us all confess that we are no changelings, but *re-ipsa* are the same we were in religion, and therefore cannot subscribe except we will dissemble both with God, ourselves, and the world.

"These things I write to you, dear brother in the Lord. Now I will read your epistle. Ah! brother, that I had the practical understanding with you in that Vine which you describe; pray the Lord that I may think so indeed. God make me thankful for you. All our fellow prisoners salute you, and give thanks to God for you. The same do you for us, and pray that, &c.

"Your brother in the Lord Jesus, to live and die with you, J. BRADFORD."

To my dear fathers, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Dr. Latimer.

"Jesus Emmanuel!—My dear fathers in the Lord, I beseech God, our sweet Father through Christ, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all. Amen.

"I had thought that every of your staves had stood next the door; but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, as this day, I think, or tomorrow at the uttermost, hearty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their course, and receive their crown. The next am I, who hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me mine unthankfulness for this exceeding great mercy, that, amongst so many thousands, it pleaseth his mercy to choose me to be one, in whom he will suffer. For although it be most true, that I justly suffer, (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous sinner: the Lord pardon me!) yet, he hath done it,he hath done it indeed; yet, What evil hath he done? Christ, whom the prelates persecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evil, nor deserveth death. Therefore ought I most heartily to rejoice of this dignation and tender kindness of the Lord's towards me, which useth remedy for my sin as a testimonial of his testament, to his glory, to my everlasting comfort, to the edifying of his church, and to the overthrowing of antichrist and his kingdom. Oh! what am I, Lord, that thou shouldest thus magnify me so vile a man and miser, as always I have been? Is this thy wont, to send for such a wretch and a hypocrite, as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou didst for Elias? Oh! dear fathers, be thankful for me, and pray for me, that I still might be found worthy, in whom the Lord would sanctify his holy name. And for your part, make you ready: for we are but your gentlemen-ushers: The marriage of the Lamb is prepared, come unto the marriage. I now go to leave my flesh there, where I received it. I shall be conveyed thither, as Ignatius was at Rome, to the leopards; by whose evil I hope to be made better. God grant, if it be his will that I ask, it may make them better by me. Amen.

"For my farewell therefore, I write and send this unto you, trusting shortly to see you where we shall never be separated. In the mean season I will not cease, as I have done, to commend you to our Father of heaven, and that you would so do by me, I most heartily pray every one of you: you know now I have most need. Faithful is God, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength. He never did it hitherto, nor now, and I am assured, he will never: Amen. He is on my right hand, therefore I shall not fall. Wherefore my heart shall rejoice, for he shall not leave my soul in hell, neither shall suffer me, his holy one, by his grace in Christ, to see corruption.

"Out of prison in haste, looking every moment for the tormentor, the eighth of February, 1555.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To the Right Honourable Lord Russell, now earl of Bedford; being then in trouble for the verity of God's gospel.

"The everlasting and most gracious God and Father of our Saviour Jesu Christ, bless your good Lordship with all manner of heavenly blessings in the same Christ our only comfort and hope: Amen.

"Praised be God our Father, which hath vouched you worthy, as of faith in his Christ, so of his cross for the same. Magnified be his holy name, who as he hath delivered you from one cross, so he hath made you willing (I trust) and ready to bear another, when he shall see his time to lay it upon you: for these are the most singular gifts of God, given as to few, so to none else but to those few which are most dear in his sight. Faith is reckoned, and worthily, among the greatest gifts of God, yea, it is the greatest itself that we may enjoy; for by it, as we be justified and made God's children, so are we temples and possessors of the Holy Spirit; yea, of Christ also, and of the Father himself. By faith, we drive the devil away: we overcome the world, and are already citizens of heaven, and fellows with God's dear saints. But who is able to reckon the riches that this faith bringeth with her unto the soul she sitteth upon? No man nor angel. And therefore, (as I said,) of all God's gifts, she may be set in the top, and have the upmost seat. The which thing if men considered, (in that she cometh alonely from God's own mercy-seat, by the hearing, not of mass or matins, diriges, or such dross; but the word of God in such a tongue as we can and do understand,) as they would be diligent and take great heed for doing or seeing any thing which might cast her down (for then they fall also); so would they with no less care read and hear God's holy word, joining thereto most earnest and often prayer, as well for the more and better understanding, as for the loving, living, and confessing of the same, maugre the head of the devil, the world, our flesh, reason, goods, possessions, carnal friends, wife, children, and very life here; if they should pull us back to hearken to their voice and counsel, for more quiet, sure, and longer use of them.

"Now, notwithstanding this excellency of faith, in that we read the apostle to match therewith, yea, (as it were,) to prefer, suffering persecution for Christ's sake, I trow no man will be so fond as to think otherwise, but that I, and all God's children, have cause to glorify and praise God, which hath vouched you worthy so great a blessing. For though the reason or wisdom of the world thinketh of the cross according to their reach, and according to their present sense, and therefore flieth from it as from a most great ignominy and shame: yet God's scholars have learned otherwise to think of the cross, that is, the frame-house in the which God frameth his children, like to his Son Christ; the furnace that fineth God's gold; the highway to heaven; the suit and livery that God's servants are served withal; the earnest and beginning of all consolation and glory: for they (I mean God's scholars, as your Lordship is, I trust) do enter into God's sanctuary, lest their feet slip. They look not, as beasts do, on things present only, but on things to come, and so have they as present to faith the judgment and glorious coming of Christ Jesus, like as the wicked have now their worldly wealth, wherein they wallow, and will wallow, till they tumble headlong into hell, where are torments too terrible and endless. Now they follow the fiend, (as the bear doth the train of honey, and the sow the swillings,) till they be brought into the slaughter-house; and then they know that their prosperity hath brought them to perdition. Then cry they, Woe, woe, we went the wrong way! we counted these men, (I mean such as you be, that suffer for God's sake loss of goods, friends, and life, whom they shall see endued with rich robes of righteousness, crowns of most pure precious gold, and palms of conquest in the goodly glorious palace of the Lamb, where is eternal joy, felicity, &c.,) we counted (will they then say) these men but fools: and mad-men, we took their conditions to be but curiosity. But then will it be too late then the time will be turned; laughing shall be turned into weeping, and weeping into rejoicing. Read Wisd. ii. iii. iv. v.

"Therefore, (as before I have said,) great cause have I to thank God, which hath vouched you worthy of his most bountiful blessing: much more then have you cause, my good Lord, so to be; I mean thankful. For look upon your vocation, I pray you: tell me how many noblemen, earls' sons, lords, knights, and men of estimation, hath God in this realm of England dealt thus withal? I dare say you think not that you have deserved this. Only God's mercy in his Christ hath wrought this on you, as he did in Jeremiah's time on Ebed-melech, in Achab's time on Abdias, in Christ's time on Joseph of Arimathea, in the apostles' time on Sergius Paulus and the queen Candace's chamberlain. Only now be thankful and continue; continue, continue, my good Lord, continue to confess Christ. Be not ashamed of him before men: for then will not he be ashamed of you. Now will he try you. Stick fast unto him, and he will stick fast by you; he will be with you in trouble, and deliver you. But then must you cry unto him, for so it proceedeth: He cried unto me, and I heard him; I was with him in trouble, &c.

"Remember Lot's wife, which looked back: remember Francis Spira: remember that none is crowned, but he that striveth lawfully: remember that all you have is at Christ's commandment: remember he lost more for you, than you can lose for him: remember you lose not that which is lost for his sake; for you shall find much more here and elsewhere: remember you shall die, and when, where, and how, ye cannot tell: remember the death of sinners is most terrible: remember the death of God's saints is most precious in his sight: remember the multitude goeth the wide way which windeth to woe: remember that the strait gate, which leadeth to glory, hath but few travellers: remember Christ biddeth you to strive to enter in thereat: remember he that trusteth in the Lord, shall receive strength to stand against all the assaults of his enemies. Be certain all the hairs of your head are numbered: be certain your good Father hath appointed bounds, over the which the devil dares not look. Commit yourself to him; he is, hath been, and will be your keeper. Cast your care on him, and he will care for you. Let Christ be your scope, and mark to prick at; let him be your pattern to work by; let him be your ensample to follow: give him as your heart so your hands; as your mind so your tongue; as your faith so your feet; and let his word be your candle, to go before you in all matters of religion. Blessed is he that walketh not to these popish prayers, nor standeth at them, nor sitteth at them: glorify God both in soul and body. He that gathereth not with Christ scattereth abroad. Use prayer: look for God's help, which is at hand to them that ask and hope thereafter assuredly. In which prayers I heartily desire your Lordship to remember us, who as we are going with you right gladly, (God therefore be praised,) so we look to go before you, hoping that you will follow, if God so will, according to your daily prayer, Thy will be done on earth, &c. The good Spirit of God always guide your Lordship unto the end: Amen.

"Your Lordship's own for ever, JOIN BRADFORD."

To Master Warcup and his wife, Mrs. Wilkinson, and others of his godly friends, with their families.

"The same peace our Saviour Christ left with his people, which is not without war with the world, Almighty God work plentifully in your hearts now and for ever. Amen.

"The time, I perceive, is come wherein the Lord's ground will be known: I mean, it will now shortly appear who have received God's gospel into their hearts indeed, to the taking of

good root therein; for such will not for a little heat or sun-burning wither, but stiffly will stand and grow on, maugre the malice of all burning showers and tempests. And forasmuch as—my beloved in the Lord—I am persuaded of you, that ye be indeed the children of God, God's good ground, which groweth and will grow on, (by God's grace,) bringing forth fruit to God's glory after your vocations, as occasions shall be offered, (burn the sun never so hot,) therefore I cannot but so signify unto you, and heartily pray you and every one of you accordingly,to go on forwards after your Master, Christ, not sticking at the foul way and stormy weather, which you are to come into, and are like so to do: of this being most certain, that the end of your journey shall be pleasant and joyful, in such a perpetual rest and blissfulness as cannot but swallow up the showers that ye now feel and are soused in, if ye often set it before your eyes, after Paul's counsel in the latter end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth, chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Read it, I pray you, and remember it often as a restorative to refresh you, lest ye faint in the way.

"And besides this set before you also, that though the weather be foul, and storms grow apace, yet go not ye alone, but other your brothers and sisters tread the same path, as St. Peter telleth us: and therefore company should cause you to be the more courageous and cheerful. But if you had no company at all to go presently with you, I pray you tell me, if, even from the beginning, the best of God's friends have found any fairer weather and way to the place whither ye are going, (I mean heaven,) than ye now find and are like to do; except ye will, with the worldlings, which have their portion in this life, tarry still by the way till the storms be overpast; and then either night will so approach that ye cannot travel, or the doors will be sparred before ye come, and so ye then lodge without in wonderful and evil lodgings. Read Apocalypse xxii. Begin at Abel, and come from him to Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, the patriarchs, Moses, David, Daniel, and all the saints of the Old Testament; and tell me whether ever any of them found any fairer way than ye now find.

"If the Old Testament will not serve, I pray you come to the New, and begin with Mary and Joseph, and come from them to Zachary and Elizabeth, John Baptist, and every one of the apostles and evangelists; and search whether they all found any other way into the city we travel towards, than by many tribulations.

"Besides these, if ye should call to remembrance the primitive church, Lord God! ye should see many to have given cheerfully their bodies to most grievous torments, rather than they would be stopped in their journey; that there is no day in the year, but (I dare say) a thousand was the fewest that with great joy lost their homes here, but in the city they went unto have found other manner of homes than man's mind is able to conceive. But, if none of all these were, if ye had no company now to go with you, as you have me your poor brother and bondman of the Lord, with many others, I trust in God, if you had none other of the fathers, patriarchs, kings, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and other holy saints and children of God, that in their journey to heaven-ward found as ye now find, and are like to find if ye go on forward, as I trust ye will; yet ye have your Master and your Captain, Jesus Christ, the dear darling and only begotten and beloved Son of God, in whom was all the Father's pleasure, joy, and delectation; ye have him to go before you, no fairer way, but much fouler, into this our city of Jerusalem. I need not, I trust, to rehearse what manner of way he found. Begin at his birth, and till ye come at his

burial, ye shall find that every foot and stride of his journey was no better, but much worse than yours is now.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, be not so dainty, as to look for that at God's hands, your dear Father, which the fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, saints, and his own Son Jesus Christ, did not find. Hitherto we have had fair way (I trow) and fair weather also: now, because we have loitered by the way, and not made the speed we should have done, our loving Lord and sweet Father hath overcast the weather, and stirred up the storms and tempests, that we might with more haste run out our race before night come, and the doors be sparred. The devil standeth now at every inn-door in his city and country of this world, crying unto us to tarry and lodge in this or that place till the storms be over-past; not that he would not have us wet to the skin, but that the time might overpass us to our utter destruction. Therefore beware of his enticements. Cast not your eyes on things that be present, how this man doth, and how that man doth; but cast your eyes on the gleve ye run at, or else ye will lose the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleve, doth not look on others that stand by, and go this way or that way; but altogether he looketh on the gleve, and on them that run with him, that those which be behind overtake him not, and that he may overtake them which be before. Even so should we do; leave off looking on those which will not run the race to heaven's bliss by the path of persecution with us; and cast our eyes on the end of our race, and on them that go before us, that we may overtake them, and on them which come after us, that we may provoke them to come the faster after.

"He that shooteth, will not cast his eyes in his shooting on them that stand by, or ride by the ways, (I trow,) but rather at the mark he shooteth at: for else he were like to win the wrong way. Even so, my dearly beloved, let your eyes be set on the mark ye shoot at, even Christ Jesus; who, for the joy set before him, did joyfully carry his cross, contemning the shame; and therefore he now sitteth on the right hand of the throne of God. Let us follow him; for this did he, that we should not be fainthearted. For we may be most assured, that if we suffer with him, we shall undoubtedly reign with him: but, if we deny him, surely he will deny us; For he that is ashamed of me, saith Christ, and of my gospel, in this faithless generation, I will be ashamed of him before the angels of God in heaven. Oh! how heavy a sentence is this to all such as know the mass to be an abominable idol, full of idolatry, blasphemy, and sacrilege against God and his Christ (as undoubtedly it is); and yet, for fear of men, for loss of life or goods, yea, for advantage and gain, some will honest it with their presence, dissembling both with God and man, as their own heart and conscience doth accuse them. Better it were that such had never known the truth, than thus wittingly, and for fear or favour of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, to dissemble it; or rather (as indeed it is) to deny it. The end of such is like to be worse than their beginning. Such had need to take heed of the two terrible places to the Hebrews in the sixth and tenth chapters, lest, by so doing, they fall therein. Let them beware they play not wily-beguily with themselves, as some do, I fear me, which go to mass, and because they worship not, nor kneel, nor knock, as others do, but sit still in their pews, therefore they think they rather do good to others than hurt.

"But, alas! if these men would look into their own consciences, there should they see they are very dissemblers, and in seeking to deceive others (for by this means the magistrates think them of their sort) they deceive themselves. They think at the elevation time, all men's eyes are

set upon them, to mark how they do. They think others, hearing of such men going to mass, do see, or inquire of their behaviour there. Oh! if there were in those men that are so present at the mass, either love to God, or to their brethren, then would they, for the one or both, openly take God's part, and admonish the people of their idolatry. They fear man more than him which hath power to cast both soul and body into hell-fire; they halt on both knees; they serve two masters. God have mercy upon such, and open their eyes with his eye-salve, that they may see that they which take no part with God are against God, and that they which gather not with Christ, do scatter abroad. Oh that they would read what St. John saith will be done to the fearful. The counsel given to the church of Laodicea, is good counsel for such.

"But to return to you again, dearly beloved be not ye ashamed of God's gospel: it is the power of God to salvation to all those that do believe it. Be therefore partakers of the afflictions. as God shall make you able; knowing for certain, that he will never tempt you further than he will make you able to bear: and think it no small grace of God to suffer persecution for God's truth; for the Spirit of God resteth upon you, and ye are happy, as one day ye shall see: read 2 Thess, i. and Heb. xii. As the fire hurteth not gold, but maketh it finer, so shall ve be more pure by suffering with Christ. The flail and wind hurteth not the wheat, but cleanseth it from the chaff. And ye, dearly beloved, are God's wheat: fear not therefore the flail, fear not the fanning wind, fear not the millstone, fear not the oven; for all these make you more meet for the Lord's own tooth. Soap, though it be black, soileth not the cloth, but rather at the length maketh it more clean: so doth the black cross help us to more whiteness, if God strike with his battledore. Because ye are God's sheep, prepare yourselves to the slaughter, always knowing that in the sight of the Lord our death shall be precious. The souls under the altar look for us to fill up their number: happy are we if God have so appointed us. Howsoever it be, dearly beloved, cast vourselves wholly upon the Lord, with whom all the hairs of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish. Will we, nill we, we must drink God's cup, if he have appointed it for us. Drink it willingly then; and at the first, when it is full, lest peradventure if we linger, we shall drink at length of the dregs with the wicked, if at the beginning we drink not with his children: for with them his judgment beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on Mount Sion, then will he visit the nations round about.

"Submit yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of the Lord. No man shall touch you without his knowledge: when they touch you therefore, know it is to your weal. God thereby will work to make you like Christ here, that ye may be also like unto him elsewhere. Acknowledge your unthankfulness and sin, and bless God that correcteth you in the world, because you shall not be damned with the world. Otherwise might he correct us, than in making us to suffer for righteousness' sake: but this he doth, because we are not of the world. Call upon his name through Christ for his help, as he commandeth us. Believe that he is merciful to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: I am with him in trouble, and will deliver him, saith he. Know that God hath appointed bounds, over which the devil and all the world shall not pass. If all things seem to be against us, yet say with Job, If he kill me, I will hope in him. Read the 91st Psalm, and pray for me, your poor brother and fellow sufferer for God's gospel sake; his name therefore be praised. And of his mercy he make me and you worthy to suffer with good conscience for his name's sake. Die once we must, and when we know not: happy are they to whom God giveth to pay nature's debt, I mean, to die for his sake.

"Here is not our home: therefore let us accordingly consider things, always having before our eyes the heavenly Jerusalem, the way thither to be by persecutions; the dear friends of God, how they have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose footsteps let us follow even to the very gallows, if God so will, not doubting but that as he, within three days, rose again immortal, even so we shall do in our time; that is, when the trump shall blow, and the angel shall shout, and the Son of man shall appear in the clouds with innumerable saints and angels, in majesty and great glory: then shall the dead arise, and we shall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and so be always with him. Comfort yourselves with these words, and pray for me for God's sake.

"From prison, 19 Nov. 1553. "J. BRADFORD."

To Sir James Hales, knight, then prisoner in the Compter in Bread Street.

"The God of mercy, and the Father of all comfort, plentifully pour out upon you and in you his mercy, and with his consolations comfort and strengthen you to the end, for his and our Christ's sake.

"Although, right worshipful sir, many causes might move me to be content with crying for you to your God and my God, that he would give you grace to persevere well, as he hath right notably begun, to the great glory of his name, and comfort of all such as fear him; as lack of learning, of familiarity, yea, acquaintance, (for I think I am unknown to you, both by face and name,) and other such-like things; yet I cannot content myself, but presume something to scribble unto you, not that I think my scribbling can do you any good, but that I might declare my συμπαθειαν [Greek; sympatheian] and compassion, love and affection, I bear towards your Mastership, which is contented, yea, desirous, with us poor misers, to confess Christ's gospel in these perilous times and days of trial. O Lord God! how good art thou, which dost thus glean out grapes—I mean, children for thyself, and brethren for Christ! Look, good Master Hales, on your vocation: not many judges, not many knights, not many landed men, not many rich men, and wealthy to live as you are, hath God chosen to suffer for his sake, as he hath now done you. Certainly I dare say you think not so of yourself, as though God were bound to prefer you, or had need of you; but rather attribute this, as all good things, unto his free mercy in Christ. Again, I dare say that you, being a wise man, do judge of things wisely, that is, concerning this your cross, you judge of it not after the world and its people, which is the great master of error; nor after the judgment of reason and worldly wisdom, which is foolishness to faith; nor after the present sense, to which it seemeth not to be joyous, but grievous, as Paul writeth: but after the word of God, which teacheth your cross to be, in respect of yourself, between God and you; God's chastising, and your Father's correction, nurture, school, trial, path-way to heaven, glory, and felicity, and the furnace to consume the dross, and mortify the relics of old Adam which yet remain; yea, even the frame-house to fashion you like to the dearest saints of God here, yea, to Christ the Son of God, that elsewhere you might be like unto him.

"Now, concerning your cross in respect of the world, between the world and you, God's word teacheth it to be a testimonial of God's truth, of his providence, of his power, of his justice, of his wisdom, of his anger against sin, of his goodness, of his judgment, of your faith and religion, so that by it you are to the world a witness of God, one of his *testes*, that he is true, he

ruleth all things, he is just, wise, and at length will judge the world, and cast the wicked into perdition; but the godly he will take and receive into his eternal habitation. I know you judge of things after faith's fetch, and the effects or ends of things, and so you see an eternal weight of glory, which this cross shall bring unto you, while ye look not on things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. Let the worldlings weigh things and look upon the affairs of men with their worldly and corporal eyes, as did many in subscription of the king's last will; and therefore they did that, for the which they beshrewed themselves: but let us look on things with other manner of eyes, as, God be praised, you did, in not doing that which you were desired, and driven at to have done. You then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of God; and so you do now in religion, at the least hitherto you have done: and that you might do so still, I humbly beseech and pray you, say with David, Mine eyes fail for thy word-saying; when wilt thou comfort me? Though you be as uter in fumo, that is, like a bottle in the smoke, (for I hear you want health,) yet, do not forget the statutes of the Lord: but cry out, How many are the days of thy servant? when wilt thou execute judgment on them that persecute me? And be certain the Lord will surely come, and not stay; though he tarry, wait for him; for he is but a while in his anger, but in his favour is life: weeping may abide at evening, but joy cometh in the morning. Follow therefore Esay's counsel, Hide thyself for a very little while, until his indignation pass over, which is not *indignatio* indeed, but to our sense; and therefore in Esay xxvii. God saith of his church and people, that as he keepeth night and day, so, There is no anger in me, saith he.

"The mother sometimes beateth her child, but yet her heart melteth upon it, even in the very beating: and therefore she casteth the rod into the fire, and colleth the child, giveth it an apple, and dandleth it most motherly. And, to say the truth, the love of mothers to their children, is but a trace to train us to behold the love of God towards us: and therefore saith he, Can a mother forget the child of her womb? As who should say, No: but if she should so do, yet will not I forget thee, saith the Lord of hosts. Ah comfortable saying! I will not forget thee, saith the Lord. Indeed the children of God think oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they cry, Hide not thy face from me, &c. Leave me not, O Lord, &c. Whereas in very truth it is not so, but to their present sense: and therefore David said, I said in my agony, I was clean cast away from thy face. But was it so? Nay verily. Read his Psalms, and you shall see. So writeth he also in other places very often, especially in the person of Christ: as when he saith, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? He saith not, Why dost thou forsake me? or, Why wilt thou forsake me? But, Why hast thou forsaken me? Where indeed God had not left him, but that it was so to his sense; and that this Psalm telleth us full well; which Psalm I pray you now and then read, it is the 22nd, and thereto join the 31st, and the 116th, with divers others. The same we read in the prophet Isaiah, chap. xl., where he reproveth Israel for saying, God had forgotten them; Knowest thou not, saith he; hast thou not heard, &c.; They that trust in the Lord shall renew their strength. And in his 54th chapter, Fear not, &c.: for a little while I have forsaken thee, but with great compassion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hid my face from thee, for a little season: but in everlasting mercy have I had compassion on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me as the waters of Noah: for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be angry with thee nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall remove, and hills shall fall down; but my mercy shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace fall away, saith the Lord that hath compassion on thee.

"But the Scriptures are full of such sweet places to them that will bear the wrath of the Lord, and wait for his health and help. As of all temptations this is the greatest, that God hath forgotten, or will not help us through the pikes, as they say: so of all services of God, this liketh him the best, to hope assuredly on him, and for his help always, which is a helper in tribulations, and doth more gloriously show his power by such as be weak, and feel themselves so. For the weaker we are, the more strong we are in him. Thus the eyes of the Lord be on them that tremble and fear. He will accomplish their desire, he is with them in their trouble, he will deliver them. Before they cry, he heareth them; as all the Scriptures teach us. To the reading whereof, and hearty prayer, I heartily commend you, beseeching Almighty God, that of his eternal mercy he would make perfect the good he hath begun in you, and strengthen you to the end; that you might have no less hope, but much more of his help to your comfort now against your enemies, than already he hath given you against N., for not subscribing to the king's will.

"Be certain, be certain, good Master Hales! that all the hairs of your head your dear Father hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish: your name is written in the book of life. Therefore upon God cast all your care, which will comfort you with his eternal consolations, and make you able to go through the fire, (if need he,) which is nothing to be compared to the fire wherein our enemies shall fall and lie for ever, from the which the Lord deliver us, though it be through temporal fire; which must be construed according to the end and profit that cometh after it: so shall it then not much fear us to suffer it for our Master Christ's cause, the which the Lord grant us for his mercy's sake: Amen.

"From the King's Bench.
"Your humble JOHN BRADFORD."

To my very friend in the Lord, Dr. Hill, physician.

"The God of mercy and Father of all comfort, at this present and for ever, ingraft in your heart the sense of his mercy in Christ, and the continuance of his consolation, which cannot but enable you to carry with joy whatsoever cross he shall lay upon you: Amen.

"Hitherto I could have no such liberty as to write unto you, as I think you know: but now, in that through God's providence I have no such restraint, I cannot but something write, as well to purge me of the suspicion of unthankfulness towards you, as also to signify my carefulness for you in these perilous days; lest you should wax cold in God's cause, (which God forbid,) or suffer the light of the Lord, once kindled in your heart, to he quenched, and so become as you were before, after the example of the world, and of many others, which would have been accounted otherwise in our days, and yet still beguile themselves, still would be so accounted: although by their outward life they declare the contrary, in that they think it enough to keep the heart pure, notwithstanding that the outward man doth curry favour.

"In which doings, as they deny God to be jealous, and therefore requiring the whole man, as well body as soul, being both create as to immortality and society with him, so redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, and now sanctified by the Holy Spirit to be the temple of God, and member of his Son: as (I say) by their parting stake to give God the heart, and the world the body, they deny God to be jealous, (for else they would give him both, as the wife would do to her husband whether he be jealous or no, if she be honest,) so they play the dissemblers with the

church of God by their fact, offending the godly, whom either they provoke to fall with them, or make more careless and conscienceless if they be fallen, and occasioning the wicked and obstinate to triumph against God, and the more vehemently to prosecute their malice against such as will not defile themselves in body or soul with the Romish rags now received amongst us. Because of this,—I mean, lest you, my dear master and brother in the Lord, should do as many of our gospellers do for fear of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and hath power but of the body, not fearing the Lord, which hath power both of soul and body, and that not only temporally, but also eternally,—I could not but write something unto you, as well because duty deserveth it, (for many benefits I have received of God by your hands, for the which He reward you, for I cannot,) as also because charity and love compelleth me; not that I think you have any need, (for as I may rather learn of you, so I doubt not but you have hitherto kept yourself upright from halting,) but that I might both quiet my conscience, calling upon me hereabout, ar.d signify unto you by something, my carefulness for your soul, as painfully and often you have done for my body.

"Therefore I pray you call to mind, that there be but two masters, two kinds of people, two ways, and two mansion-places. The masters be Christ and Satan, the people be servitors to either of these, the ways be strait and wide, the mansions be heaven and hell. Again, consider that this world is the place of trial of God's people, and the devil's servants: for as the one will follow his master whatsoever cometh of it, so will the other. For a time it is hard to discern who pertaineth to God, and who to the devil: as in the calm and peace, who is a good shipman and warrior, and who is not. But as when the storm ariseth the expert mariner is known, and as in war the good soldier is seen, so in affliction and the cross, easily God's children are known from Satan's servants. For then, as the good servant will follow his master, so will the godly follow their Captain, come what will come: whereas the wicked and hypocrites will bid adieu, and desire less of Christ's acquaintance. For which cause the cross is called a probation and trial, because it trieth who will go with God, and who will forsake him. And now in England we see how small a company Christ hath in comparison of Satan's soldiers. Let no man deceive himself; for he that gathereth not with Christ, scattereth abroad. No man can serve two masters; the Lord abhorreth double hearts; the lukewarm (that is, such as are both hot and cold) he spitteth out of his mouth. None that halt on both knees doth God take for his servants. The way of Christ is the strait way; and so strait, that as a few find it, and few walk in it, so no man can halt in it, but must needs go upright: for as the straitness will suffer no reeling to this side or that side, so, if any man halt, he is like to fall off the bridge into the pit of eternal perdition.

"Strive therefore, good Master Doctor, now you have found it, to enter into it: and if you should be called or pulled back, look not on this side or that side, or behind you, as Lot's wife did, but straight forwards on the end which is set before you (though it be to come) as even now present: like as you do and will your patients to do in purgations, and other your ministrations, to consider the effect that will ensue, where-through the bitterness and loathsomeness of the purgation is so overcome, and the painfulness in abiding the working of that is ministered is so eased, that it maketh the patient willingly and joyfully to receive that [which] is to be received, although it be never so unpleasant: so (I say) set before you the end of this strait way; and then doubtless, as St. Paul saith, it shall bring with it an eternal weight of glory, whilst we look not on the thing which is seen, for that is temporal, but on the thing which is not seen, which is eternal. So doth the husbandman, in ploughing and tilling, set before him the harvest-time; so doth the

fisher consider the draught of his net, rather than the casting-in; so doth the merchant the return of his merchandise; and so should we in these stormy days set before us not the loss of our goods, liberty, and very life—but the reaping time, the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment; the fire that shall burn the wicked and disobedient to God's gospel; the blast of the trump; the exceeding glory prepared for us in heaven eternally, such as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. The more we lose here, the greater joy shall we have there: the more we suffer, the greater triumph. For corruptible dross, we shall find incorruptible treasures; for gold, glory; for silver, solace without end; for riches, robes royal; for earthly houses, eternal palaces; mirth without measure, pleasure without pain, felicity endless; in short, we shall have God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

"O happy place! O that this day would come, then shall the end of the wicked be lamentable; then shall they receive the just reward of God's vengeance; then shall they cry, Woe, woe! that ever they did as they have done. Read Wisd. ii. iii. iv. v.: read Matt. xxv.: read 1 Cor. xv.; 2 Cor. v.: and by faith (which God increase in us) consider the thing there set forth. And for your comfort, read Heb. xi., to see what faith hath done, always considering the way to heaven to be by many tribulations, and that all they which will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. You know this is our alphabet: He that will be my disciple, saith Christ, must deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.—Not this bishop, not that doctor; not this emperor, nor that king, but me, saith Christ: For he that loveth father, mother, wife, children, or very life, better than me, is not worthy of me. Remember that the same Lord saith, He that will save his life shall lose it. Comfort yourself with this, that as the devils had no power over the porkets, or over Job's goods, without God's leave; so shall they have none over you. Remember also, that all the hairs of your head are numbered with God. The devil may make one believe he will drown him, as the sea in his surges threateneth to the land: but as the Lord hath appointed bounds for the one, over the which he cannot pass, so hath He done for the other.

"On God therefore cast your care; love him, serve him after his word, fear him, trust in him, hope at his hand for all help, and always pray, looking for the cross; and whensoever it cometh, be assured, the Lord, as he is faithful, so he will never tempt you further than he will make you able to bear, but in the midst of the temptation will make such an evasion, as shall be most to his glory and your eternal comfort. God, for his mercy in Christ, with his Holy Spirit endue you, comfort you, under the wings of his mercy shadow you, and as his dear child guide you for evermore. To whose merciful tuition, as I do with my hearty prayer commit you; so I doubt not but you pray for me, and so I beseech you to do still. My brother P. telleth me, you would have the last part of St. Jerome's works, to have the use thereof for a fortnight. I cannot for these three days well forbear it, but yet on Thursday next I will send it you, if God let me not; and use me, and that I have, as your own. The Lord for his mercy in Christ direct our ways to his glory.

"Out of prison, by yours to command. JOHN BRADFORD."

To Mistress M. H., a godly gentlewoman, comforting her in that common heaviness and godly sorrow, which the feeling and sense of sin worketh in God's children.

"I humbly and heartily pray the everlasting God and Father of mercy, to bless and keep your heart and mind in the knowledge and love of his truth, and of his Christ, through the inspiration and working of his Holy Spirit: Amen.

"Although I have no doubt, but that you prosper and go forward daily in the way of godliness, more and more drawing towards perfection, and have no need of any thing that I can write; yet, because my desire is that you might be more fervent, and persevere to the end, I could not but write something unto you, beseeching you both often and diligently to call unto your mind, as a mean to stir you hereunto, yea, as a thing which God most straitly requireth you to believe, that you are beloved of God, and that he is your dear Father, in, through, and for, Christ and his death's sake. This love and tender kindness of God towards us in Christ is abundantly herein declared, in that he hath, to the godly work of creation of this world, made us after his image; redeemed us being lost; called us into his church; sealed us with his mark and sign manual of baptism; kept and conserved us all the days of our life; fed, nourished, defended, and most fatherly chastised us; and now hath kindled in our hearts the sparkles of his fear, faith, love, and knowledge of his Christ and truth: and therefore we lament, because we lament no more our unthankfulness, our frailness, our diffidence and wavering in things wherein we should be most certain.

"All these things we should use as means to confirm our faith of this, that God is our God and Father, and to assure us that he loveth us as our Father in Christ: to this end, I say, we should use the things before touched, especially in that, of all things, God requireth this faith and fatherly persuasion of his fatherly goodness, as his chiefest service. For before he ask any thing of us, he saith, I am the Lord thy God: giving himself, and then all he hath, to us, to be our own. And this he doth in respect of himself, of his own mercy and truth, and not in respect of us, for then were grace no grace. In consideration whereof, when he saith, Thou shalt have none other gods but me, Thou shalt love me with all thy heart, &c., though of duty we are bound to accomplish all that he requireth, and are culpable and guilty if we do not the same, yet he requireth not these things further of us, than to make us more in love, and more certain of this his covenant, that he is our Lord and God. In certainty whereof, as he hath given this whole world to serve to our need and commodity; so hath he given his Son Christ Jesus, and (in Christ) himself to be a pledge and gage, whereof the Holy Ghost doth now and then give us some taste and sweet smell, to our eternal joy.

"Therefore (as I said) because God is our Father in Christ, and requireth of you straitly to believe it, give yourself to obedience; although ye do it not with such feeling as you desire. First must faith go before, and then feeling will follow. If our imperfection, frailty, and many evils, should be occasions whereby Satan would have us to doubt; as much as we can, let us abhor that suggestion, as of all others most pernicious: for so indeed it is. For when we stand in a doubt, whether God be our Father, we cannot be thankful to God; we cannot heartily pray or think any thing we do acceptable to God; we cannot love our neighbours, and give over ourselves to care for them, and do for them as we should do, and therefore Satan is most subtle hereabout, knowing full well that if we doubt of God's eternal mercies towards us through Christ, we cannot

please God, or do any thing as we should do to man. Continually casteth he into our memories our imperfection, frailty, falls, and offences, that we should doubt of God's mercy and favour towards us.

"Therefore, my good sister, we must not be sluggish herein, but as Satan laboureth to loosen our faith, so must we labour to fasten it by thinking on the promises and covenant of God in Christ's blood; namely, that God is our God with all that ever he hath: which covenant dependeth and hangeth upon God's own goodness, mercy, and truth only; and not on our obedience or worthiness on any point; for then should we never be certain. Indeed God requireth of us obedience and worthiness, but not that thereby we might be his children, and he our Father: but because he is our Fathe and we his children through his own goodness in Christ, therefore requireth he faith and obedience. Now if we want this obedience and worthiness which he requireth, should we doubt whether he be our Father? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthiness the cause, and so to put Christ out of place, for whose sake God is our Father: but rather because he is our Father, and we feel ourselves to want such things as he requireth, we should be stirred up to a shamefacedness and blushing, because we are not as we should be: and thereupon should we take occasion to go to our Father in prayer on this manner:

"Dear Father, thou, of thine own mercy in Jesus Christ, hast chosen me to be thy child, and therefore thou wouldest I should be brought into thy church and faithful company of thy children; wherein thou hast kept me hitherto; thy name therefore be praised. Now I see myself to want faith, hope, love, &c., which thy children have and thou requirest of me, where-through the devil would have me to doubt, yea, utterly to despair of thy fatherly goodness, favour, and mercy. Therefore I come to thee as to my merciful Father, through thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and pray thee to help me, good Lord: help me, and give me faith, hope, love, &c., and grant that thy Holy Spirit may be with me for ever, and more and more to assure me that thou art my Father; that this merciful covenant that thou madest with me in respect of thy grace in Christ and for Christ, and not in respect of any my worthiness, is always true to me,' &c.

"On this sort, I say, you must pray and use your cogitations, when Satan would have you to doubt of salvation. He doth all he can to prevail herein. Do you all you can to prevail herein against him. Though you feel not as you would, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as Abraham did: for faith always (I said) goeth before feeling. As certain as God is almighty; as certain as God is merciful; as certain as God is true; as certain as Jesus Christ was crucified, is risen, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; as certain as this is God's commandment, I am the Lord thy God, &c., so certain ought you to be that God is your Father. As you are bound to have no other gods but him, so are ye no less bound to believe that God is your God. What profit should it be to you to believe this to be true, I am the Lord thy God, to others, if you should not believe that this is true to yourself? The devil believeth on this sort. And whatsoever it be that would move you to doubt of this—whether God be your God through Christ—that same cometh undoubtedly of the devil. Wherefore did he make you, but because he loved you? Might not he have made you blind, deaf, lame, frantic, &c.? might not be have made you a Jew, a Turk, a papist, &c.? And why hath he not done so? Verily because he loved you. And why did he love you? What was there in you to move him to love you? Surely nothing moved him to love you, and therefore to make you, and so hitherto to keep you, but his own goodness in Christ. Now then, in that his goodness in Christ still remaineth as much as it was—that is, even as great as

himself, for it cannot be lessened—how should it be but that he is your God and Father? Believe this, believe this, my good sister, for God is no changeling. Them whom he loveth, he loveth to the end.

"Cast therefore yourself wholly upon him, and think without all wavering that you are God's child, that you are a citizen of heaven, that you are the daughter of God, the temple of the Holy Ghost, &c. If hereof you be assured as you ought to be, then shall your conscience be quieted; then shall you lament more and more that you want many things which God loveth; then shall you labour to be holy in soul and body; then shall you go about that God's glory may shine in you, in all your words and works; then shall you not be afraid what man can do unto you; then shall you have wisdom to answer your adversaries, as shall serve to their shame, and your comfort; then shall you be certain that no man can touch one hair of your head further than shall please your good Father, to your everlasting joy; then shall you be most certain, that God as your good Father will be more careful for your children, and make better provision for them, if all you have were gone, than you can; then shall you (being assured, I say, of God's favour towards you) give over vourself wholly to help and care for others that be in need; then shall you contemn this life, and desire to be at home with your good and sweet Father; then shall you labour to mortify all things that would spot either soul or body. All these things spring out of this certain persuasion and faith, that God is our Father, and we are his children by Christ Jesus. All things should help our faith herein; but Satan goeth about in all things to hinder us.

"Therefore let us use earnest and hearty prayer; let us often remember this covenant—I am the Lord thy God; let us look upon Christ and his precious blood shed for the obsignation and confirmation of his covenant; let us remember all the free promises of the gospel; let us set before us God's benefits generally in making this world, in ruling it, in governing it, in calling and keeping his church, &c. Let us set before us God's benefits particularly—how he hath made his creatures after his image; how he made us of perfect limbs, form, beauty, memory, &c.; how he hath made us Christians, and given us a right judgment in his religion; how he hath, ever since we were born, blessed, kept, nourished, and defended us; how he hath often beaten, chastised, and fatherly corrected us; how he hath spared us, and doth now spare us, giving us time, space, place, grace. This if you do, and use earnest prayer, and so flee from all things which might wound your conscience, giving yourself to diligence in your vocation, you shall find at the length (which God grant to me with you) a sure certainty of salvation, without all such doubt as may trouble the peace of conscience, to your eternal joy and comfort. Amen, Amen.

"Yours to use in Christ.

J. BRADFORD."

Another letter full of godly comfort, written to the same person.

"The good Spirit of God which guideth his children, be with you, my good sister in the Lord, for ever. Amen.

"Although, as I to you, so you unto me in prison are unknown, yet to him whom we desire to please, we are not only in persons, but also in hearts, known and thoroughly seen: and therefore as for his sake you would, by that you sent, of me be perceived how that in God you bear to me a good will; so that I to you might be seen in God to bear you the like, I send to you

these few words in writing, wishing that in all your doings and speech, yea, even in your very thoughts, you would labour to feel that they are all present and open before the sight of God, be they good or bad. This cogitation often had in mind, and prayer made to God for the working of his Spirit, thereby, as a mean, you shall at the length feel more comfort and commodity, than any man can know, but such as be exercised therein. Howbeit this is to be added, that in thinking yourself, and all that you have and do, to be in the sight of God; this (I say) is to be added, that you think his sight is the sight not only of a Lord, but rather of a Father, which tendereth more your infirmities, than you can tender the infirmities of any your children. Yea, when in yourself you see a motherly affection to your little one that is weak, let the same be unto you a trace to train you to see the unspeakable kind affection of God your Father towards you.

"And therefore upon the consideration of your infirmities and natural evils, which continually cleave unto us, take occasion to go to God as your Father through Christ: and before his merciful heart lay open your infirmities and evils, with desire of pardon and help after his good will and pleasure: but in his time, and not when you will; and by what means he will, not by that way you would; in the mean season hang on hope of his fatherly goodness, and surely you shall never be ashamed. For if a woman that is natural, cannot finally forget the child of her womb, be sure God, which is a Father supernatural, cannot, nor will not, forget you. Yea, if a woman could be so forgetful, yet God himself saith, he will not be so.

"This opinion, yea, rather certain persuasion, of God your Father through Christ, see that you cherish; and by all means, as well by diligent consideration of his benefits, as of his loving corrections, whether they be inward or outward, see that you nourish; knowing for certain, that as the devil goeth about nothing so much as to bring you in a doubt whether ye be God's child or no; so whatsoever shall move you to admit that dubitation, be assured the same to come from the devil. If you feel in yourself not only the want of good things, but also plenty of evil, do not therefore doubt whether you be God's child in Christ, or no. For if for your goodness' or illness' sake, which you feel or feel not, ye should believe or doubt, then should you make Christ Jesus, for whose sake only God is your Father, either nothing, or else but half Christ. But rather take occasion of your wants in good, and of your plenty in evil, to go to God as your Father, and to pray to him, that inasmuch as he commandeth you to believe that he is your God and Father, so he would give you his good Spirit, that you might feel the same, and live as his child, to his glory; and cease not upon such prayers to look for comfort in God's good time, still hoping the best, and rejecting all dubitation, and so all evil works, words, and cogitations, as the Lord shall enable you by his good Spirit and grace, which I beseech him to give unto you, my good sister, for ever. And further I pray you, that as he hath made you to be a helper unto your husband, so you would endeavour yourself therein to show the same as well in soul as body; and beg grace of God, that your endeavours may be effectual to both your comforts in Christ. Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To my well-beloved in the Lord, W. P.

"Grace and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"Dear brother, God most justly hath cast me down into a dungeon, but much better than I deserve; wherein I see no man but my keeper, nor can see any except they come to me.

Something in the earth my lodging is, which is an example and memorial of my earthly affections, (which God I trust will mortify,) and of my sepulchre, whereunto I trust my Lord God will bring me in peace in his good time. In the mean season he give me patience, lively hope, and his good Spirit. I pray you pray for me; for the prayer of the godly, if it be fervent, worketh much with God. I thank God my common disease doth less trouble me than when I was abroad, which doth teach me the merciful providence of God towards me. Use true and hearty prayer, and you shall perceive God at length will declare himself to see, where now many think he sleepeth.

"Out of the Tower, by the Lord's prisoner. JOHN BRADFORD."

A letter which he wrote to a faithful woman in her heaviness and trouble: most comfortable for all those to read that are afflicted and broken-hearted for their sins.

"God our good Father, for his mercy's sake in Christ, with his eternal consolation so comfort you, as I desire to be comforted of him in my most need: yea, he will comfort you, my dear sister; only cast your care upon him, and he never can nor will forsake you; for his calling and gifts be such, that he can never repent him of them. Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end: none of his chosen can perish; of which number I know you are, my dearly beloved sister: God increase the faith thereof daily more and more in you! he give unto you to hang wholly on him, and on his providence and protection! For whoso dwelleth under that secret thing, and help of the Lord, he shall be cock-sure for evermore. He that dwelleth, I say; for if we be flitters and not dwellers, as was Lot a flitter from Segor, where God promised him protection, if he had dwelled there still; we shall remove to our loss, as he did into the mountains.

"Dwell therefore, that is, trust, and that finally unto the end, in the Lord, my dear sister, and you shall be as Mount Sion. As mountains compass Jerusalem, so doth the Lord all his people. How then can he forget you, which are as the apple of his eye, for his dear Son's sake? Ah! dear heart, that I were now but one half hour with you, to be a Simon to help carry your cross with you. God send you some good Simon to be with you and help you.

"You complain in your letters of the blindness of your mind, and the troubles you feel. My dearly beloved God make you thankful for that which God hath given unto you; he open your eyes to see what and how great benefits you have received, that you may be less covetous, or rather impatient, for so (I fear me) it should be called, and more thankful. Have you not received at his hands sight to see your blindness, and thereto a desirous and seeking heart to see where he lieth in the mid-day, as his dear spouse speaketh of herself in the Canticles? Oh, Joyce! my good Joyce! what a gift is this! Many have some sight, but none this sobbing and sighing, none this seeking which you have, I know, but such as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You are not content to kiss his feet with the Magdalene, but you would be kissed even with the kiss of his mouth. You would see his face with Moses, forgetting how he biddeth us seek his face, yea, and that for ever, which signifieth no such sight, as you desire to be in this present life, which would see God now face to face; whereas he cannot be seen, but covered under something; yea, sometimes in that which is (as you would say) clean contrary to God; as to see his mercy in his anger. In bringing us to hell, faith seeth him to bring us to heaven: in darkness it beholdeth brightness: in hiding his face from us, it beholdeth his merry countenance. How did Job see God, but as (you would say) under Satan's cloak? for who cast the fire from heaven upon

his goods, who overthrew his house, and stirred up men to take away his cattle, but Satan? and yet Job pierced through all these, and saw God's work, saying, The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away, &c.

"In reading of the Psalms, how often do you see that David in the shadow of death saw God's sweet love! And so, my dearly beloved, I see that you, in your darkness and dimness, by faith do see charity and brightness; by faith, I say, because faith is of things absent, of things hoped for, of things which I appeal to your conscience, whether you desire not. And can you desire any thing which you know not? And is there of heavenly things any other true knowledge than by faith?

"Therefore, my dear heart, be thankful; for (before God I write it) you have great cause. Ah! my Joyce, how happy is the state wherein you are! Verily you are even in the blessed state of God's children, for they mourn; and do not you so? And that not for worldly weal, but for spiritual riches, faith, hope, charity, &c. Do you not hunger and thirst for righteousness? And I pray you, saith not Christ, who cannot lie, that happy are such? How should God wipe away the tears from your eyes in heaven, if now on earth ye shed no tears? how could heaven be a place of rest, if on earth you'd find it? how could ye desire to be at home, if in your journey you found no grief? how could ye so often call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, if your enemy should sleep all day long? how should you elsewhere be made like unto Christ, I mean in joy, if in sorrow you sobbed not with him? If you will have joy and felicity, you must first needs feel sorrow and misery: if you will go to heaven, you must sail by hell: if you will embrace Christ in his robes, you must first abide with him in his rags: if you will drink of his cup of glory, forsake not his cup of ignominy.

"Can the head Corner-stone be rejected, and the other more base stones in God's building be in this world set by? You are one of his lively stones—be content therefore to be hewn and snagged at, that you might be made more meet to be joined to your fellows which suffer with you Satan's snatches, the world's wounds, contempt of conscience, and frets of the flesh, where-through they are enforced to cry, Oh wretches that we are! who shall deliver us? You are of God's corn, fear not therefore the flail, the fan, millstone, nor oven. You are one of Christ's lambs, look therefore to be fleeced, haled at, and even slain.

"If you were a market-sheep, you should go in more fat and grassy pasture; if you were for the fair, you should be stall-fed, and want no weal: but, because you are for God's own occupying, therefore you must pasture on the bare common, abiding the storms and tempests that will fall. Happy, and twice happy are you, my dear sister, that God now haleth you whither you would not, that you might come whither you would. Suffer a little, and be still. Let Satan rage against you; let the world cry out; let your conscience accuse you; let the law load you and press you down; yet shall they not prevail, for Christ is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. If God be with us, who can be against us? The Lord is with you; your Father cannot forget you; your Spouse loveth you. If the waves and surges arise, cry with Peter, Lord, I perish; and he will put out his hand and help you. Cast out your anchor of hope, and it will not cease, for all the stormy surges, till it take hold on the rock of God's truth and mercy.

"Think not that he which hath given you so many things corporally, as inductions of spiritual and heavenly mercies, (and that, without your deserts or desire,) can deny you any spiritual comfort, desiring it. For if he give to desire, he will give you to have and enjoy the thing desired. The desire to have, and the going about to ask, ought to certify your conscience, that they be his earnest of the thing which, you asking, he will give you; yea, before you ask, and whilst you are about to ask, he will grant the same, as Isaiah saith, to his glory, and your eternal consolation. He that spared not his own Son for you, will not nor cannot think any thing too good for you, my heartily beloved.

"If he had not chosen you, (as most certainly he hath,) he would not have so called you; he would never have justified you; he would never have so glorified you with his gracious gifts, which I know, praised be his name therefore; he would never have so exercised your faith with temptations, as he hath done and doth; if, I say, he had not chosen you. If he hath chosen you, (as doubtless, dear heart, he hath done in Christ, for in you I have seen his earnest, and before me and to me you could not deny it, I know both and when,) if, I say, he have chosen you, then neither can you nor shall you ever perish. For if you fail, he putteth under his hand; you shall not lie still; so careful is Christ your keeper over you. Never was mother so mindful over her child, as he is over you. And hath not he always been so?

"Speak, woman, when did he finally forget you? And will he now, trow you, in your utmost need, do otherwise, you calling upon him, and desiring to please him? Ah, my Joyce! think you God to be mutable? is he a changeling? doth not he love to the end them whom he loveth? are not his gifts and calling such, that he cannot repent him of them? For else were he no God. If you should perish, then wanted he power; for I am certain his will towards you is not to be doubted of. Hath not the Spirit, which is the Spirit of truth, told you so? and will you now hearken with Eve to the lying spirit, which would have you not to despair, (no, he goeth more craftily to work; howbeit to that end, if you should give ear unto it, which God forbid,) but to doubt, and stand in a mammering; and so should you never truly love God, but serve him of a servile fear, lest he should cast you off for your unworthiness and unthankfulness; as though your thankfulness or worthiness were any cause with God, why he hath chosen you, or will finally keep you.

"Ah! mine own dear heart, Christ only, Christ only, and his mercy and truth. In him is the cause of your election. This Christ, this mercy, this truth of God, remaineth for ever, is certain for ever, and so is your election certain for ever, for ever, I say, for ever. If an angel from heaven should tell you contrary, accursed be he. Your thankfulness and worthiness are fruits and effects of your election; they are no causes. These fruits and effects shall be so much more fruitful and effectual, by how much you waver not.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, arise; and remember from whence you are fallen. You have a Shepherd which never slumbereth nor sleepeth; no man nor devil can pull you out of his hands; night and day he commandeth his angels to keep you.

Have you forgotten what I read to you out of the Psalm, The Lord is my shepherd, I can want nothing? Do you not know that God sparred Noah in the ark on the outside, so that he could not get out? So hath he done to you, my good sister; so hath he done to you. Ten thousand shall

fall on your right hand, and twenty thousand on your left hand; yet no evil shall touch you. Say boldly therefore, Many a time from my youth up have they fought against me; but they have not prevailed; no, nor ever shall prevail, for the Lord is round about his people. And who are the people of God, but such as hope in him? Happy are they that hope in the Lord, and you are one of those, my dear heart; for I am assured you have hoped in the Lord; I have your words to show most manifestly, and I know they were written unfeignedly: I need not to say, that even before God you have simply confessed to me, and that oftentimes, no less. And if once you had this hope, as you doubtless had it, though now you feel it not, yet shall you feel it again: for the anger of the Lord lasteth but a moment, but his mercy lasteth for ever. Tell me, my dear heart, who hath so weakened you? Surely not a persuasion which came from him that called you: for why should you waver? Why should you waver and be so heavy hearted? Whom look you on? On vourself? on your worthiness, on your thankfulness? on that which God requireth of you, as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, &c.? Then can you not but waver indeed: for what have you as God requireth? Believe you, hope you, love you, &c., as much as you should do? No, no; nor ever can in this life. Ah! my dearly beloved, have you so soon forgotten that, which ever should be had in memory? namely, that when you would and should be certain and quiet in conscience, then should your faith burst throughout all things not only that you have in you, or else are in heaven, earth, or hell, until it come to Christ crucified, and the eternal sweet mercies and goodness of God in Christ. Here, here is the resting-place, here is your Spouse's bed; creep into it, and in your arms of faith embrace him; bewail your weakness, unworthiness, your diffidence, &c., and you shall see he will turn to you. What said I? you shall see. Nay, I should have said, you shall feel he will turn to you. You know that Moses, when he went to the mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark cloud, and Elias had his face covered when God passed by. Both these dear friends of God heard God, but they saw him not; but you would be preferred before them. See now, my dear heart, how covetous you are. Ah! be thankful, be thankful. But, God be praised, your covetousness is Moses' covetousness.

Well, with him you shall be satisfied. But when? Forsooth when he shall appear. Here is not the time of seeing, but as it were in a glass. Isaac was deceived, because he was not content with hearing only.

"Therefore, to make an end of these many words, wherewith I fear me I do but trouble you from better exercises; inasmuch as you are indeed the child of God, elect in Christ before the beginning of all times; inasmuch as you are given to the custody of Christ, as one of God's most precious jewels; inasmuch as Christ is faithful, and hitherto hath all power, so that you shall never perish, no, one hair of your head shall not be lost; I beseech you, I pray you, I desire you; I crave at your hands with all my very heart; I ask of you with hand, pen, tongue, and mind; in Christ, through Christ, for Christ; for his name, blood, mercies, power, and truth's sake, my most entirely beloved sister, that you admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, howsoever you feel yourself; but to complain to God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear Father, all things; and, in that time which shall be most opportune, you shall find and feel far above that your heart or the heart of any creature can conceive, to your eternal joy. Amen, Amen, Amen,

"The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear children; he comfort you, as I desire to be comforted, my dearly beloved, for evermore: Amen.

"I break up thus abruptly, because our common prayer-time calleth me. The peace of Christ dwell in both our hearts for ever: Amen.

"As for the report of W. Po., if it be as you hear, you must prepare to bear it. It is written on heaven's door, 'Do well, and hear evil.' Be content therefore to hear whatsoever the enemy shall imagine to blot you withal. God's Holy Spirit always comfort and keep you: Amen, Amen.

"This eighth of August, by him that in the Lord desireth to you as well and as much felicity, as to his own heart.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

Here followeth another letter of his, written to the good Lady Vane, wherein he resolveth certain questions which she demanded. This Lady Vane was a special nurse, and a great supporter (to her power) of the godly saints, which were imprisoned in Queen Mary's time: unto whom divers letters I have both of Masters Philpot, Careless, Trahern, Thomas Rose, and of others more; wherein they render unto her most grateful thanks for her exceeding goodness extended towards them, with their singular commendation and testimony, also, of her Christian zeal towards God's afflicted prisoners, and to the verity of his gospel. She departed of late at Holborn, Anno 1568, whose end was more like a sleep than any death; so quietly and meekly she deceased and parted hence in the Lord.

Amongst others who wrote unto her, Master Bradford also sent these letters to the said lady; the tenor whereof here followeth.

# To my good Lady Vane.

"The true sense and sweet feeling of God's eternal mercies in Christ Jesus be ever more and more lively wrought in your heart by the Holy Ghost. Amen.

"I most heartily thank you, good madam, for your comfortable letters; and whereas you would be advertised what were best to be done on your behalf, concerning your three questions; the truth is, that the questions are never well seen, nor answered, until the thing whereof they arise be well considered; I mean, until it be seen how great an evil the thing is. If it be once indeed in your heart perceived, upon probable and pithy places gathered out of God's book, that there was never thing upon the earth so great and so much an adversary to God's true service, to Christ's death, passion, priesthood, sacrifice, and kingdom, to the ministry of God's word and sacraments, to the church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godliness of life, as that is whereof the questions arise, (as most assuredly it is indeed,) then cannot a Christian heart but so much the more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the same, by how much it hath the name of God's service.

"Again, your Ladyship doth know, that as all is to be discommended and avoided, which is followed or fled from in respect of ourselves, in respect of avoiding Christ's cross; so the end of all our doings should be to God-ward, to his glory, to our neighbours, to edification and good example; whereof none can be given in allowing any of the three questions by you propounded. But because this which I write now is brief, and needeth the more consideration or explication; as I doubt not of the one in you, so from me, by God's grace, you shall receive the other shortly.

For I have already written a little book of it, which I will send unto you, in the which you shall have your questions fully answered and satisfied, and therefore I omit to write any more hereabout presently; beseeching God, our good Father, to guide you as his dear child, with his Spirit of wisdom, power, and comfort, unto eternal life, that you may he strong, and rejoice in him and with his church, to carry Christ's cross, if he shall so think it need: which is a thing to be desired, wished, and embraced, if we looked on things after the judgment of God's word, and tried them by that touchstone.

"If you be accustomed to think on the brevity, vanity, and misery of this life, and on the eternity, truth, and felicity of everlasting life; if you look on things after their ends, and not after their present appearance only; if you use yourself to set God's presence, power, and mercy always before your eyes, to see them, as God by every creature would you should; I doubt not but you shall find such strength and comfort in the Lord, as you shall not be shaken with all the power of Satan. God's mercy in Christ be with you, and his good Spirit guide you for ever. Amen."

## Another letter to the Lady Vane.

"As to mine own soul, I wish to your Ladyship grace and mercy from God, our dear Father in Christ our Lord and Saviour.

"I thank God that something he hath eased you, and mitigated his fatherly correction in us both: I would to God he had done so much in the behalf of the grief of the body to you, as he hath done to me. For as for the soul, I trust you feel that which I pray God increase in you, I mean, his fatherly love; and grant that I may with you feel the same in such degree as may please him; I will not say as you feel, lest I should seem to ask too much at one time. God doth often much more plentifully visit with the sense of his mercy them that humble themselves under his mighty hand, and are sore exercised, (as you long have been,) than others which, to the face of the world, have a more show and appearance. Therefore I wish as I do, and that not only for mine own commodity, but also that I might occasion you to the consideration of the goodness of God, which I by your letters do well espy; which is indeed the highway, whereby as God increaseth his gifts, so showeth he more lively his salvation. I have received God's blessing from you, the which I have partly distributed unto my three fellow prisoners, Master Ferrar, Master Taylor, Master Philpot; and the residue I will bestow upon four poor souls which are imprisoned in the common gaol for religion also. As for mine own part, if I had need, I would have served my turn also: but, because I had not, nor (I thank God) have not, I have been and will be your almoner in such sort as I have already advertised you. God reward you, and give you to find it spiritually and corporally. Because otherwise I cannot talk with you, therefore on this sort, as occasion and opportunity will serve, I am ready to show my good will and desire of your help and furtherance in the Lord to everlasting life, whereunto God bring us shortly, for his mercy's sake: Amen.

"Good madam, be thankful to God, as I hope you be; be earnest in prayer; continue in reading and hearing God's word, and if God's further cross come, as therein God doth serve his providence, (for else it shall not come unto you,) so be certain the same shall turn to your eternal joy and comfoIt: Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To my dear friends and brethren, Royden and Esing, with their wives and families.

"The comfort of Christ—felt commonly of his children in their cross for his sake—the everlasting God work in both your hearts, my good brethren, and in the hearts of both your yoke-fellows; especially of good Mary, my good sister in the Lord: Amen.

"If I had not something heard of the hazard which you are in for the gospel's sake, if you continue the profession and confession thereof, as I trust you do and will do, and that unto the end, God enabling you, (as he will doubtless for his mercy's sake, if you hope in him—for this bindeth him, as David in Christ's person witnesseth: Our fathers hoped in thee, and thou deliveredst them, &c.,) yet by conjectures I could not but suppose (though not so certainly) the time of your suffering and probation to be at hand. For now is the power of darkness fully come upon this realm most justly for our sins, and abusing the light lent us of the Lord, to the setting-forth of ourselves more than God's glory, that as well we might be brought into the better knowledge of our evils, and so heartily repent, (which God grant us to do,) as also we might have more feeling and sense of our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, by the humbling and dejecting of us, thereby to make us, as more desirous of him, so him more sweet and pleasant unto us; the which thing the good Spirit of God work sensibly in all our hearts, for God's holy name's sake.

"For this cause I thought it my duty, being now where I have some liberty to write, (the Lord be praised,) and hearing of you as I hear; to do that which I should have done, if I had heard nothing at all; that is, to desire you to be of good cheer and comfort in the Lord, (although in the world you see cause rather to the contrary,) and to go on forwards in the way of God whereinto you are entered, considering that the same cannot but so much more and more wax strait to the outward man, by how much you draw nearer to the end of it: even as in the travail of a woman, the nearer she draweth to her delivery, the more her pains increase; so it goeth with us in the Lord's way, the nearer we draw to our deliverance by death to our eternal felicity.

"Example hereof we have, I will not say, in the holy prophets and apostles of God, which when they were young girded themselves, and went in manner whither they would, but when they waxed old, they went girded of others, whither they would not, concerning the outward man; but rather and most lively in our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose life and way was much more painful to him towards the end, than it was at the beginning. And no marvel, for Satan can something abide a man to begin well, and set forwards; but, rather than he should go on to the end, he will vomit his gorge, and cast out floods to overflow him, before he will suffer that to come to pass.

"Therefore, as we should not be dismayed now at this world, as though some strange thing were happened unto us, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the devil declareth himself after his old wont, in that we have professed no less but to forsake the world and the devil as God's very enemies, in that we learned no less at the first, when we came to God's school, than to deny ourselves, and take up our cross and follow our Master, which leadeth us none other way than he himself hath gone before us: as (I say) we should not be dismayed, so we should with patience and joy go forwards, if we set before us as present the time to come, like as the wife in her travail doth the deliverance of her child, and as the saints of God did, but especially our Saviour and pattern Jesus Christ; for the apostle saith, He set before him the joy

and glory to come, and therefore contemned the shame and sorrow of the cross: so if we did, we should find at the length as they found. For whom would it grieve, which hath a long journey to go, through a piece of foul way, if he knew that, after that, the way should be most pleasant, yea, the journey should be ended, and he at his resting-place most happy? Who will be afraid or loath to leave a little pelf for a little time, if he knew he should shortly after receive most plentiful riches? Who will be unwilling for a little while to forsake his wife, children, or friends, &c., when he knoweth he shall shortly after be associated unto them inseparably, even after his own heart's desire? Who will be sorry to forsake this life, which cannot but be most certain of eternal life? Who loveth the shadow better than the body? Who can love this life, but they that regard not the life to come? Who can desire the dross of this world, but such as be ignorant of the treasures of the everlasting joy in heaven? I mean, who is afraid to die, but such as hope not to live eternally? Christ hath promised pleasures, riches, joy, felicity, and all good things, to them that for his sake lose any thing, and suffer any sorrow. And is he not true? How can he but be true? for guile was never found in his mouth.

"Alas! then, why are we so slack and slow, yea, hard of heart, to believe him, promising us thus plentifully eternal blissfulness, and are so ready to believe the world, promising us many things, and paying us nothing? If we will curry favour now, and halt on both knees, then it promiseth us peace, quietness, and many other things else. But how doth it pay this gear? or, if it pay it, with what quietness of conscience? or, if so, how long, I pray you? Do not we see before our eyes, men to die shamefully, I mean as rebels and other malefactors, which refuse to die for God's cause? What way is so sure a way to heaven, as to suffer in Christ's cause? If there be any way on horseback to heaven, surely this is the way. By many troubles, saith the apostle, we must enter into heaven. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. For the world cannot love them that are of God; the devil cannot love his enemies; the world will love none but his own: but you are Christ's, therefore look for no love here. Should we look for fire to quench our thirst? And as soon shall God's true servants find peace and favour in antichrist's regiment.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stout in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour; stand in the liberty of Christ which you have learned; rejoice that you may be counted worthy to suffer any thing for God's cause: to all men this is not given. Your reward is great in heaven, though in earth ye find nothing. The journey is almost past; you are almost in the haven. Hale on apace, I beseech you, and merrily hoist up your sails. Cast yourselves on Christ, who careth for you. Keep company with him now still to the the end; he is faithful, and will never leave you, nor tempt you further than that he will make you able to bear: yea, in the midst of the temptation he will make an outscape. Now pray unto him heartily; be thankful of his indignation; rejoice in hope of the health you shall receive; and be mindful of us which are in the vaward, and by God's grace trust in Christ to be made able to break the ice before you, that you following, may find the way more easy.—God grant it may so be: Amen, Amen.

"Out of prison, by your brother in Christ. JOHN BRADFORD."

## To Mrs. Wilkinson.

"Almighty God, our most loving Father, increase in your heart (my good mother and dear mistress in the Lord) his true knowledge and love in Christ, to the encouraging and comforting of

your faith in these stormy days, as necessary unto us; so profitable, if we persist unto the end, which thing God grant to us: Amen.

"My right dearly beloved, I know not what other thing to write unto you, than to desire you to be thankful to the Lord, in that amongst the not many of your calling and state, it pleaseth him to give you his rare blessing,—I mean, to keep you from all the filth wherewith our country is horribly defiled. This blessing assuredly is rare, as you see. But now, if he shall bless you with another blessing, which is more rare,—I mean, to call you forth as a martyr, and a witness against this filth,—I hope you will become doubly thankful. For a greater token commonly we have not to judge of our election and salvation, next to Christ and faith in him, than the cross, especially when it is so glorious, as on this sort to suffer any thing, but chiefly loss of this life, which indeed is never found till it be so lost: Except the grain of wheat fall and be dead, it remaineth fruitless.

"You know that he which was rapt into the third heaven, and did know what he wrote, doth say. That as the corn liveth not, except it be dead and cast into the earth, so truly our bodies. And therefore the cross should so little fear us, that even death itself should altogether be desired of us; as the tailor which putteth off our rags, and arrayeth us with the royal robes of immortality, incorruption, and glory. Great shame it should be for us, that all the whole creatures of God should desire, yea, groan in their kind for our liberty, and we ourselves to loathe it; as doubtless we do, if for the cross, yea, for death itself, we with joy swallow not up all sorrow that might let us from following the Lord's calling, and obeying the Lord's providence; whereby doubtless all crosses, and death itself doth come, and not by hap or chance. In consideration whereof, right dear mother, that this providence stretcheth itself so unto us, and for us, that even the hairs of our heads are numbered with God, not one of them to fall to our hurt; surely we declare ourselves very faint in faith, if we receive not such comfort, that we can willingly offer ourselves to the Lord, and cast our whole care upon his back, honouring him with this honour, that he is and ever will be careful for us, and all we have, as for his dear children. Be therefore of good cheer, even in the midst of these miseries; be thankful to the Lord, and prepare yourself for a further trial; which if God send you, as I hope, so do you believe that God therein will help and comfort you, and make you able to bear whatsoever shall happen. And thus much, having this opportunity, I thought good to write, praying God our Father to recompense into your bosom all the good that ever you have done, to me especially, and to many others, both in this time of trouble, and always heretofore.

"Your own in the Lord. JOHN BRADFORD."

Another letter, written to certain godly persons, encouraging them to prepare themselves with patience to the cross.

"Gracious God and most merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, thy dearly beloved Son, grant us thy mercy, grace, wisdom, and Holy Spirit, to counsel, comfort, and guide us, in all our cogitations, words, and works, to thy glory, and our everlasting joy and peace for ever: Amen.

"In my last letter you might perceive my conjecturing to be no less towards you, than now I have learned. But, my dearly beloved, I have learned none other thing than before I have

told you would come to pass, if ye cast not away that which ye have learned. I do appeal to both your consciences, whether herein I speak truth, as well of my telling, (though not so often as I might and should, God forgive me,) as also of your learning. Now God will try you, to make others to learn by you, that which ye have learned by others, and, by them which have suffered this day, ye might learn, (if already ye had not learned,) that life and honour is not to be set by more than God's commandment. They in no point (for all that ever their ghostly fathers could do, having Doctor Death to take their part) would consent, or seem to consent; to the popish mass and papistical god, otherwise than in the days of our late king they had received. And this their faith they have confessed with their deaths, to their great glory, and all our comforts, if we follow them; but to our confusion, if we start back from the same. Wherefore I beseech you to consider it as well to praise God for them, as to go the same way with them; if God so will.

"Consider not the things of this life, which is a very prison to all God's children; but the things of everlasting life, which is our very home. But to the beholding of this gear, ye must open the eyes of your mind, (of faith, I should have said,) as Moses did, which set more by trouble with God's people, than by the riches of Egypt and Pharaoh's court. Your house, home, and goods, yea, life, and all that ever ye have, God hath given you as love-tokens, to admonish you of his love, and to win your love to him again. Now will he try your love, whether ye set more by him than by his tokens, or no. If ye for his tokens' sake,—that is, for your home, house, goods, yea, life; will go with the world, lest ye should lose them, then be assured, your love, as he cannot but espy it to be a strumpet's love, so will he cast it away with the world. Remember, that he which will save his life shall lose it, if Christ be true: but he which adventureth, yea, loseth his life, for the gospel's sake, the same shall be sure to find it eternally. Do not ye know that the way to salvation, is not the broad way, which many run in; but the strait way, which few now walk in?

"Before persecution came, men might partly have stood in a doubt by the outward state of the world with us, (although by God's word it was plain,) whether was the high-way (for there were as many that pretended the gospel as popery); but now the sun is risen, and the wind bloweth, so that the corn which hath not taken fast root, cannot nor will abide; and therefore easily ye may see the strait way by the small number that passeth through it. Who will now adventure their goods and life for Christ's sake, which yet gave his life for our sakes? We are now become Gergesites, that would rather lose Christ than our pockets. A faithful wife is never tried so to be, but when she rejecteth and withstandeth wooers. A faithful Christian is then found so to be, when his faith is assaulted.

"If we be not able,—I mean, if we will not forsake this world for God's glory and gospel's sake, trow ye that God will make us able, or give us a will to forsake it for nature's sake? Die ye must once, and leave all ye have, (God knoweth how soon and when,) will ye or will ye not; and seeing perforce ye must do this, will ye not willingly now do it for God's sake?

"If ye go to mass, and do as the most part do, then may ye live at rest and quietly; but if ye deny to go to it, then shall ye go to prison, lose your goods, leave your children comfortless, yea, lose your life also. But, my dearly beloved, open the eyes of your faith, and see how short a thing this life is, even a very shadow and smoke. Again, see how intolerable the punishment of hell-fire is, and that endless. Last of all, look on the joys incomprehensible, which God hath

prepared for all them, world without end, which lose either lands or goods for his name's sake. And then do ye reason thus: If we go to mass, the greatest enemy that Christ hath, though for a little time we shall live in quiet, and leave to our children that they may live by hereafter, yet shall we displease God, fall into his hands, (which is horrible to hypocrites,) and be in wonderful hazard of falling from eternal joy into eternal misery, first of soul, and then of body, with the devil and all idolaters.

"Again, we shall want peace of conscience, which surmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether God will visit our idolatry on them in this life? yea, our house and goods are in danger of losing, as our lives be, through many casualties; and when God is angry with us, he can send always, when he will, one mean or another to take all from us for our sins, and to cast us into care for our own sakes, which will not come into some little trouble for his sake.

"On this sort reason with yourselves, and then doubtless God will work otherwise with you, and in you, than ye are aware of. Where now ye think yourselves unable to abide persecution, be most assured, if so be you purpose not to forsake God, that God will make you so able to bear his cross, that therein you shall rejoice. Faithful is God, (saith Paul,) which will not tempt you further than he will make you able to bear; yea, he will give you an out-scape in the cross, which shall be to your comfort. Think how great a benefit it is, if God will vouch you worthy this honour; to suffer loss of any thing for his sake. He might justly cast most grievous plagues upon you, and yet now he will correct you with that rod whereby you shall be made like to his Christ, that for ever ye may reign with him. Suffer yourselves therefore now to be made like to Christ, for else ye shall never be made like unto him. The devil would gladly have you now to overthrow that, which godly ye have of long time professed. Oh! how would he triumph, if he could win his purpose! Oh! how would the papists triumph against God's gospel in you! Oh! how would you confirm them in their wicked popery! Oh! how would the poor children of God be discomforted, if now you should go to mass and other idolatrous service, and do as the world doth!

"Hath God delivered you from the sweat, to serve him so? Hath God miraculously restored you to health from your grievous agues for such a purpose? Hath God given you such blessings in this world, and good things all the days of your life hitherto, and now, of equity, will ye not receive at his hands, and for his sake, some evil? God forbid: I hope better of you. Use prayer, and cast your care upon God; commit your children into his hand; give to God your goods, bodies, and lives, as he hath given them, or rather lent them, unto you. Say with Job, God hath given, and God hath taken away: his name be praised for ever. Cast your care upon him, I say, for he is careful for you; and take it amongst the greatest blessings of God, to suffer for his sake. I trust he hath kept you hitherto to that end.

"And I beseech thee, O merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, that thou wouldest be merciful unto us; comfort us with thy grace, and strengthen us in thy truth, that in heart we may believe, and in tongue boldly confess thy gospel, to thy glory, and our eternal salvation: Amen. Pray for me, and I by God's grace will do the same for you.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

An admonition to certain professors of the gospel, to beware they fall not from it, in consenting to the Romish religion, by the example of other halting and double-faced gospellers.

"The peace of Christ, which is the true effect of God's gospel believed, (my dearly beloved,) be more and more plentifully perceived of you, through the grace of our dear Father, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit our comforter: Amen.

"Though I have many lets, presently to hinder me from writing unto you, yet, being desired, I could not but something signify my ready good will in this behalf so much as I may, when I cannot so much as I would.

"You hear and see how Satan bestirreth him, raging as a roaring lion to devour us. You see and feel partly what storms he hath raised up to drown the poor boat of Christ; I mean his church. You see how terribly he traineth his soldiers, to give a fierce onset on the vaward of God's battle. You see how he hath received power of God, to molest God's children, and to begin at his house. By reason whereof consider two things; one, the cause on our behalf; the other, what will be the sequel on strangers.

"For the first, if we be not blind, we cannot but well see that our sins are the cause of all this misery; our sins, I say, which I would that every one of us would apply to ourselves after the example of Jonas and David, turning over the wallet, that other men's offences might lie behind, and our own before. Not that I would excuse other men, which exteriorly have walked much more grossly than many of you have done; but that I would provoke you .all as myself, to more hearty repentance and prayer. Let us more and more increase to know and lament our doubting of God, of his presence, power, anger, mercy, &c.

"Let us better feel and hate our self-love, security, negligence, unthankfulness, unbelief, impatience, &c., and then doubtless the cross shall be less careful, yea, it shall be comfortable, and Christ most dear and pleasant; death then shall be desired, as the despatcher of us out of misery, and entrance into eternal felicity and joy unspeakable, the which is so much the more longed for, by how much we feel indeed the serpent's bites, wherewith he woundeth our heels; that is, our outward Adam and senses. If we had, I say, a lively and true feeling of his poison, we could not but, as [we] rejoice over our Captain that hath bruised his head, so be desirous to follow his example; that is, to give our lives with him and for him, and so fill up his passions, that he might conquer and overcome in us and by us, to his glory and comfort of his children.

"Now the second, (I mean the sequel, or that which will follow on the strangers,) my dearly beloved, let us well look upon. For if so be that God justly do thus give to Satan and his seed to vex and molest Christ and his penitent people; oh! what and how justly may he and will he give to Satan, to entreat the reckless and impenitent sinners! If judgments begin thus at God's house, what will follow on them that be without, if they repent not? Certainly for them is reserved the dregs of God's cup, that is, brimstone, fire, and tempest intolerable. Now are they unwilling to drink of God's cup of afflictions, which he offereth common with his Son Christ our Lord, lest they should lose their pigs with the Gergesites. They are unwilling to come into the way that bringeth to heaven, even afflictions; they in their hearts cry, Let us cast his yoke from us; they walk two ways, that is, they seek to serve God and mammon, which is impossible; they

will not come night he strait way that bringeth to life; they open their eyes to behold present things only; they judge of religion after reason, and not after God's word; they follow the more part, and not the better; they profess God with their mouths, but in their hearts they deny him; or else they would sanctify him by serving him more than men; they part stake with God, which would have all, giving part to the world, to the Romish rout, and antichristian idolatry now set abroad amongst us publicly; they will have Christ, but none of his cross, which will not be; they will be counted to live godly in Christ, but yet they will suffer no persecution; they love this world, where-through the love of God is driven forth of them; they savour of those things that be of men, and not that be of God: summa, they love God in their lips, but in their hearts, yea, and in their deeds, deny him, as well by not repenting their evils past, as by continuing in evil still; by doing as the world, the flesh, and the devil willeth; and yet still perchance they will pray, or rather prate. Thy will be done in earth, which is, generally, that every one should take up his cross, and follow Christ. But this is a hard saying: who is able to abide it? Therefore Christ must be prayed to depart, lest all the pigs be drowned. The devil shall have his dwelling again in themselves, rather than in their pigs; and therefore to the devil they shall go, and dwell with him in eternal perdition and damnation, even in hell-fire, a torment endless, and above all cogitations incomprehensible, if they repent not.

"Wherefore by them, my dearly beloved, be admonished to remember your profession, how that in baptism you made a solemn vow to forsake the devil, the world, &c. You promised to fight under Christ's standard. You learned Christ's cross afore you began with A, B, C.—Go to then; pay your vow to the Lord; fight like men, and valiant men, under Christ's standard; take up your cross and follow your Master, as your brethren, Masters Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Saunders have done, and as now your brethren, Masters Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Ferrar, Bradford, Haukes, &c., be ready to do. The ice is broken before you, therefore be not afraid, but be content to die for the Lord. You have no cause to waver or doubt of the doctrine thus declared by the blood of the pastors. Remember that Christ saith, He that will save his life, shall lose it. And what should it profit you to win the whole world, much less a little quietness, your goods, &c., and to lose your own souls? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by such means as he would have you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Christ's disciples must deny themselves, as well concerning their will, as concerning their wisdom. Have in mind, that as it is no small mercy to believe in the Lord, so it is no small kindness of God towards you, to suffer any thing; much more, death for the Lord. If they be blessed that die in the Lord, how shall they he that die for the Lord! Oh! what a blessing is it to have death, due for our sins, diverted into a demonstration and testification of the Lord's truth! Oh that we had a little of Moses' faith to look upon the end of the cross; to look upon the reward; to see continually with Christ and his people greater riches than the riches of Egypt. O let us pray that God would open our eyes to see his hid manna, heavenly Jerusalem, the congregation of his first-born, the melody of the saints, the tabernacle of God dwelling with men: then should we run, and become violent men, and so take the kingdom of heaven as it were by force. God our Father give us for his Christ's sake to see a little, what and how great joy he hath prepared for us, he hath called us unto, and most assuredly giveth us, for his own goodness and truth's sake: Amen.

"My dearly beloved, Iepent, be sober, and watch in prayer; be obedient, and after your vocations show your obedience to the higher powers in all things that are not against God's word; therein acknowledging the sovereign power of the Lord: howbeit, so that ye be no rebels, or

rebellers for no cause; but because with good conscience you cannot obey, be patient sufferers, and the glory and good Spirit of God shall dwell upon us. I pray you remember us, your afflicted brethren, being in the Lord's bonds for the testimony of Christ, and abiding the gracious hour of our dear and most merciful Father. The Lord, for Christ's sake, give us merry hearts to drink lustily of his sweet cup, which daily we groan and sigh for, lamenting that the time is thus prolonged. The Lord Jesus give us grace to be thankful, and to abide patiently the provident hour of his most gracious will: Amen, Amen.—From the Compter in the Poultry.

"Yours in Christ.
JOHN BRADFORD."

To my good brother, John Careless, prisoner in the King's Bench.

"The Father of mercy and God of all comfort visit us with his eternal consolation, according to his great mercies in Jesus Christ our Saviour: Amen.

"My very dear brother, if I shall report the truth unto you, I cannot but signify, that since I came into prison, I never received so much consolation as I did by your last letter; the name of God be most heartily praised therefore. But if I shall report the truth unto you, and, as I have begun, speak still the verity, I must confess, that for mine unthankfulness to you-wards, and to God especially, I have more need of God's merciful tidings, than I had ever heretofore. Ah! that Satan envieth us so greatly. Ah! that our Lord would tread his head under our feet shortly. Ah! that I might for ever both myself beware, and be a godly example to you and others to beware, of unthankfulness. Good brother Careless! we had more need to take heed, after a lightning, of a foil than before: God therefore is to be praised even when he hideth, and that not of long, his cheerful countenance from us, lest we, being not expert how to use it as we should do, do hurt more ourselves thereby; so great is our ignorance and corruption. This, my good brother and right dear to my very heart, I write unto you, as to one whom in the Lord I embrace; and I thank God that you do me in like manner. God our Father more and more give us both his good Spirit, that as by faith we may feel ourselves united unto him in Christ, so by love we may feel ourselves linked in the same Christ one to another, I to you, and you to me; we to all the children of God, and all the children of God to us: Amen, Amen.

"Commend me to your good brother Skelthrop, for whom I heartily praise my God, which hath given him to see his truth at length, and to give place to it. I doubt not but that he will be so heedy in all his conversation, that his old acquaintance may ever thereby think themselves astray. Woe and woe again should be unto us, if we by our example should make men to stumble at the truth. Forget not salutations in Christ, as you shall think good, to Trew, and his fellows. The Lord hath his time, I hope, for them also; although we perchance think otherwise. A drop maketh the stone hollow, not with once, but with often dropping: so if with hearty prayer for them, and good example, you still and drop upon them as you can, you shall see God's work at the length. I beseech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in us all: Amen. I desire you all to pray for me, the most unworthy prisoner of the Lord.

"Your brother.

JOHN BRADFORD."

To Master John Hall and his wife, prisoners in Newgate for the testimony of the gospel.

"Almighty God, our heavenly Father through Jesus Christ, be with you both, my dearly beloved, as with his dear children, forever, and so he bless you with his Holy Spirit, that you may in this your cross (for his cause doubtless) rejoice, and gladly take it up to bear it so long as he shall think good. I have heard, my good brother and sister, how that God hath brought you both into his school-house, (whereas you both purposed, by his leave, to have played the truants,) that thereby you might see his carefulness and love towards you. For if it be a token of a loving and careful Father for his children, to prevent the purpose and disappoint the intent of his children, purposing to depart awhile from the school for fear of beating (which thing they would not do, if they did as much consider the commodity of learning which there they might get); how should you take this work of the Lord preventing your purpose, but as an evident sign of love and fatherly carefulness that he beareth towards you? If he should have winked at your wills, then would you have escaped beating, I mean the cross; but then should you have last the commodity of learning that which your Father will now have you to learn and feel, and therefore hath he sent to you his cross. He, I say, hath brought you where you be; and though your reason and wit will tell you, it is by chance or fortune, or otherwise, yet (my dearly beloved) know for certain that, whatsoever was the mean.

God your Father was the worker hereof, and that for your weal. Although otherwise your old Adam doth tell you, and you feel; yet I say of truth, that your duty is to think of this cross, that as it is of God's sending, and cometh from him; so although your deserts be otherwise, it is of love and fatherly affection for your weal and commodity's sake.

"What commodity is hereby? you will perchance object. You are now kept in close prison, you will say; your family and children be without good overseers; your substance diminisheth by these means; poverty will approach; and perchance more perils also, yea, and loss of life too. These are no commodities, but discommodities, and that no small ones; so that justly you would be glad to know what commodity can come to you by this cross, whereby cometh so great discommodities.

"To these things I answer, that indeed it is true you say of your bodies, families, children, substance, poverty, life, &c., which things, if you would consider awhile with inward eyes, as you behold them with outward, then perhaps you should find more ease. Do not you now by the inward sense perceive, that you must part from all these and all other commodities in the world? Tell me then, have not you this commodity by your cross, to learn to loathe and leave the world, and to long for and desire another world, where is perpetuity? You ought of your own head and free will to have (according to your profession in baptism) forsaken the world, and all earthly things; using the world as though you used it not: your heart set only upon your hoard in heaven, or else you could never be Christ's true disciples, that is, to be saved, and be where he is. And trow you, my good hearts in the Lord, trow you, I say, that this is no commodity, by this cross to be compelled hereto, that you might assuredly enjoy with the Lord endless glory? How now doth God, as it were, fatherly pull you by the ears, to remember your former offences concerning these things and all other things, that repentance and remission might ensue? How doth God now compel you to call upon him, and to be earnest in prayer? are these no commodities? Doth not the Scripture say, that God doth correct us in the world, because we shall not be damned with the

world?—that God chasteneth every one he loveth?—that the end of this correction shall be joy and holiness? Doth not the Scripture say, that they are happy that suffer for righteousness' sake, as you now do?—that the glory and Spirit of God is upon them?—that, as you are now made like unto Christ in suffering, so shall you be made like him in reigning? Doth not the Scripture say, that you are now going the high and right way to heaven?—that your suffering is Christ's suffering? My dearly beloved, what greater commodities than these can a godly heart desire?

"Therefore ye are commanded to rejoice and be glad, when ye suffer as now ye do: for, through the goodness of God, great shall be your reward. Where? Forsooth on earth: first, for your children; for now they are in God's mere and immediate protection. Never was father so careful for his children, as God is for yours presently. God's blessing, which is more worth than all the world, you leave indeed to your children. Though all your providence for them should be pulled away, yet God is not poor; he hath promised to provide for them most fatherly: Cast thy burden upon me, saith he, and I will bear it. Do you therefore cast then, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will die in your debt. He never yet was found unfaithful, and he will not now begin with you. The good man's seed shall not go a begging his bread; for he will show mercy upon thousands of the posterity of them that fear him. Therefore, as I said, God's reward, first upon earth, shall be felt by your children, even corporally; and so also upon you, if God see it more for your commodity—at the least inwardly you shall feel it by quietness and comfort of conscience: and secondly, after this life you shall find it so plentifully, as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive, how great and glorious God's reward will be upon your bodies; much more upon your souls. God open our eyes to see and feel this indeed! Then shall we think the cross, which is a mean hereto, to be commodious. Then shall we thank God, that he would chastise us. Then shall we say with David, Happy am I that thou hast punished me: for before I went astray, but now I keep thy laws.

"This that we may do indeed, my dearly beloved, let us first know that our cross cometh from God: secondly, that it cometh from God as a Father, that is, to our weal and good. Therefore let us, thirdly, call to mind our sins, and ask pardon; whereto let us, fourthly, look for help certainly at God's hand in his good time: help, I say, such as shall make most to God's glory, and to the comfort and commodity of our souls and bodies eternally. This if we certainly conceive, then will there issue out of us hearty thanksgiving, which God requireth as a most precious sacrifice. That we may all through Christ offer this, let us use earnest prayer to our God and dear Father, who bless us, keep us, and comfort us under his sweet cross for ever! Amen, Amen.

"My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you should be sure thereof, though my life lay thereon; but now I must do as I may, because I cannot as I would. Oh! that it would please our dear Father shortly to bring us where we should never depart, but enjoy continually the blessed fruition of his heavenly presence. Pray, pray, that it may speedily come to pass—pray! To-morrow I will send to you to know your estate: send me word what are the chiefest things they charge you withal.—From the Compter.

"By your brother in the Lord. JOHN BRADFORD."

To Mrs. Hall, prisoner in Newgate, and ready to make answer before her adversaries.

"Our most merciful God and Father, through Christ Jesus our Lord and Saviour, be merciful unto us, and make perfect the good he hath begun in us unto the end: Amen.

"My dear sister, rejoice in the Lord, rejoice; be glad, I say, be merry and thankful, not only because Christ so commandeth us, but also because our state wherein we are presently, requireth no less, for we are the Lord's witnesses. God the Father hath vouchsafed to choose us amongst many, to witness and testify that Christ his Son is King, and that his word is true. Christ our Saviour, for his love's sake towards us, will have us to bear record that he is no usurper nor deceiver of the people, but God's ambassador, Prophet, and Messias; so that of all dignities upon earth this is the highest. Greater honour had not his prophets, apostles, nor dearest friends, than to bear witness with Christ, as we now do. The world, following the counsel of their sire Satan, would gladly condemn Christ and his verity; but lo! the Lord hath chosen us to be his champions to let this. As stout soldiers, therefore, let us stand to our Master, who is with us, and standeth on our right hand, that we should not be much moved, if we hope and hang on his mercy; he is so faithful and true, that he will never tempt us further than he will make us able to bear.

"Therefore be not careful (for I hear say this day you shall be called forth) what you shall answer. The Lord which is true and cannot lie, hath promised, and will never fail nor forget it, that you shall have both what and how to answer, so as shall make his shameless adversaries ashamed. Hang therefore on this promise of God, who is a helper at a pinch, and a most present remedy to them that hope in him. Never was it ever heard of, or shall be, that any hoping in the Lord was put to foil.

"Therefore, as I said, I say again: dear sister, be not only not careful for your answering, but also be joyful for your cause. Confess Christ, and be not ashamed, and he will confess you, and never be ashamed of you. Though loss of goods and life be like here to ensue; yet if Christ be true, (as he is most true,) it is otherwise indeed: for he that loseth his life, saith he, winneth it; but he that saveth it, loseth it. Our sins have deserved many deaths. Now if God so deal with us, that he will make our deserved death a demonstration of his grace, a testimonial of his verity, a confirmation of his people, and overthrow of his adversaries, what great cause have we to be thankful! Be thankful therefore, good sister, be thankful. Rejoice and be merry in the Lord; be stout in his cause and quarrel; be not faint-hearted, but run out your race, and set your Captain, Christ, before your eyes. Behold how great your reward is. See the great glory and the eternity of felicity prepared for you. Strive and fight lawfully, that you may get the crown. Run to get the game; you are almost at your journey's end. I doubt not but our Father will with us send to you also, as he did to Elias, a fiery chariot, to convey us into his kingdom. Let us therefore not be dismayed, to leave our cloak behind us; that is, our bodies to ashes. God will one day restore them to us like to the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whose coming is now at hand. Let us look for it, and lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh: Amen, Amen. The Lord of mercy grant us his mercy: Amen. I pray you, pray for me; and so desire my brethren which be with you. God's peace be with us all: Amen. Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord; then how much more they that die for the Lord!

"Your brother in bonds.

J. BRADFORD."

To a woman that desired to know his mind, whether she, refraining from the mass, might be present at the popish matins, or evensong; or no.

"I beseech Almighty God our heavenly Father to be merciful unto us, and to increase in you, my good sister, the knowledge and love of his truth, and at this present give me grace so to write to you something of the same, as may make to his glory and our own comfort and confirmation in him, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Whether you may come with safe conscience to the church now, that is, to the service used commonly, in part, as at matins or at even-song, or no, is your desire to have me to write something for your further stay. My dearly beloved, although your benefits towards me might perchance make you to think that in respect thereof I would bear with that which else were not to be borne withal; yet, by God's grace, I am purposed, simply and without all such respect in this matter, to speak to you the truth according to my conscience, as I may be able to stand unto, when I shall come before the Lord.

"First, therefore, go about to learn perfectly the first lesson to be learned of all that profess Christ; that is, to deny yourself, and in nothing to seek yourself.

"Secondly, learn after this, to begin at the next lesson to it, which is, to seek God in all things you do, and leave undone.

"Thirdly, know that then you seek God, when in his service you follow his word, and not man's fantasies, custom, multitude, &c., and when with your brother you follow the rule of charity; that is, To do as you would be done by. In these is a sum of all the counsel I can give you, if that hereto I admonish you of the service now used, which is not according to God's word, but rather against God's word directly, and in manner wholly. So that your going to the service is a declaration that you have not learned the first lesson, nor ever can learn it, so long as you go thither; therefore the second lesson you shall utterly lose, if you cease not the seeking of yourself, that is, if for company, custom, father or friend, life or goods, you seem to allow that which God disalloweth. And this that you the better may perceive, I purpose by God's grace briefly to show.

"First, the matins and even-song are in a tongue forbidden publicly to be used in a congregation that perceiveth not the tongue. Read how Paul affirmeth it, to pray in an unknown tongue, to be against God's commandment. This one, I trow, were enough, if nothing else were. For how can God's glory be sought, where his word and commandment are wilfully broken? How can charity to man stand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is overthrown?

"Again, both in matins and in even-song is idolatry maintained for God's service; for there is invocation and prayer made to saints departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory, which he will give to none other.

"Moreover this service, and the setters-forth of it, condemn the English service as heresy, thereby falling into God's curse, which is threatened to all such as call good evil, and evil good; whereof they shall be partakers that do communicate with them.

"Besides this, this Latin service is a plain mark of antichrist's catholic synagogue; so that the communicants and approvers of it thereby declare themselves to be members of the same synagogue, and so cut off from Christ and his church, whose exterior mark is the true administration of God's word and sacraments.

"Furthermore, the example of your going thither to allow the religion of antichrist, (as doubtless you do indeed, howsoever in heart you think,) occasioneth the obstinate to be utterly intractable, the weak papists to be more obstinate, the strong gospellers to be sore weakened, and the weak gospellers to be utterly overthrown: which things, how great offences they be, no pen is able to utter by letters. All these evils you shall be guilty of, that company with those in religion exteriorly, from whom you are admonished to fly. If Christ be Christ, follow him: gather with him, lest you scatter abroad. Serve God, not only in spirit, but also in body. Make not your body, now a member of Christ, a member of antichrist. Come out from amongst them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confess Christ and his truth, not only in heart, but also in tongue; yea, in very deed, which few gospellers do. Indeed they deny him, and therefore had need to tremble, lest that Christ will deny them in the last day: the which day, if it were set before our eyes often, then would the pleasures and treasures 'of this world be but trifles.

"Therefore, good sister, often have it before your eyes; daily set yourself and your doings as before the judgment-seat of Christ now, that hereafter you be not called into judgment. Think that it will little profit you to win the whole world, and to lose your own soul. Mark Christ's lessons well, He that will save his life shall lose it. The Father of heaven commandeth you to hear Christ, and he saith, Follow me: this can you not do, and follow idolatry or idolaters. Fly from such, saith the Scripture. This God grant to you, to me, and to all God's children: Amen.

"Thus in haste I have accomplished your request. God grant that as you have done me much good bodily, so that this may be a little mean to do you some good spiritually: Amen. If time would serve, I would have written more at large.—The second of March, anno 1555."

To the Worshipful, and in God my most dear friend, the Lady Vane.

"The good Spirit of God our Father be more and more plentifully perceived of your good Ladyship, through the mediation and merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ: Amen.

"Although your benefits towards me have deserved at my hands the service I can do for you, yet, right worshipful and dearly beloved in the Lord, the true fear of God, and the love of his truth, which I perceive to be in you, specially, and above all other things, do bind me hereunto. This bearer hath told me that your desire is, to have something sent to you concerning the usurped authority of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, (which is undoubtedly that great antichrist, of whom the apostles do so much admonish us,) that you may have as well something the more to stay on, as also wherewith to answer the adversaries, because you may perchance therein be something apposed. To satisfy this your desire, I will briefly go about; and so, that I

will by God's grace fully set forth the same, to enarm you to withstand the assaults of the papists herein, if you mark well and read over again that which I now write.

"The papists do place in pre-eminence over the whole church, the pope, thereby unplacing Christ, which is the Head of the church, that giveth life to the whole body, and by his Spirit doth make lively every member of the same. This they do without all Scriptures: for whereas they bring in this spoken to Peter, Feed my sheep, I would gladly know whether this was not commanded unto others also. As for that (which perchance they will urge) that he spake to Peter by name, if they had any learning, they would easily perceive bow that it was not for any such cause as they pretend, but rather by a threefold commandment to restore him to the honour of an apostle, which he had lost by his threefold denial. And how dare they interpret this word, My sheep, my lambs, to be the universal church of Christ? I trow a man might easily, by the like reason, prove that Peter himself had resigned that which Christ had given to him, in exhorting his fellow pastors to feed the flock of Christ. Is not this pretty stuff? Because Christ saith to Peter, Feed my sheep, therefore he ought to rule the universal and whole church of Christ? If Peter do truly write unto others that they should do the like, that is, feed Christ's flock, either he translateth his right and authority committed to him upon them, or else he doth participate or communicate with them; so that foolishly they go about to establish that which hath no ground. Peter indeed was a shepherd of the sheep, but such a one as bestowed his labour on them so far as he could stretch himself by his ministry. But the papists prate, that he had full power over all churches: wherein they may see Paul to improve them, for else he had done unjustly in denying him the superior place. Howbeit, who ever yet read, that Peter did take any thing upon him over churches committed to other men? Was not he sent of the church, and sent as one not having rule over the rest? I grant that he was an excellent instrument of God, and for the excellency of his gifts, whensoever they met together, place therefore was commonly given unto him. But what is this to the purpose, to make him ruler and head over all the whole church, because he was so over a small congregation?

"But be it so that Peter had as much given to him as they do affirm—who yet will grant that Peter had a patrimony given for his heirs? He hath left (say the papists) to his successors the selfsame right which he received. O Lord God! then must his successor be a Satan: for he received that title of Christ himself. I would gladly have the papists to show me one place of succession mentioned in the Scriptures. I am sure that when Paul purposely painteth out the whole administration of the church, he neither maketh one head, nor any inheritable primacy; and yet he is altogether in commendation of unity. After he hath made mention of one God the Father, of one Christ, of one Spirit, of one body of the church, of one faith, and of one baptism; then he describeth the mean and manner how unity is to he kept; namely, because unto every pastor is grace given after the measure wherewith Christ hath endued them. Where I pray you is now any title of *plenitudinis potestatis*, of fulness of power? When he calleth home every one unto a certain measure, why did he not forthwith say one pope? which he could not have forgotten, if the thing had been as the papists make it.

"But let us grant that perpetuity of the primacy in the church was established in Peter; I would gladly learn why the seat of the primacy should be rather at Rome than elsewhere. Marry, say they, because Peter's chair was at Rome. This is even like to this, that because Moses the greatest prophet, and Aaron the first priest, exercised their offices unto their death in the desert,

therefore the principallest place of the Jewish church should be in the wilderness! But grant them their reason that it is good; what should Antioch claim? For Peter's chair was there also, wherein Paul gave him a check, which was unseemly and unmannerly done of Paul, that would not give place to his president and better.

"No, say the papists, Rome must have this authority because Peter died there. But what if a man should by probable conjectures show, that it is but a fable which is feigned of Peter's bishopric at Rome? Read how Paul doth salute very many private persons, when he writeth to the Romans. Three years after his Epistle made, he was brought to Rome prisoner. Luke telleth, that he was received of the brethren; and yet in all these, is no mention at all of Peter, which then by their stories was at Rome. Belike he was proud, as the pope and prelates be, or else he would have visited Paul! Paul being in prison in Rome did write divers epistles, in which he expresseth the names of many which were, in comparison of Peter, but rascal personages; but of Peter he speaketh never a word. Surely if Peter had been there, this silence of him had been suspicious. In the 2nd Epistle to Timothy, Paul complaineth that no man was with him in his defence, but all had left him. If Peter had been then at Rome, as they write, then either Paul had belied him, or Peter had played his Peter's part. In another place, how doth he blame all that were with him, only Timothy excepted! Therefore we may well doubt whether Peter was at Rome bishop, as they prate: for all this time, and long before, they say that Peter was bishop there.

"But I will not stir up coals in this matter. If Rome be the chief seat because Peter died there, why should not Antioch be the second? Why should not James and John, which were taken with Peter to be as pillars? why, I say, should not their seats have honour next to Peter's seat? Is not this gear preposterous, that Alexandria, where Mark (which was but one of the disciples) was bishop, should be preferred before Ephesus, where John the evangelist taught and was bishop; and before Jerusalem, where not only James taught and died bishop, but also Christ Jesus our Lord and High Priest for ever, by whom, being Master, I hope honour should be given to his chair, more than to the chair of his chaplains?

"I need to speak nothing how that Paul telleth Peter's apostleship to concern rather circumcision or the Jews, and therefore properly pertaineth not to us. Neither do I need to bring in Gregory the First, bishop of Rome, which was about the year of our Lord 600, who plainly, in his works, doth write that this title of primacy, and to be head over all churches under Christ, is a title meet and agreeing only to antichrist; and therefore he calleth it a profane, a mischievous, and a horrible title. Whom should we believe now, if we will neither believe apostle nor pope?

"If I should go about to tell how this name was first gotten by Phocas, I should be too long. I purpose, God willing, to set it forth at large in a work which I have begun of antichrist, if God for his mercy's sake give me life to finish it. For this present therefore I shall desire your Ladyship to take this in good part. If they will needs have the bishop of Rome to be acknowledged for the head of the church, then will I urge them that they shall give us a bishop. But they obtrude unto us a butcher rather, or a bite-sheep, than a bishop. They brag of Peter's succession, of Christ's vicar: this is always in their mouth. But, alas! how can we call him Christ's vicar that resisteth Christ, oppugneth his verity, persecuteth his people, and, like a prelate, preferreth himself above God and man? How, or wherein, do the pope and Christ agree? How supplieth he Peter's ministry, that boasteth of his succession? Therefore to begin withal,

which I will use presently for a conclusion, if the papists will have the bishop of Rome supreme head of the church of Christ in earth, they must, afore they attain this, give us a bishop in deed, and not in name. For whosoever he be, that will make this the bond of unity, whatsoever the bishop of Rome be, surely this must needs follow, that they do nothing else but teach a most wicked defection and departing from Christ.

"But of this, if God lend me life, I purpose to speak more at large hereafter. Now will I betake your Ladyship unto the tuition of God our Father, and Christ our only Head, Pastor, and Keeper, to whom see that you cleave by true faith, which dependeth only upon the word of God; which if you do follow as a lantern to your feet, and a light to your steps, you shall then avoid darkness, and the dangerous deeps whereinto the papists are fallen by the judgment of God, and seek to bring us into the same dungeon with them; that the blind following the blind, they both may fall into the ditch: out of the which God deliver them according to his good will, and preserve us for his name's sake, that we being in his light, may continue therein, and walk in it whilst it is day! so shall the night never over-press us, we going from light to light, from virtue to virtue, from faith to faith, from glory to glory, by the governance of God's good Spirit, which God our Father give unto us all for ever: Amen.

"Your brother in bonds for the testimony of Jesus Christ. JOHN BRADFORD.'

Here followeth another letter of Master Bradford, to one Richard Hopkins, sheriff sometime of Coventry, and yet being (as I hear say) alive. This Hopkins, whom Master Bradford commendeth so much in this letter, during the time of his sheriffalty, was detected and accused, by certain malignant adversaries, of matter pertaining to religion. What matter it was I am not yet certainly informed, unless it were for sending and lending unto a thief, being then in prison ready to be hanged, a certain English book of Scripture for his spiritual comfort.

Whereupon, or else upon some such-like matter, he, being maliciously accused, was sent for and committed to the Fleet; and there endured a sufficient time, not without great peril of life. Notwithstanding, the said Hopkins, being at length delivered out of prison, following this counsel of Master Bradford, and minding to keep his conscience pure from idolatry, was driven with his wife and eight young children to avoid the realm; and so, leaving all other worldly respects, with his great loss and damage went into High Germany, where he continued in the city of Basil till the death of Queen Mary; being like a good Tobias, to his power a friendly helper and a comfortable reliever of other English exiles thereabout him; God's holy blessing so working with him therefore, that in those far countries neither he fell in any great decay, neither any one of all his household, during all that time there, miscarried, but so many as he brought out, so many he recarried home again; yea, and that with advantage, and God's plenty withal upon him. Now the letter written to this Richard Hopkins by Master Bradford is this.

A letter to Master Richard Hopkins, then sheriff of Coventry, and prisoner in the Fleet, for the faithful and constant confessing of God's holy gospel.

"Dearly beloved in the Lord! I wish unto you as unto mine own brother, yea, as to mine own heart-root, God's mercy, and the feeling of the same plentifully in Christ our sweet Saviour,

who gave himself a ransom for our sins, and price for our redemption; praised therefore be his holy name for ever and ever: Amen.

"I will not go about to excuse myself for not sending unto you hitherto, suffering for the Lord's sake as you do, to the comfort of me and all that love you in the truth; but rather accuse myself both before God and you, desiring of you forgiveness, and with me to pray to God for pardon of this my unkind forgetting you, and all other my sins, which I beseech the Lord in his mercy to do away, for his Christ's sake: Amen.

"Now to make amends to you-ward, I would be glad if I could: but because I cannot, I shall heartily desire you to accept that will, and this which I shall now write unto you thereafter; I mean, after my will, and not after the deed, to accept and take it. At this present, my dear heart in the Lord, you are in a blessed state, although it seem otherwise to you, or rather unto your old Adam, the which I dare now be so bold as to discern from you, because you would have him not only discerned, but also utterly destroyed. For if God be true, then is his word true.

"Now his word pronounceth of your state, that it is happy; therefore it must needs be so. To prove this, I think it need not: for you know that the Holy Ghost saith, That they are happy which suffer for righteousness' sake, and that God's glory and Spirit resteth on them which suffer for conscience to God. Now this you cannot but know, that this your suffering is for righteousness' sake, and for conscience to God-ward: for else you might be out of trouble, even out of hand. I know in very deed, that you have felt and do feel your unthankfulness to God, and other sins, to witness to you, that you have deserved this imprisonment, and lack of liberty, betwixt God and yourself; and I would you so would confess unto God in your prayers, with petition for pardon, and thanksgiving for his correcting you here. But you know that the magistrates do not persecute in you your sins, your unthankfulness, &c.; but they persecute in you Christ himself, his righteousness, his verity. And therefore happy be you that have found such favour with God your Father, as to account you worthy to suffer for his sake in the sight of man; surely you shall rejoice therefore one day with a joy unspeakable, in the sight of man also.

"You may think yourself born in a blessed time, that have found this grace with God, to be a vessel of honour to suffer with his saints, yea, with his Son. My beloved, God hath not done so with many. The apostle saith, not many noble, not many rich, not many wise in the world, hath the Lord God chosen. Oh then, what cause have you to rejoice, that amongst the not many, he hath chosen you to be one! For this cause hath God placed you in your office, that therefore ye might the more see his special dignation and love towards you. It had not been so great a thing for Master Hopkins to have suffered as Master Hopkins, as it is for Master Hopkins also to suffer as Master Sheriff. O happy day that you were made sheriff! by the which as God in this world would promote you to a more honourable degree, so, by suffering in this room, he hath exalted you in heaven, and in the sight of his church and children, to a much more excellent glory. When was it read that a sheriff of a city hath suffered for the Lord's sake? Where read we of any sheriff that hath been cast into prison for conscience to God-ward? How could God have dealt more lovingly with you, than herein he hath done? To the end of the world it shall be written for a memorial to your praise, that Richard Hopkins, sheriff of Coventry, for conscience to do his office before God, was cast into the Fleet, and there kept prisoner a long time. Happy and twice happy are you, if here-for you may give your life. Never could you have attained to this

promotion on this sort, out of that office. How do you preach now, not only to all men, but specially to magistrates in this realm! Who would ever have thought that you should have been the first magistrate that, for Christ's sake, should have lost any thing? As I said before, therefore I say again, that your state is happy. Good brother, before God I write the truth unto you; my conscience bearing me witness, that you are in a most happy state with the Lord, and before his sight.

"Be thankful therefore; rejoice in your trouble; pray for patience; persevere to the end; let patience have her perfect work. If you want this wisdom and power, ask it of God, who will give it to you in his good time. Hope still in him; yea, if he should slay you, yet trust in him with Job, and you shall perceive that the end will be to find him merciful and full of compassion: for he will not break promise with you, which hitherto did never so with any. He is with you in trouble; he heareth you calling upon him, yea, before you call; your desires are not only known, but accepted, through Christ. If now and then he hide his face from you, it is but to provoke your appetite, to make you the more to long for him. This is most true: he is coming, and will come, he will not be long. But if for a time he seem to tarry, yet stand you still, and you shall see the wonderful works of the Lord. O beloved! wherefore should you be heavy? Is not Christ Emmanuel, God with us? shall you not find that as he is true in saying, In the world you shall have trouble; so is he in saying, In me you shall have comfort? He doth not swear only that trouble will come, but withal he sweareth that comfort shall ensue. And what comfort? Such a comfort as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. O great comfort! who shall have this? Forsooth they that suffer for the Lord. And are not you one of them? Yea, verily are you. Then, as I said, happy, happy, and happy again are you, my dearly beloved in the Lord. You now suffer with the Lord, surely you shall be glorified with him. Call upon God, therefore, in your trouble, and he will hear you; yea, deliver you in such sort, as most shall make both to his and your glory also. And in this calling I heartily pray you to pray for me, your fellow in affliction. Now we be both going in the high-way to heaven: for by many afflictions must we enter in thither, whither God bring us for his mercy's sake. Amen, Amen.

"Your fellow in affliction.
JOHN BRADFORD."

To my good sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Brown.

"Good sister, God our Father make perfect the good he hath begun in you, unto the end.

"I am afraid to write unto you, because you so overcharge yourself at all times, even whensoever I do but send to you commendations. I would be more bold on you than many others, and therefore you might suspend so great tokens till I should write unto you of my need; which thing doubtless I would do, if it urged me. Dear sister, I see your unfeigned love to meward in God, and have done of long time, the which I do recompense with the like, and will do, by God's grace, so long as I live, and therefore I hope not to forget you, but in my poor prayers to have you in remembrance, as I hope you have me. Otherwise I can do you no service, except it be now and then by my writing, to let you from better exercise; where yet the end of my writing is to excite and stir up your heart more earnestly to go forwards in your well-begun enterprise. For you know none shall be crowned, but such as strive lawfully; and none receiveth the gleve,

but those that run to the appointed mark. None shall be saved but such as persist and continue to the very end.

"Therefore, dear sister, remember that we have need of patience, that when we have done the good will of God, we may receive the promise. Patience and perseverance be the proper notes, whereby God's children are known from counterfeits. They that persevere not, were always but hypocrites. Many make godly beginnings, yea, their progress seemeth marvellous; but yet after, in the end, they fail. These were never of us, saith St. John; for if they had been of us, they would have continued unto the very end.

"Go to now, therefore, mine own beloved in the Lord: as you have well begun, and well gone forward, so well persist, and happily end; and then all is yours. Though this be sharp and sour, yet it is not tedious and long. Do all that ever you do, simply for God, and as to God; so shall never unkindness, nor any other thing, make you to leave off from well doing, so long as you may do well. Accustom yourself now to see God continually, that he may be all in all unto you. In good things behold his mercy, and apply it unto yourself: in evil things and plagues behold his judgments, where-through learn to fear him. Beware of sin, as the serpent of the soul, which spoileth us of all our ornature and seemly apparel in God's sight. Let Christ crucified be your book to study on, and that both night and day. Mark your vocation, and be diligent in the works thereof. Use hearty and earnest prayer, and that in spirit. In all things give thanks to God our Father through Christ. Labour to have here life everlasting begun in you: for else it will not be elsewhere enjoyed. Set God's judgment often before your eyes, that now examining yourself, you may make diligent suit, and obtain, never to come into judgment. Uncover your evils to God, that he may cover them. Beware of this antichristian trash: defile not yourself in soul or body therewith, but accomplish holiness in the fear of God, and bear no yoke with unbelievers. Look for the coming of the Lord which is at hand; by earnest prayer and godly life hasten it. God our Father accomplish his good work in you. Amen. Commend me to my good mother, Mistress Wilkinson, and to my very dear sister, Mistress Warcup. I shall daily commend you all to God, and I pray you do the like for me.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To a friend of his, instructing him how he should answer his adversaries.

"My good brother, our merciful God and dear Father through Christ, open your eyes effectually to see, and your heart ardently to desire, the everlasting joy which he hath prepared for his slaughter-sheep; that is, for such as shrink not from his truth for any such storms' sake. Amen.

"When you shall come before the magistrates to give an answer of the hope which is in you, do it with all reverence and simplicity. And because you may be something afraid by the power of the magistrates, and cruelty which they will threaten against you, I would you set before you the good father Moses, to follow his example: for he set the invisible God before his eyes of faith, and with them looked upon God, and his glorious majesty and power, as with his corporal eyes he saw Pharaoh and all his fearful terrors. So do you, my dearly beloved: let your inward eyes give such light unto you, that as you know you are before the magistrates, so, and much more, you and they also are present before the face of God, which will give such wisdom

to you, fearing him and seeking his praise, as the enemies shall wonder at; and further, he will so order their hearts and doings, that they shall (will they nill they) serve God's providence towards you, (which you cannot avoid though you would,) as shall be most to his glory, and your everlasting comfort.

"Therefore, my good brother, Iet your whole study be only to please God: put him always before your eyes, for he is on your right hand, lest you should be moved; he is faithful, and never will suffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. Yea, every hair of your head he hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish without his good will, which cannot but be good unto you, in that he is become your Father through Christ; and therefore as he hath given you to believe in him,(God increase this belief in us all,) so doth he now graciously give unto you to suffer for his name's sake: the which you ought with all thankfulness to receive, in that you are made worthy to drink of the selfsame cup, which not only the very sons of God have drunk of before you, but even the very natural Son of God himself hath brought you good luck. Oh! he of his mercy make us thankful to pledge him again. Amen.

"Because the chiefest matter they will trouble you, and go about to deceive you withal, is the sacrament, not of Christ's body and blood, but of the altar, as they call it, thereby destroying the sacrament which Christ instituted, I would you noted these two things: first, that the sacrament of the altar which the priest offereth in the mass, and eateth privately with himself, is not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood instituted by him, as Christ's institution plainly written and set forth in the Scriptures, being compared to their using of it, plainly doth declare.

"Again, if they talk with you of Christ's sacrament instituted by him, whether it be Christ's body or no: answer them, that as to the eyes of your reason, to your taste and corporal sense, it is bread and wine, and therefore the Scripture calleth it after the consecration so; even so to the eyes, taste, and sense of your faith, which ascendeth to the right hand of God in heaven, where Christ sitteth, it is in very deed Christ's body and blood, which spiritually your soul feedeth on to everlasting life in faith, and by faith, even as your body presently feedeth on the sacramental bread and sacramental wine.

"By this means, as you shall not allow transubstantiation, nor any of their popish opinions; so shall you declare the sacrament to be a matter of faith, and not of reason, as the papists make it. For they deny God's omnipotency, in that they say Christ is not there, if bread be there: but faith looketh on the omnipotency of God, joined with his promise, and doubteth not but that Christ is able to give that he promiseth us spiritually by faith, the bread still remaining in substance, as well as if the substance of bread were taken away: for Christ saith not in any place, this is no bread. But of this gear God shall instruct you, if you hang on his promise, and pray for the power and wisdom of his Spirit, which undoubtedly as you are bound to look for, praying for it, so he hath bound himself by his promise to give it: the which thing he grant unto us both, and to all his people, for his name's sake, through Christ our Lord! Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To certain godly men, whom he exhorteth to be patient under the cross, and constant in the true doctrine which they had professed.

"My dearly beloved in the Lord, as in him I wish you well to fare, so I pray God I and you may continue in his true service, that perpetually we may enjoy the same welfare, as here in hope, so in heaven indeed, and eternally.

"You know this world is not your home, but a pilgrimage and place wherein God trieth his children: and therefore as it knoweth you not, nor can know you, so I trust you know not it; that is, you allow it not, nor in any point will seem so to do, although by many you be occasioned thereto. For this hot sun, which now shineth, burneth so sore, that the corn which is sown upon sand and stony ground, beginneth to wither; that is, many which beforetimes were taken for hearty gospellers, begin now, for the fear of afflictions, to relent, yea, to turn to their vomit again, thereby declaring that though they go from among us, yet were they never of us; or else they would have still tarried with us, and neither for gain nor loss have left us, either in word or in deed. As for their heart, (which undoubtedly is double, and therefore in danger of God's curse,) we have as much with us, as the papists have with them, and more too by their own judgment. For they, playing wily-beguily themselves, think it enough inwardly to favour the truth, though outwardly they curry favour: What though with my body, say they, I do this or that? God knoweth my heart is whole with him.

"Ah! brother, if thy heart be whole with God, why dost not thou confess and declare thyself accordingly, by word and fact? Either that which thou sayest thou believest in thy heart is good, or no. If it be good, why art thou ashamed of it? If it be evil, why dost thou keep it in thy heart? Is not God able to defend thee, adventuring thyself for his cause? or will he not defend his worshippers? Doth not the Scripture say, that the eyes of the Lord are on them that fear him, and trust in his mercy? And whereto? Forsooth to deliver their souls from death, and to feed them in the time of hunger.

"If this be true, as it is most true, why are we afraid of death, as though God could not comfort or deliver us, or would not, contrary to his promise? Why ale we afraid of the loss of our goods, as though God would leave them that fear him destitute of all good things, and so do against his most ample promises? Ah! faith, faith, how few feel thee nowadays! Full truly said Christ, that he should scarcely find faith, when he came on earth. For if men believed these promises, they would never do any thing outwardly, which inwardly they disallow. No example of men, how many soever they be, or how learned soever they be, can prevail in this behalf: for the pattern which we must follow is Christ himself, and not the more company or custom. His word is the lantern to lighten our steps, and not learned men. Company and custom are to be considered according to the thing they allow. Learned men are to be listened to and followed according to God's lore and law: for else the more part goeth to the devil. As custom causeth error and blindness, so learning, if it be not according to the light of God's word, is poison, and learned men most pernicious. The devil is called demon for his cunning, and the children of the world are much wiser than the children of light in their generation: and I know the devil and his darlings have always for the most part more helps in this life than Christ's church and her children. They (the devil and his synagogue I mean) have custom, multitude, unity, antiquity, learning, power, riches, honour, dignity, and promotions plenty, as always they have had, and

shall have commonly, and for the most part until Christ's coming, much more than the true church hath presently, heretofore hath had, or hereafter shall have. For her glory, riches, and honour are not here; her trial, cross, and warfare are here.

"And therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, consider these things accordingly. Consider what you be: not worldlings, but God's children. Consider where you be: not at home, but in a strange country. Consider among whom you are conversant, even in the midst of your enemies, and of a wicked generation; and then I trust you will not much muse at affliction; which you cannot be without, being as you be, God's children, in a strange country, and in the midst of your enemies, except you would leave your Captain, Christ, and follow Satan for the muck of this world, rest and quietness, which he may promise you, and you indeed think you shall receive it by doing as he would have you to do. But, my sweet hearts! he is not able to pay that he promiseth. Peace and war come from God, riches and poverty, wealth and woe. The devil hath no power but by God's permission. If then God permit him a little on your goods, body, or life, I pray you tell me what can much hurt you, as Peter saith, you being followers of godliness? Think you that God will not remember you in his time, as most shall be to your comfort? Can a woman forget the child of her womb? And if she should, yet will I not forget thee, saith the Lord. Look upon Abraham in his exile and misery; look upon Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David, the prophets, apostles, and all the godly from the beginning; and my good brethren, is not God the same God? Is he a changeling? You have heard of the patience of Job, saith St. James, and you have seen the end, how that God is merciful, patient, and long-suffering: even so I say unto you, that you shall find accordingly, if so be you be patient; that is, if so be you fear him, set his word before you, serve him thereafter, and if he lay his cross on you, you bear it with patience: the which you shall do when you consider it not according to the present sense, but according to the end.

"Therefore I heartily beseech you, and out of my bonds, which I suffer for your sake, pray you, mine own sweet hearts in the Lord, that you would cleave in heart and humble obedience to the doctrine taught you by me, and many others my brethren. For we have taught you no fables nor tales of men, or our own fantasies, but the very word of God, which we are ready with our lives (God so enabling us, as we trust he will) to confirm, and by the shedding of our bloods, in all patience and humble obedience to the superior powers, to testify and seal up, as well that you might be more certain of the doctrine, as that you might be ready to confess the same before this wicked world; knowing that if we confess Christ and his truth before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven: if so be we be ashamed hereof for loss of life, friends, or goods, he will be ashamed of us before his Father, and his holy angels in heaven.

"Therefore take heed, for the Lord's sake take heed; take heed, and defile not your bodies or souls with this Romish and antichristian religion set up amongst us again: but come away, come away, as the angel crieth, from amongst them in their idolatrous service, lest you be partakers of their iniquity. Hearken to your preachers as the Thessalonians did to Paul; that is, confer their sayings with the Scriptures, and if they sound not thereafter, the morning light shall not shine upon them.

"Use much and hearty prayer for the spirit of wisdom, knowledge, humbleness, meekness, sobriety, and repentance, which we have great need of; because our sins have thus provoked the Lord's anger against us: but let us bear his anger, and acknowledge our faults with

bitter tears and sorrowful sighs, and doubtless he will be merciful to us after his wonted mercy. The which thing he vouchsafe to do for his holy name's sake in Christ Jesu our Lord, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, and everlasting thanks, from this time forth for evermore. Amen.

"Out of prison by yours in the Lord to command. JOHN BRADFORD."

# A letter to Master George Eaton.

"Almighty God, our heavenly Father, recompense abundantly into your bosom, my dearly beloved, here and eternally, the good which from him by you I have continually received since my coming into prison. Otherwise can I never be able to requite your loving-kindness here, than by praying for you, and after this life, by witnessing your faith declared to me by your fruits, when we shall come and appear together before the throne of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whither, I thank God, I am even now a-going; ever looking when officers will come, and satisfy the precept of the prelates, whereof though I cannot complain, because I have justly deserved a hundred thousand deaths at God's hands by reason of my sins, yet I may and must rejoice, because the prelates do not persecute in me mine iniquities, but Christ Jesus and his verity: so that they persecute not me, they hate not me; but they persecute Christ, they hate Christ.

"And because they can do him no hurt, (for he sitteth in heaven, and laugheth them and their devices to scorn, as one day they shall feel,) therefore they turn their rage upon his poor sheep, as Herod their father did upon the infants. Great cause therefore have I to rejoice, that my dear Saviour Christ will vouchsafe, amongst many, to choose me to be a vessel of grace to suffer in me, (who have deserved so often and justly to suffer for my sins,) that I might be most assured I shall be a vessel of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

"Therefore, my right dear brother in the Lord, rejoice with me, give thanks for me; and cease not to pray, that God, for his mercy's sake, would make perfect the good lie hath begun in me. And as for the doctrine which I have professed and preached, I do confess unto you in writing, as to the whole world I shortly shall, by God's grace, in suffering, that it is the very true doctrine of Jesus Christ, of his church, of his prophets, apostles, and all good men: so that if an angel should come from heaven and preach otherwise, the same were accursed.

"Therefore waver not, dear heart in the Lord, but be confirmed in it; and as your vocation requireth, when God so will, confess it, though it be perilous so to do. The end shall evidently show another manner of pleasure for so doing, than tongue can tell. Be diligent in prayer, and watch therein. Use reverent reading of God's word. Set the shortness of this time before your eyes, and let not the eternity that is to come depart out of your memory. Practise in doing that you learn by reading and hearing. Decline from evil, and pursue good. Remember them that be in bonds, especially for the Lord's cause, as members of your body, and fellow-heirs of grace. Forget not the afflictions of Sion, and the oppression of Jerusalem; and God our Father shall give us his continual blessing through Christ our Lord, who guide us as his dear children for ever. Amen.

"And thus I take my *vale* and farewell with you, dear brother, for ever in this present life, till we shall meet in eternal bliss; whither our good God and Father bring us shortly. Amen.—God bless all your babes for ever. Amen.—Out of prison this eighth of February.

"Your afflicted brother for the Lord's cause. JOHN BRADFORD "

Another letter to Mrs. Ann Warcup.

"Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for his Christ's sake, increase in us faith, by which we may more and more see what glory and honour is reposed and safely kept in heaven, for all them that believe with the heart, and confess Christ and his truth with the mouth. Amen.—My dearly beloved, I remember that once heretofore I wrote unto you a vale or a farewell upon conjecture: but now I write my farewell to you in this life indeed, upon certain knowledge. My staff standeth at the door; I continually look for the sheriff to come for me, and I thank God I am ready for him. Now go I to practise that which I have preached. Now am I climbing up the hill: it will cause me to puff and to blow before I come to the cliff. The hill is steep and high, my breath is short, and my strength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now, through his goodness, even almost come to the top, I may by his grace be strengthened, not to rest till I come where I should be. O loving Lord! put out thy hand, and draw me unto thee; for no man cometh, but he whom the Father draweth. See, my dearly beloved, God's loving mercy: he knoweth my short breath and great weakness. As he sent for Elias in a fiery chariot, so sendeth he for me; for by fire my dross must be purified, that I may be fine gold in his sight. O unthankful wretch that I am! Lord, do thou forgive me mine unthankfulness. Indeed I confess, (right dear to me in the Lord!) that my sins have deserved hell-fire, much more than this fire. But lo, so loving is my Lord, that he converteth the remedy for my sins, the punishment for my transgressions, into a testimonial of his truth, and a testification of his verity, which the prelates do persecute in me, and not my sins. Therefore they persecute not me, but Christ in me, which, I doubt not, will take my part unto the very end. Amen.

"Oh that I had so open a heart as could so receive as I should do this great benefit and unspeakable dignity, which God my Father offereth to me! Now pray for me, my dearly beloved: pray for me that I never shrink. I shall never shrink, I hope. I trust in the Lord I shall never shrink: for he that always hath taken my part, I am assured will not leave me when I have most need, for his truth and mercy's sake. O Lord! help me. Into thy hands I commend me wholly. In the Lord is my trust, I care not what man can do unto me: Amen, Amen. My dearly beloved, say you Amen also; and come after, if so God call you. Be not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, but keep company with him still. He will never leave you, but in the midst of temptation will give you an out-scape, to make you able to bear the brunt. Use hearty prayer; reverently read and hear God's word; put it in practice; look for the cross; lift up your hands, for your redemption draweth nigh; know that the death of God's saints is precious in his sight. Be merry in the Lord; pray for mitigation of God's heavy displeasure upon our country. God keep us for ever; God bless us with his spiritual blessings in Christ. And thus I bid you farewell for ever in this present life. Pray for me, pray for me; for God's sake pray for me. God make perfect his good work begun in me. Amen.—Out of prison, the seventh of February.

"Yours in the Lord.

J. BRADFORD."

In the story of Master Bradford, it was above rehearsed, how a certain gentlewoman, being in trouble by her father and mother for not coming to mass, sent her servant to visit Master Bradford in prison; who, tendering the woeful case of the gentlewoman, to the intent partly to confirm her with counsel, partly to relieve her oppressed mind with some comfort, directed this letter unto her: the contents whereof are these.

To a certain godly gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her friends for not coming to the mass.

"I wish unto you, right worshipful and my dearly beloved sister in the Lord, as to myself, the continual grace and comfort of Christ, and of his holy word, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who strengthen your inward man with the strength of God, that you may continue to the end in the faithful obedience of God's gospel, whereto you are called. Amen.

"I perceived by yourself, the last day when you were with me, bow that you are in the school-house and trial-parlour of the Lord; which to me is (at the least it should be) a great comfort, to see the number of God's elect by you increased, which are in that state whereof God hath not called many, as Paul saith. And as it is a comfort to me, so should it be a confirmation unto me, that the Lord, for his faithfulness' sake, will make perfect and finish the good he hath begun in you to the end.

"If then your cross be to me a comfort or token of your election, and a confirmation of God's continual favour, my dearly beloved, how much more ought it to be so unto you, unto whom he hath not only given to believe, but also to come into the trace of suffering for his sake; and that not commonly of common enemies, but even of your own father, mother, and all your friends, I mean kinsfolks, as you told me! by which I see Christ's words to be true, how that he came to give his children such a peace with him, as the devil might not, nor may abide; and therefore stirreth up father and mother, sister and brother, rather than it should continue. But, my dear sister, if you cry with David to the Lord, and complain to him; how that for conscience to him, your father and mother have forsaken you, you shall hear him speak in your heart, that he hath received you; and by this would have you to see, how that he maketh you here like to Christ, that elsewhere (in heaven) you might be like unto him; whereof you ought to be most assured, knowing that in time, even when Christ shall appear, you shall be like unto him. For he will make your body, which now you defile not with idolatrical service in going to mass, like unto his own glorious and immortal body, according to the power whereby he is able to do all things. He will confess you before his Father, which do not deny his verity in word nor deed before your father; he will make you to reign with him, that now suffer for him and with him; he will reward you with himself and all the glory he hath, that now, for his sake, deny yourselves with all that ever you have; he will not leave you comfortless, that seek no comfort but at his hand though for a little time you he afflicted, yet therein will he comfort and strengthen you, and at the length make you to be merry with him in such joy as is infinite and endless. He will wipe all the tears from your eyes; he will embrace you as your dear Husband; he will, after he hath proved you, crown you with a crown of glory and immortality, such as the heart of man shall never be able to conceive in such sort as the thing is. He now beholdeth your stedfastness, and striving to do his good will; and shortly will he show you how sted fast he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you have fully resigned it to his will.

"Pledge him in his cup of the cross, and you shall pledge him in the cup of his glory." Desire to drink it before it be come to the dregs, whereof the wicked shall drink, and all those that, for fear of the cross and pledging the Lord, do walk with the wicked, in betraying in fact and deed that which their heart embraceth for verity. The which thing if you should do, (which God forbid,) then, my dear mistress and sister in the Lord, you should not only lose all that I have before spoken, and much more infinitely of eternal joy and glory, but also be a castaway, and partaker of God's most heavy displeasure in hell-fire eternally; and so for a little ease, which you cannot tell how long it will last, to lose for ever and ever all ease and comfort. For he that gathereth not with me, saith Christ, (as no mass-gospeller doth,) scattereth abroad. According to that we do in this body, we shall receive, be it good or bad. If of our words we shall be judged to condemnation or salvation; much more then of our facts and deeds. You cannot be partaker of God's religion and antichrist's service, whereof the mass is most principal. You cannot be a member of Christ's church, and a member of the pope's church. You must glorify God not only in soul and heart, but also in body and deed. You may not think that God requireth less of you his wife now, than your husband did of you. If both heart and body your husband would have, shall Christ have less, trow you, which hath so bitterly and dearly bought it? If your husband could not admit an excuse how your heart is his only, if he should have taken your body in bed with another; do you think that Christ will allow your body at mass, although your heart consent not to it?

"God esteemeth his children, not only of their hearts, but of their pure hands and works; and therefore in Elias's time he counted none to be his servants and people, but such as had not bowed their knees to Baal; as now he doth not in England account any other to be his darlings, which know the truth in heart, and deny it in their deeds; as do our mass-gospellers.

"We ought to desire above all things the sanctifying of God's holy name, and the coming of his kingdom; and shall we then see his name blasphemed so horribly, as it is at mass, by making it a sacrifice propitiatory, and setting forth a false Christ of the priests' and bakers' making, to be worshipped as God, and say nothing? The Jews rent their clothes asunder in seeing or hearing any thing blasphemously done or spoken against God; and shall we yet come to church where mass is, and be mute? Paul and Barnabas rent their clothes to see the people of Lycaonia to offer sacrifice unto them; and shall we see sacrifice and God's service done to an inanimate creature, and be mum? What thing helpeth more or so much antichrist's kingdom as doth the mass? And what destroyeth preaching and the kingdom of Christ upon earth more than it doth? And how can we then say, Let thy kingdom come, and go to mass? How can we pray before God, Thy will be done on earth, when we will do our own will, and the will of our father or friends? How pray we, Deliver us from evil, which, knowing the mass to be evil, do come to it?

"But what go I about to light a candle in the noon-day, that is, to tell you that we may not go to mass, or to the congregation where it is, except it be to reprove it, in that all men in so doing do but dissemble both with God and man? And is dissembling now to be allowed? How long will men yet halt on both knees? saith God. Halting, saith St. Paul, bringeth out of the way; that is to say, out of Christ, which is the way: so that he which is not in him shall wither away, and be cast into hell-fire. For Christ will be ashamed of them before his Father, which be now ashamed of his truth before this wicked generation.

"Therefore, my good mistress, take good heed; for it had been better for you never to have known the truth, and there-through to have escaped from papistical uncleanness, than now to return to it; making eftsoons your members, being members of righteousness, members of unrighteousness; as you do, if you do but go to the church where mass is. Be pure therefore, and keep yourself from all filth of the spirit, and of the flesh. Abstain not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil.

"And so the God of peace shall be with you, the glory of God shall govern you, the Spirit of God shall sanctify you, and be with you for ever, to keep you from all evil, and to comfort you in all your distress and trouble; which is but short, if you consider the eternity you shall enjoy in glory and felicity in the Lord, which undoubtedly you shall not fail but inherit for ever, if so be you, as the elect child of God, put your trust in his mercy, call upon his name unfeignedly, and yield not over to the wicked world, but stick still against it unto the end. God, for his holy name's sake, who is properly the God of the widows, be your good and dear Father for ever, and help you always, as I myself would be holpen at his hands in all things; and especially in this his own cause. Amen, Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To one by whom he had received much comfort and relief in his trouble and imprisonment.

"The mercy of God in Christ, peculiar to his children, be evermore felt of you, my dearly beloved in the Lord. Amen.

"When I consider with myself the benefits which God hath showed unto me by your means, if I had so good and thankful a heart as I would I had, I could not with dry eyes give him thanks; for certainly they are very many and great. And now, being yet still the Lord's prisoner, I receive from him more benefits by you. For the which I think myself so much bound to you, my good brother, (although you were but the instrument by whom God wrought and blessed me,) that I look not to come out of your debt by any pleasure or service that I shall ever be able to do you in this life. I shall heartily pray unto God, therefore, to requite you the good you have done to me for his sake: for I know that which you have done, you have done it simply in respect of God and his word. He therefore give you daily more and more to be confirmed in his truth and word, and so plentifully pour upon you the riches of his Holy Spirit and heavenly treasures laid up in store for you, that your corporal and earthly riches may be used of you as sacraments and significations thereof; the more to desire the one—that is, the heavenly, and the less to esteem the other—that is, the earthly. For Satan's solicitation is, so to set before you the earthly, that therein and thereby you should not have access to the consideration of the heavenly, but, as one bewitched, should utterly forget them, and altogether become a lover and worshipper of the earthly mammon, and so to fall to covetousness, and a desire to be rich, by that means to bring you into many noisome and hurtful lusts: as now-a-days I hear of many which have utterly forsaken God and all his heavenly riches, for antichrist's pleasure, and the preserving of their worldly pelf, which they imagine to leave to their posterity; whereof they are uncertain, as they may be most certain they leave to them God's wrath and vengeance, in his time to be sent by visitation, if they in time heartily repent not, and prevent not the same by earnest prayer. Wherein, my good brother, if you be diligent, hearty, and persevere, I am sure God will preserve you from evil, and from yielding yourself to do as the world now doth, by allowing in bodily fact

in the Romish service, that which the inward cogitation and mind doth disallow. But if you be cold in prayer, and come into consideration of earthly and present things simply, then shall you fall into faithless follies and wounding of your conscience; from which God evermore preserve you, with your good wife, and your babe Leonard, and all your family; to the which I wish the blessing of God, now and for ever, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

"I pray you give thanks for me to your old bed- fellow, for his great friendship for your sake showed to me when I was in the Tower.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To a faithful friend of his, and his wife, resolving their doubt, why they ought not to come to auricular confession.

"The merciful God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which loveth us as a most dear Father, and hath put upon him towards us the affection of a most tender mother towards her children, so that he can no less think upon us (although of ourselves we be most unworthy, and deserve nothing less) than she can think on her only begotten child in his distress; yea, if she should forget her child, as some unnatural mother will do, yet will he never forget us, although for a time he seem to sleep, that we might be occasioned to call loud and awake him: this good God keep you, my dear brother Nathaniel, and your good yoke-fellow, my heartily beloved sister in the Lord, in all things now and for ever, to his glory, and your eternal comfort: and also of his goodness he grant you both the feeling of that hope, which undoubtedly he hath laid up in store for you both, far passing the store and provision, not only which you have made, but all the world is able to make, as I trust already he hath wrought it in you: but I beseech him to increase it more and more, and kindle in you a hearty longing for the enjoying of the same; the which once felt and had in deed, then the means by the which we come thereto cannot be so greatly dreaded, as most men do dread them, because either they want this feeling, (I mean it, of altogether,) or else because the sense of this present time and things therein, are as a mist to the hiding of those things from our sight, lest we should run and embrace them by hearty prayer; the spirit whereof God grant us, and indeed we should attain enough in this behalf, if we continued therein.

"For auricular confession, wherein you desire my advice for your good yoke-fellow and family, (my most dear brother,) I am as ready to give it, as you to desire it, yea, more glad, forasmuch as half a suspicion was in me (at the least touching my dear sister your wife) of a loathing of my advice, that too much had been given, whereas indeed I should lament my too little feeding you spiritually, as you, both out of prison and in prison, have fed me corporally. But as I always thought of her, so I yet think, that she is the child of God, whom God dearly loveth, and will in his good time, to her eternal comfort, give her her heart's desire in sure feeling and sensible believing of this, which I would she had often in her mind; namely, that he is her God and Father through Jesus Christ our dear Lord and Saviour. A greater service to God she cannot give, than to believe this. If Satan say, she believeth not, to answer not him but the Lord, and to say, Yea, Lord, help my unbelief; and increase my poor faith, which Satan saith is no faith: make him a liar, Lord, as always he hath been, is, and shall be. Undoubtedly, sooner or later God will graciously hear her groans, and keep all her tears in his bottle, yea, write them in his counting-book, for he is a righteous God, and hath no pleasure in the death of his creature; he

loveth mercy, he will return and show her his mercy, he will cast all her sins and iniquities into the bottom of the sea; and the longer that he tarrieth, (as he doth it but to prove her,) so the more liberally will he recompense her long looking; which no less pleaseth him, than it grieveth now her outward Adam. For the mortification whereof God useth this cross, and therefore if she desire to bear the same, doubtless God will make her able to bear it; and in presumption of his goodness and strength, let her cast herself wholly upon him; for he is faithful, and will assuredly confirm, and bring to a happy end, that good which graciously he hath begun in her. The which thing I desire him to do for his own glory and name's sake. Amen, Amen.

"And now to the matter. Confession auricular, as is was first used and instituted, (which was by the way of a counsel asking,) I take to be amongst those traditions which are indifferent; that is, neither unlawful, nor necessarily binding us, except the offence of the weak could not be avoided. But to consider it as it is now used, (I write to you but as I think, and what my mind is; which follow no further, than good men by God's word do allow it,) to consider it, I say, as it is now used, methinketh, it is plainly unlawful and wicked, and that for these causes:

"First, because they make it a service of God, and a thing which pleaseth God of itself, I will not say meritorious; this bringer, my brother, can tell you at large how great this evil is.

"Secondly, because they make it of necessity, so that he or she that useth it not, is not taken for a good Christian.

"Thirdly, because it requireth of itself an impossibility; that is, the numbering and telling of all our sins; which no man perceiveth, much less can utter.

"Fourthly, because it establisheth and confirmeth, at the least alloweth, praying to saints: *Precor sanctam Mariam*, you must say, or the priest for you.

"Fifthly, because it is very injurious to the liberty of the gospel, the which to affirm in example and fact, I take to be a good work and dear in God's sight.

"Sixthly, because (as it is used) it is a note, yea, a very sinew, of the popish church: and therefore we should be so far from allowing the same, that we should think ourselves happy to lose any thing in bearing witness there-against.

"Seventhly, because, instead of counsel, thereat you should receive poison; or, if you refuse it under Sir John's *benedicite*, you should no less there be wounded in the briers.

"Eighthly, because the end and purpose why we go thither, is for the avoiding of the cross; that is, for our own cause, and not for Christ's cause, or for our brethren's commodity. For in that they make it so necessary a thing, and a worshipping of God, it cannot but be against Christ, and the freedom of his gospel: and the same thing teacheth us, that it is against the commodity of our brethren, which either be weak, either be strong, either be ignorant, either be obstinate. If they be weak, by your resorting to it, they be made more weak. If they be strong, you do what you can to infirm their strength. If they be ignorant, therein you help to keep them by your fact. If they be obstinate, your resorting to it cannot but rock them asleep in their

obstinate error of the necessity of this rite and ceremony. These causes recited, do show you what I think in this: but my thinking must no further bind you than a man's thought should do, except the same be grounded upon God's word, which bindeth indeed, as I think they do. I doubt not but you, weighing these causes, and especially two, the first and the last, if you pray to God for his Spirit to direct you, and thereto ask the advice of this my good brother and other godly learned men, I doubt not (I say) but you shall be guided to do that which is best in God's sight, although in the sight of the world, perhaps, you should be counted foolish and precise. But be at a point with yourselves as the disciples of Christ, which had forsaken themselves, to follow, not your will, but God's will, as you daily pray in the Lord's prayer.

"The cross of Christ be willing to carry, lest you carry the cross of the world, the flesh, or the devil. One of these four crosses you must carry. Three of them bring to hell, and therefore the more part goeth that way, which is a broad way. Only the fourth bringeth to heaven; but few go that way, as well because the way is strait, as also because few walk in it. Howbeit, though it be strait, it is but short, and the few are many, if you consider the godly, as the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and Christ Jesus, with all his guard and train. Think not scorn to come after them which are gone before you, and after them which now go before you, in whose number I trust I am appointed to be one; and I beseech you pray for me, that God would vouch me worthy that honour. Our sins deserve plagues, prison, and the loss of all that ever we have: therefore if God remove our sins out of sight, and send us prison, or loss of goods and living, for his name's sake, O how happy are we! My dear hearts in the Lord, consider this gear, and be assured that he which loseth any thing for Christ's sake, the same in his posterity shall find it here, and in heaven elsewhere. As for unableness to answer for your faith, it shall be enough to will them to dispute with your teachers. Faith standeth not in disputing. I think few, if it came to disputing, could defend the Godhead of Christ and many other articles: I speak it for the simple sort. Pray for me. Lack of paper maketh this end. Commend me to my good brother R. B., and my good sister his wife. I pray them to pray for me. I trust by this bearer to hear how you do. "JOHN BRADFORD."

To a dear friend N., and his wife.

"God's mercy in Christ I wish you to feel, my dear brother, with my faithful sister your wife, now and for ever. Amen.

"Having this occasion, I could not but write something, as well to put myself in remembrance of my duty to God-ward for you, both in thankfulness and prayer, as to put you in remembrance of me; and your duty towards God for me, in praying for me; for I dare not say in thankfulness for me: not that I would have you to give no thanks to God for his wonderfully great and sweet mercies towards me, and upon me in Christ his Son; but because I have not deserved it at either of your hands. For ye both know right well, at least my conscience doth accuse me, how that I have not only not exhorted and taught you (as both my vocation and your deserts required) to walk worthy of that vocation which God hath made you worthy of, and with trembling and fear to work out your salvation (that is, in the fear of God to give yourselves to great vigilancy in prayer for the increase of faith, and to a wary circumspection in all your conversation, not only in works and words, but also in thoughts, because God is a searcher of the heart, and out of the heart it cometh that defileth us in God's sight): I have (I say) not only not

done this, but also have given you example of negligence in prayer, watching, fasting, talking, and doing; so that woe to me for giving you such offence. Partly for this cause, dear brother and sister, God hath cast me here, that I might repent me and turn to him; and that ye might also, by this correction upon me, be more diligent to redress these things and others, if they in your conscience do accuse you.

"My dearly beloved, heavily is God's anger fallen upon us all; doleful is this day. Now hath antichrist all his power again. Now is Christ's gospel trodden under foot. Now are God's people a derision and prey for the wicked. Now is the greatest plague of all plagues fallen, the want of God's word: and all these we have, yea, I alone have justly deserved. Oh! that as I write, (I alone,) I could with David, and with Jonas, in heart say so. But I do not, I do not. I see not how grievously I have sinned, and how great a misery is fallen for mine unthankfulness for God's word, for mine hypocrisy in professing, preaching, hearing, and speaking of God's word; for my not praying to God for the continuance of it, for my not living of it thoroughly, as it requireth, &c. I will speak nothing of my manifest evils, for they are known to you well enough.

"Dear brother and sister, with me say ye the like for your own parts, and with me join your hearts, and let us go to our heavenly Father, and for his Christ's sake beseech him to be merciful unto us, and to pardon us: O good Father, it is we that have deserved the taking away of thy word; it is we that have deserved these thy just plagues fallen upon us; we have done amiss; we have dealt unjustly with thy gospel; we have procured thy wrath; and therefore just art thou in punishing us, just art thou in plaguing us, for we are very miserable. But, good Lord and dear Father of mercy, whose justice is such, that thou wilt not punish the poor souls of this realm, which yet have not thus sinned against thee as we have done, (for many yet never heard thy word,) for our trespasses; and whose mercy is so great, that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembrance for thy Christ's sake, if we repent and believe: grant us, we beseech thee, true repentance and faith, that we, having obtained pardon for our sins, may, through thy Christ, get deliverance from the tyranny of antichrist now oppressing us.

"O good Father, which hast said, that the sceptre of the wicked should not long lie upon and over the just, lest they should put forth their hands to iniquity also; make us just, we pray thee in Christ's name, and cut asunder the cords of them that hate Sion; let not the wicked people say, Where is their God? Thou our God art in heaven, and dost whatsoever pleaseth thee upon earth.

Oh that thou wouldest in the mean while, before thou dost deliver us—that, I say, thou wouldest open our eyes to see all these plagues to come from thee, and all other that shall come, whatsoever they be, public or private, that they come not by chance nor by fortune, but that they come even from thy hand; and that justly and mercifully: justly, because we have and do deserve them, not only by our birth-poison still sticking and working in us, but also by our former evil life past, which by this punishment and all other punishments thou wouldest have us to call to our remembrance, and to set before us, that thou mightest put them from before thee, whereas they stand so long as they ale not in our remembrance, to put them away by repentance. Mercifully, O Lord God, dost thou punish, in that thou dost not correct to kill, but to amend; that we might repent our sins, ask mercy, obtain it freely in Christ, and begin to suffer for righteousness' sake; to be part of thy house, whereat thy judgment beginneth; to be partakers of

the afflictions of thy church, and thy Christ, that we might be partakers of the glory of the same; to weep here that we might rejoice elsewhere; to be judged in this world, that we might with thy saints judge hereafter the world; to suffer with Christ, that we might reign with him; to be like to Christ in shame, that we might be like to him in glory; to receive our evils here, that we might with poor Lazarus find rest elsewhere; rest, I say, and such a rest as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive. Oh! that our eyes were open to see this: that the cross cometh from thee to declare thy justice and thy mercy, and hereto, that we might see how short a time the time of suffering is; how long a time the time of rejoicing is, to them that suffer here; but to them that will not, how long and miserable a time is appointed and prepared; a time without time in eternal woe and perdition, too horrible to be thought upon. From the which keep us, dear Father, and give us more light in soul to see this gear, and how that all thy dearest children have carried the cross of grievous afflictions in this life; in whose company do thou place us; and such a cross lay upon us, as thou wilt make us able to bear, to thy glory and our salvation in Christ, for whose sake we pray thee to shorten the days of this our great misery fallen upon us most justly, and in the mean season give us patience, repentance, faith, and thy eternal consolation. Amen. Amen. Amen.

"And thus, dear hearts, I have talked, methinks, a little while with you, or rather we have all talked with God. Oh! that God would give us his Spirit of grace and prayer. My dearly beloved, pray for it, as for yourselves, so for me; and that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy to suffer with a good conscience for his name's sake. Pray for me, and I shall do the like for you.—This twentieth of December, by him whom by this bringer you shall learn. I pray you give my commendations to all that love me in the Lord. Be merry in Christ, for one day in heaven we shall meet and rejoice together for evermore. Amen."

# To my good brother Augustine Bernher.

"Mine own good Augustine, the Lord of mercy bless thee, my dear brother, for ever. I have good hope, that if you come late at night, I shall speak with you; but come as secretly as you can: howbeit, in the mean season, if you can, and as you can, learn what Master G. hath spoken to Dr. Story and others. The cause of all this trouble both to my keeper and me, is thought to come by him. It is said that I shall be burned in Smithfield, and that shortly. The Lord's will be done. Behold, here I am, Lord, send me. Ah! mine own sweet friend, I am now alone, lest I should make you and others worse. If I should live, I would more warily use the company of God's children, than ever I have done. I will bear the Lord's anger, because I have sinned against him. Commend me to my most dear sister, for whom my heart bleedeth: the Lord comfort her and strengthen her unto the end! I think I have taken my leave of her for ever in this life, but in eternal life we shall most surely meet, and praise the Lord continually. I have now taken a more certain answer of death than ever I did: and yet not so certain as I think I should do. I am now as a sheep appointed to the slaughter. Ah! my God, the hour is come; glorify thy most unworthy child. I have glorified thee, saith this my sweet Father, and I will glorify thee. Amen.—Ah! mine own bowels, praise God for me; and pray for me; for I am his hope: I hope he will never forsake me, though I have above all others most deserved it. I am the most singular example of his mercy, praised be his name therefore for ever. Cause Mrs. Pierrepoint to learn of the sheriff, Master Chester, what they purpose to do with me; and know, if you can, whether there be any writ forth for me. I am like to an owl in the house, and as a sparrow alone in the house-top. Ah!

my Augustine, how long shall God's enemies thus triumph? I have sent you this of the baptism of children to write out; when this is done, you shall have other things. Pray, pray, mine own dear heart, on whom I am bold. The keeper telleth me, that it is death for any to speak with me, but yet, I trust, that I shall speak with you.

"JOHN BRADFORD.

To these letters of Master Bradford above specified, here is also adjoined another letter of the said Bradford, written to certain of his faithful friends, worthy of all Christians to be read; wherein is described a lively comparison between the old man and the new: also between the law and the gospel, containing much fruitful matter of divinity, necessary for Christian consciences to read and understand.

A letter of Master Bradford, describing a comparison between the old man and the new, &c.

"A man that is regenerate and born of God (the which thing that every one of us be, our baptism, the sacrament of regeneration, doth require under pain of damnation, and therefore let every one of us with the Virgin Mary say, Be it unto me, O Lord, according to thy word, according to the sacrament of baptism, wherein thou hast declared our adoption; and let us lament the doubting hereof in us, striving against it, as we shall be made able of the Lord): a man, I say, that is regenerate, consisteth of two men (as a man may say); namely, of the old man, and of the new man: the old man is like to a mighty giant, such a one as was Goliath, for his birth is now perfect; but the new man is like unto a little child, such a one as was David, for his birth is not perfect until the day of his general resurrection.

"The old man therefore is more strong, lusty, and stirring than is the new man, because the birth of the new man is but begun now, and the old man is perfectly born. And as the old man is more stirring, lusty, and stronger than the new man; so is the nature of him clean contrary to the nature of the new man, as being earthly and corrupt with Satan's seed, the nature of the new man being heavenly, and blessed with the celestial seed of God. So that one man, inasmuch as he is corrupt with the seed of the serpent, is an old man; and inasmuch as he is blessed with the seed of God from above, he is a new man. And as, inasmuch as he is an old man, he is a sinner and an enemy to God; so, inasmuch as he is regenerate, he is righteous and holy, and a friend to God, the seed of God preserving him from sin, so that he cannot sin, as the seed of the serpent (wherewith he is corrupt even from his conception) inclineth him, yea, enforceth him to sin, and nothing else but to sin: so that the best part in man before regeneration, in God's sight, is not only an enemy, but enmity itself.

"One man therefore which is regenerate, well may be called always just, and always sinful; just in respect of God's seed, and his regeneration; sinful in respect of Satan's seed, and his first birth. Betwixt these two men thelefore there is continual conflict, and war most deadly. The flesh and old man, by reason of his birth that is perfect, doth often for a time prevail against the new man, (being but a child in comparison,) and that in such sort, as not only others, but even the children of God themselves, think that they be nothing else but old, and that the spirit and seed of God is lost and gone away; whereas, yet notwithstanding, the truth is otherwise, the spirit and the seed of God at the length appearing again, and dispelling away the clouds which cover the sun of God's seed from shining, as the clouds in the air do the corporal sun; so that

sometimes a man cannot tell, by any sense, that there is any sun, the clouds and wind so hiding it from our sight: even so our cecity or blindness, and corrupt affections, do often shadow the sight of God's seed in God's children, as though they were plain reprobates. Whereof it cometh, that they, praying according to their sense, but not according to the truth, desire of God to give them again his Spirit, as though they had lost it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God never doth indeed, although he make us to think so for a time; for always he holdeth his hand under his children in their falls, that they lie not still as others do which are not regenerate. And this is the difference betwixt God's children which are regenerate and elect before all times in Christ, and the wicked always; that the elect lie not still continually in their sin, as do the wicked, but at the length do return again by reason of God's seed, which is in them hid as a sparkle of fire in the ashes; as we may see in Peter, David, Paul, Mary Magdalene, and others. For these (I mean God's children) God hath made all things in Christ Jesus, to whom he hath given this dignity, that they should be his inheritance and spouses.

"This our inheritor Christ Jesus, God with God, light of light, co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father and with the Holy Ghost, to the end that he might become our Husband, (because the husband and the wife must be one body and flesh,) hath taken our nature upon him, communicating with it and by [it] in his own person, to us all his children, his Divine majesty, (as Peter saith,) and so is become flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bones substantially; as we are become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones spiritually, all that ever we have pertaining to him, yea, even our sins; as all that ever he hath pertaineth unto us, even his whole glory. So that if Satan should summon us to answer for our debts or sins, in that the wife is no sueable person, but the husband, we may well bid him enter his action against our Husband, Christ, and he will make him a sufficient answer.

"For this end (I mean that we might be coupled and married thus to Christ, and so be certain of salvation, and at godly peace with God in our consciences) God hath given his holy word, which hath two parts, (as now the children of God do consist of two men,) one part of God's word being proper to the old man, and the other part of God's word being proper to the new man. The part properly pertaining to the old man, is the law; the part properly pertaining to the new man, is the gospel.

"The law is a doctrine which commandeth and forbiddeth, requiring doing and avoiding: under it therefore are contained all precepts, threatenings, promises, upon conditions of our doing and avoiding, &c. The gospel is a doctrine which always offereth and giveth, requiring faith on our behalf, not as of worthiness, or as a cause, but as a certificate unto us; and therefore under it are contained all the free and sweet promises of God, as, I am the Lord thy God, &c.

"In those that be of years of discretion, it requireth faith, not as a cause, but as an instrument, whereby we ourselves may be certain of our good Husband, Christ, and of his glory; and therefore when the conscience feeleth itself disquieted for fear of God's judgment against sin, she may in no wise look upon the doctrine pertaining to the old man, but on the doctrine only that pertaineth to the new man; in it not looking for that which it requireth, that is, faith, because we never believe as we should; but only on it which it offereth, and which it giveth, that is, on God's grace and eternal mercy and peace in Christ. So shall she be in quiet, when she looketh for it, altogether out of herself, in God's mercy in Christ Jesus: in whose lap if she lay her head with

St. John, then is she happy, and shall find quietness indeed. When she feeleth herself quiet, then, in God's name, let her look on the law, and upon such things as it requireth, thereby to bridle and keep down the old Adam, to slay that Goliath; from whom she must needs keep the sweet promises, being the bed wherein her Spouse and she meet and lie together. For as the wife will keep her bed only for her husband, although in other things she is contented to have fellowship with others, as to speak, sit, eat, drink, go, &c.; so our consciences, which are Christ's wives, must needs keep the bed (that is, God's sweet promises) alonely for ourselves and our Husband, there to meet together, to embrace and laugh together, and to be joyful together. If sin, the law, the devil, or any thing would creep into the bed, and lie there, then complain to thy Husband, Christ, and forthwith thou shalt see him play Phineas's part. Thus, my dearly beloved, I have given you, in few words, a sum of all the divinity which a Christian conscience can want."

A letter written to his mother, as a farewell, when he thought he should have suffered shortly after.

"The Lord of life and Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ, bless you and comfort you, my good and dear mother, with his heavenly comfort, consolation, grace, and spirit, now and for ever. Amen.—If I thought that daily, yea, almost hourly, you did not cry upon God the Father through Jesus Christ, that he would give me his blessing, even the blessing of his children, then would I write more hereabouts. But forasmuch as herein I am certain you are diligent, and so I beseech you, good mother, to continue; I think it good to write something, whereby this your crying might be furthered. Furthered it will be, if those things which hinder it be taken away; among the which, in that I think my imprisonment is the greatest and chiefest, I will thereabout spend this letter, and that briefly, lest it might increase the let, as my good brother, this bringer, can tell you. You shall know therefore, good mother, that for my body, though it be in a house, out of the which I cannot come when I will, yet in that I have conformed my will to God's will, I find herein liberty enough, I thank God. And for my lodging, bedding, meat, drink, godly and learned company, books, and all other necessaries for mine ease, comfort, and commodity, I am in much better case than I could wish, and God's merciful providence here is far above my worthiness. Worthiness, quoth I? Alas, I am worthy of nothing but damnation.

"But besides all this, for my soul, I find much more commodity; for God is my Father, I now perceive, through Christ; therefore, in prisoning me for his gospel, he maketh me like to the image of his Son Jesus Christ here, that when he cometh to judgment, I might then be like unto him, as my trust and hope is I shall be. Now maketh he me like to his friends the prophets, apostles, the holy martyrs and confessors: which of them did not suffer at the least imprisonment or banishment for his gospel and word?

"Now, mother, how far am I unmeet to be compared to them!—I (I say) which always have been and am so vile a hypocrite and grievous a sinner. God might have caused me, long before this time, to have been cast into prison as a thief, a blasphemer, an unclean liver, and a heinous offender of the laws of the realm; but, dear mother, his mercy is so great upon both you, and all that love me, that I should be cast into prison as none of these, or for any such vices, but only for his Christ's sake, for his gospel's sake, for his church's sake, that hereby as I might learn to lament and bewail my ingratitude and sins, so I might rejoice in his mercy, be thankful, look for eternal joy with Christ; for whose sake, praised be his name for it, I now suffer, and therefore

should be merry and glad. And indeed, good mother, so I am, as ever I was: yea, never so merry and glad was I, as now I should be, if I could get you to be merry with me, to thank God for me, and to pray on this sort: Ah! good Father, which dost vouchsafe that my son, being a grievous sinner in thy sight, should find this favour with thee, to be one of thy Son's captains and men of war to fight and suffer, for his gospel's sake, I thank thee, and pray thee, in Christ's name, that thou wouldest forgive him his sins and unthankfulness, and make perfect in him that good which thou hast begun; yea, Lord, I pray thee make him worthy to suffer, not only imprisonment, but even very death, for thy truth, religion, and gospel's sake. As Anna did apply and give her first child Samuel unto thee, so do I, dear Father, beseeching thee for Christ's sake to accept this my gift, and give my son, John Bradford, grace always truly to serve thee and thy people, as Samuel did. Amen, Amen.

"If on this sort, good mother, from your heart you would pray, as I should be the most merriest man that ever was; so am I certain the lets of your prayer for my imprisonment would be taken away. Good mother, therefore mark what I have written, and learn this prayer by heart, to say it daily; and then I shall be merry, and you shall rejoice if that you continue, as I trust you do, in God's true religion, even the same I have taught you, and my father Traves I trust will put you in remembrance of: my brother Roger also, I trust, doth so daily: go to, therefore, and learn apace. Although the devil cast divers lets in the way, God, in whom you trust, will cast them away for his Christ's sake, if you will call upon him; and never will he suffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. But how you should do herein, the other letter which I have written herewith shall teach you, which I would have none should read till my father Traves have read it, and he will give you, by God's grace, some instructions.

"Now, therefore, will I make an end, praying you, good mother, to look for no more letters; for if it were known that I have pen and ink, and did write, then should I want all the foresaid commodities I have spoken of concerning my body, and be cast into some dungeon in fetters of iron; which thing I know would grieve you. And therefore, for God's sake, see that these be burned, when this little prayer in it is copied by my brother Roger; for perchance your house may be searched for such gear, when you think little of it: and look for no more, sweet mother, till either God shall deliver me, and send me out, or you and I shall meet together in heaven, where we shall never part asunder. Amen.

"I require you, Elizabeth and Margaret my sisters, that you will fear God, use prayer, love your husbands, be obedient unto them, as God willeth you; bring up your children in God's fear, and be good housewives. God bless you both, with both your husbands, my good brethren, to whom to do good, because I now cannot, I will pray for them and you. Commend me to my sister Anne, mother Pike, Thomas Sorrocold and his wife, R. Shalcross and his wife, R. Bolton, J. Wild, Master Vicar, the parson of Mottram, Sir Laurence Hall, with all that love, and, I trust, live in the gospel; and God turn Sir Thomas's heart: Amen. I will daily pray for him. I need not to set my name; you know it well enough.

"Because you should give my letters to my father Traves to be burned, I have written here a prayer for you to learn to pray for me, good mother, and another for all your house in your evening prayer, to pray with my brother. These prayers are written with mine own hand: keep

them still, but the letters give to father Traves to burn, and give father Traves a copy of the latter prayer."

Another letter to his mother, at his last farewell unto her in this world, a little before he was hurned

"God's mercy and peace in Christ be more and more perceived of us. Amen.

"My most dear mother, in the bowels of Christ I heartily pray and beseech you to be thankful for me unto God, which thus now taketh me unto himself: I die not, my good mother, as a thief, a murderer, an adulterer, &c.; but I die as a witness of Christ, his gospel and verity, which hitherto I have confessed (I thank God) as well by preaching as by imprisonment, and now even presently I shall most willingly confirm the same by fire. I acknowledge that God most justly might take me hence simply for my sins (which are many, great, and grievous; but the Lord, for his mercy in Christ, hath pardoned them all, I hope): but now, dear mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a confessor and witness, that the religion taught by Christ Jesus, the prophets, and the apostles, is God's truth. The prelates do persecute in me Christ, whom they hate, and his truth, which they may not abide, because their works are evil, and may not abide the truth and light, lest men should see their darkness.

Therefore, my good and most dear mother, give thanks for me to God, that he hath made the fruit of your womb to be a witness of his glory, and attend to the truth, which (I thank God for it) I have truly taught out of the pulpit of Manchester. Use often and continual prayer to God the Father through Christ. Hearken, as you may, to the Scriptures: serve God after his word, and not after custom; beware of the Romish religion in England, defile not yourself with it; carry Christ's cross as he shall lay it upon your back; forgive them that kill me; pray for them, for they know not what they do; commit my cause to God our Father; be mindful of both your daughters, and help them as you can.

"I send all my writings to you by my brother Roger: do with them as you will, because I cannot as I would: he can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you; only I pray God my Father, for his Christ's sake, to bless you, and keep you from evil. He give you patience; he make you thankful, as for me, so for yourself, that he will take the fruit of your womb to witness his verity: wherein I confess to the whole world, I die and depart this life, in hope of a much better; which I look for at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ.

"Thus, my dear mother, I take my last farewell of you in this life, beseeching the Almighty and eternal Father by Christ, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we shall give him continual thanks and praise for ever and ever. Amen.—Out of prison, the 24th of June, 1555.

"Your son in the Lord. JOHN BRADFORD."

A letter sent with a supplication to Queen Mary, her council, and the whole parliament.

"In most humble wise complaineth unto your Majesty and Honours, a poor subject, persecuted for the confession of Christ's verity: the which verity deserveth at your hands to be maintained and defended, as the thing by the which you reign, and have your honours and authorities. Although we that be professors, and through the grace of God the constant confessors of the same, are (as it were) the outsweepings of the world; yet, (I say,) the verity itself is a thing not unworthy for your ears to hear, for your eyes to see, and for your hands to handle, help, and succour, according to that the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the same purpose. Your Highness and Honours ought to know, that there is no innocency in words or deeds, where it is enough and sufficeth only to accuse. It behoveth kings, queens, and all that be in authority, to know that in the administration of their kingdoms they are God's ministers. It behoveth them to know, that they are no kings, but plain tyrants, which reign not to this end, that they may serve and set forth God's glory after true knowledge: and therefore it is required of them, that they would be wise, and suffer themselves to be taught, to submit themselves to the Lord's discipline, and to kiss their Sovereign, lest they perish; as all those potentates with their principalities and dominions cannot long prosper, but perish indeed, if they and their kingdoms be not ruled with the sceptre of God, that is, with his word; which whoso honoureth not, honoureth not God; and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at the length take his own cause, which he hath most chiefly committed unto them to care for, into his own hands, and so overthrow them, and set up his truth gloriously; the people also perishing with the princes, where the word of prophecy is wanting—much more is suppressed, as it is now in this realm of England; over which the eyes of the Lord are set to destroy it, your Highness, and all your Honours, if in time you look not better to your office and duties herein, and not suffer yourselves to be slaves and hangmen to antichrist and his prelates, which have brought your Highness and Honours already to let Barabbas loose, and to hang up Christ: as by the grace and help of God I shall make apparent, if, first, it would please your excellent Majesty, and all your Honours, to take to heart God's doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Pharisees (I mean the bishops and prelates) than your consciences, is oppressed; and not for our contemptible and execrable state in the sight of the world, to pass the less of it. For it (the doctrine, I mean) is higher and of more honour and majesty, than all the whole world. It standeth invincible above all power, being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the ever-living God, and of his Christ, whom the Father hath ordained King, to have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the world. And truly so doth he and will he reign, that he will shake all the whole earth with his iron and brazen power, with his golden and silvery brightness, only by the rod of his mouth, to shivers, in such sort as though they were pots of clay, according to that which the prophets do write of the magnificence of his kingdom. And thus much for the thing, I mean the doctrine, and your duties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the same.

"But now will our adversaries mainly cry out against us, because no man may be admitted once to whist against them, that we pretend falsely the doctrine and word of God; calling us the most wicked contemners of it, and heretics, schismatics, traitors, &c. All which their sayings, how malicious and false they are, though I might make report to that which is written by those men whose works they have condemned, and all that retain any of them, publicly by proclamation; yet here will I occasion your Majesty and Honours, by this my writing, to see that it is far otherwise than they report of us. God our Father, for his holy name's sake,

direct my pen to be his instrument to put into your eyes, ears, and hearts, that which most may make to his glory, to the safeguard of your souls and bodies, and preservation of the whole realm. Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To certain of his friends, N. S., and R. C.

"I wish to you, my good brethren, the same grace of God in Christ, which I wish and pray the Father of mercies to give me, for his holy name's sake. Amen.

"Your letter, though I have not read myself, because I would not alienate my mind from conceived things, to write to others, yet I have heard the sum of it, that it is of God's election; wherein I will briefly write to you my faith, and how I think it good and meet for a Christian man to wade in it. I believe, that man, made after the image of God, did fall from that blessed state, to the condemnation of himself, and all his posterity. I believe that Christ, for man being thus fallen, did oppose himself to the justice of God, a mediator, paying the ransom and price of redemption for Adam and his whole posterity that refuse it not finally. I believe, that all that believe in Christ, (I speak of such as be of years of discretion,) are partakers of Christ and all his merits. I believe that faith, and to believe in Christ (I speak not now of faith that men have by reason of miracles, or by reason of earthly commodity, custom, and authority of men, which is commonly seen—the hearts of them that so believe, being not right and simple before God; but I speak of that faith which indeed is the true faith, the justifying and regenerating faith): I believe, I say, that this faith and belief in Christ, is the work and gift of God, given to none other than to those which be the children of God; that is, to those whom God the Father, before the beginning of the world, hath predestinated in Christ unto eternal life.

"Thus do I wade in predestination, in such sort as God hath patefied and opened it." Though in God it be the first, yet to us it is last opened. And therefore I begin with creation, from whence I come to redemption, so to justification, and so to election. On this sort I am sure, that warily and wisely a man may walk in it easily by the light of God's Spirit, in and by his word, seeing this faith not to be given to all men, but to such as are born of God, predestinate before the world was made, after the purpose and good will of God: which will we may not call into disputation, but in trembling and fear submit ourselves to it, as to that which can will none otherwise than that which is holy, right, and good, how far soever otherwise it seem to the judgment of reason, which must needs be beaten down to be more careful for God's glory than for man's salvation, which dependeth only thereon, as all God's children full well see: for they seek not the glory which cometh of men, but the glory which cometh of God. They know God to be a God which doth on earth, not only mercy, but also judgment, which is his justice, and most justice; although our foolish reason cannot see it. And in this knowledge they glory and rejoice, though others, through vain curiosity, grudge and murmur there-against. Thus briefly I have sent you my mind and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you shall have (I think) your letter particularly answered by Master Philpot; as also, if I have time, and so you require it, I will do.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

*Notes upon the same epistle, and to the matter of election appertaining.* 

As touching the doctrine of election (whereof this letter of Master Bradford, and many other his letters more, do much entreat) three things must be considered.

- 1. First, What God's election is, and what is the cause thereof.
- 2. Secondly, How God's election proceedeth in working our salvation.
- 3. Thirdly, To whom God's election pertaineth, and how a man may be certain thereof.

Between predestination and election, this difference there is: predestination is as well to the reprobate, as to the elect; election pertaineth only to them that be saved.

Predestination, in that it respecteth the reprobate, is called reprobation; in that it respecteth the saved, is called election, and is thus defined:

Predestination is the eternal decreement of God, purposed before in himself, what shall befall on all men, either to salvation or damnation.

Election is the free mercy and grace of God in his own will, through faith in Christ his Son, choosing and preferring to life such as pleaseth him.

In this definition of election, first goeth before, "the mercy and grace of God," as the causes thereof, whereby are excluded all the works of the law, and merits of deserving, whether they go before faith, or come after. So was Jacob chosen, and Esau refused, before either of them began to work, &c.

Secondly, in that this mercy and grace of God in this definition is said to be "free," thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bounded to any ordinary place, or to any succession of chair, nor to state and dignity of person, nor to worthiness of blood, &c.; but all goeth by the mere will of his own purpose; as it is written, The wind bloweth where it listeth. And thus was the outward race and stock of Abraham after the flesh refused (which seemed to have the preeminence); and another seed after the Spirit raised up to Abraham of the stones, that is, of the Gentiles. So was the outward temple of Jerusalem and chair of Moses, which seemed to be of price, forsaken, and God's chair advanced in other nations. So was tall Saul refused, and little David accepted; the rich, the proud, the wise of this world rejected, and the word of salvation daily opened to the poor and miserable abjects; the high mountains cast under, and the low valleys exalted, &c.

Thirdly, where it is added, "in his own will," by this falleth down the free will and purpose of man, with all his actions, counsels, and strength of nature; according as it is written, It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that showeth mercy: so we see how Israel ran long, and yet got nothing. The Gentiles later began to set out, and yet got the game. So they which came at the first hour did labour more; and yet they which came last were rewarded with the first. The working will of the Pharisee seemed better; but yet the Lord's will was rather

to justify the publican. The elder son had a better will to tarry by his father, and so did indeed; and yet the fat calf was given to the younger son that ran away: whereby we are to understand, how the matter goeth, not by the will of man, but by the will of God; as it pleaseth him to accept, according as it is written, Which are born, not of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God. Furthermore, as all then goeth by the will of God only, and not by the will of man; so again here is to he noted, that this will of God never goeth without faith in Christ Jesus his Son.

And therefore, fourthly, is this clause added in the definition, "through faith in Christ his Son;" which faith in Christ to us-ward maketh all together. For first, it certifieth us of God's election; as this epistle of Master Bradford doth well express: for whosoever will be certain of election in God, let him first begin with his faith in Christ; which if he find in him to stand firm, he may be sure, and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of God's elect. Secondly, the said faith, and nothing else, is the only condition and means whereupon God's mercy, grace, election, vocation, and all God's promises to salvation, do stay, according to the words of St. Paul, If ye abide in the faith. Thirdly, this faith also is the immediate and next cause of our justification simply, without any other condition annexed. For as the mercy of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other precedent causes, do save and justify us upon condition, if we believe in Christ: so this faith only in Christ, without condition, is the next and immediate cause, which, by God's promise, worketh our justification; according as it is written, Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy whole house. And thus much touching the definition of election, with the causes thereof declared; which you see now to be no merits, nor works of man, whether they go before or come after faith, but only the mere mercy of God through faith. For like as all they that he born of Adam, do taste of his malediction, though they tasted not his apple; so all they that be born of Christ, (which is by faith,) take part of the obedience of Christ, although they never did that obedience themselves, which was in him.

Now to the second consideration, let us see likewise, how and in what order this election of God proceedeth, in choosing and electing them which he ordaineth to salvation; which order is this. In them that be chosen to life, first, God's mercy and free grace bringeth forth election; election worketh vocation, or God's holy calling; which vocation, through hearing, bringeth knowledge and faith of Christ. Faith through promise, obtaineth justification; justification through hope, waiteth for glorification.

Election is before time. Vocation and faith come in time. Justification and glorification are without end.

Election, depending upon God's free grace and will, excludeth all man's will, blind fortune, chance, and all peradventures.

Vocation, standing upon God's election, excludeth all man's wisdom, cunning, learning, intention, power, and presumption.

Faith in Christ, proceeding by the gift of the Holy Ghost, and freely justifying man by God's promise, excludeth all other merits of men, all condition of deserving, and all works of the law, both God's law and man's law, with all other outward means whatsoever.

Justification, coming freely by faith, standeth sure by promise, without doubt, fear, or wavering in this life.

Glorification, pertaining only to the life to come, by hope is looked for.

Grace and mercy preventeth.

Election ordaineth.

Vocation prepareth and receiveth the word, whereby cometh faith.

Faith justifieth.

Justification bringeth glory.

Election is the immediate and next cause of vocation.

Vocation (which is the working of God's Spirit by the word) is the immediate and next cause of faith.

Faith is the immediate and next cause of justification.

And this order and connexion of causes is diligently to be observed, because of the papists, which have miserably confounded and inverted this doctrine, thus teaching, that Almighty God, so far forth as he foreseeth man's merits before to come, so doth he dispense his election. "Dominus prout cujusque merita fore prævidet, ita dispensat electionis gratiam." And again, "Nullis præcedentibus meritis Dominum rependere electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere:" that is, that the Lord recompenseth the grace of election, not to any merits preceding; but yet granteth the same to the merits which follow: as though we had our election by our holiness that followeth after, and not rather have our holiness by God's election going before.

But we, following the Scripture, say otherwise, that the only cause of God's election is his own free mercy; and the only cause of our justification is our faith in Christ, and nothing else. As for example; first concerning election, if the question be asked, Why was Abraham chosen, and not Nahor? Why was Jacob chosen, and not Esau? Why was Moses elected, and Pharaoh hardened? Why David accepted, and Saul refused? Why few be chosen, and the most forsaken? It cannot be answered otherwise than thus: Because it was so the good will of God.

In like manner touching vocation, and also faith, if the question be asked, Why this vocation and gift of faith was given to Cornelius the Gentile, and not to Tertullus the Jew? why to the poor, to the babes, and little ones of this world? (of whom Christ speaketh, I thank thee, Father, which hast hid this from the wise, &c.;) why to the unwise, the simple, abjects and outcasts in this world? (of whom speaketh St. Paul, Ye see your calling, my brethren, how not many of you, &c.;) why to the sinners, and not to the just? why were the beggars by the high-

ways called, and the bidden guests excluded? We can go to no other cause, but to God's purpose and election, and say with Christ our Saviour, Yea, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight.

As so for justification likewise—if the question be asked, Why the publican was justified, and not the Pharisee? why Mary the sinner, and not Simon the inviter? why harlots and publicans go before the scribes and Pharisees in the kingdom? why the son of the free-woman was received, and the bond-woman's son, being his elder, rejected? why Israel, which so long sought for righteousness, found it not; and the Gentiles, which sought not for it, found it?—we have no other cause hereof to render, but to say with St. Paul, Because they sought for it by works of the law, and not by faith: which faith, as it cometh not by man's will, (as the papist falsely pretendeth,) but only by the election and free gift of God; so it is only the immediate cause whereunto the promise of our salvation is annexed, according as we read: And therefore of faith is the inheritance given as after grace, that the promise might stand sure to every seed. Item, in the same chapter, Faith, believing in him which justifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteousness.

And thus concerning the causes of our salvation, ye see how faith in Christ, only and immediately, without any condition, doth justify us, being so linked with God's mercy and election, that wheresoever election goeth before, there faith in Christ must needs follow after. And again, whosoever believeth in Christ Jesus, through the vocation of God, he must needs be partaker of God's election.

Whereupon resulteth now the third note or consideration; which is to consider whether a man in this life may be certain of his election. To answer to which question, this first is to be understood; that although our election and vocation simply indeed be known to God only in himself, *a priore*; yet, notwithstanding, it may be known to every particular faithful man, *a posteriore*; that is, by means, which means is faith in Christ Jesus crucified. Forasmuch as by his faith in Christ a man is justified, and thereby made the child of salvation, reason must needs lead the same to be then the child of election, chosen of God unto everlasting life; for how can a man be justified but he must needs be saved? and how can a man be saved, but by consequence it followeth, that he must also be elected?

And therefore of election it is truly said, We must judge of election by that which cometh after, that is, by our faith and belief in Christ: which faith, although in time it followeth after election, yet this is the proper and immediate cause assigned by the Scripture which not only justifieth us, but also certifieth us of this election of God.

Whereunto likewise well agreeth this present letter of Master Bradford, wherein he saith, "Election, albeit in God it be the first, yet to us it is the last opened. And therefore beginning first," saith he, "with creation, I come from thence to redemption, and justification by faith, and so to election." Not that faith is the cause efficient of election, being rather the effect thereof, but is to us the cause certificatory, or the cause of our certification, whereby we are brought to the feeling and knowledge of our election in Christ. For albeit that election first be certain in the knowledge of God; yet in our knowledge, faith only that we have in Christ, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this election.

Wherefore, whosoever desireth to be assured that he is one of the elect number of God, let him not climb up to heaven to know, but let him descend into himself, and there search his faith in Christ the Son of God; which if he find in him not feigned, by the working of God's Holy Spirit accordingly, thereupon let him stay, and so wrap himself wholly, both body and soul, under God's general promise, and cumber his head with no further speculations; knowing this, that, Whosoever believeth in him, shall not perish, shall not be confounded, shall not see death, shall not enter into judgment, shall have everlasting life, shall be saved, shall have remission of all his sins, shall be justified, shall have floods flowing out of him of water of life, shall never die, shall be raised in the last day, shall find rest to his soul, and shall be refreshed.

Now then, forasmuch as we see faith to be the ground whereupon dependeth the whole condition of our justifying, let us discuss, in like manner, what is this faith whereof the Scripture so much speaketh, for the more plain understanding of the simple. For many kinds there be of faith: as a man may believe every thing that is true, yet not every truth doth save, neither doth the believing of every truth justify a man. He that believeth that God created all things of nought, believeth truly. He that believeth that God is a just God, that he is omnipotent, that he is merciful, that he is true of promise, believeth well, and holdeth the truth. So he that believeth that God hath his election from the beginning, and that he also is one of the same elect and predestinate, hath a good belief, and thinketh well: but yet this belief alone, except it be seasoned with another thing, will not serve to salvation; as it availed not the old Jews, which so thought of themselves, and yet think to this day, to be God's only elect people.

The only faith which availeth to salvation is that, whose object is the body and passion of Jesus Christ crucified. So that in the act of justifying, these two, faith and Christ, have a mutual relation, and must always concur together; faith as the action which apprehendeth, Christ as the object which is apprehended.

For neither doth the passion of Christ save without faith, neither doth faith help, except it be in Christ: as we see the body of man sustained by bread and drink, not except the same be received and conveyed into the stomach: and yet neither doth the receiving of every thing sustain man's body, except it be meat and drink, which have power to give nourishment. In like sort it is with faith; for neither doth the believing of every thing save, but only faith in the blood of Christ: neither again doth the same blood of Christ profit us, except by faith it be received. And as the sun, being the cause of all light, shineth not but to them only which have eyes to see; nor yet to them neither, unless they will open their eyes to receive the light: so the passion of Christ is the efficient cause of salvation, but faith is the condition whereby the said passion is to us effectual.

And that is the cause why we say with the Scripture, that faith only justifieth us, not excluding thereby all other external causes that go before faith, as grace, mercy, election, vocation, the death of Christ, &c., all which be external causes, working our salvation through faith. But when we say that faith only justifieth us, the meaning thereof is this: that of all internal actions, motions, or operations in man, given to him of God, there is none other that contenteth and pleaseth God, or standeth before his judgment, or can help any thing to the justifying of man before him, but only this one action of faith in Jesus Christ the Son of God.

For although the action of praying, fasting, alms, patience, charity, repentance, the fear and love of God, be high gifts in man, and not of man, given of God to man, yet be none of all these actions in man imputed of God to salvation, but only this one action of faith in man upon Christ Jesus the Son of God. Not that the action itself of believing, as it is a quality in man, doth so deserve, but because it taketh that dignity of the object. For as I said, the act of justifying faith, as it is an action in man, is not to be considered alone, but must ever go with its object, and taketh its virtue thereof. Like as the looking up of the old Israelites did not of itself procure any health unto them, but the promise made in the object, which was the brazen serpent, whereupon they looked, gave them health by their looking up; even so, after like sort, are we saved by faith and spiritual looking up to the body of Christ crucified; which faith to define is this: to believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of the living God, sent into this world, by his death to satisfy for our sins, and so to receive the same.

And thus much touching election and faith; with the order and explication of the causes necessary to be considered in our salvation, whereby may appear how far the pretended Catholics do swerve from the right mind of the Scriptures. For whereas the Scriptures, in declaring the causes of salvation, do send us only to faith, as the only condition whereby these causes have their working, these Catholics do quite leave out faith, and, instead thereof, place in other conditions of doings, merits, will-works, pardons, masses, and especially auricular confessions, with penance and satisfaction for our sins, &c.

And besides these letters above specified of Master John Bradford, there have come to our hands certain other letters of his, not long ago, sent by a certain old friend of the said John Bradford unto us: which letters being written of him in former times before his trouble, as they have not yet been printed nor seen abroad, so I thought it not amiss to communicate the same to the Christian reader, for the worthiness of the matter, and the goodness of the man, which may redound, I trust, to no small fruit to him that with godly eyes shall devise the same.

To father Traves, minister of Blackley. (No. 1.)

"The abundant grace and rich mercy of God in Christ our only Saviour and high Bishop, be increased in your heart, through the lively worker of all goodness, the Holy Spirit, until the day of the Lord, &c.

"I have received your two letters, good father Traves, since that I did write any unto you, whereof though honesty willeth to make an excuse, yet truth biddeth me otherwise, and saith, it is better with shame to confess the fault, (for therein is, as a man might say, half a deserving of pardon,) than without shame to lie. I might have written unto you twice (notwithstanding indeed some business wherein I have something been occupied); but yet I have not. Now the cause is, because I would not. And why would I not, but because I could not? I mean, because my canning is taken away by sin; for my sins do forbid goodness unto me. Indeed if my sinning were of infirmity, there were good hope of recovery of that which I have lost: but seeing, both willing and knowing I have too much yielded, and yet do yield to my infirmities, justly I do deserve, that because I have cast away and rejected the word of the Lord behind my back, the Lord should reject me; and because I would not have blessing, I am worthy (as David saith) that it be taken away from me: I have now at length experience, that to bring a man forth of God's favour, is

sooner seen when a man hath received all things abundantly, than when need or the cross pincheth. Afore it pleased God to work the restitution, (you know what I mean,) and afore it pleased God to provide for me as he hath done, so that I can say in nothing where any want is, as pertaining to my body; I was another manner of man than now I am, and yet God's deserts have otherwise bounden me: but the Scripture is true, I have advanced my children, and nourished them, but they have contemned me; I have fed them that they were fat and gross, and they spurned against me. Perchance you will ask me wherein? O father Traves, I warrant you, this my style, in carnal, and not in spiritual writing, doth something show unto you; but as for it, in comparison of other things it is nothing. For whereas the life of man is such, that either it paireth or amendeth, as Paul saith, The outward man is corrupted day by day; and therefore, except the inward man be renewed, the shoe goeth awry; every building in Christ doth grow to a holy temple, as the wicked on the contrary part shall proceed to worser. I have made a change far otherwise in going back, than I think by letters I can persuade you. Wherein? will you say. For the first, second, and third, and, to be brief, in all things: as for an example, God's true fear is flown away from me; love to my brethren is exiled from me; faith is utterly taken away. Instead whereof are distrust and doubtfulness bearing rule, contempt of God's honour, and of my brethren reigning; and instead of true fear, an imagined fear, according to my brain holding the principality. For I extenuate sin, and I do not consider that in sin, which a Christian ought to consider; that sin being not forgiven, is such a thing for the which God casteth his creature away, as examples, not only of Saul, of Judas, of the Israelites, (which were beloved indeed, and yet for sin are rejected,) but also of others, on whom lately, for my warning, God hath showed the same, do admonish me. But it is but my pen which writes this: For the wicked, saith Solomon, when they come into the depth of their sins, then they grow in security. I am I cannot tell what: I fear, but it is but blindly, or else would I awake otherwise than I do; I fear me, I say, that I am entangled of the devil, after his desire. Pray for me, that the Lord would give repentance, that I may escape out of his snares. Alas! the spirit of prayer, which before I have felt plentifully, is taken clean away from me. The Lord be merciful unto me! I am sold under sin; I am the bondslave of sin: for whom I obey, his servant I am. I am ashamed to speak of it?—No, I shame not at all: for I have forgot to blush, I have given over to weep. And truly I obey, I say, mine own concupiscences, namely, in eating, in drinking, in jangling and idleness; I will not speak of vain-glory, envy, disdain, hypocrisy, desire of estimation, self-love, and who can tell all? Is this the reward thou renderest to God, O Bradford? It is true, yea, too true, thou knowest it, O Lord! for thy mercy's sake pardon me. In your letters you touch me home, how that there is no man's heart but that considering the ingratitude of this world, this belly-cheer, (wherein you even take me by the nose,) &c., his eyes would tumble out great gushes of tears. The Lord be praised which worketh so in you, for it is with me as with them of whom you complain. Indeed it may be so again, but oh! it is very unlikely: for mine enemies are become old, and are made by custom more than familiar; for they are as it were converted into nature in me. Yet I am not grieved therefore, although I cannot persuade myself that God will help me. O Lord, be merciful unto me for thy Christ's sake. This day I received the Lord's supper, but how I have welcomed him, this night (which I have spent in lasciviousness, in wantonness and prodigality, obeying my flesh and belly) doth so declare, that what to say or write any more, I know not; sleep doth aggravate mine eyes, and to pray I am altogether unapt. All this is come through the occasion of making this bringer a supper in my chamber: the Lord pardon me; I trust no more to be so far overseen. But this I write, not that the anger of God, which I have deserved, so feareth me, thou knowest it, O Lord. But of this perchance too much.

"For God's sake pray for me, good father Traves, and write unto me as you may by your weakness: your letters do me good. But this which I have now written, you may consider more: touch me therefore home in your letters, and the Lord, I trust, shall and will reward you. If God lend me life, of which I am most unworthy, I will more trouble you with my letters than I have done; but bear with me, I do it not out of any evil will, the Lord I take to judge; there is none whose company and talk I more desire than yours, I speak it before God. Prove my mother's mind how she can bear it, if, when I shall come down, I shall show myself another man outwardly, but alas! feignedly, than before I have done. Marry, when my coming will be, I know not. Indeed two things move me sore, the one for my mother's cause, concerning her better instruction, if the Lord would thereto use me his instrument; the other is to talk with you, and eftsoons to trouble you, as I have hitherto ever done, but always to my profit. For God's sake pray for me, for I had never so much need.—This Sunday at night, following St. Andrew's day, at Pembroke Hall.

"The most miserable, hard-hearted, unthankful sinner. JOHN BRADFORD."

To Sir Thomas Hall, by father Traves, of Blackley.

"The grace of God our most merciful Father, keep your mind and soul in Christ Jesus, who alone is our full sufficient Saviour, for in him we be complete, being made, through his death and one only oblation made and offered by himself upon the cross, the children of God, and fellow heirs with him of the celestial kingdom, which is the free gift of God, and cometh not of merits, but of the mere grace of God, given to none that putteth any manner of hope or trust in any other thing visible or invisible, than in that oblation of sweet savour which Christ himself did offer upon Good Friday, (as we call it,) which oblation is alway recent and new in the sight of God the Father, and maketh intercession for us; us I mean, which think that only Sacrifice, then offered, to be sufficient, as it is, hath been, and ever shall be, for all the faithful, by the which sacrifice (we believe) we have free pardon of all our sins. To him therefore which was both the offerer and the offering, be all honour and praise, with the Father and said the Holy Ghost, blessed for every Amen.

"Sir Thomas, the occasion of this my long silence, mine old friend John Traves shall declare unto you, upon the knowledge whereof I doubt not of your pardon. I have sent unto you an English and Latin Testament, both in one print and volume, the which though it be not so beautiful without, as I could have sent you, yet no less beautiful within, and more I think for your profit and better for your eyes, your eyes, I mean, of the body: for undoubtedly it giveth light unto the soul, if she be not dead. Whereof take this for an argument, and a true proof: If your soul be not dehghted in it, if your soul do not hunger for it, (I mean not the book, but the doctrine in the book,) surely your soul is sore sick; for as the body abhorring meat is not well, even so must the soul be, for other meat hath she none. Christ, whom you must believe afore all men, affirmeth this to be true in Matt. iv.: Not only in bread, but in every word of God, the soul doth live. Mark well, he saith not, one or two words, as an epistle, or a gospel; but he saith, every word. Take heed, believe Christ better than any man, be he never so holy; for he that is of God heareth the word of God. Will you have a more plain badge, whether you are the elect child of God or no, than this text? Christ saith, He that is of God heareth the word of God: but other word of God have we none, than in the canon of the Bible: and all things written therein, are written

for our learning, saith St. Paul; whereby he proveth, seeing that it is a learning, yea, *our* learning, that we must learn it. Therefore woe be to all them which either persuade men, that there is other doctrine of like authority, or that dissuade men from embracing this word, this word of God, or that think this word, especially the New Testament, is not above all others to be loved, to be read, to be chewed. This is the precious stone, which in the gospel Christ saith, when a man hath found, he selleth all that ever he hath, and buyeth it. Mark now, how necessary and precious Christ maketh that which great learned men (nay, the devils, but no men) think not necessary, God help them! Christ bade his disciples sell their coats, and buy a sword: which is none other thing than the word of God; for so St. Paul calleth it, the sword of the Spirit. Nay, say our great learned men, (I lie, they *have* said so, *now* they are ashamed,) fetch fire and burn it.

"This I say, Sir Thomas, to the intent no ungodly hypocrisy should persuade or dissuade you from reading the holy word of God, the gospel of Jesus Christ. Follow you St. Paul's lesson: attend reading, and let the word of God dwell in you. How much? Plentifully, saith he. And to what end? To feed the flock of Christ: even as much as in you is, saith Peter; not once a year or once a quarter, as a strawberry, but so much as in you is. This word of God trieth all doctrine; for we ought to have our conscience charged with nothing as touching religion, except the word of God in the canon of the Bible set it out (I mean not only in allegories, but even in plain words); for no other foundation can any man lay, beside that which is laid. St. Paul saith, the groundwork is laid already. Even so saith he to the Ephesians: We be his workmanship, to do good works, which God hath created that we should walk in them. Ile saith that they were not to be made, but they are made already. What shall we think, then, of such works as man's wit hath founded, which yet seem most holy? Let God's word be judge. Read the same diligently and reverently with prayer, (I mean not Latin service not understood, but with true hearty prayer,) and mark what the law requireth, even that which we cannot give, the whole heart, and more if it were possible. But to this end, that we, seeing our abominable uncleanness and inability, might despair in ourselves, trembling at the justice of God, and his anger which we continually procure, and so amplect Christ, in whom God the Father is well pleased: which Christ is the end of the law to justify all that believe, and continue not in their popish ignorance, justifying themselves, and treading Christ's blood under their feet, denying the Lord that bought them. All such, be they never so well learned, never so holy, be nothing but hypocrites, and plain antichrists, which may not abide the sword of God's mouth. For the trumpets of the army, (I mean still God's word,) when they blow, the high walls of Jericho, the figure of hypocrisy, fall down. Embrace therefore God's holy word, and be not only a reader, but a doer: for your calling requireth you to be apt to teach such proud, hypocritical, arrogant babblers, as I am now (which, if I may use this term, defile God's word). God forgive me, and pray you for me, and give God thanks for me, that spareth me, thus Lucifer-like, not of a true zeal but of a foolish bragging, which prate of God's holy word. I wot not what I do to confess it. So it is. I have sent to you other books, which I pray you read. I have written your name in them. The Holy Ghost keep you, with your brother George, his wife, and children, and with your brother James, &c., Sir Laurence, &c.

"This twentieth of March.
"A very painted hypocrite,
JOHN BRADFORD,
Yours in Christ for ever."

"Pray for me, pray for me, give God thanks for me, and take John Traves's help to read this letter written in haste.

"If any thing but good be chanced to John Traves, (which God forbid,) I pray you burn my letters out of hand."

# To father Traves. (No. 2.)

"'Gratia, misericordia, et pax à Deo Patre nostro, et Domino Jesu Christo Domino nostro.'—If mine heart were not altogether adamantine, your kind letters to me, unkind miser, would cause me, from the bottom of the same, to confess mine ingratitude towards you, upon your behalf concerning me so much deserved: but as I am to do, so show I myself to write; and as I am unable in the one, so am I foolish in the other; in all those unkindnesses, rudeness, &c., whereof you accuse yourself, I am enforced to acknowledge myself most justly condemned; not so feignedly by me confessed, as most truly by you experienced. In your letters as in a glass I may learn by you, in dejecting yourself, to espy my nakedness, which heretofore I thought clothed 'duplici vestitu,' now only but with fig leaves hypocritishly gilded: of which dejection, wrought in you by the Holy Ghost, be not proud; for what have you that you have not received? But be thankful to the Lord, not only therefore, but also for those surges which you feel now through the cares accompanying marriage, now through education and bringing up of your children and family, now through that cross of the common accustomed trade of living; for through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. Yea, they be the cognizances of God's election, the letter *Thau*, the instruments which work 'suspiria æternæ vita,' and therefore to be embraced. Believe me this is the most excellent gift of God; a man to deject and humble himself, and to feel the crosses of Christ as crosses. But I, most hypocritical wretch, not worthy that this earth should bear me, am even a-going to bed with Jezebel, and such as commit fornication her, which is 'afflictio maxima.' O Lord, help me and deliver me for Jesus' sake; anoint mine eyes with ointment, that I may see. O give me not over unto a lewd mind and reprobate sense; but awaken my sleeping soul, that Christ may shine in me. You know the cross, the fatherly cross, the loving Lord hath laid upon me; but I am little or nothing moved therewith. I work therein (yet not I, but God's Spirit); not of a repentant, faithful mind, but (I cannot tell how) of a slothful, blind, wretchless intent. O Lord! forgive me for saying so (it is thy gift); forgive me mine unthankfulness for Jesus' sake, and grant me, as herein I blasphemed and dishonested thy holy name, so do thou, by thy Holy Spirit, glorify by me the same. So be it, So be it.

"Since my coming to London, I was with Master Latimer, whose counsel is as you shall hear, which I purpose, by God's grace, to obey (if it be thy will, O Lord, *fiat*). He willed me (as I have done) to write to my master who is in the country, and to show him, that if within a certain time, which I appointed, (fourteen days,) he do not go about to make restitution, that I will submit myself to my Lord Protector, and the king's Majesty's council, to confess the fault, and ask pardon. This life is uncertain and frail; and when time is, it must not be deferred. And what should it profit me to win the whole world, and to lose mine own soul? If, as I justly have deserved, I be put to death for it, God's will be done. At the least, slander, reproach, rebuke, loss of worldly friends, loss of living, &c., shall ensue. What then? Lord, thy will be done, thine I am: if death come, welcome be it: if slander, &c. Even as thou wilt, Lord, so be it. Only grant me a

penitent, loving, obedient heart, and of mere love to go forwards herein; and not to shrink, to stand and not to fall, that thy name only be praised herein. Amen.—Pray, pray for me; cry for me, and when you shall hear any thing, comfort my mother, to whom, for that this bringer hath not given me an hour's warning of his departure, I have not only written nothing, but also have thus prattled to you, who (as no man else would) I think will bear with me. For as God knoweth, (to whose grace I commit you and your bed-fellow, with all your children and family,) the shortness of time, and this said bringer's importance, is the only let I neither send you spectacles, the price of the Paraphrases, nor thanks for your cheese, as by the next that cometh I will, God willing, send the premises to you, and a godly Testament for Sir John Hall, which is at the binding. But be not acknowledged that I have now written to you, for so I have prayed this bringer. God be with us, and pray for me, and abhor not my rude scribbling; which if it were as well written as it is meant, would deserve pardon. Thus make I an end, imputing to the hastiness of this bringer all blame, which you may lay unto me.

"From the Temple this Sunday, immediately after Master Latimer's famous sermon, which this bringer, as he saith, did hear.

"By your poorest friend. JOHN BRADFORD."

"It shall not be long, God willing, but you shall both have and hear from me. Keep with you Melancthon's Common-places, for I have another."

*To father Traves.* (No. 3.)

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, with increase of all manner of godly knowledge and living, be with you and all your household, now and ever, Amen.

"To excuse this my long silence, within five or six days after my (like foolish) letters written to you by John Moss, it pleased God to send my master hither to London, whom (as I lately before had advertised by letters) I moved, (you know wherein,) and prayed him to discharge the same, or else I would submit myself, &c. Whereunto he answered, that if the books would declare it, he would satisfy, &c. The books I showed, whereupon he promised as much as I could ask. But being herein something more moved than he had cause, (God be praised therefor, which of his mere good pleasure wrought it,) at times, as I could, I desired to know how and in what time he would discharge us both. He, thinking me to be over curious herein, was not therewith contented; and hearing me to allege the uncertainty of time, and the fear of God's justice, (which, O gracious Lord, grant me to feel indeed as much as thou knowest good for me,) he answered me to be scrupulous, and of a superstitious conscience (for 'animalis homo non percipit ea quæ sunt Dei'): and plainly said further, that I should not know, nor by these words have his head so under my girdle. And when I showed him that (God witnessed with me) I went about no such thing: he said, that there was no godly conscience, seeing he promised afore the face of God to discharge me, and to pay the thing, but it ought so to be quieted. And thus at divers and sundry times, moving eftsoons to know of him the way and time of discharging the debt, and having none other answers than before, I, doubting worldly wisdom, which useth delays, to reign in him with this mammon, (the which, O merciful God, eradicate out of his heart,

mind, and all others,) I was something more sharp, and told him, 'non ego tamen, sed gratia tua, Domine,' I would obey God more than man: the which he lightly regarding, as seemed, I departed, and went to Master Latimer, to have had him to have brought me to my Lord Protector (whose Grace then was purposed shortly to take his journey to visit the ports): Master Latimer, I say, willed me to stay until his return, which will not be long before Easter. In this mean time I bade my bedfellow, my master's son, whom my master had used as his instrument to move me carnally, for my master discharged him of his exhibition, telling him that he could not be able to keep either house or child, for I purposed to undo both him and all his, (untruly, thou knowest, good Lord,) and bade him to take that as a warning, that both he and his brethren should provide for themselves as they could—I bade, I say, my said bed-fellow to show my master, as of himself, my further purpose, which thing when he knew, it so moved and feared him, that he began something to relent, and then made fair promises, that look what I should devise, that would he do. I devised, but my devices pleased him not. And thus, but not vainly I trust, (as I now do with you, but I know your gentleness, which ever hath borne with me,) I spent the time in which I have been silent, to write, nay, babble to you. And he, departing out of London before I knew, did send me word by another of his said sons, not so given to the gospel and a good life according as my bed-fellow, and therefore more to be suspected, (for though 'pietas non est suspiciosa,' as I should think myself rather *impius*; yet Christ bade us to be 'prudentes sicut serpentes,') this other brother, I say, told me that my master would do all things, only his fame and ability preserved ('et quid prodest totum mundum lucrari, animæ vero jacturam facere?') And with the said brother my master sent me a little billet also, wherein he confessed that be was contented within twelve months to deliver to my hands the whole money; which bill I thinking not so good as it might have been, have devised another, and have sent it down to him in the country, with request that he will seal and sign it. For thus Master Latimer thinketh sufficient, but as yet I hear not of it, doubting worldly wisdom, which was the whore that overcame Samson, that moved David to slay Uriah, that brought wise Solomon to idolatry, that crucified Christ, the which moved me to perpetrate *hoc facinus*, the which worketh in my master's heart, having higher place there than timor Domini. What say I? 'there?' Yea, yea, with me, it sitteth in the holy place (the Lord deliver us). Doubting, I say, worldly wisdom, I remain in that same state now for this matter, (though in worse for my soul, which is more to be lamented. Pray therefore, I beseech you, pray with me, and for me, that I may do so earnestly,) that I was in at my last writing unto you. And as I then was purposed, so I doubt not, (grant it, Lord,) but that I shall persevere, if in the mean season I shall not hear from my master accordingly. Thus I have (like myself) foolishly but truly declared unto you in many babbling words, which wit (if I had it) would have shortly and briefly comprehended (arrogant! nay, God's working, unthankful wretch!) my working in this matter, which is and was the only cause (as I now do) I troubled you not afore, to the intent I might advertise you some certainty in this thing. And though silence had been much better than this foolish prating, yet your fatherly kindness ever towards me in expecting from you correction, as I have herein given cause, may, though not to you, yet to me, be profitable. In hope whereof, I proceed in requiring you to continue your remembrance of me, a most unkind wretch, to God and you, in your prayers with the almighty merciful Lord, that I may more regard his will and pleasure herein, than all honour or shame in this life. But I must confess unto you that my working in this matter is not of love, as I should do, nor of fear of God's justice, (mine unthankfulness, mine unthankfulness, if nothing else were, hath not only deserved it, but doth deserve more than everlasting damnation, O Lord, be merciful unto me,) I do not so repent it as I should do. Why say I so? as though this so were any thing: O! hypocritical

wretch that I am. Alas! father Traves, (let me so call you,) I am hardhearted, there was never any so obstinate, so unkind, against so loving, so merciful, so gracious, so good, so beneficial a Lord, yea, a Father, as I, wretch and most miserable sinner, am. This I speak, but not of humility, but of hypocrisy, yet I speak truly. I pray thee, good Father, for Christ's sake, I may think it truly; as I write it even of arrogancy, so it is. Therefore pray and cry for me. Here be such goodly, godly, and learned sermons, which these uncircumcised ears of mine hear at the least thrice a week, which were able (the great loving mercy of God offered to me in them, I mean) to burst any man's heart, to relent, to repent; to believe, to love, and to fear that omnipotent gracious Lord: but my adamantine, obstinate, most unkind, ingrate, unthankful heart, hearing my Lord, which is the Lord over all lords, so graciously, so lovingly, vouchsafe by so many his instruments to speak, to call, to cry unto me, now by his law, now by his threats, now by his gospel, now by his promises, now by all his creatures, to come, to come even to himself, I hide me with Adam in the garden; I play not only Samuel running to Eli, but I play Jonas running to the sea, and there I sleep upon the hatches, tumbling in Jezebel's bed, (quod est afflictio maxima,) until it please God to anoint mine eyes 'collyrio,' until it please him to raise up a tempest, to turn and look upon me, as Luke saith he did on Peter. For, O Lord, it is thy gift, and cometh of thee, and of thy mere grace; it cometh not of man, it cometh not of works, to repent, to believe, to fear, and to love. Work thou therefore in me, for Jesus Christ's sake, which am thy creature, and most unthankful, hypocritical servant, not when I will, nor as I will, but when thou wilt, even that which may be most to the glory of thy name. Amen. What should I write? nay, why do I not pluck these same words and paper in pieces? for I write altogether of hypocrisy and arrogant presumption. I will confess it, (thou wicked spirit, the Lord judge thee,) I will confess it; it is most true, John Traves; I but only write it, for it is not I, it is Hypocrisy. 'Scientia' (if I had it) 'inflaret,' O Lord, grant me thy grace, and leave me not to mine own judgment and reason. Hypocrisy, arrogancy, and obstinate security environ me: yet I feel them not. The Lord deliver me! Pray, pray for me. Give God thanks for me. O Lord, even 'tua fiat voluntas:' unlock this mine heart, thou which hast the key of David, which openest only, that I may desire to have the desire of the glory of thy name, of repentance, faith, &c. Pray for me, and be thankful for me, O father Traves, and write to me. Your letters I desire more to see, than any man's living. Let me have them therefore as you may, but your prayers at all times, that God would open mine heart to feed and taste of these comfortable places of Scripture (which to me are locked): memento 'Jesum Christum resurrexisse ex mortuis.' This text as a text of most comfort (as it is indeed, and, when God will, I shall feed on it) did Paul send to Timothy to be his comfort in all places. For our salvation (this day of resurrection) is nearer now than when we believed. Therefore, 'qui perseveraverit salvus erit.' For 'consummabitur prævaricatio,' saith Daniel, 'finem accipiet peccatum, delebitur iniquitas, et adducetur justitia sempiterna. Deus enim ipse veniet et salvabit nos. Veniens veniet, et non tardabit, et quandocunque manifestatus fuerit vita nostra Christus, tunc et nos manifestabimur cum illo in gloria. Semel enim oblatus est ut multorum peccata tolleret, rursus absque peccato conspicietur iis qui ilium expectant in salutem. Sic semper cum Domino erimus: proinde consolemini vos invicem mutuo sermonibus hiis.' O Lord, open mine eyes, which see nothing of the great comforts in these thy most rich words: open mine eyes, good Lord, 'ne nunquam obdormiam in morte.' Pray for me, and commend me to your good bed-fellow, 'et omnibus in Christo fratribus osculo sancto.' Thus I make an end, (for it is time, you may say,) and I pray you still, water Sir Thomas Hall, unto whom I have sent a fair Testament both in English and Latin, if this bringer will carry it. And I have herewith sent you a letter, which first peruse and read, and, when you have so done, abhor not me, but my wickedness, and pray for

me. And as you can see a meet time, seal it, and deliver it to Sir Nicholas Wolstoncros, by such policy as you can think, by God's grace, through prayer. I confess unto you, God is my witness, to my knowledge, I never, in my being in the country this winter, at any time called it to remembrance; the Lord forgive me! I would by some occasion, if any could be bad, afore the delivery of the letter, by some story or communication, that he did know that abomination to be sin, for I fear me he thinketh it to be no sin. The Lord open our eyes, and forgive us. Amen.—
The peace of God be with you, Amen.

"From the Temple, this 22nd of March, 1547.
"Yours in Christ most bounden.
JOHN BRADFORD."

"I have sent you three pair of good spectacles, I trow; and other such books as have your name written in them, which take in good worth, and pray for me, and give thanks for me."

To father Traves. (No. 4.)

"Gratia, misericordia, et pax,' &c.—My chance is not by this bringer to have any warning in manner of his farewell, so that I am constrained, time coacting me, to write not so much of things, (which I will omit,) as my desire was. Concerning the great matter you know of, it hath pleased God to bring it to this end, that I have a bill of my master's hand, wherein he is bound to pay the sum afore Candlemas next coming. This Master Latimer thinks to be sufficient. Therefore I pray you to give that gracious Lord thanks, and thanks, and thanks upon it, for me a most wretched ingrate sinner, which have also in other things no less cause to praise God's name; as for that I have and sustain my master's sore displeasure, the which hath brought me (God I should say) through it, unto a more contempt of worldly things, through the sequestration of such his business, as before I had ado withal: I call it a contempt. Well, take the word even as it is hypocritically and vain-gloriously spoken; for the which fault, amongst my others innumerable, I trust you remember in your prayers, whereof I have (would I knew how much) need. There is yet another thing, whereof I will advertise you, even to this end; that you might pray, if it be God's will, that as I trust shortly to begin, so he may vouchsafe to confirm that he hath begun, as (if I be not deceived) I believe it is his working, If the thing seem, by God's Spirit in you, that I presume, then, for the Lord's sake, advertise me: for I am much given to that disease; the Lord deliver me! I have moved my master therein already by letters, to see if I shall have any living of him as hitherto I have had; but I have thereof no answer, nor, as our natural speech is, any likelihood of any grant: yet that I have already, I trust, will suffice me for three years. You look what my purpose meaneth, I am so long afore I come to it. Therefore I do it, because my long babbling should be less tedious. Now shall you have it. If God's will be, (whereunto pray I may be obedient,) I am minded afore Midsummer to leave London to go to my book at Cambridge; and, if God shall give me grace, to be a minister of his word. Thus you have of a fly an elephant. Well, take it in good part, though you see my etiam non, and not etiam, etiam. A tumbling stone gathereth no moss: so therefore pray for me. Perchance I do foolishly to forsake so good a living as I have. I will say no more hereof, but pray for me. I trust, as I said, for three years' study I have sufficient, if my master take all from me: and when this is spent, God will send more. I do not write this that you should think me to be in need of worldly help, and therefore, as friars were wont, secretly to beg. No, in the Lord's name, I require you not to take it so: for I had rather never send letter, afore I should be herein a cross to you, for 'sufficit sua diei afflictio,' we are

more set by than many sparrows. But if my mother, or Sir Thomas Hall, murmur at it, or be offended with me, as you can, remedy it with your counsel. Howbeit as yet I will not write to them of it, until such time as I be going. I am something fickle-minded and unconstant, therefore pray for me, that my hand being put to the plough, (presumptuously spoken,) I look not back. You may gather by my words in this letter the heroical heart which lieth in me.

"I have sent you a book of Bucer against Winchester, in English, lately translated, which I never read; therefore I cannot praise it. And as I call to remembrance, I did send you with the other books more than you received, at the least one of them I remember, which is called, The Common-places, or the Declaration of the Faith, by Urbanus Rhegius. Ask for it, or send me word in whom the default is you have it not. Hereafter, and that shortly, by God's grace, I will send you Primitiæ Laborum meorum, a work or two which I have translated into English, so soon as they be printed, which will be afore Whitsuntide. Pray for me, good father Traves, and God send you health of soul and body, as I would mine own or any man's living. But yet, to warn you of that you know not: in writing your letters to me, you hit me home, and give me that I look for. You are deceived, and so are all that know me; I never came to any point of mortification, therefore a little tickling sets me afloat. God help me, and give God thanks for me, as all men be most bounden. Thus when I once begin to write to you I run as the priest saith matins, for I think I may be bold on you. The Holy Ghost preserve you, your wife, and family, and persevere his grace in you unto the end. I pray you pray for me, a most (what should I call me) miserable and blasphemous sinner. The peace of God be with us.

"From the Temple, this twelfth of May, 1548.

"Sir Thomas Hall hath deceived me, but himself most. I desire to speak with him, as this winter it may chance, if I discharge not myself of mine office, to see him. Pray for him, and for me.

"A very hypocrite.
JOHN BRADFORD."

To father Traves. (No. 5.)

"The perseverance of God's grace, with the knowledge of his good will, increase with you unto the end.—To declare myself, as I am, a carnal man, which understand not the things that be of the Spirit: these my letters, though I counterfeit and meddle amongst them the spiritual words, as the devil did in his temptations to Christ, will declare not less. For I begin with carnal things in effect, and no marvel if I so end: for how can a man gather figs of briers? These words, as they seem, so they are spoken for a cloak to make you think otherwise: but, father Traves, you cannot think so evil of me as I am: but to the matter. This present day, by God's grace, I take my journey towards Cambridge, where, I pray God, and so earnestly I pray you to pray for me, that I may circumspectly redeem this time which God hath appointed (to me unknown) to lend me: for alas! I have spent most wickedly the time past, for the which I must account, even for every hair-breadth, as they say: for God hath not given here time to sin. But if I considered this, (as I do nothing less, custom of sin and pleasing myself hath so hardened my heart,) I should then come to the feeling of myself; then should I hate sin, which I now love; then should I fear God's wrath, which I now contemn; then should I cry out and weep, and continually pray; whereas now I am as dry as a stone, as dumb as a nail, as far from praying as he that never knew any taste of it.

Which thing once I felt (thanks to the Lord); but now, for mine unthankfulness, I am almost (but most worthily) deprived. I fear me God will take his grace from me, I am so unthankful. Alas! why do I lie, in saying I fear me? Nay, God grant I may do so, for then should I pray and pray: but seeing I cannot, speak you for me, pray for me, that the Lord would remember his old compassions towards me, for his mercy's sake draw me, yea, compel me, to serve, to fear, and to love him. Thus may you see how I presume: for my intent was to have been a minister of God's word, to have been his instrument to call from, as I have called to, sin; but you see how that God punisheth mine arrogancy. Alas! what shall I do? I am an unprofitable and an idle member; I thought I should have been therein profitable, but *Medice, cura teipsum*. How should I, or what should I do? I cannot labour with my hands. Well, I trust God will give me grace and knowledge to translate. Nothing I fear me, yea, I distrust me, that I shall never be minister of God's word: vea, if arrogancy were not in me, how should I, of all wretches the greatest, think me to look to the highest room and vocation that is upon earth? Therefore eftsoons I desire you to pray for me, that God's will may be done in me, whether I live or die, so that his name be honoured. My master which was, hath denied me all his beneficence, but I have for this life. more than enough, thanks be to God, as this winter I intend, by God's favour, to declare more unto you. This book which I have sent, take it in good part; it is the first, I trust it shall not be the last, God hath appointed me to translate. The print is very false, I am sorry for it.

I pray you be not offended at my babbling in the Prologues, &c. JOHN BRADFORD.

"I will lie, God willing, this summer, at Katherine's Hall in Cambridge. Write to me."

*To father Traves.* (No. 6.)

"The loving-kindness and abundant mercy of God the Father, poured plentifully upon all the faithful, in the blood of that meek Lamb, Jesus Christ, our only satisfaction and Mediator, through the working of the most Holy Spirit, be increased and perceived in you daily more and more, to the glory of God, &c.

"Because I stand both in doubt of the reading and delivery of such letters as I write and send unto you, dearly beloved father Traves, I am constrained to leave off such griefs and spiritual wants, as, thanks unto the Lord, I unwillingly feel: for the flesh, as you know, loveth nothing so much as security, of all enemies most perilous, and not a little familiar with me: from the which, with vain-glory, hypocrisy, &c., and worldliness, the Lord deliver me! I had not thought to have written thus much, but these I cannot keep, but commit them to your prayers. And to the intent I would you should not think any ingratitude in me; as also that I might give you occasion to write to me again, as heretofore I have done, even so do I interturb and trouble you with my babbling, but yet having this commodity, that I babble not so much as I am wont to do. The cause I have declared, which had almost been the cause I had not written at all. I did write unto you from London when I came hither: send me word what letters you have received, for from you I have received but two, and both by John Moss; and in the latter I perceived that the Lord had visited you with sickness, his fatherly rod, whereby he declareth his love upon you, and that he careth for you: 'Ut in tempore supremo exultes nunc ad breve tempus afflictus, quo exploratio fidei multo pretiosior auro quod perit, et tamen probatur, &c. Siquidem in hoc vocatus

es, ut cum Christo patiaris, nam et cum illo glorificaberis. Certus enim sermo est, si sufferimus et con-regnabimus.' You know that Christ, 'etsi Filius Dei erat, tamen ex his quæ passus est didicit obedientiam.' 'Patientia opus perfectum habeat ut sitis perfecti et integri, nullaque in parte diminuti:' and doth not patientia come of probatio? The one then you had, so that you were going a-school to learn the other, which learnt, what want you? The end of all God's proving is, as Paul saith, 'Ut impertiat nobis sanctimoniam: igitur gratias age Deo Patri, qui idoneum te fecit ad participationem sortis sanctorum in lumine, &c. Nam qui parumper afflixit, idem instauret te, fulciat, roboret, stabiliat.' And that the Lord knoweth how 'eripere pios è tribulatione,' and that 'in tempore opportuno,' even shortly: for haud tardat qui promisit:' 'nam modicum tempus, et videbis me; 'veniens enim veniet, et non tardabit.' 'Itaque qui consortes estis crucis Christi, gaudete, ' saith Peter, 'ut in revelatione quoque gloriæ eius gaudeatis exultantes.' Oh, how doth my will over-run my wit. Why, Bradford! whom writest thou unto? thou showest thyself. Thus, father Traves, you may see my rashness to rabble out the Scripture without purpose, rhyme, or reason. I will not blot it out, as I thought to have done; for that hereby you shall see my need of your prayer. Well, I look for a watch-word from you. Write, for God's sake, and pray for me that I may be in something profitable to the Lord's congregation, that I may be no stumbling-block, 'ut confundantur in me qui ilium expectant.' Send me such counsel as the Lord's Spirit shall move you how to study. My desire is in something to be profitable, if it were the Lord's will, for to be 'minister verbi.' Alas! I am unmeet, and my time, my time, yea, the Lord's time, I have hitherto evil, yea, most wickedly misspent it, &c. Thus will I end. The Lord be with you and your bedfellow, to whom have me heartily commended, and to all your children and family, the which I beseech the Lord to lighten his countenance over, and grant you his peace: pray for me. I long for winter to speak with you. Rescribe oro. Pray for me.

"This Assumption-day in Katherine's Hall, in Cambridge. "Yours, with all I have and can. JOHN BRADFORD."

To father Traves. (No. 7.)

"The plentiful grace of God the Father, through our only Master and Lord Jesus Christ, increase in us daily to the glory of his name. Amen.

"Forasmuch as I have often written unto you, good father Traves, and yet have not once heard from you since Pentecost, I cannot now be so bold, either in writing much or often, as I would have been: howbeit this I say, that I much marvel that I hear not from you: but not so, for I am so wretched a sinner, that the Lord's Spirit, I am certain, doth not move you to write to me, yet, for God's sake, pray for me, and in the Lord's name I desire you to give thanks to God for me. And when it may please God to move you, write to me, though it be but two words, and counsel me how to study the word of life, the ministry whereof I desire, if it be the Lord's pleasure, to profess, and that I may do it both in living and learning: pray for me. 'Herus meus omnibus rebus suis me abdicavit, et quæ prius concesserat, jam solvere renuit, et mihi prorsus factus est inimicus.' I know not when I shall see you in body, therefore let me hear from you. I write not this that you should think me 'in egestate aut angustiis esse.' No, father, the Lord giveth me 'omnia affatim,' and will do. I trust I shall shortly here have a fellowship: I am so promised, and therefore I have taken the degree of Master of Arts, which else I could not have attained. If I

get a fellowship, I shall not need 'de crastino solicitus esse,' as hereafter I shall more write to you by God's grace. I pray you write again, and often pray for me. In haste, as appeareth, the twenty-second of October. Ne sciat mater me quod herus meus adeo duriter mecum egit, &c.

"Miserrimus peccator.

J. BRADFORD."

To father Traves. (No. 8.)

"The peace and plenteous mercy of God our heavenly Father, in his Christ our only Lord and Saviour, be ever increased in you by the Holy Spirit, 'qui efficit omnia in omnibus.' Amen.

"Father Traves, though I might think myself more happy if you would often write unto me, yet because I ought to have respect to your pains, which now that old man cannot so well sustain as it might, I had rather lose my happiness in that behalf, than will your grief, forasmuch as it can be no happiness unto me which turneth to your pain; yet, because pain is not painful when it is joined with gain, I therefore desire you, for God's sake, to pray often for me: for if I shall not be worthy of your prayer, as the Lord, who knoweth all things, doth right well see it, and so my conscience witnesseth, your good prayer shall return into your own bosom. And know this, that whoso converteth a sinner by prayer, (whether it be by prayer, preaching, or writing letters, &c.,) the same hath saved a soul. Use therefore, for God's sake I ask it, that pains whereunto is joined profit, I mean prayer to God for me, a miserable and most wretched sinner: and as for the gainless pain in writing to me, use it yet as you may, and surely God, for whose sake you do it, in that he will reward a cup of cold water, will in some thing requite you. And I know certainly, that if you did see what spiritual profit I receive by your letters, I am certain you would not think all your labour lost. For Christ's sake, therefore, begin again to write unto me, and reprove me sharply for my horrible unthankfulness to God. You know how that God hath exonerated my laden conscience of the great weighty burden, for so I did write to you; yea, the Lord hath in a manner unburdened me of the lesser burden also; for I have an assurance of the payment of the same by Candlemas. Lo, thus you see what a good God the Lord is unto me. O father Traves, give thanks for me, and pray God to forgive me my unthankfulness. But what should I rehearse the benefits of God towards me? Alas, I cannot. I am too little for all his mercies, yea, I am not only unthankful, but I am too far contumelious against God. For whereas you know the sun, the moon, and the seven stars, did forsake me, and would not shine upon me, you know what I mean 'per herum et heriles amicos,' yet the Lord hath given me here in the university as good a living as I would have wished; for I am now a fellow of Pembroke Hall, for the which neither I, nor any other for me, did ever make any suit: yea, there was a contention betwixt the master of Catherine Hall and the bishop of Rochester, who is master of Pembroke Hall, whether should have me, 'fit hoc tibi dictum.' Thus you may see the Lord's carefulness for me. My fellowship here is worth seven pound a year; for I have allowed me eighteen-pence a week, and as good as thirty-three shillings four-pence a year in money, besides my chamber, launder, barber, &c., and I am bound to nothing but once or twice a year to keep a problem. Thus you see what a good Lord God is to me. But I pray you what do I now to God, for all this? I will not speak of the great mercies he showeth unto my soul. Surely, father Traves, I have clean forgotten God; I am all secure, idle, proud, hard-hearted, utterly void of brotherly love; I am envious, and disdain others; I am a very stark hypocrite, not only in my words and works, but even in these my letters to you. I am all sensual, without the true fear of God, another manner of

man than I have been since my calling. Alas! father Traves, I write this to put myself in remembrance; but I am without all sense, I do but only write it. For God's sake pray for me, which am only in name a Christian, in very deed a very worldling, and, to say to you the very truth, the most worldling of all others. I pray you exhort my mother now and then, with my sister Margaret, to fear the Lord: and if my mother had not sold the fox-fur which was in my father's gown, I would she would send it me. She must have your counsel in a piece of cloth.

"Yours for ever.
JOHN BRADFORD."

# *To father Traves.* (No. 9.)

"The selfsame mercy, grace, and peace, which heretofore I have felt plenteously, though now, through mine unthankfulness and wilful obedience to the pleasure of this outward man, I neither feel, neither can be persuaded that I possess; yea, if I shall truly write, I in manner pass not upon the same, so far am I fallen, the Lord help me: the same mercy, &c., I say, I wish unto you as I can, with all increase of godliness: hypocritically with my pen and mouth, beseeching you, in your earnest prayers to God, to be an earnest suitor unto God for me, which am fallen into such a security, and even a hardness of heart, that neither I sorrow my state, neither with any grief or fear of God's abjection do write this: before the Lord, which knoweth the hearts of all men, I lie not. Consider for Christ's sake therefore, good father Traves, my necessity, though I myself do it not, and pray for me, that God cast me not off, as I deserve most justly. For whereas I ought to have well proceeded in God's school, by reason of the time, I confess it to my shame I am so far gone back, as, alas! if shame were in me, I might he ashamed to write it; but much more to write it, and think it not: such is the reward of unthankfulness. For whereas God wrought the restitution of the great thing you know of, (the which benefit should bind me to all obedience,) alas! father Traves, I am too unthankful: I find no will in heart (though by my writing it will be hard to persuade you) either to be thankful, either to begin a new life in all things to mortify this outward man, and heartily to be well content to serve the Lord in spirit and verity, and withstand mine affections, and especially my beastly sensuality in meat and drink, wherewith I was troubled at my being with you; but now, through my licentious obeying that affect, I am fallen so, that a whole legion spirituum malorum possesseth me. The Lord, whom I only with mouth (my heart still abiding both in hardness and wilfulness) call upon, deliver me and help me; and for God's sake give you hearty thanks for the great benefit of restitution. Pray to the Lord, that at the length I may once return to the obedience of his good will. Amen.—I thank you for your cheese, and so doth father Latimer as unknown: for I did give it him, and he saith he did never eat better cheese; and so I dare say he did not. I thank him I am as familiar with him, as with you; yea, God so moveth him towards me, that his desire is to have me come and dwell with him whensoever I will, and welcome. This do I write yet once more to occasion you to be thankful for me to the Lord, which by all means showeth nothing but most high love to me; and I again a very obstinate rebellion. Pray therefore for me in haste.

"The sinful JOHN BRADFORD."

# 296 William Minge and James Trevisam



HE next day after Master Bradford and John Leaf did suffer in Smithfield, William Minge, priest, died in prison at Maidstone, being there in bonds for religion, and like to have suffered also, if he had continued the fury of his adversaries, whose nature was to spare and favour none that favoured Christ's pure gospel: which William Minge with as great constancy and boldness yielded up his life in prison, as if it had pleased God to have called him to suffer by the fire, as the other good and godly men had done at the stake; and as he himself was ready also so to do, if it had pleased God to have called him thereunto.

James Trevisam buried in the fields, and summoned after his death.

On the third of July, 1555, died one James Trevisam in the parish of St. Margaret in Lothbury, upon a Sunday, who, being impotent and lame, kept his bed: for he could not rise out of it a long time. This Trevisam had a servant, one John Smal, which read on the Bible; and, as he was in reading, Berd the promoter came to the house, and would needs go up the stairs, where he found four persons besides him and his wife—to wit, the young man that read, and two men and a woman; all which folks, the said Berd the promoter, there being, apprehended and carried to the Compter, where they remained about a fortnight, for all the friends they could make. Moreover the said Berd would have had also James the lame man himself to Newgate in a cart, (and brought the cart to the door,) but for neighbours. Nevertheless, the poor man was fain to put in two sureties for his forthcoming; for he could not go out of his bed, being not only impotent, but also very sick the same time. So within a few days, the said James lying in extremity, the parson of the church, named Master Farthing, came to him, and had communication with him, and agreed well, and so departed. It happened after the priest was come down into the street, there met him one Toiler, a founder. "Yea," saith he, "be ye agreed? I will accuse you, for he denieth the sacrament of the altar." Upon that the parson went to him again, and then the priest and he could not agree. And so the parson went to the bishop of London and told him. The bishop answered, that he should be burnt, and if he were dead, he should be buried in a ditch. And so, when he died, the parson was against his wife as much as he could, neither would let her have the coffin to put him in, nor any thing else, but was fain to bear him upon a table to Moorfield, and there was he buried. The same night the body was cast up above the ground, and his sheet taken from him, and he left naked. After this the owner of the field, seeing him, buried him again, and a fortnight after the sumner came to his grave, and summoned him to appear at Paul's before his ordinary, to answer to such things as should be laid against him! But what more befell upon him, I have not certainty to say.

# 297. John Bland.

The history of Master John Bland, preacher and martyr, constantly suffering for the gospel of Jesus Christ.



HE twelfth day of July, John Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humfrey Middleton, were all four burned at Canterbury together, for one cause; of the which number, Frankesh and Bland were ministers and preachers of the word of God, the one being parson of Adisham, the other the vicar of Rolvenden. This Master Bland was a man so little born for his own commodity, that no part of his life was separated from the common and public utility of all men; for his first doings were there employed to the bringing up of children in learning and virtue: under whom were trained divers towardly young men, which even at this present do

handsomely flourish; in the number of whom is Dr. Sands, a man of singular learning and worthiness, as may well be seem a scholar meet for such a schoolmaster, whom I gladly here name for his singular gifts of virtue and erudition.

After this he, coming to the ministry in the church of God, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed with incredible desire to profit the congregation; which may appear by this, that whereas he was cast into Canterbury prison for the preaching of the gospel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the suit of his friends, yet would he needs preach the gospel again as soon as he was delivered. Whereupon he, being the third time apprehended, when his friends yet once again would have found the means to have delivered him if he would have promised to abstain from preaching; he stood in it earnestly, that he would admit no such condition, notably well expressing unto us the manner and example which we read in the apostle Paul: Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Tribulation, or anguish, or hunger, or nakedness, or danger, or persecution, or the sword? &c. But to express the whole life and doings of this godly martyr, seeing we have his own testimony concerning the same, it shall be best to refer the reader to his own report, writing to his father of the whole discourse of his troubles, from the beginning almost to the latter end, in order and manner as ye shall hear.

A discourse of the whole process and doings of Master Bland, written and reported by himself to his father in his own letter as followeth.

"Dearly beloved father in Christ Jesus, I thank you for your gentle letters; and, to satisfy your mind, as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, these shall both declare unto you all my vexations that have chanced me since ye were with me, and also since I received your last letters. God keep you ever.

Your son.
JOHN BLAND.

"First, the third of September, being Sunday, after service ended, ere I had put off my surplice, John Austen came to the table, (commonly called the Lord's table,) and laid both his hands upon it, saying, 'Who set this here again?' (Now they say they took the table down the Sunday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who set it up again.) The clerk answered, that he knew not. Then Austen said, 'He is a knave that set it here.' I was then going down the church, marvelling what he meant, and said, 'Goodman Austen, the queen's Highness hath set forth a proclamation, that ye may move no sedition.' And ere I could speak any more, he said, 'Thou art a knave:' and I said, 'Well, goodman Austen, that I have said, I have said.' 'By God's soul,' quoth he, 'thou art a very knave.'

"Then my clerk spake to him, but what I am not sure: but he said, 'Ye are both heretic knaves, and have deceived us with this fashion too long; and if he say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face.' And in that rage he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the trestles by it. Wherefore I rode by and by to Master Isaac, and showed him the cause, both how seditiously he had spoken, and performed it with a like deed. Master Isaac directed a warrant to the constable or borsholder, which was incontinently served, so that he was brought before him the same night, and was bound by recognisance, with sureties, to appear, if he were called. But we agreed so well then, that it was never called for; the table was brought down, and was permitted, as before.

"The twenty-sixth of November, being Sunday, Richard Austen and his brother Thomas came to the foresaid table after the communion was done; and as I was going by them, Richard said unto me, 'Master Parson, we have to speak to you.' And I said, What is your will?' And he said, 'You know that you took down the tabernacle or ceiling wherein the rood did hang, and such other things: we would know what recompence you will make us. For the queen's proceedings are, as you know, that such must up again.' Quoth I, 'I know no such proceedings as yet; and as for that I did, I did it by commandment.' 'No,' said Thomas Austen, 'ye will not know the queen's proceedings.' 'Yes,' said I, 'I refuse not to know them.'

"Then said Richard, 'Ye are against the queen's proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devilishness in the mass.' 'Goodman Austen,' said I, 'if I so said, I will say it again; and, God willing, stand to the proof of it.' 'Masters all,' quoth Richard Austen, 'bear record of these words;' and went his way.

"Quoth Thomas Austen, 'Thou wilt as soon eat this book as stand to them.' 'No,' quoth I, 'not so soon.' 'Tell us,' quoth he, what that devilishness is, that is in the mass.' 'I have often preached it unto you,' said I, 'and ye have not believed it, nor borne it away, nor will now either, though I should tell you.'

"'Thou,' quoth he, 'hast told us always, like a heretic as thou art.' 'Now ye lie, goodman Austen,' quoth I, 'by your leave.' 'Marry,' quoth he, 'thou liest.' And I said, 'And you lie; for I have taught you Christ and his truth.'

"Quoth he,' Thou art a heretic, and hast taught us nothing but heresy; for thou canst say nothing that is true.' 'Yes, goodman Austen, I can say that God is in heaven; and ye will say (I trow) that it is true, and so have I taught you truly.'

"Quoth he, 'Thou hast taught us like a heretic, and hast said, that there is no devil in hell.' 'Well,' said I,' lie on; methinketh you can say little truth.'

"Many other taunts he gave, too long to write. And at the last he said, Ye pulled down the altar: will ye build it again?' 'No,' quoth I, 'except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did.'

"'Well, if you will not,' said he, 'then will I: for I am a churchwarden.' 'I charge you,' said I, 'that you do not, except you have authority.'

"'I will,' said he, 'not let for your charge. For we will have a mass here on Sunday, and a preacher that shall prove thee a heretic, if thou dare abide his coming.' 'Yes,' quoth I, 'God willing, I will abide and hear him; for sure I am, that he cannot disprove any doctrine that I have preached.'

"'Yes,' quoth he, 'and that thou shalt hear, if thou run not away ere then.' 'No, goodman Austen, I will not run away.'

"'Marry,' quoth he, 'I cannot tell, thou art as like yea, as nay.' With many other words we came out of the church door, and so departed.

"When the Sunday came, I looked for our preacher, and at the time of morning-prayer, I said to the clerk, 'Why do ye not ring? ye forget that we shall have a sermon to-day.' 'No,' quoth he, 'Master Miles's servant hath been here this morning, and said his master hath letters from my Lord Chancellor, that he must go to London, and cannot come.' That day I did preach to them a sermon in his stead.

"Now have they slandered me, that I had prepared a company from divers places to have troubled him; but they agreed not in their lie; for some said, I had them at Adisham, and that Richard Austen had knowledge, and sent for the king's constable to see the peace kept, which is found a lie. Other said, I had them lying in wait for him between Canterbury and Adisham. Other said, I had them in both places, that if the one missed the other should not. God forgive them all! Now upon these two matters they crack that they sent two bills of complaint to the council: wherefore by the counsel of friends, I made this testimony, and sent it up by Master Wiseman."

The behaviour of John Bland, parson of Adisham, in the county of Kent, the Sunday, the third day of December last past, [1553,] containing the words which he there spake unto the people.

"Whereas upon certain communication bad between the said parson and Richard Austen and Thomas Austen, in the presence of all the parish of Adisham, the Sunday before St. Andrew's day last, the said Austen then declared, that the said parson had taught there in times past great heresies, which to confound, they would prepare a preacher against the next Sunday following, if so be the said parson would abide, and not run away: upon which rumour divers and sundry persons resorted out of the country, unto the said parish church, at the said same day appointed, there to hear the preacher; and at the time in which the sermon ought to be made, no man appeared there to preach. But it was reported unto the parson, that the preacher appointed

had urgent business, and could not come: so that the multitude being now come together, the same parson, perceiving that the people's expectation was defrauded, said, 'Forasmuch as you are come willingly to hear some good advertisement of the preacher, who now cannot be present, I think it not convenient to permit you to depart without some exhortation for your edifying.' And so further declaring that he had no licence to preach, said that he would not meddle with any matter in controversy. And then he began the epistle of the day, desiring the audience to mark three or four places in the same epistle, which touched quietness and love one to another. And there briefly reading the epistle, he noted the same places; and so, making an end thereof, desired all men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any manner of disturbance, or token of evil.

"Witnesses the undernamed, with divers others: Edmund Mores. Richard Randall. John Hills. William Forstall. Thomas Gooding.".

Another matter of trouble wrought against John Bland, as appeareth by his own narration.

"Upon the Innocents' day, being the twenty-eighth day of December, they had procured the priest of Stodmarsh to say them mass. He had nigh made an end of matins ere I came; and when he had made an end of matins, he said to me, 'Master Parson, your neighbours have desired me to say matins and mass: I trust ye will not be against the queen's proceedings.' 'No,' quoth I, 'I will offend none of the queen's Majesty's laws, God willing.' 'What say ye:' quoth he; and made as he had not heard. And I spake the same words to him again, with a higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the chancel heard. So I cried the third time, (that all in the church heard,) that I would not offend the queen's laws. And then he went to mass; and when he was reading the epistle, I called the clerk unto me with the beckoning of my finger, and said unto him, 'I pray you desire the priest, when the gospel is done, to tarry a little; I have something to say to the people.' And the clerk did so.

"And the priest came down to the stall, where he sat; and I stood up in the chancel door, and spake to the people of the great goodness of God, always showed unto his people, unto the time of Christ's coming; and in him and his coming, what benefit they past, we present, and our successors, have; and among other benefits, I spake of the great and comfortable sacrament of his body and blood. And after I had declared briefly the institution, the promise of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I spake of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the consecration, as yonder mass-book doth, saying, 'Holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of perpetual salvation: so that like as our bodily mouths eat the sacramental bread and wine, so doth the mouth of our souls (which is our faith) eat Christ's flesh and blood.'

"And when I had made an end of that, I spake of the misuse of the sacrament in the mass; so that I judged it in that use no sacrament: and showed how Christ bade us all eat and drink; and one only in the mass eateth and drinketh, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship.

"And after these things ended, as briefly as I could, I spake of the benefactors of the mass, and began to declare what men made the mass, and recited every man's name, and the patch that he put to the mass.

"And ere I had rehearsed them all, the churchwarden and the borsholder, his son-in-law, violently came upon me, and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thrust me into the chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, 'Thou heretic;' some, 'Thou traitor; 'some, 'Thou rebel:' and when every man had said his pleasure and the rage was something past, 'Be quiet, good neighbours,' said I, 'and let me speak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will make answer before them that are in authority to correct me.' But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this side, and another on that, and began again. Then Richard Austen said, 'Peace, masters; no more till mass be done' and they ceased.

"Then said I to the churchwarden and the borsholder, (either holding me by the arm,) 'Masters, let me go into the church-yard till your mass be done.' 'No,' quoth the churchwarden, 'thou shalt tarry here till mass be done.' 'I will not,' quoth I, 'but against my will.' And they said, 'Thou shalt tarry: for if thou go out, thou wilt run away.' Then said I to the borsholder, 'Lay me in the stocks, and then ye shall be sure of me:' and turned my back to the altar.

"By that time Richard Austen had devised what to do with me, and called to the borsholder and the churchwarden, and bade them put me into a side chapel, and shut the door to me; and there they made me tarry till mass was ended.

"When the mass was ended, they came into the chapel to me, and searched what I had about me; and found a dagger, and took it from me. Then said Thomas Austen, churchwarden, (after many brablings that they made with me,) 'Thou keepest a wife here amongst us, against God's law and the queen's.' 'Ye lie, goodman Austen,' said I, it is not against God's law, nor, as I suppose, against the queen's.'

"Thus they brought me out of the church, and without the door they railed on me, without pity or mercy: but anon the priest came out of the church, and Ramsey, that of late was clerk, said unto him, Sir, where dwell you? 'And therewith Thomas Austen took him by the arm, and said, 'Come on, sirrah, you are of his opinion:' and took his dagger from him, and said he should go with him. 'I am content,' said he, and a little mocked them in their envious talk.

"By this time there came in at the church stile, one John Gray, of Wingham, servant to John Smith, and seeing them hold Ramsey by the arms, said to him, 'How now, Ramsey, have you offended the queen's laws?' 'No,' quoth he. 'Then there is no transgression.' Therewith Thomas Austen took him, and said, 'Ye are one of their opinion; ye shall go with them for company:' and took his dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? but after, I think, for very shame they let him go again; but they carried me and Ramsey to Canterbury, with eighteen persons weaponed. A sheet of paper will not hold the talk that we had that night with Master Hardes, justice, Master Oxenden, Master Spilman, and Master Tutsam.

"The next day they made a bill against me, but it served not their purpose, which was, that they would have had me to prison. But James Chapman and Bartholomew Joyes were bound

in twenty pounds either of them, for my appearance at the next general sessions, or in the mean time to appear, if I were sent for before the queen's Majesty's council, or any other commissioners sent by the queen's authority. And Ramsey was bound to the peace, and to be of good behaviour till the next sessions. His sureties were Thomas Hogeking and Simon Barrat.

"Now the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of February, [1554,] Sir Thomas Finch, knight, and Master Hardes, sent for me and my sureties to Master Finch's place, and took me from my sureties, and sent me to the castle of Canterbury, by Sir Thomas Moyle's commandment, (they said,) where I lay ten weeks, and then was bailed, and bound to appear at the next sessions holden at Canterbury; but after they changed it to be at Ashford on the Thursday in Whitsunweek, being the nineteenth of May: but in the mean time the matter was exhibited to the Spiritual Court."

The first examination of Master John Bland in the Spiritual Court, before Doctor Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, and Master Collins, commissary, May 18, 1554.

"The eighteenth day of May, Master Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, made the mayor's serjeant to bring me before him and Master Collins, commissary, into Christ's church; and they went with me into a chamber, in the suffragan of Dover's house. Then the archdeacon said, 'Art thou a priest?' And I said, 'I was one.' And he said, 'Art thou a graduate of any university?' And I said, 'Yea.' 'What degree,' said he, 'hest thou taken?' 'The degree,' quoth I, 'of a Master of Arts.' 'The more pity,' quoth he, 'that thou shouldest behave thyself as thou hast done. Thou hast been a common preacher licensed, hast thou not?' And I said, 'I have been so.' 'Marry,' quoth he, 'so I understand.'

"What hast thou preached?"

"And I said, 'God's word, to the edifying, I trust, of his people.'

"'No, no,' quoth he; 'to the destroying of their souls and thine both, except the mercy of God be all the greater. I pray thee, what hast thou preached? tell me.'

"'I told you,' quoth I, 'what I have preached.'

"'Nay, but tell me,' quoth he, 'what one matter hast thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou sayest?' 'I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have some matter against me.'

"'No, by my faith,' quoth he, 'but only that I would win thee from heresies that thou art bewrapt in, and hast infected others withal: for thou hast preached, as I am informed, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is not the very body and blood of Jesus Christ after the consecration. Tell me, hast thou not thus preached? and is not this thine opinion?'

"'Sir,' quoth I, 'I perceive (as I said) that ye seek matter against me. But, seeing that I am bound in the sessions to my good behaviour for preaching, which may be broken with words, and

well I know not with what words; and also both mine authority to preach and my living are taken from me, I think thus I am not bound to make you an answer."

*Collins.*—"Master Bland, do you not remember, that St. Peter biddeth you make answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the faith that is in you?"

*Bland*.—"I know that, and am content so to answer as that text biddeth: but I know that Master Archdeacon doth not ask me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble."

"Then they said, 'No, ye shall not be troubled for any thing that ye say here."

*Bland.*—"I am content for knowledge' sake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwise."

"And so they fell in reasoning more than the space of an hour, of the sacrament, both against me. At the last Master Collins said, 'Master Bland, will ye come and take in hand to answer such matter on Monday next, as shall be laid to you?""

*Bland.*—"Sir, ye said I should not be troubled for any thing that should be said here for learning's sake."

"And they said, Ye shall not, but it is for other matters."

Bland.—"Sir, I am bound to appear, as some tell me, on Thursday next at Ashford: I am in doubt whether I can or no; yet I have purposed to be there, and so to go to London to Master Wiseman, for an obligation that he hath, whereby I should receive certain money to pay my debts withal."

"Then said Master Archdeacon, 'I will write to Master Wiseman, that ye shall sustain no loss."

*Bland*.—"That shall not need; for I can sustain no great loss, if I go not. But I pray you to let me have a longer day." "No," quoth he.

Bland.—"Sir, I cannot well come on Monday."

*Harpsfield.*—"Wilt thou not come, when he so gently speaketh to thee, where he may command thee?"

Bland.—"I do not deny to come, but I desire a longer day."

Harpsfield.—"Thou shalt have no other day; I charge thee to come on Monday."

*Bland.*—"Sir, I perceive it shall be for this or like matters: will it please you or Master Collins, for God's sake, to confer Scriptures privately with me in this matter, seeing ye say ye would so gladly win me?"

Harpsfield.—"With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will also borrow my Lord of Dover's library, to have what books thou wilt:" and thus they departed. Now the seventeenth of May at Ashford I could not be released, although I was called to the Spiritual Court for the same matter, but was bound to appear at the sessions holden at Cranbrook, the third of July.

Another appearance of Master Bland before the archdeacon and his fellows.

"The twenty-first day of May I appeared in the chapter-house, where was a great multitude of people, unlooked for of me; and Master Archdeacon said thus to me, 'Ye are come here according as ye were appointed: and the cause is, that it hath pleased the queen's Highness here to place me, to see God's holy word set forth, and to reform those that are here fallen into great and heinous errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christ's sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholic church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is sore poisoned with the same, and hast infected and deceived many with thy evil preaching, which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the catholic church, both I and many others more would be very glad; and I, for my part, shall be right glad to show you the favour that lieth in me, as I said unto you when you were appointed hither, because ye then refused to satisfy again the people that ye had deceived. And whereas it is feigned by you, that I should openly dispute the matter with you this day; although I did neither so intend nor appoint, yet I am content to dispute the matter with thee, if thou wilt not without disputation help to heal the souls that are brought to hell-ward by thee. What sayest thou?""

Bland.—"I do protest before God and you all, that neither is my conscience guilty of any error or heresy, neither that I ever taught any error or heresy willingly. And whereas your Mastership saith, that I have feigned an open disputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus approve: Upon Saturday I was at Ugden's, and there Master Bingham laid it to my charge, that such an open disputation, as ye have here offered, should be this day between you and me: whereat I much marvelled, and said to him that before that present I never heard any such word; neither would I answer nor dispute. And to this can Master Vaughan, Master Oxenden, Master Seth of Overland, and Master Ugden witness; and further I said to them, that I never spake to you of any disputation, nor you to me. Now if your Mastership have any thing to say to me by the law, I will make answer to it."

*Harpsfield*.—"Hear ye what he saith? His conscience is clear. I pray thee whereon groundest thou thy conscience? Let me hear what thy faith is."

*Bland.*—"I know not why ye should more ask me a reason of my faith, than any other man in this open audience."

*Harpsfield.*—"Why, thou heretic, art thou ashamed of thy faith? If it were a Christian belief, thou needest not to be ashamed of it."

*Bland*.—"I am not ashamed of my faith: for I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, &c., with all the other articles of the Creed; and I do believe all the Holy Scriptures of God to be most certain and true."

Harpsfield.—"Wilt thou declare no more than this?"

Bland.—"No."

Harpsfield.—"Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith and conscience upon all the articles of the Creed, and upon all the Holy Scriptures, sacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils that ever were, since the apostles' time. Lo, hereupon ground I my faith;" with many words more which I well remember not. And when he could get no other answer of me, than I had said before, he called for a scribe to make an act against me. And after much communication, I said, "By what law and authority will ye proceed against me?" Master Collins said, "By the canon law."

*Bland*.—"I doubt whether it be in strength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a counsellor in the law, and I will make answer according to the law."

Harpsfield.—"Why, thou heretic, thou wilt not confess thy faith to me, that have authority to demand it of thee, and yet I have confessed my faith to thee before all this audience. As concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar, thou hast taught, that after the consecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. How sayest thou, hast thou not thus taught?"

Bland.—"Sir, as concerning this matter of the sacrament, when I was with you and Master Collins, ye said then it was for other matters that I should come hither: and further, that ye would be content at my desire, to confer Scriptures with me, to see if ye could win me; and ye said, ye would borrow my Lord of Dover's library, that I should have what book I would. And now ye require me thus to answer, contrary to your promise, ere any conference be had, and seek rather to bring me into trouble, than to win me."

*Harpsfield.*—"I will, as God shall help me, do the best to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable: and I trust to dissolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to hear. And I also will desire these two worshipful men, my Lord of Dover, and Master Collins, to hear us."

*Bland*.—"No, ye shall pardon me of that: there shall be no such witness, but, when we agree, set to our hands." Hereat made the people a noise against me, for refusing the witness: and here had we many more words than I can rehearse. But at the last I said, "Sir, will ye give me leave to ask you one question?" And he said, "Yea, with all my heart; for in that thou askest any thing, there is some hope that thou mayest be won."

Bland.—"Sir, when it pleased Almighty God to send his angel unto the Virgin Mary to salute her, and said, Hail, full of grace, &c., came any substance from God our Father into the Virgin's womb to become man?" Whereat as well Master Archdeacon, as my Lord of Dover, and Master Collins staid. But my Lord spake the first, and said, "The Holy Ghost came to her;" and ere he had brought out his sentence, Master Syriac Peters said, "The power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." "Truth," said Master Archdeacon, "it was the power of God, sent by the Holy Ghost."—They had forgotten that, begotten of the substance of the Father; or else they perceived whereunto this question tended: and so both I and they left it; by what words I cannot tell. But I

said, "Sir, shall I ask one other?" And he said, "Yea." "Is there in the sacrament, after the consecration, Christ's natural body, with all the qualities of a natural body, or no?"

Harpsfield.—"Hark," said Master Archdeacon; "hear ye this heretic? He thinks it an absurdity to grant all the quantities of Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament: but it is no absurdity; for even that natural body that was born of the Virgin Mary is glorified, and that same body is in the sacrament after the consecration. But perceive ye not the arrogancy of this heretic, that will put me to answer him, and he will not answer me? He thought to put me to a pinch with his question; for I tell you it is a learned question."

*Bland.*—"Sir, if ye be so much discontented with me, I will say no more; yet I would all men heard, that ye say the glorified body of Christ is in the sacrament, after the consecration."

Harpsfield.—"I may call thee gross ignorant. Thou gross ignorant, is not the same body glorified, that was born of the Virgin Mary? Is it then any absurdity to grant that to be in the sacrament?" And while be spake many other words, I said to Master Petit, that the sacrament was instituted, delivered, and received of his apostles, before Christ's body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; which saying Master Petit partly recited to Master Archdeacon.

Harpsfield.—"Thou art without all learning. Was not Christ's body given to his apostles, as in a glorified act? and yet no inconvenience, although his natural body was not crucified: for when he was born of the Virgin Mary without pain, was not that the act of a glorified body? and when he walked on the water, and when he came into the house to his apostles, the doors being shut fast, were not these acts of a glorified body?"

"Then my Lord of Dover helped him to a better place, and said, 'When Christ was in Mount Tabor, he was there glorified in his apostles' sight.""

*Harpsfield.*—"Ye say truth, my Lord, he was glorified in the sight of three of his apostles."

Bland.—"This methinks is new doctrine."

Harpsfield.—"Well, seeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in, and prove these matters against him." And therewith the archdeacon brought forth a copy of the bill of complaint that was put against me at Christmas, and about that we talked a little. And then Master Archdeacon rose up and said, "See ye, good people that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it against him." Whereunto answered Thomas Austen, "I pray you," said he, "let us be no more troubled with him."

"And then spake John Austen, and Heath with one eye, and began to accuse me; but no answer they could have of me, but, 'Do to me what ye can by law, and I will answer it.' Then said Thomas Austen, 'Bland, ye were once abjured.'"

*Bland*.—"Ye say not truly, goodman Austen, I was never abjured." "Either," said he, "ye were abjured, or else ye had the king's pardon." "Neither of both; ye speak this of malice: "with many other brabling words more."

"Then Master Archdeacon departed, and left Master Collins to command me to appear the next day. Howbeit, for certain other urgent business that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a letter to Master Commissary, desiring him to respite the matter till my coming home again; and if he would not, I would be content to submit myself to the law when I came home.

{Ornamental capital £311}NOW about the twenty-eighth day of June I came to Master Commissary to show him of my return, and offered myself to satisfy the law, if it were proceeded against me, before Master Cox of Surrey, and Marks the apparitor: but Master Commissary said gently, he had done nothing against me; and so appointed me to appear before him the Friday seven-night after.

"Now in the mean time was the sessions holden at Cranbrook, where I was bound to appear; and carrying surety with me to be bound again, for I looked for none other, did appear the third of July.

"And Sir John Baker said, 'Bland, ye are, as we hear say, a Scot: where were ye born and brought up?' And I said I was born in England. And he said, 'Where?' And I said, 'In Sedberg, and brought up by one Doctor Lupton, provost of Eton college.' 'Well,' said he, 'I know him well. Remain to your bond till afternoon.'

"Then said Sir Thomas Moyle, 'Ah! Bland, thou art a stiff-hearted fellow. Thou wilt not obey the law, nor answer when thou art called.' 'Nor will,' quoth Sir John Baker. 'Master Sheriff, take him to your ward:' and the bailiff set me in the stocks, with others, and would not hear me speak one word. And so we remained in the gaol of Maidstone, till a fortnight after Michaelmas, or thereabouts; and then we were carried to Rochester, to the assize holden there, where we were among the prisoners two days. And when we were called, and the judges of assize asked our causes, when my cause was rehearsed, Master Barrow, clerk of the peace, said, that I was an excommunicate person.

"Then Master Roper of Linsted talked with the judges, but what, I am not able to say: but the judges of assize said, 'Take them to Maidstone again, and bring them to the sessions that shall be holden next at the town of Malden.' Howbeit, the sheriff did not send for us, so that we tarried at Maidstone till the sessions holden at Greenwich the eighteenth and nineteenth of February [1555]. I and others, being within the bar amongst the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out the latter day by the jailer and bailiffs, and eased of our irons, and carried by them into the town to Sir John Baker, Master Petit, Master Web, and two others whom I know not."

Another examination of Master Bland before Sir John Baker. Feb. 19, 1555.

Baker.—"Bland, wherefore were ye cast into prison?"

Bland.—"I cannot well tell. Your Mastership cast me in."

*Baker.*—"Yea, but wherefore were you in before that time?"

Bland.—"For an unjust complaint put upon me."

Baker.—"What was the complaint?"

(I told him as truly and as briefly as I could.)

*Baker.*—"Let me see thy book;"(and I took him a Latin Testament.)

*Baker.*—"Will ye go to the church, and obey and follow the queen's proceedings, and do as an honest man should do?"

Bland.—"I trust in God to do no otherwise but as an honest man should do."

Baker.—"Will ye do as I said?"

Bland.—"Will it please your Mastership to give me leave to ask you a question?"

Baker.—"Yea."

Bland.—"Sir, may a man do any thing that his conscience is not satisfied in to be good?"

Baker.—"Away, away" and threw down the book and said, "It is no Testament." And I said, "Yes." And Master Web took it up, and said unto me marvellous gently, "Master Bland, I knew you when ye were not of this opinion. I would to God ye would reform yourself;" with better words than I will write. And I said, "If ye have known me of another opinion than I am of now, it was for lack of knowledge."

*Baker*.—"Yea, sayest thou so? By St. Mary, and thou hold thee there, I will give six faggots to burn thee withal, ere thou shouldest be unburned: hence, knave, hence!" And so were we reprieved into our place again within the bar. And at night, when judgment of felons and all was done, we were called, and the judge said to the jailer, "Take them with you, and deliver them to the ordinary, and if they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they shall have judgment and execution." And one of our company said, "My Lord, if we be killed at your hands for Christ's sake, we shall live with him for ever."

Another appearance of Master Bland in the Spiritual Court. March 2, 1555.

"Then came we to the castle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the second of March, at which day we were brought into the chapter-house of Creechurch, where were set the suffragan of Canterbury, Master Collins, Master Mills, with others; and then went to them Master Oxenden, Master Petit, Master Web, and Master Hardes, justices. And when I was called, Master Web said, 'Here we present this man unto you, as one vehemently suspected of heresy.'

"And I said, 'Master Web, ye have no cause to suspect me of heresy. I have been a prisoner this whole year, and no matter proved against me. I pray you, wherefore have I been so long kept in prison?"

*Web.*—"Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to that that is laid to your charge."

Bland.—"I do so; for I say you have no cause to suspect me of heresy."

Web.—"Yes; ye denied to Sir John Baker to be conformable to the queen's proceedings."

*Bland.*—"Is it a just cause to suspect me of heresy for asking a question with leave?" So we had more words there than I well remember.

"Then stood up Master Petit, and said, 'Ye were cast into prison, because ye fled away from your ordinary."

Bland.—"Then have I had wrong; for I never fled, nor disobeyed mine ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. Let them now say if I did:" but they said nothing. And when I saw they held their peace, I said, "Master Commissary, have you been the cause of this mine imprisonment?" "No." quoth he; "ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appear the Friday after the sessions." Here I was suffered to speak no more, but shut up in a corner till my companions were likewise presented: and then we were sent to Westgate, into prison, and were put in several close holds, that never one of us could speak to another, nor any man was permitted to come to us. We were four times at this appearance: but one they despatched, (by what means I cannot tell,) whose name was Cornwall, a tanner."

And thus hitherto passed the talk between Bland and the justices, and certain gentlemen of the shire. Now followeth the order of the reasoning between him and the clergymen before whom he was examined. But forasmuch as the chiefest doer and judge against him was the bishop of Dover, or suffragan of Canterbury, called Dr. Richard Thornton, to the intent it may appear what little truth or constancy is in these catholic persecutors, I thought here to exhibit by the way a certain popish letter, written of a papist unto him; wherein is declared what a gospeller the said Richard Thornton was in King Edward's time, who now, turning with the world, showeth himself such a bitter persecutor against God's servants in Queen Mary's time. The copy of this letter here followeth

"Right reverend, and my good Lord,—after my hearty thanks for your good cheer at my last being with your Lordship, this shall be to certify you, that as soon as I arrived with my Lord's Grace, I gave him your letters: but I had much work to obtain any thing of him for you. For there have been given very evil informations of you, and it hath been said, that you have concurred with all manner of evil proceedings, the which hath these years past been in England, as well against the holy sacrament of the altar, and against the supreme authority of Christ's vicar in earth, as with the use of the abominable late communion, and with the marriage of priests, as well religious as secular; and that you have given orders to (I cannot tell how many) base, unlearned, and evil disposed people, by reason of the which they have taken upon them to preach, and to do much hurt in Kent. So that men think that yet, if any new mutation (the which God forbid) should chance, you would be as ready to change as any other. And indeed it maketh me to fear the same, by reason that notwithstanding it hath pleased Almighty God to provide that your absolution was sent unto you (not looking, I dare say, for any such thing) of all manner of

matters past, yet your Lordship (more regarding the vanity of the world, than the offence of God, the which he only knoweth how much it grieves me, for the due love I bear unto you) presumed to sing mass in pontificalibus, the holy-days immediately following; and also to ministrate to children the sacrament of confirmation, because that one (being a member of the devil) did somewhat comfort you so to do.

"O my Lord, what honour should it have been both to God and yourself, and also edification to all good people, (though all worldly men and heretics would therefore have laughed you to scorn,) if you, considering your great offences toward God, and his goodness again toward you, would, like as you have offended in the face of the world to the damnation of many, likewise have showed yourself penitent in the face of the world to the edification of many, and not only to have celebrated for vanity pontificaliter; but also for a time to have abstained for reverence totaliter from the altar, according to the old custom of the church; the which I have also seen observed of some honest men, not being thereto enjoined of any man: but that which is past cannot be called again. And I thought it not my part to leave your Lordship, mine old friend and master, in the mire. Wherefore I ceased not to solicit your cause with my Lord's Grace, till at the last I obtained of his Grace, for your Lordship, all the faculties of the which I send you a copy here enclosed, partly for your own consolation, and partly for others, desiring your Lordship so to use them to the honour of God, that there come to me thereof no rebuke; not publishing them to any person, but to such that you know will gladly receive them: for hitherto there is never a bishop in England, who hath granted him so great authority concerning those which be under his cure. Only Master Archdeacon hath the like, and in one thing more great than be these your Lordship's. Wherefore your Lordship shall do well to remit unto him all such priests as have cure of soul, whether they be beneficed men, or parish priests. For he hath not only authority to absolve them, as you have, but also to give them authority to absolve such as be underneath their cures. And thus I commit your Lordship to the protection of Almighty God.-Written at Brussels, the sixteenth of June, 1554.

"Your Lordship's bead-man. THOMAS GOLDWELL."

And thus much concerning the bishop of Dover, by way of digression. Now to return again to the examinations of Master Bland, let us hear his own report of his answers, as followeth:

Bland.—"Here followeth mine answer, as nigh as I can call to remembrance, every word and sentence; yet if any that was present can help to perfect it, I would be glad. But yet this dare I say, that there is never one sentence, but it was openly spoken the ninth of March, in the chapter-house of Cree-church, in the presence of as many as they had chosen; the mayor of the city being called to be assistant, and all others shut out."

"Master Collins said, 'Master Bland, ye know that ye are presented unto us as one suspected of heresy. How say ye, be ye contented to reform yourself to the laws of this realm, and of the holy church? "

*Bland.*—"I deny that I am suspected justly of heresy, and this ye heard when I was presented, that I denied the suspicion to be just, but to defend the unjust punishment that I have

suffered: neither can ye prove that any occasion hath been given by me, whereby any man should suspect me therein. But if you have any law or authority to proceed against me for any thing done for a whole year ago and more, I will answer to it."

- *Collins.*—"Ye were convented before Master Archdeacon and me, and matter of heresy laid to your charge."
- *Bland*.—"That matter was done and said a whole year ago, and for that I have been in prison this year and more. If ye have any thing against me by any law, I desire you to let me know the law and the matter, and I will answer according to the law."

"Then said my Lord Suffragan, But that I am one of the judges, I would rise, and stand by thee, and accuse thee to be a sacramentary, and bring witness to prove it; yea, and further, that thou hast called the mass an abominable idol."

- *Bland*.—"You, my Lord, never heard me say so: but I heard you once say, that in your conscience ye had abhorred the mass three years." "Thou liest," quoth he, "I never said so."
- *Bland.*—"My Lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witness to approve it, with the day, time, and place; and I once did hear Master Collins, at a visitation in Wingham, say, that Christ was a full satisfaction for all sin present, past, and to come; contrary to that he saith now."
- "And here we had more words of this matter, which I do let pass for lack of good remembrance.
- "Master Collins said, 'This is but a drift. You were better answer now; for else you shall go to prison again, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid to you, and if ye then answer not directly, ye shall be condemned *pro confesso*, and that will be worse for you."
- *Bland.*—"Sir, I do not now, nor will then deny to answer any thing that ye can lay to my charge by the law: wherefore I trust ye will let me have the benefit of the law."
- *Collins.*—"This is the law, that if ye be required of the ordinary, *reddere rationem fidei*, then may ye not deny it. And that we do now."
- Bland.—"To that then will I answer: for I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, with all the other articles of the same creed; and I believe all the articles contained both in the creed called the mass creed, and in the creed of Athanasius; and I do believe, that all the Holy Scriptures, and all things therein contained, are most true."
- *Collins*.—"This will not serve you: ye must answer to all such articles in all these as shall be laid to you, or asked of you."
- *Bland.*—"Let me know the law, that it is in that force, (without any just cause of suspicion proved against me,) and I will answer."

- Collins.—"How say ye, will ye answer?"
- *Bland.*—"Sir, I have answered you." "Have him away," said my Lord of Dover; "he had better have answered."
  - Bland.—"My Lord, I am ready to answer, if ye have any thing against me by the law."
- Bishop of Dover.—"Ye have preached many heresies in Adisham, where I am parson now; and therefore ye must make answer to them."
- *Bland.*—"Lay them to my charge by the law, and I will answer then, if ye can approve that I am bound to answer to that was done a year and more ago: for if ye may do that, ye may also lay to my charge, and compel me to answer to, all things done in all my life, I trow."
  - Collins.—"It is not a year ago since you were before Master Archdeacon and me."
- *Bland.*—"It is truth, it is a year and ten weeks since the words were spoken; and I have been a prisoner ever since, and have been at five sessions, and never could have my cause tried. Methinketh your charities should think it punishment enough, if I had been guilty."
- *Collins.*—"All this will not serve you; you must needs answer, and it will be better for you to answer now, than another time. Will ye reform yourself, and go to the church, and worship Christ in the blessed sacrament of the altar; and be obedient unto all the queen's laws?"
  - Bland.—"I pray you, wherefore am I brought hither?"
  - Collins.—"To answer to such things as are demanded of you."
  - Bland.—"Sir, I thought ye had some matters against me by the law."
- *Collins.*—"Well, on Monday, at nine of the clock, ye shall see the law, and have articles laid unto you."
- "Then they had spied Master Cox the lawyer, and called him in, and said, 'Here is a lawyer can tell you are bound by the law to answer:' and he said as they had said."
- Collins.—"Do ye not believe, that after the consecration of the blessed sacrament of the altar, there remaineth no substance of bread, but the substance of Jesus Christ, both God and man?"
- Bland.—"Master Commissary, I know not by any law why ye should ask me that question. more than any other man here." And after a little talk, my Lord of Dover asked me this question "Dost not thou believe, after the consecration, that it is the body of Christ?" And I said, "No, I do not so believe: for the Scriptures do not teach me that there should remain the flesh of Christ, to eat as a man should eat man's flesh."

"Then Master Glasier said, 'That was the opinion of the Capernaites; there is no man here of that opinion:' and spake long of cutting Christ's body, as men cut flesh in the shambles.

"Then Master Doctor Faucet said, 'Master Bland, forasmuch as you and I were brought up both in one house, and born both in one parish, I would be as glad as any man alive to do you good: but ye may not thus stand against the church, for Christ saith, Ye must humble yourself, and take up his cross, and follow him. And to humble yourself in this place, is to be content, and not stick to your own judgment, but to humble yourself to the holy church, which hath determined, that after the consecration there remaineth no bread, but the natural body and blood of Christ."

Bland.—"Master Doctor, if ye take humbling of ourselves in that place, to admit the determination of the church, then must we know by the Scriptures, that the same church determined nothing but according to the Scriptures, as this is not: and therefore I do not believe any such transubstantiation; nor ever will, God willing." "Then, quoth he, "I have done with you: I will no more pray for you than for a dog."

"Then said Master Glasier,—'How think ye? Did Paul, when he said, Is not the bread that we break a partaking of the body of Christ? did he mean baker's bread?""

- *Bland.*—"Though he did not mean baker's bread, that doth not prove that he brake natural and real flesh."
- *Glasier.*—"No, by St. Mary, we say not so; but we say it is the natural body glorified, under the forms of bread and wine."
- *Bland.*—"Then the apostles had it not as we have: or else his glorified body was crucified for us."
- Glasier.—"Tush, ye do not understand the Scriptures; for Christ's body was ever glorified, in that it was so marvellously united to the Godhead: yea, and he showed his body divers times glorified, as in the Mount Tabor; and when he walked on the water, we see he was light, and had no weight in him. Was not that then a glorified body?"
- *Bland*.—"Then belike Peter's body was glorified, if walking on the water was the deed of a glorified body: and the iron that Elizeus made to swim upon the water."
- "'Tush,' quoth my Lord of Dover, 'that was done by prayer.' But they made such a noise with laughing, that I heard no more what my Lord said."
- Bland.—"Masters, I know that it availeth us nothing to reason with you, no more than it booted you in the time of the gospel. For then neither the reason of Eckius, Cochlæus, nor yet of the detection of the devil's sophistry of my Lord Chancellor's doing, could take any place. And it is known that some be here, that something I can say in them."
  - Dover.—"No, you know Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, and such others."

- Bland.—"Indeed, my Lord, I have seen part of their doings."
- *Dover.*—"That is seen by thee to-day."
- Glasier.—"I was glad, when I heard you say ye believed the catholic church; and now go you from it?"
  - Bland.—"No, that I do not."
- Glasier.—"Ye know that Christ saith, If thy brother have offended thee, go and reconcile him between thee and him. If he hear thee not, take two or three with thee, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things may be established. If he hear not them, tell it to the church, die ecclesiæ; if he hear not the church, take him as a heathen. I pray you where could ye have found this church of yours fifty years ago?"
- *Bland.*—"Ye know that the true church did not at all times flourish, but was wonderfully persecuted."
- "Then my Lord of Dover cried, 'No more, I command you to hold your peace. Have him away and bring in another."
- Collins.—"Ye shall come again on Monday, at nine of the clock, and in the mean time ye shall have whom ye will to confer withal: your friend Dr. Faucet, or Master Glasier, if ye desire them "
- *Bland.*—"I will refuse to talk with no man. As for any conference of your part, it is but weak laws, established as they are: but when there was no law, I did desire conference." And so for that time I departed.
- "The Monday after we were brought forth to the same place again; and then Master Collins began to speak to me, but after what manner, it is clean out of my mind: but the end was, that I would reform myself. But, as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the law, which, they said before, I should see."
- *Dover.*—"What needs that? we have enough against you: for ye denied to me transubstantiation in the sacrament."
- *Bland*.—"I did refuse to answer, till ye promised that I should see the law, whereby ye may compel me to answer."
- "My Lord of Dover took the scribe's book, and read the answer that I made to Dr. Faucet's reason, which I knew not that they had written."
- Bland.—"My Lord, I made you no such answer when ye asked me: I take Master Collins and Master Glasier to witness."

"Then they brought forth a Decretal, a book of the bishop of Rome's law, to bind me to answer, which my heart abhorred to look upon. The effect was, that the ordinary had authority to examine, and that they, so examined, must needs answer. But I said, that it meaned of such as were justly suspected, as I was not. And here we had much communication; for I charged them with unjust imprisonment, which they could not avoid. But Master Oxenden would have helped them, and said, the justices put me in prison for a sermon seditiously spoken, and for troubling a priest at mass."

Bland.—"That is not true; for, after I had been ten weeks in prison, I was bailed, till I was cast in again, and (as the justice said) for the disobeying mine ordinary, which I never did."

*Collins.*—"Will ye be content to confer with some? It will be better for you. Now we offer it you, because ye would not desire it."

*Bland*.—"As I did not refuse before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leave-asking, to confer the Scriptures; and therefore I looked that Dr. Faucet would have come to me without desiring, if any commodity to me had been in conference: for though I was never able to do him good, yet once I was his tutor."

Collins.—"Are ye content to come to his chamber at afternoon?"

*Bland.*—"Sir, I am a prisoner; and therefore it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will," and so departed.

"At this time we were three: but, they took another to appear before them the Tuesday sevennight after. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but that I hear they excommunicated him, and let him go. His name was Miller, a clothier."

Here followeth a certain confutation of Master Bland against false and manifest absurdities, granted by Master Mills, priest of Christ's Church in Canterbury.

*Mills.*—"We say, that Christ is in or under the sacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of bread and wine, and that there is his body contained invisibly; and the qualities which we do see, as whiteness and roundness, be there without substance by God's power, as quantity and weight be there also by invisible measure."

Bland.—"This is your own divinity, to make accidents the sacrament, and Christ's real body invisibly contained in them, and so to destroy the sacrament. And yet the doctors say, Materia sacramenti est panis et vinum. And God by his power worketh no miracles with Hoc est corpus meum, so to change the substance of bread and wine into his body and blood, in that he maketh accidents to be without their substance by invisible measure. I am ashamed to see you so destroy Christ's sacrament, contrary to your own doctors, and trifle so with God's work."

*Mills.*—"To Christ is given all power in heaven and in earth; so that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be and is where he listeth; and is in the sacrament really and corporally without occupying of place; for a glorified body occupieth no place."

Bland.—"Mark your own reason: all power is given to Christ both in heaven and earth. By the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list: ergo, he is in the sacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place. I deny your argument; for it followeth neither of your major nor minor. And, first, I would learn of you, how you know that Christ listeth to be present at every priest's list. For if the priest list not to say your mass, then Christ listeth not to be there. Again, ye say, all power is given unto Christ both in heaven and in earth, so that that is the cause, by your reason, that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list: and by that reason he had no power of his Godhead, till he had his human body; and then he was not equal with the Father in Divinity: for all power was not given to Christ, before the humanity and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he *filius*. Here is more danger than ye are aware of, if ye would stand to it with just judges."

Mills.—"We eat Christ's flesh and blood spiritually, when we receive it with faith and charity; and we also do eat it corporally in the sacrament. And the body that we so receive hath life; for the Godhead is annexed thereto: which, although it be received with the body of Christ, yet it is not invisible after a gross sort. And the flesh of Christ that we receive is lively; for it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the blood of Christ, for it is contrary to the nature of Christ's blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without substance of blood."

Bland.—"I am glad that you are so much against all men, to say that Christ's body is alive in the sacrament: it may fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. Methinketh it is evil to keep Christ's body alive in the pix, or else must ye grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the pix. And ye say truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Christ's blood that maketh a man drunken, for it is the nature of wine that doth that; which ye deny not. And a more truth ye confess than ye did think, when ye said, 'If a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the substance of blood;' for indeed blood hath no such qualities with it: by which it is evident that there is no natural blood. If a man be drunken with wine consecrated, it must be a miracle, as I think you will have it, that the said accidents should be without their natural substance, and work all the operations of both substance and accidents: and so it followeth, that a man may be drunken by miracle. The body that ye receive, ye say, is alive, because it is annexed to the Godhead, and the flesh that ye receive is lively, because it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. This division is of your new inventions, to divide the body and the flesh, the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by God's Spirit, and both one sacrament: ye make of it a thing so fantastical, that ye imagine a body without flesh, and flesh without a body, as ye do qualities and quantities without substance, and a living body without qualities and quantities."

*Mills.*—"If case so require, and there be a godly intent in the minister to consecrate, after the consecration thereof, there is present the body and blood of Christ, and no other substance but accidents without substance, to a true believer."

Bland.—"Ye grant three absurdities, that in a tun of wine consecrated is nothing but accidents: and to increase it withal, ye have brought in two inconveniences; first, that it is not the word of God that doth consecrate, but the intent of the priest must help it. And if that lack, ye seem to grant no consecration, though the priest speak the word; and yet your doctors say, that the wickedness of the priest minisheth not the sacrament. And to an unbeliever ye seem to say, that it is not the same that it is to the true believer; and then must the believer have something to do in the consecration. Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charibdim.

*Mills*.—"The substance of Christ's body doth not fill the mouse's belly; for although he doth receive the outward forms of bread and wine, yet he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. And a mouse doth not eat the body of Christ, to speak properly; for it doth not feed him spiritually or corporally, as it doth man, because he doth not receive it to any inducement of immortality to the flesh."

Bland.—"Ye make not your doctrine plain to be understood: we must know how a mouse can receive the substance inwardly and outwardly. Ye say he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation: ergo, with violation he receiveth the substance inwardly. Ye say that the mouse cannot violate Christ's body; but he violateth the substance that he eateth. And this your proper speech doth import as much as that the mouse should eat the sacrament to as great effect, and the same thing, as doth the unworthy receiver; for, if that be the cause that she properly eateth not the body of Christ, because she doth not feed upon it spiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as ye say; then it followeth, that the unbeliever and the mouse receive both one thing. And yet it cannot be denied but the mouse will live with consecrated bread; and then ye must grant the absurdity, that a substance is nourished and fed only with accidents."

*Mills*.—"Men's bodies be fed with Christ's body, as with immortal meat, by reason of the Godhead annexed to eternal life; but men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine; and we deny that, by the sacramental eating, any gross humour turned into blood is made miraculously in the body."

Bland.—"Whereas it cannot be denied that a man may live, and naturally be nourished in his natural body, with the sacramental bread and wine consecrated, ye cannot avoid that. But then ye turn to the spiritual nourishing of man's body, by Christ's body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the absurdity, that either a man's natural body should be fed naturally with accidents, or else to have them changed into gross humours. But ye say, 'Men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine;' and then must ye needs grant, that qualities and quantities must be made substance in man. For ex eisdem sunt et nutriuntur mixta, or else all that is the nutriment in man, is accidents, and no substance."

*Mills.*—"If the forms of bread and wine be burned, or worms engendered, it is no derogation to the body of Christ, because the presence of his body ceaseth to be there, and no substance cometh again."

*Bland*.—"Ye grant here, that a substance may be made of accidents, as ashes or worms: but I think you will have it by your miracles. And this I count a more absurdity than the other,

that Christ's body should cease to be there, and no substance to come again: for no word in all the whole Bible seems to serve you for the ceasing of his presence, though we granted you (which we do not) that it were there. God Almighty open your heart—if it be his will and pleasure—to see the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would answer you to all the rest, in these and all other my doings. I submit myself to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his holy word, desiring you in the bowels of Christ to do the same."

"Your orator in the Lord. JOHN BLAND."

Another appearance and examination of John Bland. June 13, 1555.

Hitherto you have heard the troublesome handling of this faithful and blessed servant of God, John Bland, tost to and fro, from prison to prison, from session to session. At last he was brought before the bishop of Dover, the commissary, and the archdeacon, at Canterbury, the thirteenth day of June. The name of this bishop was Richard Thornton; the commissary was Robert Collins, whom the cardinal, by his letters patent, had substituted to be his factor, before his coming over to England; the archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under these a great sort of innocent lambs of Christ were cruelly entreated and slain at Canterbury, amongst whom this aforesaid Master Bland was one of the first; who, as it is said, being brought before the said bishop, and his colleagues, which were John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humfrey Middleton, William Cocker, was examined of articles. To whom it was objected by the commissary, whether he believed that Christ is really in the sacrament, or no, &c. To this he answered and said, that he believed that Christ is in the sacrament, as he is in all other good bodies: so that he judged not Christ to be really in the sacrament.

The last appearance of John Bland. June 20, 1555.



hereupon, the day being Monday, he was bid to appear again upon Wednesday next; and from thence he was deferred again to Monday following, being the twentieth of June, in the same chapter-house, then to hear further what should he done, in case he would not relent to their mind. The which day and place he, appearing as before, was required to say his mind plainly and fully to the foresaid articles, being again repeated to him: which articles, commonly and in course, they use to object to their examinates which be brought before them, as here now followeth, and need not much hereafter, specially for that country of Kent, to be repeated.

Articles ministered by Richard, bishop of Dover, to Master Bland, and likewise to the rest following after him.

"First, that thou art of the diocese of Canterbury, and so subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishop there.

"II. Item, that thou art a Christian man, and dost profess the laws of God, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and the determination of the same.

"III. Item, that all parsons which teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or say, within the diocese of Canterbury, otherwise than our holy mother the church doth, are excommunicate persons, and heretic, and as excommunicate and heretics ought to be named, reputed, and taken.

"IV. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of our mother holy church, within the diocese of Canterbury, hast openly spoken, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token, sign, and remembrance thereof, and that the very body and blood of Christ is only in heaven, and no where else.

"V. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of our mother holy church, hast within this diocese of Canterbury openly spoken, said, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of Christ's church should be ministered in an unknown tongue; and that no man, safely and with a safe conscience, or without peril of sin, receiveth any sacrament ministered in any tongue that he understandeth not.

"VI. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith of our mother holy church, hast, and yet dost hold opinion, and say, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of the altar should be ministered in one kind; and that no man may with a safe conscience so receive it.

"VII. Item, that the premises be true, and that there is a common fame upon them within the diocese of Canterbury."

The answers of Master Bland to the foresaid articles.

"To these articles Master Bland, answering again in order as they were objected to him, saith to the first, (granting the same,) that he was a priest, and of the diocese of Canterbury.

"To the second also he answereth affirmatively.

"Item, to the third he answereth, that the article is true; meaning the catholic church to be Christ's church.

"Item, in the fourth article, as touching the first part of the article, he doth confess, that he hath preached and taught it, as it is contained in the same. And as touching the second part of the article, he doth confess, that he doth now also hold and say, as he preached and taught before.

"Item, to the fifth article he granteth.

"To the sixth, he hath preached, held, and doth hold, as it is contained in the article."

"Item, to the seventh and last article he granteth the same," &c.

This done, and his answers and confession taken, respite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himself. So, the twenty-fifth day of the said month of June, he, making his appearance again in the said chapter-house, there openly and boldly withstood the authority of the pope; whereupon his sentence was read, and so he condemned and committed to the secular power. Touching the form and tenor of the sentence, because all their sentences of course agree in one, read before in the history of Master Rogers.

# The prayer of John Bland before his death.

"The Lord Jesus, for whose love I do willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of this cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy holy name, or else to obey man in breaking of thy commandments: thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship false gods, and honour thy enemy, I chose rather the torments of this body, and loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win thee; which death is more clear unto me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is void of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and not able to do any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accustomed goodness hast bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; give me strength against this element, that as it is to my sight most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may be, at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, sweet and pleasant; and, through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the strength of this fire into thy bosom, according onto thy promise, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt-offering and sacrifice, O Lord, not for the sacrifice itself, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour; for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive the whole world. O sweet Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither. Conduct me unto everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit: Lord Jesus, receive my soul. So be it! "

# 298. Nicholas Sheterden, John Frankesh, and Humfrey Middleton.



AVING now passed over the examinations of Master Bland, let us further proceed to the rest of his fellows con-captives, being joined the same time with him in the like cause and like affliction; the names of whom were Nicholas Sheterden, John Frankesh, Humfrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker, of whom Thacker only gave back. The rest, constantly standing to the truth, were altogether condemned by the suffragan of Canterbury, the twenty-fifth day of June, the year above expressed; touching whose examinations I shall not need long to stand. Forasmuch as the articles ministered against them were all one, so in their answers they little or nothing disagreed, as hereafter (by the Lord's help) you shall hear. In

the mean time, because Nicholas Sheterden in his examinations had a little more large talk with the archdeacon and the commissary, I will first begin with the same.

"First, the archdeacon and commissary affirmed, that the very bare words of Christ, when he said, This is my body, did change the substance, without any other interpretation or spiritual meaning of the words."

Sheterden.—"Then, belike, when Christ said, This cup is my blood, the substance of the cup was changed into his blood, without any other meaning, and so the cup was changed, and not the wine."

*Harpsfield.*—"Not so; for when Christ said, This cup is my blood, he meant not the cup, but the wine in the cup."

*Sheterden.*—"If Christ spake one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the substance; but there must be a meaning sought as well of the bread, as of the cup."

*Harpsfield.*—"There must be a meaning sought of the cup otherwise than the words stand; but of the bread it must be understood only as it standeth, without any other meaning."

Sheterden.—"Then do ye make one half of Christ's institution a figure, or borrowed speech, and the other half a plain speech; and so ye divide Christ's supper."

*Harpsfield.*—"Christ meant the wine, and not the cup, though he said, This cup is my blood."

*Sheterden.*—"Then show me whether the words which the priests do speak over the cup, do change the substance, or whether the mind of the priest doth it?"

*Harpsfield.*—"The mind of the priest doth it, and not the words."

Sheterden.—"If the mind of the priest doth it, and not the words, if the priest then do mind his harlot, or any other vain thing, that thing so minded was there made, and so the people do worship the priest's harlot, instead of Christ's blood. And again, none of the people can tell when it is Christ's blood, or when it is not, seeing the matter standeth in the mind of the priest; for no man can tell what the priest meaneth but himself; and so are they ever in danger of committing idolatry."

"Then was the archdeacon somewhat moved, and sat him down, and said to the commissary, 'I pray you, Master Commissary, speak you to him another while; for they are unreasonable and perverse answers as ever I heard of.'

"Then stood up the commissary, and said, 'Your argument is much against yourself; for ye grant that the bread is a figure of Christ's body, but the cup can be no figure of his blood, nor yet his very blood; and therefore Christ did not mean the cup, but the wine in the cup."

Sheterden.—"My argument is not against me at all; for I do not speak it to prove that the cup is his blood, nor the figure of his blood, but to prove that the bare words being spoken of the priest, do not change the substance any more of the bread, than they do change the cup into blood."

*Commissary.*—"It could not be spoken of the cup, when he said, This cup is my blood; but he meant the wine in the cup."

*Sheterden.*—"Then it remaineth for you to answer my question to the archdeacon; that is, whether the mind of the priest, when he speaketh over the cup, doth change it into blood, or the bare words?"

*Commissary.*—"Both together do it, the words and the mind of the priest together; yea, the intent and the words together do it."

Sheterden.—"If the words and intent together do change the substance, yet must the cup be his blood, and not the wine; forasmuch as the words are, This cup is my blood, and the intent, ye say, was the wine: or else the words take none effect, but the intent only."

"After, the commissary in his chamber said, it was the intent of the priest before he went to mass, without the words; for if the priest did intend to do as holy church had ordained, then the intent made the sacrament to take effect."

Sheterden.—"If the sacraments take effect of the intent of the priest, and not of God's word, then many parishes having a priest that intendeth not well, are utterly deceived, both in baptizing, and also worshipping that thing to be God, which is but bread; because, for lack of the priest's intent, the words do take none effect in it: so that by this it is ever doubtful, whether they worship Christ, or bread, because it is doubtful what the priests do intend."

"Then the commissary would prove to me, that Christ's manhood was in two places at one time, by these words of Christ in John iii., where he saith, No man ascendeth up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven; that is to say, the Son of man which is in heaven. By this he would prove, that Christ was then in heaven and in earth also, naturally and bodily."

Sheterden.—"This place and other must needs be understood for the unity of the person, in that Christ was God and man; and yet the matter must be referred to the Godhead, or else ye must fall into great error."

*Commissary.*—"This is not so: for it was spoken of the manhood of Christ, forasmuch as he saith, the Son of man which is in heaven."

Sheterden.—"If ye will needs understand it to be spoken of Christ's manhood, then must ye fall into the error of the Anabaptists, which deny that Christ took flesh of the Virgin Mary; for if there be no body ascended up, but that which came down, where is then his incarnation? for then he brought his body down with him."

*Commissary.*—"Lo, how you seek an error in me, and yet see not how ye err yourself; for it cannot be spoken of the Godhead, except ye grant that God is passible: for God cannot come down, because he is not passible."

Sheterden.—"If that were a good argument, that God could not come down, because he is not passible; then it might be said, by the like argument, that God could not sit; and then heaven is not his seat: and then say as some do, that God hath no right band for Christ to sit at."

"Then the commissary affirmed plainly that it was true, 'God hath no right hand indeed."

Sheterden.—"Oh! what a spoil of Christ's religion will this be, that, because we cannot tell how God came down, therefore we shall say, that he came not down at all; and because we cannot tell what manner of hand he hath, to say that he hath no hand at all; and then he cannot reach the utmost part of the sea. O misery! at length it will come to pass, that God cannot sit, and then how can heaven be his seat; and if heaven be not his seat, then there is no heaven: and then, at length, I doubt ye will say there is no God, or else no other God but such as the heathen gods are, which cannot go nor feel."

Commissary.—"Why, doth not the Scripture say, that God is a Spirit? and what hand can a spirit have?"

Sheterden.—"Truth it is, God is a Spirit, and therefore is worshipped in spirit and truth; and as he is a Spirit, so hath he a spiritual power, so he hath a spiritual seat, a spiritual hand, and a spiritual sword; which we shall feel, if we go this way to work, as we begin. Because we know not what hand God hath, therefore, if we say he hath none, then it may as well be said, there is no Christ."

"Then the commissary said, he would talk no more with me; and so departed. And also the commissary was compelled to grant, that Christ's testament was broken, and his institution was changed from that he left it: but, he said, they had power so to do."

My first answering, after their law was established.

"Because I know ye will desire to hear from me some certainty of my state, I was called before the suffragan, and seven or eight of the chief priests, and examined of certain articles; and then I required to see their commission. They showed it to me, and said, 'There it is, and the king and queen's letters also.'

"Then I desired to have it read: and so in reading I perceived, that on some notable suspicion he might examine upon two articles; whether Christ's real presence were in the sacrament; and whether the Church of England be Christ's catholic church. To that I answered, that I had been a prisoner three quarters of a year, and as I thought wrongfully: reason would, therefore, that I should answer to those things wherefore I was prisoner.

"The suffragan said, his commission was, I must answer directly, yea or nay. This commission, said I, was not general to examine whom he will, but on just suspicion. He said I was suspected, and presented to him.

"Then I required that the accusation might be showed. He said he was not bound to show it, but he commanded me in the king and queen's name to answer directly."

Sheterden.—"And I, as a subject, do require of you justice: for that I have done, I ask no favour."

"He said I was suspected. I bade him prove that suspicion, or what cause he had to suspect."

Suffragan.—"Thou wast cast into prison for that cause."

Sheterden.—"That was a pretty suspicion, because I had suffered imprisonment contrary to God's law and the realm, that therefore I must now, for amends, be examined of suspicion without cause, to hide all the wrong done to me before. For when I was cast into prison, there was no law but I might speak as I did: therefore, in that point, I could be no more suspected than you which preached the same yourself not long before."

Suffragan.—"That was no matter to thee, what I preached."

*Sheterden.*—"Well, yet in the king and queen's name I must answer directly: and therefore I require, as a subject, that ye do not extend beyond your commission, but prove me suspect more than you yourself."

"Then said Master Mills, I had written to my mother, and he did see the letter, wherein I persuaded my mother to my opinions."

Sheterden.—"In that I did but my duty to certify her, I was not in prison for any evil. And that was before the law, also; and therefore no more suspicion was in me, than was in them which taught the like."

*Mills.*—"Well, ye are required here to answer directly, yea or no."

*Sheterden.*—"First, then, I require of you to prove his suspicion." And thus we tossed to and fro. At last the bishop said, he himself did suspect me. I asked, whereby?

Sufragan. "Well," said he, "I myself did suspect thee, and it is no matter whereby."

*Sheterden.*—"But your commission doth not serve you so to do without just cause of suspicion."

Sufragan.—"Well, yet did I suspect you."

*Sheterden.*—"It is not meet for you to be my accuser and my judge also; for that is too much for one man." And thus many words were multiplied, and they were much grieved.

*Mills.*—"If you were a Christian man, you would not be ashamed of your faith being required."

Sheterden.—"I am not ashamed indeed, I thank God, and if any man did come to me, either to teach or learn, I would declare it; but, forasmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it best not to answer you."

*Mills.*—"If you will not, then will we certify the king's council."

Sheterden.—"I am therewith content that you should certify that I had suffered three quarters' prison wrongfully, and therefore I desire to be justified or condemned, first for that I suffered such imprisonment; and then I will not refuse to answer your articles, though there were a bushel of them. But to say that I would answer, whereby you should heal all your wrong done to me against the law of God and the realm, I will not."

"Here much ado there was, to prove that he had no wrong; and again, that it was not they that did it. But said Sheterden, 'The commissary was one of them.' He answered, 'No, it was the archdeacon.' Sheterden said, 'You sat with him, and he asked your counsel in it: and yet if it were he, it was your church—except the archdeacon and you be divided one from another.' 'Well;' said they, will ye now deny that ye said then, and promise here to submit yourself henceforth, and ye shall be delivered?'".

Sheterden.—"I am not so much bound to you to grant any such promise: and again, you shall well know that I would not promise to go cross the street for you: but if I did at any time offend your law, let me have the punishment. I ask no favour."

"Then said they, that it was obstinacy in him, that he would not answer, and a token that his faith was naught, seeing he was ashamed to utter it.

"'Nay,' said Sheterden, 'you shall well know I am not ashamed of my faith: but because you do so greedily seek blood, I will answer only to that you have against me."

*Suffragan.*—"Nay, you shall answer to the articles, or else be condemned upon suspicion."

Sheterden.—"I am content with that; yet all men shall know, that as ye suspect and can prove no cause, so shall ye condemn me without a matter, and then shall all men know ye seek my blood, and not justice."

Suffragan.—"No, we seek not thy blood, but thy conversion."

*Sheterden.*—"That we shall see: for then shall you prove my perversion first, before you condemn me on your suspicion without proof of the same: and, by that, I shall know whether you seek blood or no." Many other words were between them.

"At last stept up one Lovels a lawyer, which would prove his imprisonment not to be wrong, but right, by old statutes of Edward the Fourth, and Henry, &c.; but, at last, he was compelled to forsake those statutes from Michaelmas to Christmas, and then he said, it was no wrong.

"To this Nicholas said, If he could prove that men might wrongfully imprison before a law, and in the mean while make laws, and then, under that, hide the first wrong, then he said true; or else not.

"Thus he kept the ban-dogs at staves' end, not as thinking to escape them, 'but that I would see,' said he, 'the foxes leap above the ground for my blood: if they can reach it, (so it be the will of God,) yet we shall see them gape, and leap for it.'—From Westgate in haste.

"By yours.

NICHOLAS SHETERDEN."

Notes of Nicholas Sheterden, against the false worship and oblation of the sacrament.

"The holy sign instead of the thing signified is servile servitude; as St. Augustine termeth it, when the bread in the sacrament is by common and solemn error worshipped, instead of the flesh assumpted of the word of God.

"There was no mention of worshipping the creatures at the feast or first supper that Christ did celebrate: therefore the saying of Christ concerning divorce, may well be applied to them; it was not so from the beginning, nor shall be to the end.

"The once made oblation of Christ is hereby derogate, when this sacramental oblation and offering of thanksgiving is believed to be propitiatory, and that it purgeth the soul as well of

the living as of the dead, against this saying to the Hebrews: With one only oblation he hath made perfect for ever those that are sanctified. Again, Where is remission, there is no more oblation for sins, making us clean by him.

"This word 'by himself' hath a vehemency and pith, that driveth all priests from authority to enterprise such oblation; whereas what he himself doth by himself, he leaveth not for others to do. So seemeth our purgatory already past and done, not to come and remaining to be done."

*The examination of Nicholas Sheterden before the bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor.* 

"I was called into a chamber before the lord chancellor, the suffragan, and others, priests I think for the most part. He standing to the table, called me to him, and because I saw the cardinal was not there, I bowed myself and stood near.

"Then said he, 'I have sent for you, because I hear you are indicted of heresy; and, being called before the commissioners, ye will not answer nor submit yourself. I said, 'If it like you, I did not refuse to answer; but I did plainly answer, that I had been in prison long time, and reason it was that I should be charged or discharged for that, and not to be examined of articles to hide my wrong imprisonment; neither did I know any indictment against me. If there were any, it could not be just, for I was not abroad since the law was made."

*Winchester.*—"Well, yet if such suspicion be of you, if you be a Christian, ye will declare that it is not true, and so purge yourself."

"I thought it sufficient to answer to mine offences, &c., trusting that they would lay no such burden upon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be covered, but I would be proved to have wrong or right. Winchester said, 'If thou wilt declare thyself to the church to be a Christian, thou shalt go, and then have a writ of wrong imprisonment,' &c.

"I said, 'I am not minded to sue now, but require to have right justice; but to make a promise I will not: but if I offend the law, then punish me accordingly. For it may be that my conscience is not persuaded, nor will be, in prison; seeing those things which I have learned, were by God's law openly taught and received by authority of the realm.' And he said, it was never received, that I might speak against the sacrament. I said, against some opinion of the sacrament it was openly taught.

"Winchester said, By no law, and that it was notable to consider that (all that while) God preserved that, so that no law could pass against it.

"I said, 'Their law did not only persuade me, but this most: when they preached unto us, they took pain to set out the word of God in our tongue, so that we might read and judge whether they say true or no; but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, because they say so; which is to me a great persuasion.""

*Winchester.*—"It was not a few that could be your guide in understanding, but the doctors and all the whole church. Now whom wouldest thou believe, either the few or the many?"

*Sheterden.*—"I do not believe for the few nor for the many; but only for that he bringeth the word, and showeth it to me to be so according to the process thereof."

"'Well,' said Winchester, 'then if an Arian come to thee with Scripture, thou wilt believe him, if he show this text, My Father is greater than I.'

"I answered, No, my Lord, he must bring me also the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he saith, My Father and I am one.'

"Yea,' said 'Winchester, 'that is by charity, as we be one with him.'

"I said, that gloss would not stand with the rest of the Scripture, where he said, I am the very samethat I say to you; He said the truth, and the truth was God, &c., with much such like.

"And here he made many words (but very gently) of the sacrament: 'Likewise Christ said,' quoth he, 'it was his body; yea, (that is to say,) a figure of his body;' and how men did not consider the word was God, and God the word: and so provoked me with such temptation. But I let him alone, and said nothing.

"So, after many words, Winchester came to the church's faith, and comely orders of ceremonies and images. And then I joined to him again with the commandments. He said, that was done that no false thing should be made, as the heathen would worship a cat, because she killed mice. I said, that it was plain that the law forbade not only such, but even to make an image of God to any manner of likeness."

*Winchester.*—"Where find ye that?"

Sheterden.—"Forsooth in the law, where God gave them the commandments: for he said, Ye saw no shape, but heard a voice only; and added a reason why; lest they should after make images, and mar themselves: so that God would not show his shape, because they should have no image of him which was the true God," &c.

"Winchester said, I made a goodly interpretation. I said, no, it was the text.

"Then was the Bible called for, and when it came, he bade me find it, and I should straight be confounded with mine own words; so that if there were any grace with me, I would trust mine own wit no more: and when I looked, it was Latin.

"'Why,' said Winchester, 'can ye read no Latin?' 'No.'

"Then was the English Bible brought. He bade me find it; and so I read it aloud, and then he said; 'Lo, here thou mayest see; this is no more to forbid the image of God, than of any other beast, fowl, or fish' (the place was Deut. iv.). I said it did plainly forbid to make any of these as an image of God, because no man might know what shape he was of. Therefore might no man say of any image, This is an image of God."

*Winchester.*—"Well, yet by your leave, so much as was seen we may; that is, of Christ, of the Holy Ghost; and the Father appeared to Daniel, like an old man," &c.

Sheterden. That is no proof that we make images contrary to the commandment: for though the Holy Ghost appeared like a dove, yet was he not like in shape, but in certain qualities. And therefore when I saw the dove which is God's creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be simple and loving, &c.:" and with that he was somewhat moved, and said, I had learned my lesson; and asked who taught me; with many words. And he said he would prove how good and profitable images were to teach the unlearned, &c.

"At the last I said, 'My Lord, although I were able to make never so good a gloss upon the Commandments, yet obedience is better than all our good intents:' and much ado we had. At last he saw, he said, what I was, and how he had sent for me for charity's sake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle; and said, my wrong imprisonment could not excuse me, but I must clear myself.

"I said, that was easy for me to do; for I had not offended.

"Winchester said, I could not escape so; there I was deceived.

"I said, 'Well, then I am under the law,' &c.

"The archdeacon was there called in for me, and he laid to me, that with such arrogancy and stoutness as never was heard, I behaved myself before him; whereas he was minded with such mercy towards me, &c. And many lies he laid to me, 'that I was sent home till another time; and I would not be contented, but went out of the church with such an outcry as was notable.'

"I declare, that he falsely herein reported me, and brought in the laws then in the realm, and the queen's proclamation that none of her subjects should be compelled till the law were to compel; and that I rehearsed the same in the court for me; 'and I did use him then,' said I, 'as I used your Grace now, and no otherwise.'

"Winchester said, that I did not use myself very well now.—I said, I had offered myself to be bailed, and to confer with them, when and where they would.

"Winchester said, I should not confer, but be obedient.—I said, let me go, and I will not desire to confer neither; and when I offended, let them punish me: and so departed.

"By your brother.

NICHOLAS SHETERDEN.

Prisoner for the truth in Westgate."

The last examination with the condemnation of the four godly martyrs, Master Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humfrey Middleton.



ND thus much touching the particular, and several examinations of Nicholas Sheterden, and of Master Bland. Now to touch something also of the other martyrs, which the same time were examined, and suffered with them together, to wit, Humfrey Middleton of Ashford, and John Frankesh, vicar of Rolvenden, in the diocese of Kent above mentioned, here first would be declared the articles which publicly, in their last examinations, were jointly and severally ministered unto them by the foresaid Thornton, bishop of Dover. But forasmuch as these articles, being ordinary and of course, are already expressed in the story of Master Bland, as may appear before; it shall not therefore be

needful to make any new rehearsal thereof.

To these seven articles then being propounded to the five persons above named, to wit, John Frankesh, John Bland, Nicholas Sheterden, Humfrey Middleton, and one Thacker, first answered John Frankesh somewhat doubtfully, desiring further respite to be given him of fourteen days to deliberate with himself: which was granted. Master Bland answered flatly and roundly, as before ye heard. Nicholas Sheterden and Humfrey Middleton answered to the first and second articles affirmatively. To the third, concerning the catholic church, after a sort they granted. To the fourth, and fifth, and sixth, touching the real presence, and the sacrament to be ministered in the Latin tongue, and in one kind, they refused utterly to answer. Sheterden said, he would not answer thereto before the cause were determined why he was imprisoned, and so still remained prisoner, before the laws of parliament received, &c. Middleton added moreover and confessed, that he believed in his own God, saying, "My living God, and no dead God," &c. Thacker only relented, and was content to take penance. Thus the aforesaid four, upon these answers, were condemned by the bishop of Dover, the twenty-fifth day of June, anno 1555.

And so, being given to the secular power, they were burned at Canterbury the twelfth of July, at two several stakes, but all in one fire together, where they, in the sight of God and of his angels, and before men, like true soldiers of Jesus Christ, gave a constant testimony to the truth of his holy gospel.

The Christian prayer of Nicholas Sheterden before his death.

"O Lord my God and Saviour, which art Lord in heaven and earth, Maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the creature and work of thy hands. Lord God, look upon me, and other thy people, which at this time are oppressed of the worldly-minded for thy law's sake: yea, Lord, thy law itself is now trodden under foot, and men's inventions exalted above it, and for that cause do I, and many thy creatures, refuse the glory, praise, and commodity of this life, and do choose to suffer adversity, and to be banished; yea, to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hope's sake that is laid up in store. For, Lord, thou knowest, if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to thy word, we might by thy permission enjoy these commodities that others do, as wife, children, goods, and friends, which all I acknowledge to be thy gifts, given to

the end I should serve thee. And now, Lord, that the world will not suffer me to enjoy them, except I offend thy laws, behold, I give unto thee my whole spirit, soul, and body; and lo, I leave here all the pleasures of this life, and do now leave the use of them for the hope's sake of eternal life purchased in Christ's blood, and promised to all them that fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his truth, whensoever the world and the devil shall persecute the same.



Bland, Frankesh, Sheterden and Midleton at the Stake

"O Father, I do not presume unto thee, in mine own righteousness; no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son my Saviour. For the which excellent gift of salvation I cannot worthily praise thee, neither is any sacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in comparison of our bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will. And now, Lord, whatsoever rebellion hath been, or is found in my members, against thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my body to the death, rather than I will use any strange worshipping, which I beseech thee accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice. Let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even death, the end of misery, and

the beginning of all joy, peace, and solace; and when the time of resurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now be spoiled and consumed by the fire. O Lord Jesus, receive my spirit into thy hands. Amen."

Letters of Nicholas Sheterden; and, first, a letter to his mother.

"After my humble and bounden duty remembered, well-beloved mother, this shall be to wish you increase of grace and godly wisdom, that ye may see and perceive the crafty bewitching of Satan our mortal enemy, which, as I have divers times declared unto you, doth not openly show himself in his own likeness, but under colour of devotion deceiveth them that keep not a diligent eye upon him; but, having confidence in men's traditions and customs of the world, leaving the commandments of God, and testament of his Son Christ Jesus our Lord, do grow more into superstition and hypocrisy, than into wisdom and true holiness. For this is most true, that Satan, the enemy of souls, doth by his ministers make many believe, that those things which they compel us unto for their bellies' sake, have many godly significations, although they be most contrary to God's will, as doubtless they be; even as did the serpent in Paradise to our first mother Eve. 'What,' said he, 'hath God commanded ye shall not eat of all the trees in the garden?' The woman said, of the fruits of the trees in the garden we may eat.' 'But of the tree in the midst of the garden,' said God, 'see ye eat not, lest ye die.' Even so our ministers nowadays say, 'Hath God commanded ve shall not make you any image or likeness of any thing?' 'Yea, forsooth.' 'Tush,' say they, 'what harm can they do? May we not remember God the better when we see his image or picture? for they are good books for the laymen: but indeed they be better for the priests, because they receive the offerings.

"And look how truly the promise of the serpent was kept with Eve, so is the persuasion of our priests found true to us. For as Adam and Eve did become like God in knowing good and evil, so are we in remembering God by his image. For Adam's eyes were so open, that he lost both innocency and righteousness, and was become most miserable of all creatures: and even so we remember Christ so well by images, that we forget his commandments, and count his testament, confirmed in his blood, for stark madness or heresy; so miserably have we remembered him, that of all people we are most blind. And this doth follow upon our presumption, when we remember God by breaking of his law: and therefore surely, except we repent shortly, God will remember us in his wrath, and reward us with his plagues: as sure as there is a God it will come to pass.

"But I know the craftiness of them herein (I thank God) which will say, 'Where went he to school? Is he wiser than our great doctors that studied all their life!' And lo, they say that it is good hay: although we smell it musty ourselves, yet must we believe it is sweet; and then pay them well for their so saying, and all is safe. But I might say again, What, sir! be ye wiser than Christ, and God his Father, or the Holy Ghost? What! wiser than the prophets, and the holy apostles, and all the holy martyrs? I pray you, sir, where had you your high learning? Is it higher than God (being in heaven) is able to reach; or have ye set it lower in hell than ever Christ durst to venture? For it is some strange learning, belike, that Christ and his apostles could never attain to the knowledge of it. But vain men are never without some shift; for, peradventure, they will not be ashamed to say, that Christ, coming on his Father's message, did forget half his errand by the way. For I dare say, the greater half of their ceremonies were never commanded by Christ:

yea, I doubt it would be hard to find one in the church perfectly as he left it: so Romishly hath antichrist turned the church upside down for lucre's sake.

"Beloved mother, as I have oftentimes said unto you, even so now I beseech you from my very heart-root in Christ, to consider your own soul's health is offered you; do not cast it off; we have not long time here. Why should we deceive ourselves either for ease of our flesh, or for the winning of this world's treasure? I know that some will say to you, Why should we condemn our fathers that lived thus? God forbid that we should condemn any that did according to their knowledge: but let us take heed that they condemn not us, for if they had heard the word as we have, and had been warned as we have, it is to be thought that they would more thankfully have received it than we do: yea, they were more faithful in that they knew, than many now are. Therefore they shall he our condemnation, if we do not embrace this grace offered us. And surely look how many of them God will accept and save, those shall we never see, nor have any part among them: for our disobedience is more great than their ignorance. Wherefore, if we will meet our fathers in bliss and joy, let us not refuse his mercy offered more largely to us than to them, even according to Christ's promise, which said, after such great ignorance as to seek him from country to country, and find him not: 'Yet shall the gospel,' saith he, 'be preached in all the world, and then shall the end come.'

"And now let us know the time of our visitation, and not turn back again, seeing we are once delivered: for surely God will not bear it at our hands to turn backward. Oh remember Lot's wife. God must needs punish out of hand our shameful backsliding, either with induration and hardness of heart, so that they shall persecute his church and his true servants, or else reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And therefore, good mother, accept this my simple letter as a fruit of my love and obedience to you. Would God we might be so knit in faith and trust in God's word and promises here in this life, as we might together enjoy the bliss and consolation of eternal life; which I desire and seek above all worldly treasure, as ye partly know. If I would seek the good will of men contrary to my conscience, I could make some my friends which now, peradventure, are jealous over me amiss: but, I thank God, let them weigh the matter between God and their consciences, and they have no just cause so to do. Nevertheless I would they would yet refrain and put their matter and mine into the even balance of God's most holy word, there to be weighed by the mind of the Holy Ghost, expressed unto us by the holy patriarchs, and prophets, and by Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Mediator, and by his holy apostles. And then, I doubt not, but our matter shall be ended with peace and joyfulness of heart; which God grant us for his mercy's sake. Amen.

"Your own child.
NICHOLAS SHETERDEN.
Prisoner for the truth in Westgate, 1555."

A letter to his brother, Walter Sheterden.

"I wish you health in Christ, true knowledge of his word, and a faithful obedient heart unto the same. It is showed me, my brother, that ye willed me by a letter made to a friend of yours to persuade with me, that I should be ruled by mine uncle, which saith, he will bestow his goods very largely upon me, if I should not stand too high in mine own conceit. But, my good brother, I trust ye do not judge so evil of me, that I should have a faith to sell for money. For

though he or you were able to give me the treasure of the whole country, yet, I thank my Lord God, I do judge it but a heap of dung, in respect of the treasure hid within; yet I do esteem a buckle of your shoe, if it come with good will. And for to be counselled and ruled by him or you, or any other my friends, I do not, neither have refused it, if they require no more of me than my power, and that which belongeth to mortal men. But, if they require of me any thing which pertaineth to God only, there is neither high nor low, friend nor foe, (I trust in God,) shall get it of me, nor yet the angels in heaven.

"For though I be not learned, (as the vain men of the world call learning,) yet, I thank my Lord God, I have learned out of God's book, to know God from his creatures, and to know Christ from his sacraments, and to put a difference between the merits of Christ's passion and his supper, and a difference between the water of baptism and the Holy Ghost, and not to mix and mingle all things confusedly together; so that if one ask me a question or a reason of my faith, I must say thus: 'I believe as holy church believeth.' If he ask me what is the order of that faith, I should be so ignorant that I could not discern God from his creatures, nor Christ from his sacraments! If I should so monstrously utter my faith, that I were not able to judge between Christ's birth and his burial, nor which were first, of his mortification, and his glorification, who would believe that my faith were sound?

"For some affirm that Christ did not give to his apostles a mortal and a passible body, but an immortal and glorified body, so that he should have a glorified body before his death, and so his glorification was before his resurrection; and that he was risen before he was crucified, and crucified before his baptism; and then they may as well say, he was baptized before his birth, and born before he was conceived, and conceived before he was promised; and that were even right antichrist, to turn all things backward, and then say, 'Oh! ye must believe, for God is almighty, he can do all things,' &c. Truth it is, that God is almighty indeed, and yet I may not believe things contrary to his word, that Christ's body was glorified before he died: for God's omnipotency doth not stand in things contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleasure in time; neither doth he require of us to judge or believe of his almighty power, that he hath made the end of the world to come before the beginning, nor yet the fruit to come before the blossom; and yet is he nevertheless almighty.

"But if, peradventure, ye shall think with yourself, Why, they are learned; it were marvel but they should know what is the truth, as well as others which never kept no such study, &c.: to that I answer, that if they had studied God's word, the Author of truth, as they have done logic and Duns, with the legend of lies, they should have been as expert in the truth, as they be now in bald reasons. But thus hath God fulfilled his promise, that such should be deluded with lies, which would not believe nor walk in his truth.

"And again: this is a good cause to make us think surely, that this was the cause that God gave them over at the first to error, after the apostles' time, by little and little, as they grew in sin. For seeing we had his truth now among us a few years, because we did not obey unto it, we see what a sudden change God hath brought upon us for our sins' sake. And why should not we think that this and such-like disobedience was the cause that God took his word from all Christendom at the first, and cast a darkness upon them that would not walk in his light? For it is evident enough to see how unlike their doings be to Christ's and his apostles: and that seen, either we

must judge Christ's doings very slender, and theirs good, or else that indeed they be the very antichrists, which should come and turn all things out of frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I trust shall not be altogether in vain. Pray for me as I do for you.

"By your brother, NICHOLAS SHETERDEN. Prisoner for the truth in Westgate."

# Another letter to his brother.

"God, which is the giver of all goodness, and that freely for his love to us, (not only without our deserts, but contrary to the same,) grant you, my brother, such increase of godly knowledge and love unto the virtues thereunto belonging, as may give you such a taste in heavenly things, that all treasure of earthly things may savour to you, as indeed they are, most vain and uncertain; so shall ye never take them for no better than they be. Yea, whether God take them from us, or give them unto us, we shall know ourselves neither richer nor poorer before God. But if we lay up in our hearts the treasure of his word, we shall not only enrich ourselves against the time of need, but also arm ourselves against the battle with weapons and harness which is invincible, and clothe ourselves against the marriage. For behold, the Lord hath called us of long time to the feast, and blown the trumpet to prepare the battle. Let us know the time of our visitation, lest the Lord, sitting on his mount, bewail our destruction, which he desireth not, but because he is just to punish such as continue in sin, even as he is merciful to forgive the repentant that turn in time; for so is God, that cannot deny himself.

"Let us therefore in this day, while it is called to-day, hear his voice, and not harden our hearts by resistance of his will, lest he swear in his wrath, that we shall not enter into his rest. Let us count it sufficient, that we have spent the time past, as St. Peter saith, after the will of the Gentiles, in eating and drinking, chambering and wantonness, and in abominable idolatry, &c. And now let us essay a new life, and trade our members in virtue another while, lest, peradventure, we might run past any return in the contrary. But, if we now return and lay hand of his word in deed and verity, as we have long time done in talk and liberty, then will God heap upon us such certificate of conscience, as shall kindle our consolation in him, so that all treasure shall be dung to the excellent knowledge of our Saviour. Dear brother, my heart's desire and prayer to God is, that we may together enjoy the bliss of eternal inheritance by one spiritual regeneration and new birth, as we are joined by nature. But, alack, the way and mean thereunto hath been much neglected of me—I will not say of you, for I had rather ye should accuse yourself—for no doubt the best of us both hath not sought for wisdom in God's word, as some in the world whom we know have sought for money: therefore they shall be our judges, if we do not learn by them. Yea, the very emmet, as Solomon saith, doth teach us to provide for the time to come; for she provideth in summer against winter.

"This is the best token I have for you now, which, though it be simple, yet shall it declare partly my heart's desire to you-ward, which is even as mine own soul. Let nothing dismay you for my cause: but be ye sure I shall have victory in the truth, which truth is stronger than kings, wine, or women. For, as Zerubbabel saith, Wine is unrighteous, the king is unrighteous, women are unrighteous, yea, all the children of men are unrighteous; but the truth endureth, and is always strong, and conquereth for ever without end. Therefore this is to desire you, and all other my friends that wish me good, to pray that God will always keep me in his truth, as he hath

begun; which prayer, if it be of such a mind as laboureth to depart from evil, shall be to me the greatest pleasure under heaven; for I desire nothing in comparison of God's truth. I thank him of his mercy, which so hath wrought; for I take it as a sure seal of the endless joy which shall hereafter follow—which God bring us unto, when his will and pleasure is.; Amen.—

From Canterbury.

By yours.

NICHOLAS SHETERDEN."

Another letter of .Nicholas Sheterden to his mother, written the day before his death.

"O my good mother, whom I love with reverence in the Lord, and according to my duty, I desire your favourable blessing and forgiveness of all my misdeeds towards you. O my good mother, in few words, I wish you the same salvation, which I hope myself to feel, and partly taste of before this come to you to read; and in the resurrection, I verily believe to have it more perfectly in body and soul joined together for ever; and in that day God grant you to see my face with joy: but, dear mother, then beware of that great idolatry, and blasphemous mass. O let not that be your god, which mice and worms can devour. Behold, I call heaven and earth to record, that it is no god, yea, the fire that consumeth it, and the moistness that causeth it to mould; and I take Christ's Testament to witness, that it is none of his ordinances, but a mere invention of men, and a snare to catch innocents' blood; and now that God hath showed it unto you, be warned in time. O give over old customs, and become new in the truth. What state soever your fathers be in, leave that to God; and let us follow the counsel of his word. Dear mother, embrace it with hearty affection; read it with obedience; let it be your pastime: but yet cast off all carnal affections, and love of worldly things; so shall we meet in joy at the last day, or else I bid you farewell for evermore. O farewell my friends and lovers all: God grant me to see your faces in joy. Amen.—From Westgate, the eleventh of July, 1555.

"Your child, written with his hand, and sealed with his blood, Nicholas Sheterden, being appointed to be slain."

# The copy of a letter written to his wife.

"I wrote unto you as one that longed more to hear of your health, than of all worldly treasure, willing you to entreat Esau, the elder brother by nature, gently, giving to him his own, yea, and offer him one of the droves, and say, they be Jacob's, and are sent for a present to my Lord Esau; but he will not take it, &c. Now, my beloved, ye know the blessing of our Father is, that the elder shall serve the younger, and Wisdom, our mother, hath taught us the same; and I know ye do complain of your servant the Flesh, that he is rebellious, disobedient, and untoward; unruly and crookedly, ye think, he doth his service: but yet behold, how shall ye plead your cause before an indifferent judge? For if it be true that his service be not according to his duty, as it is many times found in servants; yet, I say, can you show your cause to no indifferent judge, but he shall object against you that he is not kept like a servant, but he lacketh both meat and drink, and other necessaries meet and due for a servant: so shall ye take more shame of your own complaint, than remedy or vantage against your servant; and it shall be a cloak for him to hide all his rebellion and untoward service, because ye have misused him.

"And therefore my sentence is, that ye patiently bear with him in small faults, and amend your own great faults, as oppression, cruelty, and covetousness, requiring more than a servant can do, specially being tired with labour, famined with hunger, and lamed with stripes. And these things amended, if he do his service negligently, (as, no doubt, sometimes he will,) yet then ye may boldly correct him with discretion; and sometimes if he do not his task, ye may make him go to bed supperless: but yet beat him not with durable strokes, neither withhold his meat in due time, and pinch him not by the belly continually, but let him have something to joy in: only watch him, and keep him from doing of harm. Though he be but a stranger in the life that is in God, yet be good to strangers; for we were all strangers in darkness, and captives in sin, as well soul and spirit, being in Egypt, as now the flesh is yet unbaptized with the terrible Red Sea of death; and remember that one law abideth for the stranger,—I mean, one reward abideth both for body and soul in the land of everlasting rest. And therefore entreat him gently, and deal with him justly now: for the time will come that the yoke of bondage shall be taken from his neck, and he shall be a fellow heir with your younger brother.

"Circumcise him, therefore, but do not misuse him, nor keep him from his own; but deal mercifully with the stranger, that he may say, 'Oh! of what understanding heart is this people: who hath God, or where is God, so nigh as to these?' God make you wise and politic in heart, victorious in the field of this world, to rule the nations with a rod. But kill not the Gibeonites, with whom peace is taken; but let them draw water and hew wood, but give them their meat and drink due for labourers. And be glad because your disease is so remedied; for it is better and easier for a thirsty labouring man to drink, than for a drunken man to tell a sober-wise tale. Yea, it is a token that ye have earnestly followed your labour, and not kept company with drunkards and belly-gods: and therefore be glad, I say, yea, and glad again; for great is your reward in heaven: yea, blessed shall she be, that in this your zeal shall meet you, and withdraw your hand from revenging yourself upon that churlish Nabal: which thing I hope to do now with these sweet raisins and frails of figs. I, being of one house with your servant Nabal, I dare say to you that Churlishness is his name: but revenge not, for the Lord shall do it in his due time. Farewell, mine own heart.

"Yours in bonds at Westgate. NICHOLAS SHETERDEN."

The next day after the condemnation of these aforesaid, which was the twenty-sixth day of July, were also condemned for the same articles, William Coker, William Hopper of Cranbrook, Henry Laurence, Richard Wright of Ashford, William Stere of Ashford. But because the execution of these martyrs pertaineth not to this month, more shall be said, the Lord willing, of them, when we come to the month following of August.

# 299. Nicholas Hall and Christopher Wade.

The same month of July, next after the suffering of the Kentish-men above named, followed the death and martyrdom of Nicholas Hall, bricklayer, and Christopher Wade, of Dartford, which both were condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the last day of the month of June. The six articles ministered to them were of the same ordinary course and effect with the articles of the other martyrs before specified, the brief sum whereof were these.

"First, That they were Christian men, and professed the catholic determinations of our mother holy church.

- "2. That they which maintain or hold otherwise than our holy mother the catholic church doth, are heretics.
- "3. That they hold and maintain, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, is not the very body and blood of Christ. And that the said very body of Christ is verily in heaven only, and not in the sacrament.
- "4. Item, that they have and do hold and maintain, that the mass, as it is now used in the catholic church, is naught and abominable.
- "5. Item, that they have been and be, amongst the people of that jurisdiction, vehemently suspected upon the premises, and thereupon indicted," &c.

# Their answers.

"To these articles they answered, as commonly others used to do, which stand with Christ and his truth against these pretended catholics, and their sinister doctrine.

"First, granting themselves Christian men, and acknowledging the determinations of the holy church, that is, of the congregation or body of Christ,—save that Hall denied to call the catholic and apostolic church his mother, because he found not this word, 'mother,' in the Scripture.

"To the 2nd they granted.

"To 3rd article, as touching the very body and blood of Christ to be under the forms of bread and wine in substance, they would not grant, only affirming the very body of him to be in heaven, and in the sacrament to be a token or remembrance of Christ's death; Nicholas Hall adding moreover, and saying, that whereas, before, he held the sacrament to be but only a token or remembrance of Christ's death, now, he said, that therein is neither token nor remembrance, because it is now misused and clean turned from Christ's institution, &c.

"And concerning the mass in the 4th article, to be abominable, Christopher Wade with the other answered, that as they had confessed before, so would they now not go from that they had said.

"To the 5th article, for the people's suspicion, they made no great account nor sticking to grant to the same."

And thus much concerning the articles and answers of these good men: which being received, immediately sentence of condemnation was pronounced by the said Maurice the bishop against them, the copy of which sentence, as it runneth much after the common course in condemning all other like servants of Christ; so the same being exemplified before in the story of Master Rogers, shall not greatly need here again to be repeated, but rather may be referred over to the place above noted.

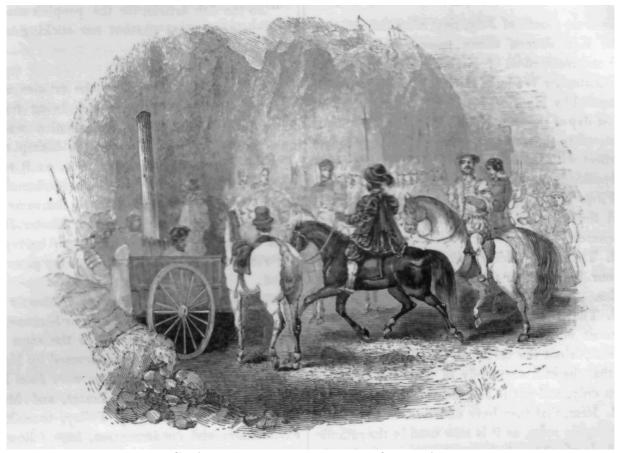
Nicholas Hall was burned at Rochester about the nineteenth day of July. Furthermore, with the aforesaid Hall and Wade, in the same month of July, three others were condemned by Maurice, bishop aforenamed, whose names were Joan Beach, widow, John Harpol of Rochester, and Margery Polley: of which Margery Polley, touching her examination and condemnation, here followeth in story.

Margery Polley, widow, wife some time of Richard Polley of Pepenbury, was accused and brought before the said Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the beginning of the month of June: which bishop, according to the pontifical solemnity of that church, rising up out of the chair of his majesty, in the high swelling style, after his ordinary fashion, to dash the silly poor woman, began in these words:—

"We Maurice, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our mere office in a cause of heresy, against thee, Margery Polley, of the parish of Pepenbury, of our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee all and singular these articles ensuing. To the which, and to every parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given," &c.

Thus the oath first being ministered, and the articles commenced against her, which articles were the same that were ministered to Nicholas Hall and Wade before, she so framed her answers again, especially answering to the 3rd and 4th articles, that she neither allowed the deity of their sacrament, nor the absurdity of their mass. For the which, sentence was read against her about the beginning of June, and she condemned for the same. But because her death followed not upon the same, we will therefore defer the tractation thereof to the due place and time, first setting down in order of history the execution of Christopher Wade above-mentioned.

The execution and martyrdom of Christopher Wade.



**Christoper Wade at the Place of execution** 

Christopher Wade of Dartford, in the county of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burned at Dartford aforesaid. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was, betimes in the morning, carried out of the town, in a cart, a stake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the town, called the Brimpt, into a gravel-pit thereby, the common place of the execution of felons. Thither also was brought a load of broom-faggots, with other faggots and tall wood: unto which place resorted the people of the country in great numbers, and there tarried his coming, insomuch that thither came divers fruiterers with horse-loads of cherries, and sold them. About ten of the clock cometh riding the sheriff, with a great many of other gentlemen and their retinue appointed to assist him therein, and with them Wade, riding pinioned, and by him one Margery Polley of Tunbridge; both singing of a psalm: which Margery, as soon as she espied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where he should suffer, waiting his coming, she said unto him very loud and cheerfully, "You may rejoice, Wade, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day."

And so, passing by the place, which joined hard to the highway, they were carried straight down to the town, where she was kept until the sheriff returned from Wade's execution. And Wade, being made ready, and stripped out of his clothes in an inn, had brought unto him a fair long white shirt from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, he was led up on foot again to the foresaid place. And coming straight to the stake, he took it in his arms, embracing it, and kissed it, setting his back unto it, and standing in a pitch-barrel, which was taken from the beacon, being hard by. Then a smith brought a hoop of iron, and, with two staples, made him fast to the stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus settled, he spake, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, with a cheerful and loud voice, the last verse of Psalm lxxxvi.: Show some good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me, may see it, and be ashamed; because thou, Lord, hast helped me, and comforted me. Near unto the stake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were pitched up four staves, quadrangle-wise, with a covering round about like a pulpit: into the which place, as Wade was thus praying at the stake, entered a friar with a book in his hand; whom when Wade espied, he cried earnestly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the gospel preached in King Edward's days; whom the sheriff, thus speaking to the people, often interrupted, saying, "Be quiet, Wade! and die patiently." "I am," said he, "I thank God, quiet, Master Sheriff! and so trust to die." All this while the friar stood still, looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered somewhat: but Wade very mightily admonished the people to beware of that doctrine; which when the friar perceived, whether he were amazed, or could have no audience of the people, he withdrew himself out of the place immediately, without speaking any word, and went away down to the town. Then the reeds being set about him, Wade pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making a hole against his face, that his voice might be heard, which they perceiving that were his tormentors, always cast faggots at the same hole, which, notwithstanding, he still, as he could, put off, his face being hurt with the end of a faggot cast thereat. Then fire being put unto him, he cried unto God often, "Lord Jesus! receive my soul;" without any token or sign of impatiency in the fire, till at length, after the fire was once thoroughly kindled, he was heard by no man to speak, still holding his hands up over his head together towards heaven, even when he was dead and altogether roasted; as though they had been stayed up with a prop standing under them.

This sign did God show upon him, whereby his very enemies might perceive, that God had, according to his prayer, showed such a token upon him, even to their shame and confusion. And this was the order of this godly martyr's execution: this was his end; whereby God seemed to confound and strike with the spirit of dumbness the friar, that locust which was risen up to have spoken against him; and also no less wonderfully sustained those hands which he lifted up to him for comfort in his torment.

# 300. Dirick Carver and John Launder

The twenty-second day of this month of July, was burned at Lewes, within the county of Sussex, one Dirick Carver, late of the parish of Brighthelmstone in the same county. And the next day, (being the twenty-third day of the same month,) was also burned at Stenning, another named John Launder, late of Godstone in the county of Surrey: which two men were, (with others,) about the end of the month of October, A. D. 1554, apprehended by Edward Gage, gentleman, as they were at prayer within the dwelling-house of the said Dirick; and by him were sent up unto the queen's council, who, after examination, sent them as prisoners to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of Bonner, bishop of London. From whence (upon the bishop's receipt of a letter from the lord marquis of Winchester, now lord treasurer) they were brought by the keeper of the prison the eighth of June next after, into the bishop's chamber at his house in London; and there (being examined upon divers points of religion) they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing them with their own hands. Which being read, the bishop objected unto them certain other articles, causing them to swear truly and directly to answer thereunto; which articles they confessed to be true, referring themselves chiefly to their former confessions.

This done, after long persuasions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would stand to their answers. To whom Launder said, "I will never go from these answers so long as I live." The other also confirmed the same, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the bishop in the consistory at Paul's, the tenth day of the same month next following; which articles and confession, with the aforementioned letter, do here ensue.

A letter sent from the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, unto Bonner, bishop of London, touching the examination of the said prisoners.

"After my right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, I shall not forget your livery of black against this time; no more I shall Master Dean, to whom I wrote to make the sermon, who must now assuredly do it; for my Lord of Chichester cannot attend it. To whom I have given like knowledge by my letter now sent, and your Lordship must command the sextons of your church to be in readiness for ringing-in the time of service. And if ye be not furnished with black apparel for the altar, and for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, I must have knowledge thereof, that it be taken of the queen's stuff, whereof I pray you let me be advertised.

"And ye have sent Bradford to Newgate, as a man determined of heresy before you: but, as I perceive, ye have not sent a *significavit*, and therefore you must send me one, that I may proceed with him; and that I shall do, as soon as I am answered of you.

"There be divers like prisoners that came from Sussex, that be not yet examined before you, lying now in Newgate, which must be examined by you, since they be come to London; and so I pray they may be, and I certified of your proceedings, that I may follow; which I shall do, thanking your Lordship heartily for my conies, trusting to recompense your Lordship again shortly with twice as many.—From my house this seventh of June, 1555.

"Your loving friend. WINCHESTER."

The confession of Dirick Carver, before Bonner, bishop of London.

"Dirick Carver, beer-brewer, of Brighthelmstone, in the county of Sussex, where he hath dwelled by the space of eight or nine years, born in the village of Dilson by Stockom in the land of Luke, forty years of age, (or thereabout,) and now prisoner in Newgate, where he hath remained and continued at the council's commandment, since Allhallow's day last past, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the sacrament of the altar, saith, that he hath, and doth believe, that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ is not in the said sacrament, and that there is no other substance remaining in the said sacrament after the words spoken by the priest, but only the substance of bread and wine.

"Item, Being examined concerning the mass in Latin now used in the Church of England, he believeth that there is no sacrifice in the said mass, and that there is in it no salvation for a Christian man, except it should be said in the mother-tongue, that he might understand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the church, he saith and believeth, that they be not profitable to a Christian man.

"Item, Being examined concerning auricular confession, he answereth, that he hath and doth believe, that it is necessary to go to a good priest for good counsel; but the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, as is now used, is nothing profitable to a Christian man's salvation. And further he saith, that he hath not been confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, since the coronation of the queen that now is.

"Item, Concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, and believed in the Church of England, he answereth and believeth, that the faith and doctrine now taught, set forth, and used, in the said Church of England, is not agreeable to God's word. And furthermore he saith, that Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, which were of late burned, were good Christian men, and did preach the true doctrine of Christ, as' he believeth; and saith, that they did shed their blood in the same doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he saith and believeth.

"And further, being examined, he saith that since the queen's coronation he hath had the Bible and Psalter in English, read in his house at Brighthelmstone divers times, and likewise since his coming into Newgate: but the keeper, hearing thereof, did take them away; and saith also, that about a twelvemonth now past, he had the English procession said in his house, with other English prayers.

"And further saith, that Thomas Iveson, John Launder, and William Vesie, being prisoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examinate in his house at Brighthelmstone, as they were hearing of the gospel, then read in English, a little before Allhallown day last past, and brought into the court: and being examined thereupon by the council, were committed by them to prison in Newgate."

The confession of John Launder, before Bonner, bishop of London.

"John Launder, husbandman, of the parish of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, of the age of twenty-five years, born at Godstone aforesaid, being examined, loth confess and say, that about two days next before Allhallowntide last past, this examinate, and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, William Vesie, with divers other persons to the number of twelve, (being altogether in their prayers, and saying the service in English, set forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth, in the house of the said Dirick, situate at Brightonhamstead in Sussex,) were apprehended by one Master Edward Gage, and by him sent up hither to London, to the king and queen's council, and by them (upon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he, with his said other fellows, hath ever since remained in prison.

"And further being examined, he doth confess and say, that the occasion of his coming to the said Brighthelmstone was upon certain business there to be sped for his father: and so being there, and hearing that the said Dirick was a man that did much favour the gospel, this examinate did resort to his house and company, (whom before that time he did never see or know,) and by reason of that his resort, he was apprehended as before. And further doth confess and believe, that there is here in earth one whole and universal catholic church, whereof the members be dispersed through the world; and doth believe also, that the same church doth set forth and teach only two sacraments, viz. the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of our Lord: and whosoever doth teach or use any more sacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be of the catholic church, but doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart. And doth further say and believe that all the service, sacrifices, and ceremonies, now used in this realm of England, (yea, and in all other parts of the world, which have been used after the same manner,) be erroneous and naught, and contrary to Christ's institution, and the determination of Christ's catholic church, whereof he believeth that he himself is a member.

"Also he doth confess and believe, that in the sacrament, now called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance: but his belief and faith therein is as followeth, viz. that when he doth receive the material bread and wine, he doth receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion; and, so receiving it, he doth eat and drink Christ's body and blood by faith, and none other ways, as he believeth.

"And moreover he doth confess, say, and believe, that the mass now used in the realm of England, or elsewhere in all Christendom, is naught and abominable, and directly against God's word, and his catholic church; and that there is nothing said or used in it good and profitable. For he saith, that albeit the Gloria in excelsis, the Creed, Sanctus, Paternoster, Agnus, and other parts of the mass, be of themselves good and profitable, yet the same being used amongst other things that be naught and superfluous in the mass, the same good things do become naught also; as he believeth.

"Also he doth believe and confess that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature, but every person ought to acknowledge and confess his sins only to God; and also that no person hath any authority to absolve any man from his sins. And also believeth that the right and true way, (according to the Scripture,) after a man hath fallen

from grace to sin, to arise to Christ again, is to be sorry for his offences, and to do the same or the like no more: and not to make any auricular confession of them to the priest, either to take absolution for them at the priest's hands. All which his said opinions he hath believed by the space of these seven or eight years past, and in that time hath divers and many times openly argued and defended the same, as he saith," &c.

Articles objected by Bonner, bishop of London, against Dirick Carver and John Launder.

"First, I do object against you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, being within the said prison of Newgate, and within the said city of London, are of my jurisdiction, (being bishop of London,) and subject unto the same, offending and trespassing within the said prison and city in matters of religion, and concerning the catholic faith and belief of the church in any wise.

- "2. Item, I do object against you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, since your first coming and entering into the said prison, and during your abode there, both there and in sundry places within this city and diocese of London, have holden, maintained, and defended sundry opinions against the sacraments of the church, especially against the sacrament of penance, and also against the sacrament of the altar.
- "3. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have (as concerning the sacrament of the altar) holden, maintained, and defended, to the best of your power, that in the said sacrament of the altar there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, but that in the sacrament there is only the substance of natural bread and wine, and no other substance.
- "4. Item, I do likewise object that you, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have, concerning the mass in Latin now used in the church, and the sacrifice of the same, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that the said mass is not good, nor profitable, and that there is no sacrifice in the same.
- "5. Item, I do likewise object that you, and every of you, in all or some of the places, have, concerning the ceremonies of the church, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that the said ceremonies are not profitable to a Christian man, but hurtful and evil.
- "6. Item, I do likewise object that you, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have, concerning the sacrament of penance, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that auricular confession, (being a part thereof,) albeit it may be made unto a good priest for counsel, yet the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, and doing as is now usually done in the church, is nothing profitable to any man's salvation; and that therefore ye neither have been confessed to the priest after the usual manner of the church, nor yet received the said sacrament of the altar, since the coronation of the queen's Majesty, which is more than the space of one year and a half.
- "7. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, in all or some of the said places, concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, used, and believed in the church of this

realm of England, and the doctrine of the same, have holden, believed, and said, that it is not agreeable to God's word, but clean contrary to the same.

- "8. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have believed, spoken, and said, and to your power upholden, maintained, and said, that Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, which of late within this realm were burnt for heresy, were good Christian men, in speaking and holding against the said sacrament of the altar; and that they did preach nothing but the true doctrine of Christ, shedding their blood for the maintenance of the said doctrine.
- "9. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, have earnestly laboured and travailed, to the best and uttermost of your power, to have up again the English service, and the communion in all points, as was used in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England.
- "10. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, have thought and do think firmly and stedfastly, and so have and do believe, that the faith, religion, and doctrine, set forth in the said time of the aforesaid King Edward, was in all points good and godly, containing in it the true faith and religion of Christ, in every part.
- "11. Item, I do likewise object and say, that ye, and every of you, (for your mischief, offence, transgression, and misbehaviour in the premises, and for that also you would not come to your several parish churches, and hear your divine service there, as other Christian people did and do, but absent yourselves from the same, and have your private service in your houses, especially in the house of Dirick Carver,) were sent up unto the king and queen's Majesty's privy council, and by them or some of them sent afterward into the prison of Newgate aforesaid, having there, by their authority, remained as prisoners during all the time ye have been there.
- "12. Item, I do likewise object and say, that I the said bishop of London was commanded, by the authority of the said council, to make process against you, and every of you, so that it was not my procuring or searching that ye should be commanded or called before me in this matter of heresy, but partly your own demerits, and partly the said commandment, enforced me to call and send for you to make answer herein; and hereof to show you the said letters."

Upon Monday, being the said tenth day of June, these two persons, with others, were brought by the keeper unto the bishop's consistory (as it was before commanded) at one of the clock in the afternoon; where the bishop, first beginning with the said Dirick Carver, caused his confession with the articles and answers to be openly read unto him, (which order he kept at the condemnation of every prisoner,) asking him whether he would stand to the same. To whom the said Dirick answered, that he would "for your doctrine," quoth he, "is poison and sorcery. If Christ were here you would put him to a worse death than he was put to before. You say, that you can make a god: ye can make a pudding as well. Your ceremonies in the church be beggary and poison. And further I say, that auricular confession is contrary to God's word, and very poison:" with divers other such words.

The bishop, seeing this constancy, and that neither his accustomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatenings, could once move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing, as well towards this Dirick as also upon the said John Launder, although severally: who (after the like manner of process used with him) remained in the same constancy, as did the other, and therefore were both delivered unto the sheriffs, who were there present; but afterwards were conveyed to the places above named, and there most joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their souls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jesus Christ, who had assured them to a better hope of life.

This Dirick was a man whom the Lord had blessed as well with temporal riches, as with his spiritual treasures; which riches yet were no clog or let unto his true professing of Christ (the Lord by his grace so working in him); of the which, there was such havoc made by the greedy raveners of that time, that his poor wife and children had little or none thereof. During his imprisonment, although he was well stricken in years, (and, as it were, past the time of learning,) yet he so spent his time, that being at his first apprehension utterly ignorant of any letter of the book, he could, before his death, read perfectly any printed English: whose diligence and zeal is worthy no small commendation, and therefore I thought it good not to let it pass over in silence, for the good encouragement and example of others.

Moreover, at his coming into the town of Lewes to be burned, the people called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ. He thanked them, and prayed unto God, that of his mercy he would strengthen them in the like faith. And when he came to the sign of the Star, the people drew near unto him, where the sheriff said, that he had found him a faithful man in all his answers. And as he came to the stake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the sheriff made haste.

Then his book was thrown into the barrel, and when he had stript himself, (as a joyful member of God,) he went into the barrel himself. And as soon as ever he came in, he took up the book, and threw it among the people; and then the sheriff commanded, in the king and queen's name, on pain of death, to throw in the book again. And immediately that faithful member spake with a joyful voice, saying:

"Dear brethren and sisters, witness to you all, that I am come to seal with my blood Christ's gospel, because I know that it is true. It is unknown unto all you, but that it hath been truly preached here in Lewes and in all places of England, and now it is not. And for because that I will not deny here God's gospel, and be obedient to man's laws.

"I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and sisters, as many of you as do believe upon the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, unto everlasting life, see you do the works appertaining to the same. And as many of you as do believe upon the pope of Rome, or any of his laws which he sets forth in these days, you do believe to your utter condemnation; and, except the great mercy of God, you shall burn in hell perpetually."

Immediately the sheriff spake unto him, and said, "If thou dost not believe on the pope, thou art damned body and soul." And further the sheriff said unto him, "Speak to thy God, that

he may deliver thee now; or else to strike me down to the example of this people." But this faithful member said, "The Lord forgive you your sayings."

And then spake he again to all the people there present, with a loud voice, saying.

"Dear brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I ask you, for the Lord's sake, to forgive me; and I heartily forgive all you which have offended me in thought, word, or deed."

And he said further in his prayer as followeth:

"O Lord my God, thou hast written, He that will not forsake wife, children, house, and all that ever he hath, and take up thy cross and follow thee, is not worthy of thee. But thou, Lord, knowest, that I have forsaken all, to come unto thee: Lord, have mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my spirit; and my soul doth rejoice in thee."

These were the last words of that faithful member of Christ, before the fire was put to him. And after that the fire came to him he cried, "O Lord, have mercy upon me;" and sprung up in the fire, calling upon the name of Jesus, and so ended.

# 301. Thomas Iveson, John Aleworth and James Abbes.

Thomas Iveson, or Everson, apprehended with Dirick and others, and suffered at Chichester.

At Chichester, about the same month, was burned one Thomas Iveson, of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, carpenter; whose apprehension, examination, and condemnation, (forasmuch as it was at one time and in one form with Dirick Carver and John Launder,) I do here omit, referring the reader to their history and process before mentioned; saving only this his several confession and private answers made before Bishop Bonner at his last examination in the consistory, I thought not to pretermit, who, being examined upon the foresaid articles, answered as followeth.

"First, That he believed, that there is but one catholic, universal, and whole church of Christ through the whole world, which hath and holdeth the true faith, and all the necessary articles of Christian belief, and all the sacraments of Christ, with the true use and administration of the same.

- "2. Item, That he is necessarily bounden to believe and give credit, in all the said faith, articles of the belief, religion, and the sacraments of Christ, and the administration of the same.
- "3. Item, That that faith, religion, and administration of sacraments, which now is believed, used, taught, and set forth in this our Church of England, is not agreeing with the true faith of Christ, nor with the faith of the said catholic and universal church of Christ.
- "4. Item, Concerning the sacrament of the altar, he believeth, that it is a very idol, and detestable before God, as it is now ministered.
- "5. Item, That the mass is naught, and not of the institution of Christ; but that it is of man's invention. And being demanded whether any thing used in the mass be good, he said that he would answer no further.
- "6. Item, That be had not received the sacrament of the altar, since it had been ministered as now it is in England, neither was confessed at any time within these seven years; nor hath he heard mass by the same space.
- "7. That auricular confession is not necessary to be made to a priest; for that he cannot forgive, nor absolve him from sins.
- "8. Item, Concerning the sacrament of baptism, that it is a sign and token of Christ, as circumcision was, and none otherwise; and he believeth that his sins are not washed away thereby, but his body only washed: for his sins be washed away only by Christ's blood.
- "9. Item, That there be in the catholic church of Christ only two sacraments; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, and no more; which are not rightly used at this present time in England, and therefore be unprofitable.

"10. Item, He believeth, that all the ceremonies now used in the Church of England, are vain, superfluous, superstitious, and naught."

Furthermore, the said Iveson being earnestly travailed withal to recant, said in this wise, "I would not recant and forsake my opinion and belief for all the goods in London. I do appeal to God's mercy, and will be none of your church, nor submit myself to the same: and that I have said, I will say again. And if there came an angel from heaven, to teach me any other doctrine than that which I am now in, I would not believe him." Which answer thus made, he was condemned as a heretic, and with the same persons was committed to the secular power, (as they term it,) and at the place above-mentioned was burned; persevering still in his constant faith unto the end.

# John Aleworth.

In the latter end of this month of July, John Aleworth died in prison, at the town of Reading, being there in bonds for the cause and testimony of the truth of the Lord's gospel: whom, although the catholic prelates (according to their usual solemnity) did exclude out of their catholic burial, yet we see no cause why to exclude him out of the number of Christ's holy martyrs, and heirs of his holy kingdom.

James Abbes, a martyr of blessed memory, suffering for the true cause of Christ's gospel.

Among many that travailed in these troublesome days to keep a good conscience, there was one James Abbes, a young man, who through compulsion of the tyranny then used, was enforced to have his part with his brethren in wandering, and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of apprehending. But when time came, that the Lord had another work to do for him, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the bishop of Norwich, Dr. Hopton; who, examining him of his religion, and charging him therewith very sore, both with threats and fair speech, at the last the said poor James did yield and relented to their naughty persuasions; although his conscience consented not thereto.

Now when he was dismissed, and should go from the bishop, the bishop calling him again, gave him a piece of money, either forty-pence or twenty-pence, whether I know not; which when the said James had received, and was gone from the bishop, his conscience began to throb, and inwardly to accuse his fact, how he had displeased the Lord by consenting to their beastly illusions: in which combat with himself, (being piteously vexed,) he went immediately to the bishop again, and there threw him his said money, which he had received at his hand, and said, it repented him that he ever gave his consent to their wicked persuasions, and that he gave his consent in taking of his money.

Now this being done, the bishop with his chaplains did labour afresh to win him again, but in vain: for the said James Abbes would not yield for any of them all, although he had played Peter before, through infirmity, but stood manfully in his Master's quarrel to the end, and abode the force of the fire, in the consuming of his body into ashes, which tyranny of burning was done in Bury, the second day of August, A. D. 1555.

# END OF VOLUME 10