

Yea, heere is a knocking and long lasting lie, worthy to be nailed upon a post or pillory, like the eare of a rogue or a railing Moore.

Father Parsons was but a slender juggler, that could not, without putting his finger into her mouth, suborne red for white. I doubt that hee that invented this tale, had sometimes beene at the shop of Cowbuck the smith, * (held by some to be the putative father of Parsons,) and there had seene the bottome hoofe of a horse-foot nailed against the posts, (which use to be the triumphant trophies of farriers,) and therefore thought hee should meet with some that would beleve, a piece of raw flesh could be as solid and lasting. But I doe not read that this woman was ever possess with that beleefe, as to adore the foresaid post, with the forged appendix: and I am glad to finde, even in the weaker sex, more truth in calling a spade, a spade, then plain dealing in her maister, that would mock her and others by a trick of leigerdemaine: and therefore the tale-maker was heere defective. For, to shew the acceptation and effect of this miracle, he should have added, that the woman, yea, and some wise men too, adored not onely the flesh, but even the naile with which it was crucified, or rather postified. This my new coyned words fits their new found fable.

This Moore
litch lost his
eares in Cheap-
side for blas-
phemous and re-
ligiousall say-
ling against the
reformed reli-
gion.

"A letter was sent unto Father Parsons at Rome, signifying unto him, that a kinsmans house of his beere in England, had been, for the space of forty yeers together, molested by divels; but by one sacrifice or masse offered by Father Parsons, it was delivered: and his kinred who lived there, having been all their life-time before zealous Protestants, have all of them since become Catholicks."

Jo. Marks in
his preface
page 1. 0.

I beleve, many houses in England, within these forty yeeres, especially those that pertained to the friends and wel-wishers of Parsons and his fellowes, have beene much haunted with spites, not of the kinde of fairies, but of those of whom ingenious Chaucer speaks; that where the limiter exorcising priest went up and downe within his station, there were no divels nor hobgoblins to molest, especially the weaker sex in the night-time: the reason he gives is demonstrative: for,

Chaucer

In every grove, and under every tree,
There n'is none other Incubus but hee.

But this difference I observe between the antient priests of a coorse thread, and these refined seraphicall masters of the jesuiticall loome: they drove away spirits only by their presence: but these can dart out a masse from over sea, some thousand miles off, and with it blowe away all the divels that dance in such or such an enchanted castle in England; whereupon all the Protestants that dwell within kenning, must needs turne Romanists: *Teste me ipso*, quoth the divell

"There was a man in Corduba, within the confines of Spain, aged fourscore yeers and odde; who, for the space of thirty yeers, had been in a dead palsie, and bed-red, and then had a burning desire to heare masse, and to have the bishops blessing; and so caused himselfe, by his servants, to be transported to St Stephens Church. The masse heard, and hee born back to his house, within fewe daies he, (to all mens admiration,) became whole and sound, and was as lusty as a man but of twenty yeeres. He lived eighteen yeers after: during which space, hee came every day thankfully to the said church, to acknowledge the miracle."

Kellis, in a
treatise of his,
called, Gods
Blessing, page
71.

* Robert Parsons, a learned Jesuit, but of a fiery disposition, was born at Stowey, near Bridgewater, in Somerset. His father was one Cowbuck, a smith, but the Protestants pretended that the Popish priest of Stowey had a better title to the paternity. *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 355. He was sent by the Pope into England in 1580, in company with Campion, to disperse the Bull against Queen Elizabeth among her Catholic subjects.— See Vol. I. of this Collection, p. 196.

At Corduba in Spain? A palsie, and yet fourscore and eighteen yeers? I am glad it is so faire off. I hope they will have mee excused, for travelling so faire to enquire the truth. And yet, in another respect, I should wish to live in that aire where masses grow so medicinall, that they prolong a mans life, till hee and all his friends be weary of him, like the Iles of Arren in Ireland, which will not let the canole of our life bee blowne out, though it bee in the snuffe: whereof a blundering frier wrote, *Ubi tam diu vivunt homines, ita quodd habecant tedium de suo vivere.*

"Leo Tuscus, a confessor, martyr, and Pope, upon a certain time was tempted by a woman, who would needs kisse him; but the holy man by no means consented to such immodesty; yet, with much struggling, shee kissed his hand, whether he would or no. Whereupon he commanded it to be cut off, because no corrupt flesh should remain about him. Which when the people perceived, they earnestly intercessed our Lady for him, and she most mercitully restored it again: and then he said masse as before, and acknowledged our Lady his Saviour."

In the *Antit*
The lives of the
martyrs transl.
by Kinsman.

Our Lady his Saviour? O blind Bayardly presumption! The blessed Virgin acknowledged her sonne, the Sonne of God, to be not onely our, but even her owne Saviour. But these audacious coblers of lyes dare mend *magnificat*, yea, and outface the scripture, in setting up the mother for a new Saviour.

But, O austerity and rigour! did a Pope, upon so petty a cause, act the valorous Mutius Scævola, and destroy his owne hand? Surely, if our sacrificing priests and jesuites should execute so severe a law upon themselves, the king would have in this city many subjects not onely inwardly lame in their obedience, but also outwardly lame in their lims. I knowe two priests in London, who are very unable at this time to doo the king any service in the warres; for which, they have a necessary excuse, though not legall, having imployed themselves in other hot wars already: so that now they are fitter for an hospitall than the camp. And yet when the time of their lying in is expired, they will creep out of the shell again, and looke as bold as their brethren, laying it on with masses. Yet, mee thinks, they should use very favourably their judicall power in confession, who themselves have had so much need of indulgence. To say nothing of a Catholique maid, supposed to have been, with others, oppressed in the ruine at the Black friers, whose office hath been to carry bands and shirts unto the priests chambers: but, whatsoever her ill luck hath been, she hath met with some infectious blasting vapours, which now sequester her from all company; being posted off by her ghostly father unto the physicians.

T. III.
E. Me.

But to leave these noisome corners, and to returne to the more pleasing path of our old wonder-working tales; he had need be a good chirurgion, who could cement a broken piece, especially a hand wholly cut off. But this is like unto the tale of Saint Dominick, whose legs cut off at the knees, by praying unto our Lady, they were, without the help of any artist, graffed on again; or, like that of Saint Denis, who, for a mile or two, carried his head in his hand; or, not unlike the story of Saint Winifred, of whom they report, her head once cut off, sprung and grew on again; but lopt off a second time, where it fell, there arose a fine silver stream, or a pleasant fountain of running water, which at this day (as they vaunt) cureth the diseased; and the drops of bloud which Saint Winifred there lost, are yet to be seen. The place of this beheading, and where the miracle is more extant, is at Holiwel, in Wales, not many miles off the city of Chester; whither, once every yeer, about mid-summer, many superstitious Papists, of Lancashire, Staffordshire, and other more remote countries, go in pilgrimage, especially those of the feminine and softer sex, who keep there their rendezvous, meeting with divers priests, their acquaintance, who make it their chief synod or convention for consultation, and promoting the Catholique cause, as they call it; yea, and account it their chiefest harvest for commodity and profit, in regard of the crop they then reap by absolutions and indulgences. Let me adde, that they were so bold, about mid-sum-

Read, concern-
ing S. Domu-
nick, a book
written by J.
Heigham, intit.
The Life of S.
Katharine of
Siena.

mer the last yeere, 1623, that they intruded themselves divers times into the church or publick chappell of Holiwell, and there said masse, without contradiction. It is not unlike they will easily presume to the same liberty heer in England, which they have used of late in Ireland; where they disturbed the minister at a funerall, erected one or two frieries, with open profession, in their monasticall habits, and have intruded titular bishops to supplant the church-government there in force: as we see in like manner old M. Bishop, sometimes prisoner in the Gatehouse, now perking up and flanting with the vain, aeriall, fantastick bubble of Episcopall title, far fetched, and yet lightly given, hath rambled up and down Staffordshire, Buckinghamshire, and other places, under the name of the Bishop of Chalcedon, catching the ignorant, vulgar, and devoted Romanists, with the pomp of his pontificall attire, and that empty name of a bishoprick; whereunto he hath as much right, as he hath lands there.

The fall as
trumps of the
Papists in Ire-
land.

The Bishop of
Chalcedon.

I commend the thriftinesse of the Popes Holinesse, in erecting bishopricks with such small cost. The title stands him in nothing but a piece of parchment, with a bosse of lead, signed *sub annulo Piscatoris*. As for jurisdiction and revenues, there needs nothing, but to send into England this new puppet of his owne making. The honest, liberall, Pope-holy, Lay-Catholiques of England, many of them, especially the more ignorant, and therefore dotingly devout, are so mad of these trumperies, and so sick of their money, that his benedictions, beads, rings, reliques, *agnus Dei*, and the like, will be good merchandize, better (perhaps) than Virginian tobacco, and feeding as much as that fume. Physicians say, and experience shews, that for a consumption, asses milk is not the worst cure; and sure, to feed afresh the declining and starving fopperies of Popery in this land, what better nourishment than those no small summes which are daily squeezed from many simple burden-bearing animals, whose radicall moysture of their purses is daily exhausted by the horse-leeches of Rome?

The name of Rome is able to these weak and bleared eyes to imbelish any thing, to gild over and make acceptable any pills, though being nothing else but sheeps tittles. A bundle of beads worth three pence, if sanctified from Rome, shall strain out of Catholick purses so many pounds. The preaching, the liturgie of the Church of England, is but dry meat, and hath no foison in it, because it is not basted by the cookery of the Popes court. The catechizing of children heer is unfruitful, because not performed by the sublimated, pedanticall instructers, the Jesuites; such reverend fathers as Ledesme, Vause, Davies, Cox, Cortin. The confirmation of our chiklien by our English bishops, though done in decent form, and with convenient praier, yet (forsooth) hath no sacred influence, because our bishops have no crozier stalle, no holy-water, no unctions, no chrisme, no binding of foreheads for seven daies, no delicate authoritie à DOMINO DEO NOSTRO PAPA. But, if an Eutopian, Chalcedonian, New-nothing-puffe-paste Titulado, come with faculties in his budget from Rome, where hee was miraculously created *ex nihilo*, then what gadding, what gazing, what prostration, to receive but one drop of that sacred dew! The least flash of light from the snuffe of a Roman lamp, out-shines and eclipseth all the twinkling petty sparks of the Church of England. Strange it is, that any of our nation should so basely degenerate, as to captivate their wits, wils and spirits, to such a foraine idoll gull, composed of palpable fiction and diabolical fascination; whose enchanted chalice of heathenish drugges and Laman superstition, hath the power of Circes and Medæas cup, to metamorphize men into bayards and asses. The silly, doting Indian nation, fall down and perform divine adoration to a rag of red cloth. The fond and brainesick Papists of our nation doo little lesse, when they adore the very cope and vestments (belonging to bishops and inferior priests) where they lie alone, falling down to them, and kissing them.

Damanus à
trois, de mor.
Cent. l. l.

But to view their new-intruding hierarchy a little neerer: Me thinks, the ministers of the province of Canterbury, now meeting in convocation, are very forgetfull, in suffering themselves to be destitute of a worthy member, the new-stampt Archdeacon of

The new Arch-
deacons of Lon-
don and Lanca-
shire.

London, M. Collington; who, by the experience he hath had in exercising jurisdiction over his fellow priests, as also in conventing the laicks, is able, if hee were called by authority to the synod, to give very good advice for reformation, or deformation of the Church of England, and laying it under the Popes sacred foot. The like defect also is in the province of York, by the absence of the Archdeacon of Lancaster, M. Clifton. No doubt these two new chips, cloven out of the old block of Rome, are the onely sound timber to build up our church, or rather to make worm wooden images, for besotted laicks to adore. I now hasten to acquaint you with another of their tales, and it is a crafty one.

Thomas Lee,
in Tract. de In-
vocat. et adorat.
Sanctor. Cap.
14. p. 212.

"A poore old man in Rome, lost his upper garment; and being unable to buy another, he came to the shrine of the twenty martyrs, and prayed aloud unto them to help him to rayments. At his departure, hee met with one at the very church dore, a priest, who delivered unto him, from the Pope, a purse, that had in it to the value of some twenty pound in silver. The poore man amazed, and not knowing what he meant, having never before in all his life time had the carriage of so much money; the priest told him, our holy father, the Pope, commanded me to deliver it unto the next man I met going into the church-dore, who shall have need of it, and bid him still pray to the martyrs. The poore man returned joyfully to his home, and ever after visited the place once a-day."

Risum teneatis,
Amici?

I see no reason why this should come into the legend of strange narrations, for that the Popes eares might easily bee so long, by the priests information, without any inspiration from heaven, as to take notice of the poore mans desire, who (belike) was not so cold for want of his coat, as hee was warme with zeale, to cry aloud for a new. But this by the way. I learne the Popes price of martyrs, namely, that they are worth pounds a-piece. Well might the Pope have rated them at a higher value, when as he yeerely, nay daily, getteth farre more in their names, by bawling their pretended supererogations of martyrs and saints.

Richard Stan-
nithurst, in the
Preface of his
book, intitled,
The Principles of Ca-
tholique Reli-
gion.

"In the yeere of our Lord 1612, one Lucia, an Italian virgin, came to a town called Multavia, in Bohemia, where is taught the Waldensian doctrine, first preached to them by one John Hus, and by him generally received, whereby the traditions of the Roman Church are at this day there utterly neglected. This virgin understanding of divers their strange opinions, that they denied purgatory, prayer for the dead, benedictions, and hallowings of water, the observing of fasting daies, and the like; she spake somewhat disgracefully of their religion; whereupon, shee was adjudged and appointed by the magistrate, to be burned in a field neere unto the towne where shee then remained. But the maid not willing to bee led by them unto the place of execution, they began to tie ropes about her, and so to force her along; but she often crossing herselfe, and invoking the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God, could not bee remooved by the strength of ropes, or oxen, or any power they used.

"At length shee vanished from them, and by a miracle was brought unto a nunnery, about an hundred miles off that place, where, to this day, shee liveth to praise God for her deliverance."

Hee that made this tale, had a chimæra in his brain.

Desinet in piscem mulier formosa superne.

Vid. Livium.

Hee had heard of an old fable of the Gentiles, of the image of Cybele, that was to bee brought into the city of Rome, but by no means would it stirre, though drawne with ropes, till there came a vestall virgin, that with her girdle drew it after her. This botcher patcheth such a one together, and fittens; that in stead of an immoveable image drawne by a virgin, here is a virgin that could not be drawne like the image. And so hee got a piece of bread and cheese, and came away.

A tale to some such purpose, is repeated of one Clarence, a sacred virgin, by the said author, the one as well to beleeved as the other : yet of both I say to the relation,

Stanniburst. 224
sup.

*Cui tua non odium, vel cui portenta cachinnum
Non moveant posthac, is mihi prodigium est.*

"One George Sephocard, a Scottish Protestant, happened to travaile into France, with a brother of his, where, seeing them one day goe in procession, this George scoffed at them, but accordingly he was rewarded ; for presently he fell to a pitifull screeching, and so died. The night after his death, John Sephocard, his brother and companion into that country, had a pitifull vision. He thought he saw a thousand divels in hideous and ugly shapes, tormenting his dead brother. But he, having had a faire warning thereby, changed his former religion and course of life, and became Catholick."

F. Baker in
his Watch-
word, p. 20.

Here is a procession of lies, one after another, *ordine longo*. But yet, that a man should smile at their procession, is not strange ; nor that he should die, no marvell ; nor that another should dream, no great wonder ; but they had best take heed, how they apply these narrations of unexpected deaths, lest the story of Blackfriars be aswell inverted upon them.

"Oswald Mulser, in the county of Tiroll, near Oënipont, would not be contented but with a priestly host ; hee received it no sooner into his mouth, but hee beganne to sink into the ground, which swallowed him alive."

Fitz Simon in
Justification
and Exposition
of the Sacrifice
of the Masse,
p. 100.

This is a meere fiction, intended for the magnifying of the priesthood ; it is the steme of their impious policy, *ad terrorem incutiendum, et fucum faciendum populo* ; to gull, terrifie, and amaze the simple ignorant people, and for bringing them into admiration of their priesthood, the sanctity of their attire, and the divine potencie of their sacrifice ; by this means to inchant and bewitch their innocent simple soules, and so to offer them up for a prey to their great idol at Rome. Surely our Saviour Christ ate of the same he gave to his disciples : but our sublimated priests will have finer bread then is made of wheat. I marvel none of our people in England sink into the ground, for daring to eate of the same bread with the minister.

"Francis Xavier, apostle of the East Indies, and Jesuite, as often as hee extraordinarily travelled in the Indies, so often did a crucifixe in Spaine, in his parents house, sweat. At length, when the B. Bauiere dyed, the aforesaid crucifixe, during a yere after, did every Friday sweat blood."

Hen. Fitz-Si-
mon in Lib.
predict. p.
123.

He had read, belike, the verse of the poet :

In templis sudavit ebur, pecudesque loquutæ infandum.

Or it may very well savour of some Ignatian fraud, as Anno 36 of Henry the Eighth, a priest did pronounce at Pauls crosse, and there confessed in publick, that he himselfe saying masse, pricked his finger, and bebloudied the corporas with the altar-clothes, purposing to make the people beleeve, that the host had bled miraculously.

"One Epachius, a priest, on Christmas Eve, being at mattens, resorted often to his owne house to drink, even after midnight, whereby hee was made incapable to receive the blessed sacrament on Christmas-day, as having, in the beginning thereof, at midnight, broken the fast. The chiefe of the towne beeing allied to him, not knowing of such his intemperance, desired him to sing masse. He, as he was presumptuous, undertook to celebrate. But as he received the heavenly host, suddenly he beganne to ney like a horse, to tumble and wallow on the ground, to foame at the mouth, and to deliver up the blessed sacrament, which he was not able to swallow : upon the disgorging of which, it was seene to be carried away visibly in the aire. The priest beeing in

Surius in vita
S. Godfridi, l.
3. c. 12.

this plight, he was by his kindred borne out of the church, remaining subject to the falling sicknesse all his life.

It seemes to me no more strange now to heare of a drunken priest, of the Jesuiticall fraternity, than when I read *Petrus Cluniacensis Abbas*, his book: in which hee reports, of some forty and odde Benedictin Monks, and Dominican Friers, that were most famous and notorious letchers; and Bredenbachius hath a catalogue of others, who were conjurers: *Thomas à Cantimprato*, of divers others, who were very wicked and carnall, one of which had his mouth and nose putrified, that none could abide to look on him; another of which, a fire from heaven consumed his hands and armes to his cubits, during his being at the altar. *Petrus Damianus*, a Jesuite, reporteth of six other priests that were Sodomites; one of which was hideously deformed with a canker; another devoured of a wilde beast, and the rest miserably ended their daies. All this is storied by their own writers.

Severall miracles have been done in England and elsewhere, saith F. Richard Conway, the Jesuite, by the honouring of saints reliques; which Protestants (saith he) will not heed.

"One M. Anderton, a Lancashire gentleman, was cured of the stone, by the relicks he had of F. Campian, the blessed saint; and beeing afterwards of another disease laid out for dead (*ut ei jam pollices ligarentur*) that his thumbs were bound, by the help of the said martyr, his flesh being laid on his body, he was raised to life."

What prodigies are these! What horrible impieties! Are they not *Antichristi* and *Pseudo-christi*, that breathe out these damnable forgeries? that shame not to affirm, that the bones of a traytor can raise a dead man, as did Elizeus his bones? or that the flesh of Campian could perform that which was so much admired in our Saviour himselfe, when he was amongst us in the flesh? How can they but blush at these things? When Father Campian came an apostle into England, there was an earthquake (say they) and so there might well bee. Nay, the great bell of Westminster toll'd of itselfe. But that I thinke is a lowd-ringing lye. When Father Campian was arraigned, Judge Aleph his finger burst out a bleeding through his glove, Thames overflowed, and divers other observations have our imposturizing renagadoes. But those saltlesse gulleries are no whit answerable to this their villainous and prophane fiction. If M. Anderton were thus strangely raised, it is marvell his friends in Lancashire speake not of it, with many of whom I conversed, and am sure (had it bin true) would have recited this tale in their discourse. Again, if reliques bee thus powerfull, I wonder they had not tryed, and brought some of them for the reviving of their priests, or any other of them that were killed at the Blackfriars; or why made they not use of some of them for the curing of Lady Blackstones, and such as were, by the mischance at the Blackfriars, sore wounded?

Campians saintship (sure) came but from Tiburn.* And yet what admirable vertue doe our Papists conceive to bee in the poore reliques of Story, Felton, Sommerville, Arden, Parry, Lopez, Garnet, Campian, and the rest of that saint-traitorly crue? The very paring of their nails doth help to doo miracles. Their pictures are so sanctified, that they are hung over the altars. And I much marvell, there were never strange wonders performed by the wood of the tree at Tiburn, considering it hath beene blessed by some of their sacred bodies, and bedewed with their last spritfull breath. But did you never heare of Campians girdle that hee wore? Then reade one Edmunds, his book of miracles, and that will tell you strange newes: *Hierosolyma (inquit) bene novit, ad quem pertenuit: Tiburnus non ignorat, qui locus erat ubi Pater ipse Campianus martyrio coronatus erat: Jerusalem (quod hec) knowes the girdle; for it girded about the se-*

* For the history of Campian, and the particulars of his execution, see Vol. I. p. 210. He came with Parsons to publish the Bull against Elizabeth, but was not so fortunate as to escape the search made after him.

Lib. 2. c. 2.

Lib. 1. collat. sacr. c. 11. et 43. Th. à Cantimprato. l. 2. de proprietat. Apam. part. 6. cap. 40.

Pet. Dam. spec. exempt. D. 1. F. 77.

Rich. Conway in Apol. p. 281.

This is like unto divers the blasphemous fables which you shal finde in the Revelations of Saint Bridget, lib. 4. ; or like that of Vegas the Friar, in comment. in cap. 6. Apoc. Aug. de vera relig. Gregor. hom. 29. in Evang. Paul Bombin. in vit. Mart. Campian.

Campians girdle.

pulchre of our Saviour. Tiburne knowes it, the place where Father Campian received his crowne of martyrdom; yea, saith he further, and the divels knowe it, who detest all such manner of geere, and whom it hath vexed so sore, that it hath put them to extreme torments. This girdle cured lepers, the blinde, the dumb, all manner of diseases. If the girdle that imbraced onely his bare apparell, could doo such miracles, what then should I think of the rope that imbraced Father Campian's holy neck? yet I heard of no wonders done by that. The besotted Egyptians, that kissed, with earnest devotion, the asse upon which the idoll Isis sate; and the lymphaticall priests of Baal, that lanced their owne flesh before an idoll of wood, had as much religion, and I think more wit, than our moderne reliquesauers have. God hath given them over to the spirit of illusion, to beleeve unsavory lies. Hee that sits in the heavens, laughs them to scorne. Almighty God, with his angels and saints, will have them (these mis-shapen moustiers) in derision.

Psal.

"A virgin, a kinswoman of mine, saith Conway, an English priest, was freed from the divell, by anointing herselfe with oyle, into which another priest that prayed for her, had mingled his teares."

Conway in Apoc. p. 290.

I think of late daies, our Romish priests have wept too little, and laught too much: and that is the reason we are pestered with more fiends, than friends. But when the long vacation is passed, and legall terme come in, we shall, I hope, have fewer of them come over. This covey of night-birds may shrowd themselves warme under the gentle wings of their holy father at Rome. I am sure, as yet they play the bats and moles with some of our countrymen, either trenching themselves in the mines of their labyrinths at home, or masking in their gold and silver abroad, in the fashion of brave gallants and ruffians. If, about Bloomesbury or Holborne, thou meet a good smug fellow in a gold-laced suit, a cloke lined thorow with velvet, one that hath good store of coin in his purse, rings on his fingers, a watch in his pocket, which he will valew at above 20 pounds, a very broad-laced band, a stiletto by his side, a man at his heeles, willing (upon small acquaintance) to intrude into thy company, and still desiring further to insinuate with thee; then take heed of a Jesuite, of the prouder sort of priests. This man hath vowed poverty. Feare not to trust him with thy wife; he hath vowed also chastity.

How to knowe or smell a priest.

One of them had such a watch, which he pilzed higher in my hearing.

But are priests teares so precious, that they are an antidote against the poison of divels? Oh yes; who knowes not that there is admirable power in a priests breath, his gloves, his hose, his girdle, his shirts, to scorch the divell; in his albe, his amice, his maniple, and his stole, to whip and plague the divell? Or hath none read of the dreadfull power of holy-water, hallowed candles, frankincense, brimstone, the book of exorcismes, and the holy potion, to scald, broile, and to sizzle the devill? of the dreadfull power of the crosse, and sacrament of the altar, to torment the divell, and to make him roare? If any think these strange, I referre him to a book written by D. Harsenet, now Bishop of Norwich, the title whereof I have set in the margin; and you shall finde, that one Father Edmunds, *alias* Weston, F. Dibdale, F. Thomson, F. Steinp, F. Tyrell, F. Dryland, F. Tulice, F. Sherwood, F. Winkefield, F. Mud, F. Dakins, and F. Ballard, priests and Jesuites, have stoutly and strongly confirmed all this long since. If the book cannot easily be gotten, I wish it might be imprinted again, for that the priests exorcising power is there fully discovered; and I have heard, that the most of these books which were formerly printed, were bought up by Papists, who (no question) took so much delight in reading them, that they burned as many as they could possibly get of them. But, to acquaint you with the strange power of a Catholique priests breath: Pliny, in his Naturall Story, tells us of a certaine people, that do *anhelitu oris enecare homines*, kill men with the breath that comes from their mouthes. And Leno, in the comedy, is noted to be of so strong a breath, that he had almost blowne downe the young gallant that stood in his way: but the poets tell us, that Avernus, or

A declaration of egregious Popish impostures, to withdraw the hearts of his majesties subjects from their allegiance, and from the truth of Christian religion, viz. t. 14, 15, 16, 18, and 20.

I think they do so with this book of mine: for the first impression, consisting of 1500, is vanished in a week.

and now I
sweat under
the presse
again.

Ovid.
Virgil.
Homer.

Mengus the
canonist giveth
us a rule, that
if the divell be
stubborn, and
will not obey
the formidable
exorcism of the
priest, then
that the priest
shall os suum
quamproximè
ad energume-
num admovere.

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hel, hath a more deadly breathing than all; so, as if a bird doo by chance flee over the Stygian floud, shee is quelled with the smell, and fells down stark dead. Now, the company of priests, for potency of breath, doo put downe Leno, hell, the divell and all; for, the divell, who can well enough indure the lothsome odors and evaporations of hell, is not able to endure the vapour issuing from the mouth of a priest, but had rather go to hell than abide his smell. And hence it is (I think) that, in their baptizing of children, the priest breathes and spets into the mouth of the child; which (no doubt) is very soveraigne, especially if the priests lungs bee but a little ulcerated or pockified. One William Trayford, and Sarah Williams (as you shall reade in Bishop Harsnet's book, p. 71.) beeing possessed, Trayfords divell rebounded at the dint of the priests breath, and was glad to get him out at Trayford's right eare, like a mouse, rather than he would come out jump against the priests mouth. Sarah Williams lay past all sense in a transe, beeing utterly bereaved of all her senses at once: the priest no sooner came neer her, but she discerned him by the smell. Was not this a jolly rank smell? Yea; but this is but a flea-biting to the priests gloves, his hose, his girdle, his shirts, which had in them a dreadfull power to burne out a divell, nay, all the devils in the parties aforesaid possessed. Which divels, because the priests knew so well their names, shall not heer go uncited: Lustie Dick, Killico, Hob, Corner cap. Puffle, Pume, Frateretto, Fliberdiggibbet, Haberdicut, Cocabatto, Maho, Kellicocam, Wilkin, Smolkin, Lusty Jolly Jenkin, Portericho, Pudding of Thame, Pour-dieu, Bonjour, Motubizanto, Nui, Ber-non, Delicate.* The chief of these divels, when one of the priests gloves was put upon the possessed's hands, durst not abide, but was scared, and went straight away. One of the great divels was slipt, ere he was aware, into Sarrah Williams legge; where, finding himself caught within the priests hose, which shee had on, he plunges and tumbles like a salmon taken in a net, and cries, *Harroho*, out alas! pull off, pull off; ease the poore divell of his pain (oh, a goodly ginne to catch a woodcock withall.) O but let me tell you of another trick, though not so cleanly as I could wish. One Fid (landresse to the divels incarnate) was washing a buck of foule clothes; amongst which was one of the priest-exorcists shirts. The divell comes sneaking behinde her, trips up her heeles, and pitcheth her on her hip. And wot you why the divell played her this unmannerly trick? Because she was washing out a foule shirt of one of the priests, which afterward served to whip the divell out of one of the possessed. There are yet other anti-dæmoniacks of speciall account, which, in the divell-hunting sport, are in stead of little beagles to fill up the cry. And there are the Amice, the Albe, and the holy Stole; very scorpions and whips indeed; and therefore beware, divell. F. Edmunds no sooner laid the amice upon Sarah Williams face, but a spirit puffed at it, and could not endure to let it alone. The sacred stole was but wound about anothers neck that was possessed, and it so pent and begirt the divell, that he stared, fumed and fomed, as he had been stark mad; and, in the end, was squeezed out with pure violence, as water out of a squirt. An heroicall combate was performed between Maho, one of the divels, and the priest, during seven houres long. Maho the divell stood upon his guard, would not come in. He was summoned by the priest, first, with *Salve Regina* and *Ave Maria*; then with Mengus club, with his whip,* with holy-water. Maho stood out, till the priest prepared himself to afflict him with the maniple; and then he came in, and yeilded to parley or dialogue with the priest in a milde and temperate

* Some of these epithets, which the priests and the impostors whom they had tutored, bestowed upon the possessing Dæmons, serve to adorn the gibberish of Edgar, while personating the character of Mad Tom. So strong was the belief in possession, that all the ordinary effects of Epilepsy, Hypochondria, or mental derangement, were, without hesitation, referred to the agency of the devil. Even the miseries of the strolling Bedlamite was not sufficient to attract compassion, unless he was persecuted by the foul fiend. It has been reasonably supposed, that the Dæmonologie of the reigning monarch went no little way in propagating a delusion which often led to the most horrible consequences.

* A Book of Exorcisms, called *Flagellum Dæmonum*.

voice. See the puissance of the Catholique Romish Church, whose silliest rag hath power to change the divels roaring note, and to cause him to speak in a milde moderate key. *Latet anguis in herbâ*: a man would little suspect, when he meets with the amice, the stole, and the maniple, wound up in a little casket, that there were such black hel-metall within them, to excoriate and lancinate a divell.

But I conclude: *Nisi nœniis, trivis et puppis usa esset Roma, panas jam diu dedisset*: If it were not for puppets, apes-faces, and gawds, with which Rome allures, masks, and disguises the poor silly people, she had long since sung the doletull song mentioned in holy writ; *Desolatione magna desolata est, et turpitudine ejus gentibus revelata*; that is, she had been clean desolate, and her turpitude had been opened to the eyes of all the world. As for all the tricks and juggling shifts (so often discovered) which the priests these exorcists do use; the exorcist driving the divell within the lists of the possessed body with come aloft, jack-an-apes, from one part to another; to what end doo all these their dealings tend, but to this project, that the standers by may be persuaded of some point of Popery, or of the priests power over the divels?

If any Christian in these daies hath been truly and really possessed by the divell, and if the Romish priests have truly such a scourging power to whip out divels, why use they it not effectually when most need is? For example: There was one M. Blewet, a man of great revenues, and one M. Fowell, a man no lesse famous, both of which either were or seemed to be indivelled. How often had they beene exorcized in this kingdom, by Francis Kemp, by Philip Woodward, by F. Edmunds, by F. Campian, by F. Sherwin, by F. Hil, by F. Walpool, and divers others, but especially F. Collington, and F. Warrington, who often promised they would make the divel speak in M. Blewet, and M. Fowell? But as those two had many sweating combates heere in England, so had they tormentings at Loretto, Sichem, Lile, Lovaine, Doway, and elsewhere beyond the seas; and all the consolation which they found, was to retorne worse, and farther from hope of deliverance, then when they went. The Popish sanctuaries rather added strength to the divels. And yet our Popish Thrasonicall priests will brag and boast that they can tosse a divell like a tennis-ball, or a dog in a blanket; whereat they are very nimble, especially in a possessed woman, in whose body they can canvas a divell by contrectation and certaine enchanting nips, making him ferret up and downe, from tongue to toe, from toe back againe to finger. Oh the formidable magicall power of sacred anointed hands, not onely infusing chastity but also sanctity by their touch!

I could heere set forth another theatre of their exorcising plots and attempts, to weet their practising with Grace Sowrebuts of Salinisburie, in the county of Lancaster; whom one Thomson alias Southworth, a priest, caused to accuse Jennet Bierly, Helen Bierly, and Jane Southworth, (the one of them her grandmother) of witchcraft, of the killing of the childe of Thomas Walsman, with a naile in the navil, the boyling, eating and oyling, thereby to transforme themselves into divers shapes: all which, at the Assises holden at Lancaster, proved to be false; and the said Grace Sowrebuts confessed, that she was persuaded and counselled to accuse the said parties of witchcraft, by M. Thomson, alias, M. Christopher Southworth, a priest, who complotted this, to gaine to himselfe some credit by exorcizing, or unwitching her. This confession of Grace Sowrebuts, with the examination of others, who discovered the priests impious dealings, was taken before William Leigh, batchelor in Divinity, and Edward Chisnall, Esquire, two of his majesties Justices of Peace in that county. Sure, these juggling exorcismes are but ordinary with priests and Jesuites: but such a malicious

All these tricks and many more were acted at Denham, in Buckinghamshire, about the yeere 1590.

This was done about 14 yeeres ago.

The examinations were put since in print by Thomas Fols, Esquire.

* The whole proceedings in this remarkable case are printed at length in "The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster, &c. being the next Tract in this Collection. Besides the accusations mentioned above, she alledged, that on her road from Preston, she was tempted by her grand-mother, Jennet Bierly, first in her

and bloody project of subornation, must bee a master-trick of some sublimed spirit, fit to instruct a novice assassine, and to read a lecture in the Jesuites dark chamber of meditation

For the next unmasking of our mirabilaries, I might adde the narration of certaine priests practising with the boy of Bilson, *anno* 1621. whose name was William Perry, sonne of Thomas Perry of Bilson, in the county of Stafford. But because there hath beene so lately a true discovery of the notorious impostures of certaine Romish priests, in their pretended exorcisme or expulsion of the divell out of the said young boy, I referre you to Mr Rich. Baddeley his book upon that occasion wiitten, and I entreat you to consider, whether they deserve not the reputation of the rarest mounte-banks of these times. * *Quam falsa dicendo voluptatem ceperint, eundem vera legendo et audiendo ammittant.*

About some seven yeeres since, two Catholique maids, forsooth the one called Mary, the other Amye, resorting to the Gatehouse in Westminster, took such benefit by the priests conversation with them, beeing sometimes sequestered from all the world besides, that they were cast into extaticall raptures, and possessed, not with divels, as the vulgar sort of those that undeigoe the priests hands, but with heavenly and glorious guests, pretended to enter into them, and inhabit them, to the great admiration of the stupid, gullilyed, Romanizing beholders; and to the no small renowne of the spirituall fathers then present; F. Benet, F. Aston, F. Palmer, F. Hanz. In very deed-law, they were sometimes posset with the Virgin Mary, other-while with Saint Michael the archangell, Saint John the Baptist, M. Molineux the martyr, and M. Roberts the martyr, and divers other, as well masculine as feminine saints; and in the name of these saints did give blessings to such as were present. The substance of which narration hath beene, upon the examination of one of their exorcists, confessed. Yet when this was blowne abroad, and began to breede scandall unto the Catholique cause, one of the maydes gave over her pretended guest, and the other was secretly conveyed away.

One of the foienamed priests calling himselfe Edward Hanz, *alias* Hance, borne at Lutterworth in Leicestershire, had a trick beyond all his fellowes, and durst aspire so high as to pretend himselfe to bee cast into a deepe admirable extasie, and to be corporally possessed (*horesco referens*), with the blessed Trinity. Neither was hee more abominably kuavish in this his impudency, then some of his owne coate were there blockishly foolish in their credulity. For some of them, when he acted this his Trinitarian rapture, came and kneeled to him, bringing oblations *triplici numero*, to present unto the Trinity, inhabiting this mounte-banke. Among which gifts presented by these lozels, one was gold coine, an oblation never unacceptable to those that pretend *creare Creatorem*. That it is no fiction in me to relate this their fiction, may appeare by the examination of the said Hanz, taken July 5. 1616 before the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Bishops of London, Lincolne, Rochester, Lichfield, the Deane of

own shape, and afterwards in that of a dog, to drown himself, in a pit of water which they were passing; but that, one came to her in a white sheet, and carried her away from the said pit, whereupon the dog vanished. Two witnesses were brought forward to swear, that Sir John Southworth, a kinsman of Jane Southworth's husband, believed her to be a witch, and avoided her in consequence of that belief. The reason which the girl alleged to have instigated the seminary priest to lay this plot against the poor women, was their conversion to the Church of England.

* This was a boy of fifteen years, at Bilson in Staffordshire, who, instigated by the Jesuits, counterfeited all sorts of convulsions, and publicly accused an old woman of having bewitched him, who was accordingly condemned to die. Bishop Morton, however, obtained a reprieve for her, and took the boy home; he read to him out of the Greek Testament, which threw him into violent fits. But the Bishop perceiving that verses out of the Greek poets had the same effect, was convinced of the imposition, and applied various kinds of torture to bring him to confess, which the boy bore with great firmness. At last it was perceived that he tinged his urine with ink; upon which discovery he divulged the whole plot, and by whom he had been instigated to act the part of a person possessed.

Westminster, and Sir W. Bird, doctor of the law: before whom he denieth not such his rapture and possession. For being then demanded, whether hee ever tooke on him to be possessed with the blessed Trinity, saying of himselfe, "I God the Father, that made the world. I God the Son, that redeemed the world, I God the holy Ghost, that sanctified the world, the glorious, blessed and undivided Trinity, doe give you my blessing, and doe command you to adore me:" And being further asked, whether some that were present did not adore him, and some other refused: hee answered, "That once or twice when hee was about those actions, or in the interim of them, he was in a transe, and his soule did see very supernaturall and admirable joyes: and then whether God Almighty or an angell (he will not meddle with it, but referreth it to God Almighty and his church) spake in name of God and the blessed Trinity, and gave a blessing, and that himselfe at those times had no power in himselfe, but that the organs of his body were used to a supernaturall purpose, and by a Divine or supernaturall cause: And as God did cause the aire to speake, in giving downe the law, saying, I am the Lord thy God; and did cause Balaams asse to utter words: so he might cause the organs of this examines body to speake as best pleased the will of his Divine Majesty: and the truth of the whole action, hee doth referre to God Almighty and his Church. And he doth say further for his part, that no humane person whatsoever living can use the name of the blessed Trinity; saying, I the blessed Trinity blesse you, without sinne, unlesse God Almighty do take the creature, and speake in him: and then it is Gods owne word, and not the word of the party. But touching adoration, there was no commandement of it to his remembrance: and if any did it, it was no more then due to the eternall Trinity, who may be adored in all places."

Verbatim, out of the examination.

This Hans with his logging transe, is so bold and blasphemous, as to allude unto St. Pauls rapture. 2 Cor. 12. 3.

This imposture, though never so odious and blasphemous, yet flew abroad, and was by some fostered as a true miracle. For confirmation whereof, report was added, that this holy priest thus possessed by the Trinity, walking up and downe the streets daily amongst the hereticks, yet none of them had the power to apprehend or lay hands on him.

Apoc. 13. 6.

It was foretold by Saint John, that their adulterous mother should have her mouth full of blasphemies; which to hershame, we doe now observe. And according to that of the apostle, "The Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times, some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisie, having their consciences seared with an hot iron:" which being the property of false prophets, it is more then manifest, who are specified, especially if we ponder those words of the apostle, "Such should forbid marriage, and command men to abstaine from meats," &c.

1 Tim. 4. 1, 2, 3.

To these two last blasphemies, it will not be amisse to adde what our Papists report of Katharine of Sienna. She, forsooth, and Christ Jesus, by an admirable kind of permutation, did enterchange their hearts; so that Christ had the heart of Katharine, and Katharine, that of Christ. Oh you ignorant and desperately superstitious Pontificians, who justify this fable! Observe you not? understand you not, that this miraculous chaffer of hearts subverteth a very principle of Christian religion, received also by your selves, which is, that *quod Christus semel assumpsit, nunquam dimisit*, what Christ did once assume, (to weet, by hypostaticall union) he never left the same.

In vit. Sanct. Katharinae de Sienna.

I cannot by the way omit a fantastickall relation of the Papists; which I read in Baronius, how the Virgin Mary visited Fulbert in his sickness, and gave him her breasts to sucke, much comforting him thereby. I believe, there escaped at that time some drops of milke from Fulbertus his lips, he having forgot to sucke, and doing it slubberingly and slovenly, and those driveling dropes are they which are kept in a silver image of the Virgin Mary, in her church at Rhemes, and are there worshipped.

Quere Baron. An. 1028. ff. 5.

There was of late, viz anno 1621, one imprisoned, either in the Gate-house or New-

prison, who called himselfe Thomas Newton: he pretended, he had a vision by night of the Virgin Mary appearing unto him, and saying, "Newton, see that thou doe not take the oath of allegiance." And being of this publicly examined, at the commission table, and asked, how hee knew it to bee the Virgin Mary which appeared? he answered, "I knew it was shee: for, shee appeared unto me in the forme of her assumption." Of what nature that idle vision was, the reader may finde in Master Widrington, who handleth the same, and doth in part discover the vanity thereof. A prettie drowsie, lowsh, loseling argument this was against taking the oath, much like the motives and proofes of the olde leaden sniers for: worshipping of their images, and contributing to their cormorant corban. And yet such muddie forgeries, and dog-tricke inventions, are vouchsafed to bee boulstred out now adayes by our superlative refined masters. Since I heard thereof, I asked a priest, what he thought of this vision of Newtons. He told me, that this Newton was a very holy man, and hath had other visions besides that, which if he should repeat, would make a man tremble and quake. "Hereticks (quoth he) have no such visions and heavenly apparitions." It is not obscure whom he meant by the word hereticks: and if he meane us Protestants, who have more reason to invert the phrase upon them; sure, we are not such listners to miracles. *Prodigia nulla favimus. signa nulla edimus* wee worke no wonders, wee shew no visions, as Acosta a Jesuite of theirs asseveriently delivereth concerning their owne Popish priests and apostles of the Indians.

Our Saviour Christ himselfe (as Saint Augustine observeth) hath given us a caution against these miracle-mongers, willing us to take heed that we be not deceived. Yea, their owne preacher Stella, whom of late time they have gelt, as they doe other their writers, when they meete with any thing that makes not for their turne, entering into this contemplation, taught publicly, that miracles now would rather be an hinderance unto faith.

"Katherine de Bus, dwelling in the city of Lille, in the countie of Flanders, in the yeare 1602, was possessed of the devill; insomuch that she could be scarce a quarter of an houre in peace, without being seized upon and troubled by the enemy: which made her speake (to the purpose) divers sorts of languages; as Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine. When they came neere unto her with the blessed sacrament of the altar, she writhed and wrested herselfe strangely, both with her legs, armes, and backe, gnashing her teeth, and grizly drawing of her mouth. The parents of this wench laboured so much, that she was divers times exorcised, sometimes by certaine fathers of the order of the Capuchins, sometimes by other priests: unto whom the wicked spirits answered in divers languages, confessing at that time, that they were seven in number. They spake divers injurious things, and told the faults of divers that were present. No means could bee used for the casting out of these wicked fiends, till there was found a man that was come from Montague, and had brought with him a piece of the oke of our lady. Whereupon one Sir Silvester Denny, who came to see her, tooke the said piece, and made the patient to eat it: and immediately after she had swallowed it, the enemy (who called himselfe Houilliu Clicquet and Clinquant) shewed himselfe in her throat, crying out, that he scorched and burned because of the wood which was eaten: and he added, that he was compelled to depart, and that there remayned in her as yet three. And being demanded, by whose merit and intercession he was to depart; the wicked spirit answered, Of Mary of Montague. Afterwards being demanded, what signe hee would give of his departure, he said, Hee would burst a glasse of the church-window. And immediately after, two of them departed with the said signe of bursting the glasse; and the third, saying that he was the last of ten, cried out, (in going forth) with a loud voice, *Vive N. Dame de Montague, qui nous fait sortir*: Honour be to our Lady of

Montague, who maketh us to depart. And from that day afterwards, the said Katharine remained whole and perfectly free from the possession and vexation of the enemy, enjoying all her limmes and senses, as freely as ever she did before." *In lib. intit.* Miracles lately wrought by the intercession of the glorious Virgin Mary at Montague; and translated out of the French into English, by Robert Chambers, priest, pag. 209, 210. *et seq.*

This buzzing relation, penned and published by the priests themselves, is suteable and (in a sort) parallel to that which Brerely tells us of divers who were dispossessed of devils, by kissing of the altar and the priests vesture. But I will cap this tale with a fresh bleeding new story, fetcht not faire without the walles of London.

A certaine Catholick collapsed lady (whose name I spare, for the respect I beare to her best friends) about some two or three yeeres since, departed from her husband yet living, and went over to Bruxels, and was admitted into the order of nunnery, I meane a nunne at large, one of the uncloystered sisters of the order of St Clare, and there she remained a while, till there appeared in her some passion incompatible with nunship. Shee came over into England a companion with a religious Jesuit, since of great note, F. D. and remaining afterwards an enlarged nun in London, was, as it seemeth, more visibly taken with a disease befalling that sexe, called *flatus uterinus*: and thereupon, that this matter might be carried the more cleanly, it was given out, that she was possessed with an evill spirit, which did make her belly swell like a woman with child. Certaine it is, many were deluded by this occasion; and the practice of the priests to hide her blemish, and gull poore people, was lewd and abominable. For a certaine Jesuite, whom I could also name, being a sinug, spruce, liquorish, young fellow, a fit man to bee called father (forsooth) at every word, and of no high stature; and so, fit to bee a disguised Olimpio, to act the part of Casina in Plantus, or to act a womanized Charrea in Terence his Eunuchus, put on the ladies or such like womanish apparell, with a veile over his face: and that some fond ignaro's about the towne might be persuaded of the priests power for the casting out of devils, they were suffered to come to her chamber, where were two other Jesuits, provided for the purpose, to act their parts in this comedie; who no sooner fell to their prayers, and began to use their exorcizing spels, but thereupon the supposed lady began to utter her mind both in Italian, Latin and Greeke; and pretended Hebrew also, which much astonished the standers by, they little dreaming of this deceit. Neither was this all; I will yet proceed farther in this comical narration. *

One of these, namely, F. D. about halfe a yeere after, was a chiefe actor in a true lamentable tragedy, yet memorable by a downfall.

* We must not suppose, that this melancholy and degrading superstition was peculiar to the Church of Rome. The following singular extract, from the works of a learned and pious divine, furnishes a strange example to the contrary, and shews that the mode of exorcizing alluded to in the text, was occasionally practised by the Protestants. "In Bewdly, a sanguine strong maid fell into strange hysterical fits. It began by stoppage of the *menstrua*. I gave her castory and *Rad. Ostrutii*, and *Sem. Dauci* on Forestus' recommendation, and she began to be better: But I being driven out of the country by war, and Mr Robert Morton, (Dr Morton's father) their pastor and physician, driven after me to Coventry, she was left without help, and grew worse than ever; till at last, I think, by a *furor uterinus ex corruptione seminis*, she seemed possessed by a devil: In her fits many could not hold her; she would be cast off her bed, and upon it again by a force far above her strength, as the beholders judged. They shewed needles and pins, and cords brought to her, none knew how, to kill herself. A Papist coming to cure her their way, she told them of his coming far off, and laught at his holy water. In her fits she would swear, curse, and rage against any that were religious, and hugg those that were vicious, and be merry with them. Thus she continued from 1642, till 1646 and 1647. When I returned home, I went to see her, and prayed once by her, and came to see her no more. At last, my praying neighbours, encouraged by their success for others, resolved to joyn with some of Bewdley, to fast and pray by her, till she was recovered. While they were praying, she was usually in violent rage, and after thanked them; after many days, in midst of the day, whilst Mr Thomas Ware of Kedermister was praying, she fell on the floor like a block, and having lain so a while, cryed out, "He is gone; He is gone; the black dog is gone!" and she never had a fit after.

"But coming to our lecture, two miles, she was as uncomfortable as ever; crying to me, "Oh, you know not

It was wont, when an interlude was to be acted in a countrey towne, the first question that an hob-naile spectator made, before he would pay his penny to goe in, was, Whether there be a devil and a foole in the play? And if the foole get upon the devils backe, and beate him with his cox-combe till he rore, the play is compleat. Heere is foole upon foole, but *extra scenam*, off from the stage, to wit, the witlesse, gaping, admiring beleeving spectators. But to make this pageant compleat, this disguised divell must roare; and that was, by the bringing the consecrated host in a pix, and applying it under the head of this she-knave-Jesuite, or he-lubberly-lady. Then his devil-ship raves and struggles, as if hee would rather goe to hell againe, then indure the tormenting presence of the holy pix. Divers other feates were performed upon this occasion, which I will spare to declare, till I receive command on the one side, or challenge on the other.

Whether she ever heard of her selfe thus acted in her absence, I know not, but sure I have heard from a credible author, that she was active, or rather passive, in one tragicall part of this mummery; which (mee thinkes) shee should rather some other had performed it for her. Forsooth, these medicinall devil-purgers were not to seeke for the device of the consecrated potion (in imitation of that which was given to Sarah Williams at Denham, before mentioned :) this potion must make her vomit up no lesse than seven devils: and to that end, she was let downe into a darke roome, and there shut up for a time without light: and, after the operation of this devil scowring vomit, light was let in, and seven toades shewed to her in the place, as re-gorged by her, and being no lesse then (doubtlesse) dreadfull devils.

This last circumstance I doe not averre upon knowledge, as acted by them; but rather thinke it given out by the partie and others, to pretend that some great miracles have beene wrought in her, or by her, that shee might have the better pretence to have beene resembled unto Mary Magdalen, out of whom seven devils were cast. Leaving then *in medio*, this par-breaking of crawling fiends, till I receive a more certain notice, yet well assured am I of the truth of the rest, by information from those that were very inward with the chiefe actors. And that hereupon she carrieth the name of working miracles. And indeed well may it be so said, that she and her copes-mates, the priests, doe worke miracles; for, to my understanding, it is little lesse than a miracle, that any of our nation, uncapable of Bedlam or a Bable, should be stricken with such stupiditie, as to beleve in these jugglers, and Romish mountebanks.

If I should heere recount all the lies and tales of priests, concerning the multitudes that have been dispossessed of devils, by the helpe of a whole bevy of ladies; our Lady of Montague, our Lady of Loretto, our Lady of Hales, and our Lady of Sienna: no reasonable volume would receive or containe them. I referre him that would spend idle time in idle fables, to Robert Chambers his booke before cited, and T. P. his booke, intituled *The History of our Blessed Lady of Loretto*, and to Lipsius his dotages of our Lady of Hales, and of Montague, and to J. Heigham, his booke intituled, *The Lady of Sienna*; and you will need no other register of their impostures, no golden legend.

how bad I am!" And I ignorantly told her, what comfort her deliverance might give her: But she continued her self-accusing. But hear the worst.

"She being poor, many good people in charity looked to her in her fits: But above all, one young man, as far from being suspected of any hypocrisie, error or vice, as any in Bewdley, was more with her than the rest: and seeing her, in her fits, toss her naked body about, she being strong and comely, his lust was provoked, which he exercised on her; but *prætermissendo amen*; which easing her for the time, enuiced him the more to do it oft, as an act of (wicked) compassion; which did but more entangle her disease. When frequency had hardened him, at last after her deliverance it was made known: And, O the advantage that Satan got by it! the sadness of those that prayed for her: So that we durst not name it as an answer of prayer, lest the mention should serve to reproach. For my part, I think that a real possession was added to the *furor uterinus*, in punishment of their sin. He married her, and professed deep repentance; but I advised them for all that, not to receive him to church communion."—BAXTER'S *Certainty of the World of Spirits*. London 1691. p. 199, *et seq.*

Doting Metaphrastes, fabulous Lippoman, lying and voraginous **Jacobus**, superstitious Antoinne, confused Vincentius, have so cloyed the dwellers upon earth with delusions and lies, that (for very shame) the Papists have exploded and pared out of their Portesses and Breviaries, many and sundry of their fabulous histories, being indeed forced thereunto by the derisions and outcries of Christians against them.

Yea, Claudius Espenceus (one of their owne) tells us that their Legends and Portesses were as full of idle vanities, as any stables could bee full of dung. What fruit was there in those things, whereof you now are ashamed?

Espe. in 2 ad
Tim. et digres.
l. c. 11.
Rom. 6. 11.

And why I pray you by the same reason, and upon the same shamefull necessity, are not the rest of the like unsavoury drosse, and of scaring of lewd lies, swept away out of this and other their like bookes, or rather the pamphlets themselves cast into the furnace of expurgation or prohibition, and abolishment, that the sunne may no longer see such hideous patchery of fables fostered among Christians.

Who (mee thinkes) could bee so bewitched, as bee borne in hand, that a house was carried in the aire from Palestina to Loretto; that a Dalmatian priest comming many miles to Loretto, and carrying up with his hand his bowels quite pulled out of his belly, by one only prayer to our Lady there, was instantly healed; which is as true and trustie, as was our *Dalmatian ventriosus Marcus Antonius*; that a blockish image in a wall, doth worke as high miracles as ever were performed by the eternall Sonne of God; as in the puppetry of the images of Sichem, &c. appeareth by the particular narrations of huge, dowie, mightie wonders done by them; that at this day are to bee scene at Amiens, at Arias, at Paris, at Rome, two heads of St John the Baptist, two tayles of our Saviours asse, the milke of our blessed Lady; that Saint Francis had the prints of our Saviours wounds, and with a prayer of his, caused a dish of roasted larkes brought to the table to bee eaten, instantly to flee away; that at the great lake of Ulster, Saint Patrick (who chased all the venome out of Ireland) is one day, by the priests, yet visible, and that they have then conference with him, as Numa had with the nymph Egeria; beside that, there is a wonder-working purgatory of his; that a Carmelite came lately to Paris, and there saying masse, every day at the elevation of the consecrated host, himselfe was still elevated or hoysed on cock-horse into the aire, which is very confidently reported by the priests now in London, and one of them swore to mee that hee saw it; that F. Stevens (a priest now in London) hath a crosse whereunto are affixed some reliques of a Tiburne martyr, one M. Maxfield; which crosse being stolne from him, and carried one day almost fiftie miles (as was knowne) the night following, came backe of its owne accord, and he found it in the morning under his beds head, as is most judiciously and authentically of late recorded by our aforesaid chronicler of Coxcombria to Heigham; this crosse surely must be a kinne to a stone in Anglesey, reported to bee of that propertie, that how farre soever a man carried it in the day, it would returne of it selfe at night into the island; that the very sight of Garnets straw hath made at least five hundred in our kingdome become good Catholikes; which, if it bee true, I see no reason but every thresher in England should become a Romanist, because they deale with straws, which have as perfect an effigies of F. Garnet, as any other straw, without equivocation, ever yet had; that M. Gennings being executed at Tiburne, his bellie being opened, his bowels cut out, and his heart in the executioners hand, yet the martyr cried out, *Sancte Gregori, ora pro me*; holy Gregorie, pray for me; that the same *holy anointed thumbe*, being touched by a virgine after his death, of it selfe came off, bone and flesh, from the rest of the hand; that when one M. Dakins, a priest, executed at Tiburne, was a dying, a certaine virgine, a kinswoman of his, though many miles remote, longing after some of the martyr's flesh, shee not knowing how to obtaine her desire, yet being full of faith, one of M. Dakins holy toes did miraculously yeeld it selfe into her virginal hands. (A judicious soothsayer would ghesse

T. P. p. 40.
P. P. p. 181.
182.

Vid. Ful. Andros. Naucles. C. Osterum, et alios
In the lives of the Martyrs, translated by Kinam
F. Sales in his Introduction to a Devout Life.
Fitz-Simon in lib. citat.
A Carmelite curvetting.
If any man want an hackney to carrie him fiftie miles, let him hire F. Stevens galloping crosse

Vid. The True Christian Catholike, p. 161.

Vid. a booke intit. The Life and Death of Thomas Gennings, p. 80.
Page 80
A Tale of Tom Thumb.

Heigham, ut sup. p. 140.

Steld of
meicles, p. 25
¶ Parsons, a
tick Locke
equivocator

I thinke, some-
times visible
gold will make
a man invisible.

G. A. P. in his
book called
The Rules of
Obedience, p.
12.
G. A. P. p. 41.

J. Billingham,
a priest in Lon-
don, the rela-
tor

Tursl. it. Sa-
ver. 1. 6. c. 4.
Bar in ann.
1550.

Bacon, in An-
not. in Marti-
n's log Rom.
A. 1. 1. 9.
In it Ed-
mund Hin.
Messingham in
his protest, p.
162.

Tert. de preser-
v. hereticos.

that this toe had been in private much employed in tripping Sellengers round;) that Robert Parsons could make the devill speake in any English bishop or heretike whomsoever; (Doctor Sheldon protesteth, that he heard him speake the same.) That Robert Parsons being apprehended by a pursuivant at Northwich, in Cheshire, and put into a chamber, fast bolted and locked upon him, the doore did three times together miraculously, and of its own accord, flie open; that one Father Scroop, a priest, being in a gentlemen's house in Lancashire, and certaine pursuivants comming to search for him, notwithstanding he was in the midst of the rounne with them, yet he became invisible to the said searchers; that one Katharine Riland in London, with eating one bit of flesh forbidden by her ghostly father, was instantly choaked; that one Thomas Vincent, of London, scoffing at a priest saying masse, forthwith fell mad, and, for many dayes after, was heard pronounce no other words but these, O holy priest, O holy masse, that old F. Chambers taking the confession of a nun at Bruxels, (her name Mistresse Stan) shee was metamorphosed, and seemed unto him a flame of fire; that whensoever a certaine priest put his finger nigh Saverius his heart, there issued out bloud and water; that holy Father Philip Nerus, upon a certaine night, as he was walking, and falling into a certaine ditch, was presently caught by the haues of his head by an angel, and so delivered; that an image was crucified at Beitum, and did bleed; that the holy candle at Arias burneth perpetually, and yet is no whit wasted; that the devill held both Saint Edmunds his hands, that he could not make the signe of the crosse; that M. Christopher Cusake, an Irish Jesuite, had a crucifixe which could speake! A prating crosse is a prettier commoditie than a pariet.

Are these gracelesse saltlesse gulleries either to be beleaved or countenanced? Is it possible that men of wit, understanding and spirit, should bee intoxicated and carried away with such muddy devices; the end of which is, *non ethnicos convertendi, sed ipsos evertendi*, not to convert and bring any unto the knowledge of the truth, but rather to make them wallow in the mire and sinke of errour, in which themselves have long stucke fast? And by reading of all which you may finde, that the devill hath no greater cunning, nor prevaileable art, then to support the Romish religion by such palpable, grosse, filthie, and idle inventions. What is there in them (for the most part) more then in the poetickall fictions of the gods, the fables of Homer, Herodotus, Ovid, and the rest? All is but the deceits of lying tongues, the presumption and bragging of inchanters, and the ceremonies of augurers, pythonists and arts-masters in incantations; against whom the poets themselves had many invectives, and condemned the priests of that time, as we doe the friers of this age: as Euripides,

Curip.

Hei mihi! versipelles ut homines semper odi, qui componentes injusta, deinde fraudes adornant.

Priests have
their agents.

The examples before-recited, shew the collusions the priests use, upon pretence of miraculous power; nor is their diligence lesse in other meanes, which they use by daily solicitations for their owne advantage; every priest of action, and any abilitie, having two assistants assigned unto him, whose office, like the familiars of the inquisition, is to straggle abroad, for the bringing in of game. These subservient procurers are laickes, and though not able to maintaine argument, yet pie in by-corners, nay, and put forward in open places, to shake and trie any weake wavering Protestants; and if they can get but to entertaine conference, and give eare to their boasts and insinuations, then they bring them to bee better hammered upon the anvill of their great masters. Sometime they deale with tender game, scarce yet fledged, I meane, yong youths, whom they inveigle, to transport to the nests of their seminaries. I have given you some examples before, and could afford you more. If, at the schooles of Westminster, Pauls,

Winchester, Eaton, Christ-Church, or Suttons Hospitall, there chance be some young man discontented, for the losse of a place in the Universitie hee hoped for: or in the Universities, some young graduate, halfe distracted or discouraged, upon the losse of some fellowship, or other promotion hee aspired unto, oh then there is matter to worke on; none of these, I warrant you, shall escape without promise of better preferment; there needes not one to informe them what provision is made beyond the seas at Saint Omers, Doway, Lisbon, Lovaine, Spaine, Rome, for all such novices; what beautifull colledges, stately edifices, large revenues thereunto annexed; what great libertie, what good companie, what practice of pietie.

Fistula dulcè canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps.

Like the fowler, they can allure with divers these pleasing notes, to tempt to their lure, and bring the foot within the snare; *Sed terminus istius gaudii mors est*, the end of this Ben. proves the most deadly and dangerous. Some of their scouts have I knowne about the Universitie of Oxford, as Kinsman, Ford, Mason; and divers others could I point, at this present, here in London, who indeed are no lesse perillous and pernicious then the priests themselves. If they can finde any, for extraordinary pregnancy of wit, learning, parentage, friends, especially possessions, fit to serve their turnes, and condescend to their expectations, by no meanes must such scape their fingers.

Nor are the priests to seeke for other shifts to wrest and wing from their poore disciples, wherewithall to maintaine their owne faction, yea, and in fashion too, glittering in the best sattins, and ruffling in the principal new stuffes, as who now-a-day so brave as they.

A gentlewoman of the parish of St Giles in the fields, neere Holborne, was of late time sicke, and being one that was well inclining and warping toward the Popish pale or bent, sent for a priest, a man very famous about this towne, to come unto her, and assist her with his best comfort and counsell; who understanding her desire, was soone with her; and being come, she acquainted him how the case stood between Almighty God and her distressed soule; and having laid her selfe open unto him, after the forme of Romane confession, her ghostly father, the priest, told her, that shee should not neede to take any farther thought or care of her soule, but commit all to him, his absolution would bee available, and by prayer himselfe would intercede for her. Yet one thing farther hee must tell her, that shee might bee more certaine of mercy and indulgence, if there were some care had for the saying of so many masses for her after her death, at the high altar. The woman listened to this, and liked it very well. Yea, but the priest had not said all; these masses (he told her) could not bee had without a round summe of money. Shee demanded of the priest, what the whole charges might be. He told her. About some thirtie pounds. The poore gentlewoman answered, Shee had not so much money in her custodie; but plate she would deliver him, sufficient to raise such a summe; and accordingly she delivered it forthwith to his possession; who, having met with such a booty, had little desire to visit any more his sicke patient. The woman, within a short time after, grew so weake in her bodie, that she was past hope of recovery, and then sent againe for her spirituall doctor to come and administer some of his ghostly physicke to her. But my gentleman had taken paines enough before, and by no meanes would be brought the second time unto her. A good caveat heere was for her and others to take heed of such cogging and insinuating companions. It pleased God this gentlewoman recovered; and, making good use of that abuse shee received by this priest in her sicknesse, she altered her religion; and now, to the comfort of divers worthy and painefull ministers about the citie, she is become a good church-woman, and spends the most of her time in God's service, going ducly unto sermons, and following nothing so much as her devotions.

How a gentlewoman of St Giles in the fields, neere London, was cheated by a priest.

The priests insinuating with one Mistris Read, and fishing for her estate. Fisher, one of the Jesuites. Doctor White, Deane of Carlisle.

The priests visiting Master Netlam, to get from him his land.

In summer 1623, a gentlewoman named Read, lying at that time sicke at Bednall-greene, neere London, and having land of inheritance, of above five hundred pounds *per annum*, was vehemently set upon by some Jesuits and priests, insomuch, that she was inclinable to referre her estate to their disposall. Whereupon, some of her neere kinne, repaying to a doctor of divinitie, of good note in London, informed him how farre the priests had wrought with her. Whereupon he, by conference and instruction, did set her right againe (as, by Gods blessing, hee hath confirmed divers others.) Else it is very probable, that the greatest part of that estate should have flowne beyond the seas, as much other our countrey goods and riches doe, to underline the nunneries.

In August last, one Musket, and another priest, came to Francis Netlam, lying very sicke in Master Dawsons house in Fetter-lane, and understanding of some lands or possessions he had to a round value, inquired of him how he disposed of these his revenues, and to whom he meant to leave them after his decease. He acquainted them, that he had brothers and sisters, poore, and of his owne religion (to weet, Papists) who did expect them. But these insinuating priests, more regarding themselves then their disciples, dealt so farre with him, that he was content to give his lands to themselves, or whom they should nominate, so to bee at their disposing. Which granted, Master Muskets care was such, that a will was drawne, and the lands thereby conveyed to the priests, or to some other for their use. Thereupon, returning to the house where this sicke Catholick lay, they requested the woman of the house (Mistris Dawson, her husband not being within) to be a witnesse to the said will. But shee, understanding the contents thereof, refused so to doe; neither would she suffer them to goe to the sicke mans chamber, unlesse their intent were better. So soone as her husband came home, she told him what the priests would have done. Thereupon, her husband intreated the lecturer of the parish, and another minister, to perswade the said Francis Netlam not to bee so foolish and unnaturall, as to give his land from his needie brethren, to these cheating, coozening, and colloquing priests. The sicke man followed the counsell of these ministers, in whom hee found more plaine dealing then in the other his spirituall fathers. And notwithstanding he had beene long misled by the said Romish impostors, he desired to bee prayed for (according to the forme of our English church) in Saint Dunstanes in the West, at their next Wednesday lecture; and further, to expresse his conformitie to our church, he received the blessed sacrament with us before his death.

Hence then observe, how industrious our priests are, not onely to get proselyte men and women, but also proselyte lands and possessions; notwithstanding all their pretended povertie, *bonus odor lucri*, they will omit no opportunitie to get what gaine they can. I know this to bee true, that in those parts where I have lived, and where are most Papists of any part of this kingdome; there is not a Popish gentleman in all the country, but there is a priest to his steward, and disposer of household and revenues; neither doth the owner let, set, or sell any land, without the approbation and consent of these pretended spirituall guides. And that indeed is it which causeth Papists the more to abound, for that a landlord, led by such directors, will not suffer any one quietly to live upon his land, but such as the three-quarter lord priest taketh to bee his holy children, and will be readie to doe him service. A fine engine to wheele about, and scruce whole families and townes, by the pulley which twineth the long rope of spirituals reaching out *ad temporalia*.

Another of their engines is, if an offender come to one of these priests to confession; as they enjoyne him, for one part of his penance, to say so many pater-nosters, so many creeds, so many ave-maries, by scores every day; so likewise they impose on his head a pecuniary mulct, hee must pay into the hands of some other priest, fortie, thirtie, twentie, ten, eight, or five pounds, (according to the abilitie of the partie,) to be distributed by the said priest, a judicious man, in *pios usus*. Which money once fingered, is very

judiciously shared betwixt these two shriving priests, who, (Judas-like,) will have no waste, *et tenentes marsupium, tenentur à marsupio*.

Againe, that their lampes may want no oyle, their pockets no weight, how doe they gripe, exact and extort from his poore disciples! If a shoemaker, or a taylor, that hath nought but what he earnes at their fingers ends, chance to come under their fingers, his money is ill got, unlesse hee offer to his holy father a third or fourth part of his gaine. If a countrey farmer bee so rich in tenement or land, that hee have but two oxen to yoke, and three kine to milke, before the yeeres end, one of the beasts must be sold, to buy the honest priest a new suite, perhaps of swaggering sattin. Nay, I have knowne a taxation such, that out of a mans meanes worth tenne pounds per annum, the priest must perforce have forty shillings a yeere at least. And in a great shire, where I have conversed, there is not a man of that religion, of fortie pounds a yeere revenue and upward, but hee must, at his owne charge, keepe a priest in his house: perhaps some poore neighbours that are benefited hereby, contribute some small matter toward it.

Thus, while they pretend, that they are forced to creepe into private houses for feare of persecution, they carry more dominion over the family, then any parish priest doth in those countries where Popish religion publicly prevayleth.

I should have commended Mr Muskets wit, if hee could at so easie a rate have purchased Mr Netlam's inheritance. Sure, it was a better plot, and his time better spent, then in writing and forging his booke, called, *The Bishop of London his Legacie*. A pamphlet, that I much wondred who could have so little wit, and lesse grace, to be author thereof, till that an incendiary brother of his, (who tooke dislike at it,) confessed unto me; and F. Musket himselfe, in some sort, acknowledged his paines taking therein. *O perfrictam frontem!* What impudence was heere joyned with ignorance! How lewdly did hee and his precursor Kellison bely him, who is now as glorious a starre in the heavens above, as hee was a shining lampe in the firmament of the church heere on earth! *Eυρυς ὁ δάκρυ ἢ κτάνωρ*, (as Sophocles commended Philoctetes.) He fought a good fight, both in defence of the faith, and in expugnation of heresies, schismes and seditions brought in by these our adversaries. And as Augustine spake of Cyprian, *Multi erat meriti, multi pectoris, multi oris, multæ virtutis*: Hee was worthy, wise, well-spoken, religious, constant, and of all faithfull Protestants in England, I thinke, most unfitly chosen for an object whereon to clap so deformed and ugly a visor, as this pretended waving to Popery. His most pious and constant departure hath beene faithfully and particularly declared by his worthy, truly patrizing, sonne at Pauls Crosse.—Against the syncritic of which relation, I doe not heare that any of those snarling whibbling curres can barke. If they dare open their snapping mouthes, let them doe it whilst men live that may refute them, and not tarry till one hundred yeeres after, when they may fitten what they please upon times of yore, as they doe without contrioll upon some olde blinde out-worne pretended saints of their owne shaping.

Now whereas they seeke to get proselytes by these monstrous forgeries and trumperies, for my owne part, I confesse, that upon the first view and reading of it, I was somewhat mooved with wonder, and withall with possibilitie of credence; which made mee the more diligently to enquire of it; especially reading there, that the bishop was reconciled to the Church of Rome, by a certaine priest there not named. I curiously searched among the priests, to learne who that might bee. They named to mee F. Preston: but him I find to have constantly disavowed it, on examination: and otherwise I found good cause to thinke, that hee spake his conscience in that deniall. Then was I posted off to F. Palmer, a Jesuite, and that hee was the very man: but asking him very seriously and privately about it, hee told mee, hee never saw the Bishop of London. And verily, if this Jesuite did meane to equivocate with mee, hee had no reason to speake doublely on that part, but rather to avouch, that himselfe did that deed, or knew who did it, that hee might the better hold mee in beliefe of that

The author of
the Bishop of
London's Legacie.
1. Med.

Non cometa
fuit sed Stella.

Sophcl.

Aug.

narration. In fine, I found this tale to be nothing but a comicall fiction : and on better weighing this ridiculous shamelesse pamphlet, so belying integritie, so out-facing the open sunne with audacitie, and so farre degenerating from all shew of veritie ; I concluded, that the frame could not bee sound, which was built upon such a rotten foundation ; nor that religion sincere, which hath slanderous leasings for her daily food. As Tertullian saith in the behalfe of the Christians first persecuted by Nero, that he that knew Nero well might easily understand, *non nisi grande aliquod bonum à Nerone damnatum* : it was like to bee a good thing which Nero opposed. So when I view the shamelesse slanders which such jugglers lay upon that reverend Bishop, I must needs say, that I revered his memory the more, and might well thinke him the more constant in his religion, by their fayning him to be wavering.

Tertul. in Apologet. cont. Gentes.

M. Auderton.

Yet, thus I must needs testifie of one the most sufficient and ingenuous of their priests, that, notwithstanding it might make somewhat against their common cause, he plainly told mee, he was sorrie that ever any such booke should bee suffered to come forth ; for it would doe them more hurt, then any booke they ever wrote : meaning, as I take it, that the forgerie in it was too palpable. But I finde, that the booke is subscribed by publike authoritie and particular commendation to it, nor will they inflict any censure upon the lewd father of this monstrous lye. And hence it is, that of late they have altered the title, and changed the frontispice into a more dark phrase, making it a *prosopopeia*, or stage-playing patch of rhetoricke.

Doth Mr Musket, who hath foure or five hundred, as I have heard him boast, that come to his chamber to a sermon, feed them with no better fare then such windy, light, empty, nay noysome exhalations ? I can then call it but, The dreamed bread of the slug-gard. They may eate, but not be satisfied. Perhaps he may parallel this and greater fictions out of the golden legend, when he preacheth upon any by-saints day.

But I heare, mee thinks, the noise of our hooting *noctua's*, the priests and Jesuites, blind guides, and lovers of darknesse more then the light, who are so farre from beleev-ing that any cataract or filme is on their eyes, that they are rather perswaded themselves are the most quick-sighted. They know and see a farre off, that although, *non adhuc miserendi tempus, non adhuc exultandi dies*, the time to have mercy, their appointed day be not yet come, yet they shall have a time and a day, when *ve vobis*, woe be to their adversaries. Their best dayes of late, perhaps, seeme to them but a leaden, or at best, a silver age : but a priest now in London told me sometime this Lent, (and it hath beene the merrie tune of many more,) that they should ere long have golden dayes.— Many of the Jesuites have of late cried, woe to England. Their meaning is lockt up in a misery, and how they will explicate themselves, I know not. *Nocte dieque suum gestant in pectore testem ; though they scape restem.*

The wise words of him that wrote the word of comfort.

Let mee then premonish the ignorant, and feeblor sort especially, who are like weak and silly flyes, that they take heede how they bee caught in such cobwebs, wherein the chiefe thred they spinne, is, that none out of their church can bee saved. And further, let them beware, lest they deprave their ingenuous disposition, in tampering with tooles that may cut their fingers, and so venture into that web of hereticall fraud, which they want strength of wit to breake thorow. I know, that whom nature or education hath made him simple, heresie will make proud.

Erasm. in Spong. advers. Iulien.

For who more insolent than the ignorant ? Which Erasmus noted long agoe, and may well be applied unto many of our English Papists, who when they might bee informed *de vita Christi, et de via Christiani*, they are resolved afore-hand not to be satisfied.

Esu. 5. 13.

Oh the blindness of understanding of those that are called Lay-Catholikes ! Just here were the complaint of the Prophet, " My people bee in captivitie, because they bee without knowledge." Surely, when I beginne to weigh and meditate on the abuses that our kingdome in generall, and these distorted members thereof in particular, sus-

taine by those hornets and drones who flie up and downe, stinging and wounding with the wily insinuation of error, sucking and gathering hony in our gardens, yea, resting upon divers faire flowers; my heart beginnes to bleed, my bowels to yearne, and my soule is plunged in much heavinesse. For woe is mee! Are wee not all sonnes to one father? all subjects to one king, *cujus sub umbra suaviter quiescimus*, we rest under his shade, and his boughs have beene long distended for our securitie? How grievous, alas! is it now to him to heare, that any his children and servants should bee a prey to the harpies of Rome; that vipers should eat out their substance, and dispoile them of the means of the true knowledge of Christ! All these things, unlesse they keepe you still muffled, you may easily discern. Are they not lords, not only over your faith, but also your inheritance, although, according to the rule of their canonist, *Prælatu Ecclesiastica ministerium habet, non dominum*. Their office bindes them, nay, the Jesuites vow tyes them, to service, rather than dominion. How is it possible, me thinks, that they should bring you to that servitude as I finde they doe, so subjugate your understanding, and imprison your wils, that if they command any thing, *quævis ad interitum animæ et corporis*, you are ready to obey them? and doe they not accordingly make vassals and slaves of you?

1 Pet. 5.
Linwood.
The Priests
and Jesuites in
their bookes
pretend that
they are ser-
vants to those
over whom in-
deed they lord
it.

Yesterday being Good-Friday, this present yeere 1624, they made some of you in the morning, before day, goe in procession to Tiburne, in penitentiall manner, the forme of which (if duely observed) is for a man to walke naked from the girdle upward, and scourge himselfe with a whip. But for the most part, your processions in time and place of persecution, as you call it, is nothing else but a pilgrimage, going bare-foot, or without shooes, unto the sacred shrine of martyr-hallowed Tiburne. And as for whipping-cheere, it is not yet growne into that publike ostentation among us, as to be acted in the streets and highwayes, that must be looked for when they get the magistrates sword into their hands, yet within walls, they can act it upon a stage visible enough. For on Good-Friday was twelve-month, at a place of your solemne meeting in London, you made one whip himselfe so long, till he swooned, and was thought to be past hope of recoverie, so that hot water was instantly fetched to revive him. This my self did then see, together with two or three hundred more spectators present at that meeting. At Bruxels (as a priest told mee, saying he saw it, and boasting of the meritorious worke) a woman, about a yeere since, so cruelly scourged herselfe, that she died of it. Is this mortification, to murther our selves, lest sinne murther us, to abolish our life in the flesh, lest we should live after the flesh? I am no enemy unto austeritie of life, and taming or chastening our bodily sinfull members, to bring them in subjection to the spirit, to abate the lusts of the eye, and pride of life, to depose the tyrant sinne from his dominion; whatsoever tendeth this way, for the better whetting of our members to become weapons of righteousness, I wish were more, rather then lesse used in our Reformed Churches; so it be without the opinion of merit, without publike ostentation, without excesse and unnaturall hating and disabling our corporall faculties. Such kinde of enormous flagellant tragedies, prove sometime as absurd remedies against sinne, as a philosopher did bring against sicknesse; who, visiting his diseased friend that complained of the irksomnesse of his disease, and desired his advice for curing the same, or easing his paine, departed from him, and shortly came againe, and told him, hee had brought a medicine to cure all his diseases, and rid of paine. The patient hearing that welcome word, promised he would take the medicine. To whom presently this kil-cow physician shewed under the lap of his coate a short sword, which would make short worke. And yet let me tell you, that in Popish countries, for the most part, these tragicall flagellants are little better than mountebanks, and personated dissemblers, that have hardened their skin and flesh to beare such incisions without paine, and are no more affected with it then old women that are hired to howle and crie at a funerall. I have heard of such a whipping knave in

Good Friday
cheere
A procession
from Holborne
to Tiburne.

F. Evel.

Like Baals
priests, who
did lince their
sides, &c.

Matth 6.

Flanders, that in the day time seemed thus to tame his flesh in publike, and the same night tamed it otherwise in a brothell. To say no more of this outragious devotion, as it is Baalaticall, we cannot, unlesse wee winke, but see it is also Pharisicall. If bitter chastisement in this case be requisit, why should it not be performed as privately as our Saviour injoyneth secret prayer in the closet, the doore shut, &c. ? Must this bee done before hundreds of spectators ? Yes, verily, else the price of the satisfaction, the glorie of the merit, the overweight of supererogation, would be made lighter by many an ounce. And indeed, as in this, so in all the rest of the whole pageant of Poperie, every thing must be theatricall *ad pompam*, else the gazing vulgar would not bee so frequently and easily caught.

Lastly, if such injoynd penances must bee performed in an ambling fashion, with roaving abroad, would no other place serve to gad unto, but Tiburne ? Is no other place in England left sacred and unpolluted ? Oh, but there is more vertue in the goale they runne unto, then in the race they undertake. It was ancient to visit *memorias martyrum*; and so, the sending of disciples to visit Tiburn, maketh a deep impression in their mindes, of the saintship of some that have there paid their debt to our lawes. We know, martyr and persecutor are correlatives; and so, in this action of pretended humiliation, there is intended an increase of the Romanists hatred against the church and state of England, as persecuting, and guiltie of the blood of those whom they adore. Thus, every step in such pilgrimage, makes those penitents to walke further from us; nay, in every stripe voluntarily received in such a processional journey, the confessor that injoyneth this performance, thinkes he scourgeth the Protestants.

Deare countrimen, let mee, in the spirit of meeknesse, and out of the tendernesse of my heart and affection enlarged toward you, a little intreat you to consider how you are hoodwinkt and disguised. Doe yet, at last, lay your hands on your harts, and lothe these despicable impostors, returning unto the truth, and assuing your selves, that never any true religion did assist and credit it selfe by such juggling shifts, tricks, and devices, as the Jesuiticall brood are observed daily to practise, and many of which (I am sure) they shaine to heare of from us.

The perjurie
of Tho. Corn-
ford, Jesuite.

For example: Blush they not at this, that one Thomas Cornford, a brother of theirs, examined before my Lords Grace of Canterburie, June 25, 1612, did first give unto himselfe the name of John Underwood, and so subscribed it; affirming that he was a married man, and that he had married the daughter of one Robinson in Irkinbuge, where his wife, at the time of his examination, remayned ? He added also, he had beene married unto her twelve yeers, and that he had by her six children. He said he was by condition a farmer, and that he came to towne to moove the Lord Vaux that himselfe might be tenant to his lordship, for a certaine house and land lying in Irkinbuge, where his wife, Robinsons daughter, remayned. But this fellow, after, upon some remorse of conscience, or fearing lest his condition and estate might by some other means be discovered, doth of himselfe offer to manifest unto his grace, his condition and profession; unto which, as it were, on a second examination, hee is admitted, and then acknowledged, That for the space of sixe yeers, he was brought up in the Colledge of Rome, and that there he took the orders of priesthood, according to the manner of that church; and that from thence, some twelve yeeres since, hee was sent by mission into England, where, by F. Garnet, hee was admitted into the societie of Jesus; he acknowledged also, that his name was Tho. Cornford, and so subscribed the same the second time, after that before hee had subsignd by the name of John Underwood.

Will you understand how this ingenuous Jesuit did conciliate such contrarie sayings of his ? Thus he performed his part: Whereas he affirmed himselfe to bee a married man, his meaning was, that his wife was his Breviarie, and that he had beene married unto it twelve yeeres: as for his children had by Robinsons daughter, those were his ghostly and spirituall children. The reason why hee called himselfe a farmer, was, be-

Excellent
equivocation.

cause hee was so to God, according to that text, *Redde rationem villicationis tue*: Give an account of thy farmership. The reason why hee said, he came to take a farme of the Lord Vaux, was, because he was readie to doe him any service for the spirituall tilling of his soule.

Reade D. Sheldons booke of the Miracles of Antichrist, page 28, where you may reade of another holy brother of the Ignatian societie, who did in the same sort wilfully perjure himselfe.

Thus much for my present occasion, by way of declaration, what wholesome use (by Gods grace) I have made of the noxious and balefull weedes that grow in the papall garden; whereof, through my owne vanitie and levitie, having taken some taste for the space of about a yeere, it hath pleased God to turne those poysons into an antidote, happy for my selfe, and (as I hope) not unfruitfull for others.

And first, I am not ignorant, that some particulars related by me, are like to procure me the hatred, and perhaps some malicious machinations of those that thought to hold mee in perpetuall captivitie. But I protest to God, that as I have in sincerity of heart, without malicious inventing, or adding any thing, given account of those passages that came to my knowledge; so I doe not hate the person of any of those who have pretended to have beene my instructors while I remained with them, but wish to them, as unto my owne soule, a sight of those corruptions and errors wherein they are so deeply dyed, and whereof they did cast some tincture upon me; and also an acknowledgement of Gods truth resplendent in the scriptures, a forsaking and abominating of that pernicious trade, of being factors and brokers for the Papacie; the superstitions and tyrannies whereof, I marvell, if they see not; and I much more mourne, if, seeing and inwardly acknowledging, yet they should entertaine and practise, for the keeping the pore lay people in awe, which I take to be one of the chiefest *arcana imperii*, secrets of state, for the maintenance of their religion.

Secondly, I hold my selfe bound in conscience, upon the sight of mine owne error, and consideration of the scandal which I have justly given, to make public protestation of my recovery, with unfained and humble submission unto our reverend mother, the Church of England (the most orthodoxe and pure church now extant in the world, and most suitable unto the apostolike and primitive times, both for faith and discipline.) Before her feet I prostrate my selfe with deepe sorrow of heart, that I have, through rashnesse of heart, discontent, or any other misguiding passion, plaied the runaway out of her family and obedience. Wherein my fault is farre the greater, forasmuch as I, by that calling which shee hath vouchsafed mee (although unworthy) in her family, ought to have bin a guide unto others, to keepe their feet in the waies of truth and peace. I implore her motherly indulgence, to open her lap to me, her wandring returning childe, and to vouchsafe me such pardon and absolution, as the power of the keys which she hath received from our Saviour, doth afford and extend unto penitent delinquents. Nor did I thinke it sufficient to doe this by a simple profession of the cure of my understanding; but I also held it necessary for me to adde a manifestation of such particular meanes as I best knew to be used by our adversaries, as stratagems to besiege us, and snares to intrap us. Whereupon it may perhaps please some to whom that care belongeth, to make use even of these slender informations, for the preventing of future mischiefes in that kinde, now growne very farre against the Church of England.

Thirdly, it behooved me not to be forgetfull of the bond of nature, and of that duty which I owe to my aged father, a minister in the diocesse of Exon, whose righteous soule hath beene vexed with my infamous deviation; whose fatherly care and paines toward mee, even then when I most forgot him and my selfe, hath not beene wanting in his writing to me divers letters of argument and exhortation; which, together with other meanes, concurring with Gods mercy, have been the loud calls that have pierced

my eares, and made me look back, and withdraw my foot out of the horrible myre and clay wherein I stuck. Even of him, whom above others I have deeply offended, I humbly crave fatherly pardon and blessing, not onely secretly in my heart, but more publickely and authentically thus under my hand. What a great debt lieth upon mee, not onely in regard of my first being, my education, especially in learning, and fitting mee for the ministerie, by his care and cost, but also for the reparation of that discontent which hee hath justly taken at my obliquitie! All that I can promise and vow, with the assistance of Gods grace, is, that I hope to pay double in future comforts, for that which I have runne amereage by procuring fatherly sorrowes. *Faxit Deus.* Lastly, to touch againe on that sting which before I have struck, but never can sound too oft: This streaming of my pen from the fountaine of my heart. runnes that course, whither all things else ought to tend, even into the ocean of Gods glorie exalted by his mercy, in reaching out his helping hand to such miserable creatures as my selfe, intangled in danger, and readie to tumble in perdition. To his glorious name I offer up my selfe, my soule and body, as a lively reasonable sacrifice, vowing to bend all my faculties and future indevours, to the publishing of his truth, and to the setting forward, by word and by example, that orthodox faith and church which I have wickedly contemned. And in speciall, I make oblation of my particular thanksgiving, as a repeated morning and evening sacrifice, for the double deliverance vouchsafed me; the one corporall, and concerning this life, which in mee, beyond expectation and naturall reason, was prolonged, when I was saved, *tanquam torris erutus e flamma*, I meane, in that generall and wofull downfall at the Blackfryers, wherein many lesse sinners then my selfe breathed their last. The other deliverance is spirituall, being in some sort a childe of that mother, as proceeding from the due cogitation of the other; I meane, the loosening of my bands, the unfettering of my heart and soule from the Babylonian captivity, the dispelling of that cloud of Romish errors, which obscured, though not wholly extinguished, the light of Gods truth in me. There were (I know) that said unto me, "An evill disease cleaveth fast unto him: and now that he lyeth, he shal rise no more. But thou (O Lord) hast put a new song into my mouth: Those that sit yet in darknesse, shal see it, and feare: For the snare is broken, and I am delivered. Lord establish mee in thy truth: thy word is truth."

Psal. 41. 8.

FINIS.

A Catalogue or Note of such English Bookes (to the knowledge of which I could come) as have been printed, reprinted, or dispersed by the Priests and their agents in this kingdom, within these two yeers last past, or thereabouts.

Inprimis, The Doway Bibles, that is, the Old Testament only, in two volumes, with notes, revised by Doctor Worthington, and reprinted heer in London; sould for forty shillings, which, at an ordinary price, might be afforded for tenne.

The New Testament, translated by the *Rhemists*, and reprinted in quarto: sold for sixteene or twenty shillings, which might be afforded for a noble, or lesse.

The same Testament in English, lately printed in *decimo sexto*: sold for twelve shillings, which might be well afforded for foure.

The Anker of Christian Doctrine, in foure parts, written by D. Worthington: the three last parts printed in London, and sould by him at his lodging in Turnbull Street, for foureteen shillings, which might be afforded for five shillings.

The Protestants Apologie, written by Breirely, reprinted and sold for seventeene shillings, and might bee afforded for six shillings, or lesse.

Saint Augustines Confessions, translated by Tob. Mathew, and sold for sixteene shillings, beeing but a little booke in octavo, and might bee afforded for two shillings sixpence.

Two other bookes in octavo, lately written by Tob. Mathew, and sold very deare.

The Author and Substance of Protestant Religion, written by Smith, a priest now in London, and sold for six shillings, and might bee afforded for twelvecence.

Luther, his Life and Doctrine, a railing booke, written by Lovell, a priest, who is at this present in London, sold for eight shillings, worth two shillings.

An Antidote against the pestiferous writings of English Sectanes, in two parts, written by D. Norice, a priest, now resident in London: sold for eight shillings, might be afforded for foure shillings.

The Guide of Faith, written by the said author, and sold at an unreasonable rate.

The Pseudo-Scripturist, by the same author, a book of some twelve sheetes of paper, and sold for five shillings.

The Christian Vow, by the same author, a book of ten sheetes of paper, and sold for two shillings sixpence.

The lowd lying Pamphlet, tearmed, The Bishop of Londons Legacie, written by Musket, a Jesuite, and reprinted with a preface of a new disguise: the booke containing about sixteene sheetes; they squeezed from some Romish buyers six or seven shillings a-piece. A deare price for a dirty lye. Yet I wish, they that have any beliefe in it, might pay dearer for it.

The Summary of Controversies, written by D. Smith, sold as deare as the rest.

The New Religion, no Religion, written by one Floud, a priest, now in London, sold at a high rate, and so are all the rest following.

The Sum of Christian Doctrine, written in Latine by Petrus Canisius, and translated into English by J. Heigham, a priest in London.

The True Christian Catholick, by the same author.

The Life of Saint Katharine of Sienna, by the same author.

The Protestants Consultation, a dangerous book, lately written by an unknowne author.

Jesus, Maria, Joseph, lately come out of the press, printed in London, by Simons, a Carmelite, now in London.

Two other bookes, written by the same author, called, The Way to finde Ease, Rest, and Repose unto the Soule.

Bellarmines Steps, in English.

His Art of Dying Well, in octavo.

The Exercise of a Christian Life, by S. B.

The Vocation of Bishops, by D. Champney, now in London.

The Image of both Churches, by M. Pateson, now in London, a bitter and seditious book.

The Exposition of the Masse.

A Treatise of the Reall Presence, by Goddard, a priest, now in London.

The Love of the Soule, printed in London.

The Followers of Christ, by F. B.

Demands to Hereticks, in two parts, by D. Bristow, reprinted.

Saint Bedes History of England, translated into English.

M. Wadesworthes Contrition.

Cardinall Peron his Oration.

Newes from the Low Countryes.

History of Sichem.

Auricular Confession.

Missale parvum pro sacerdotibus.

The Office of our Lady, or the Primer, two or three sorts of them lately printed with rubricks.

The Judge, by G. M.

The Right Way to God, by Pursell, an Irish monke, now in London.

Sixe books full of marvellous pietie and devotion, by G. P.

- The Appendix, by Doctor Norrice.
 A Defence of the Appendix, written by M. Sweet, a Jesuite lying in Holborne.
 An Answer to the *Fishe caught in his owne Net*, by the same author. These three
 fast bookes containing but some sixe sheetes of paper, either of them are sold by the
 authors and their factors, for two shillings, or halfe-a-crowne a piece.
 Soliloquies, by R. T.
 The Rosary of our Lady.
 Meditations upon the Rosary.
 An Exposition of the Rosary.
 The Mysteries of the Rosary.
 An Introduction to a Devout Life, by J. York, a Jesuite, now in London.
 Miracles not yet Ceased, by P. L. P., a saltlesse book.
 The Key of Paradise.
 A Heavenly Treasury of Comfortable Meditations, by Antho. Bat, a frier, now in
 London.
 The Word of Comfort, written upon occasion of the fall of the house at the Black-
 friers.
 The Uncasing of Heresie, by O. A.
 The Treasury of Chastity.
 The Widows Glasse.
 The Ecclesiasticall Protestants History, by D. Smith.
 The Grounds of the Old and New Religion.
 The Hidden Manna.
 The Wandring Saints.
 The Little Memoriall.
 An Overthrowe of the Protestants Pulpit-Babels.
 The Unity of Gods Church, by one Master Stevens, a Jesuite, now in London.
 Pointers Meditations.
 The Proof of Purgatory.
 A Comfort against Tribulation.
 Ledisme his Catechisme, lately printed heere in England.
 The Reconcilement of the Dalmatian Bishop.
 The Popes Power.
 The Life of Saint Bede.
 A Treatise of Free-will, by D. Kellison, rector of the Colledge at Doway, and now
 in London.
 The Sacrament of the Catholick Church, by F. S. P.
 Davyes his Catechisme.
 The Visibility of the Church.
 The Catholick Guide.
 A Treatise against the Marriage of Priests, by Wilson, a Jesuite.
 A Gagge of the New Gospel.
 A Second Gagge.
 The Honour of God, by Anthony Clerke. An idle frothy booke, by a bravn-sicke
 man, a concealed priest.
 The Prelate and the Prince, a seditious booke.
 The Rules of Obedience, by G. A. P.
 Saint Peters Keyes, by Edmund Gill, Jesuite.
 Saint Augustines Religion, written by Brerely, and reprinted.
 The Reformed Protestant, by Brerely. There was a printing-house suppress about
 some three yeeres since in Lancashire, where all Brerely his works, with many other
 Popish pamphlets, were printed.
 The Virginal Vow, by F. S.

- The Mirrour of Women.
 Meditations on the Passion.
 A Dialogue betwixt our Saviour and the Saints.
 Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland, and the United Provinces,
 by You knowe the Hand.
 The Ingratitude of Elizabeth of England unto Philip of Spain.
 The Spirit of Errour, by D. Smith
 Meditations on our Saviours words on the Crosse.
 Every Saints Praier.
 The Catholicks Crown.
 The Three Conversions, reprinted; written by F. Parsons.
 Grenadoes Memoriall.
 Grenadoes Compendium.
 Grenadoes Meditations, translated.
 The Life and Death of Cardinall Bellarmine.
 Bellarmine his Death and Buriall.
 The Shedding of Teares.
 Parsons Resolutions, reprinted, *anno* 1623.
 Sions Songs, or the Melody of the Blessed.
 An Epistle of Jesus to the Soule.
 An Epistle of Comfort to the Persecuted Catholiques.
 The Following of Christ.
 The Life of Christ.
 Puente's Abbridgement.
 The Saints Lives, translated of late by Kinsman.
 Saint Peters Complaint, and Mary Magdalens Teares.
 The Office of Saint Benedict.
 Saint Ignatius Life.
 Saint Teresa her Life.
 Saint Clares her Life.
 Saint Katharine of Bolognas Life.
 Saint Mary Magdalens Pilgrimage.
 The Spirituall Conflict.
 Dowleys Catechisme.
 The Paradise of the Soule.
 The Paradise of Delight.
 Molina of Mentall Prayer.
 Of the Excellency of the Basse.
 Of Perfection, by Pinel.
 Of Communion, by the same author.
 Villacastines Exercises.
 Of Christian Works, by F. Borgia.
 Contempt of the World.
 The Four Capuchins.
 Treatise of Indulgences.
 The Daily Practice.
 The Enemies of God, by M. Barlow, a priest, now in London.
 The Holy Triumph.
 The Prosperity of the Visible Church.
 The Manuall of Prayers, reprinted.
 A Watch-word, by F. Baker.
 The Apologist, by Richard Conway.
 A Treatise of the Invocation and Adoration of Saints, by Thomas Lee.

The Principles of Catholick Religion, by Richard Stannihurst.

Of the Conversion of Nations, of the Miracles, of the Martyrdomes, and of the union of the members of the Catholick Church, by George Allanson, Jesuite.

A Treatise of True Zeale.

F. Drury his Reliques, somewhat found in his study after his death.

Flagellum Dei, or A Sword for Contradictors. A ridiculous pamphlet, written by P. D. M.

Coffin, against an Epistle of D. Hall, concerning the marriage of Ecclesiasticall Persons; mistaken in the former edition for the Answer to D. Halls book, intituled, The Honor of the Married Clergy.

Walsingham his Search, in quarto.

Walpole, against Doctor Downham, of Antichrist.

Fox his Calendar, reprinted *anno* 1623.

Fitz-Herbert, of Policy and Religion, reprinted.

Treatise of Faith, by F. Percy.

Saint Bedes History of England, translated into English.

A certaine notorious Jesuite, lodging in a sanctuary not farre from the Savoy, is himselfe a great merchant for the commodity of these Popish pamphlets; and, as I have heard, some of his brethren say, he hath thriven well thereby, especially whiles he fished in untroubled waters. My selfe have seene greater store of books in quires at his chamber, than I ever beheld in any stationers warehouse about Pauls; he having two or three large roomes filled out with heapes in this kinde, to the very top.

The Names of the Romish Priests and Jesuits now resident about the City of London, March 26, 1624.

OLD father Bishop, the nominall Bishop of Chalcedon.

F. Overton, his principall chaplaine.

D. Kellison, rector of the English colledge at Doway.

D. Worthington, the translator or corrector of the Doway bibles, and author of "The Anker of Christian Doctrine."

D. Collington, the titular arch-deacon of London, lodging in Saint Jones.

D. Wright, a grave antient man, treasurer for the priests, and very rich, thought to be worth thousands of pounds: hee lodgeth in the White-Friers.

D. Norice, one that hath written divers bookes of late, mentioned in the former catalogue.

D. Smith, senior, sometimes of the colledge of Rome, and author of divers pestilent bookes.

D. Smith, junior, author of divers other books no lesse dangerous.

D. Champney, author of the book called, "The Vocation of Bishops.

D. Bristow, sometimes of the colledge at Doway.

F. Blackten, a Jesuite, an antient man, lodging in Drury-Lane.

F. Sweet, a Jesuite well knowne, lodging at the upper end of Holborn.

F. Musket, a secular priest, lodging over-against S. Andrews church in Holborne, a frequent preacher, and one that hath much concourse of people to his chamber.

F. Fisher, a notorious Jesuite, lodging neer the Savoy.

F. Harvy, a very dangerous Jesuite.

F. Austin, a Jesuite, an aged man.

F. Boulton, a Jesuite, not the gentleman that dwels in Saint Jones.

F. Macham, a Jesuite, lodging neere the Custome-house.

- F. Barlow, a Jesuite, lodging about the Custom-house.
- F. Townsend, alias Ruckwood, brother to that Ruckwood, who was executed at the gunpowder treason, a Jesuite, a little black fellow, very comt and gallant, lodging about the midst of Drury-Lane, acquainted with collapsed ladies.
- F. Browne, a Jesuite, lodging in S. Martins-Lane.
- F. Palmer, } both Jesuites, lodging about Fleet-street, very rich in apparell: the one
F. Palmer, } a flanting fellow, useth to weare a scarlet cloake over a crimson satin suit.
- F. Rivers, } both Jesuites.
- F. Latham, a Jesuite: he was sometime a bird in the stone cage at Lancaster.
- F. Goddard, a Jesuit, lodging about White-Fryers.
- F. Pateson, a Jesuite, lodging in Fetter-Lane.
- F. Hammershed, lodging in White-Fryers.
- F. Armstrong, a Jesuite, one that insinuateth dangerously, and hath seduced many.
- F. Floud, a Jesuite, lying about Fleet-Lane.
- F. Floud, a secular priest, lodging in the Strand.
- F. Kerkham, a Jesuite.
- F. Auderton, a Jesuite.
- F. Moore, a Jesuite.
- F. Moore, a secular priest, kinsman to D. Moore, the popish physician.
- F. Skinner, a Jesuite.
- F. Simons, a Carmelite, author of divers late foolish pamphlets: his lodging is in the lower end of Holborn.
- F. Low, a Jesuite.
- F. Simons, next neighbour.
- F. Knox, a secular priest.
- F. Shellay, a secular priest.
- F. Price, a secular priest, who was long a prisoner in Newgate.
- F. Wilson, lodging about Bloomisbury, and one that escaped at the Black-Fryers.
- F. Hilton, a secular priest, one that escaped the same time.
- F. Medcalfe, now lodging in Shoo-Lane, a good companion, but not guilty of much learning. He is often deepe loden with liquor.
- F. Richardson, a Benedictin fryer, of great acquaintance about the towne: he lodgeth at the farther end of Grayes-Inne-Lane.
- F. Root, a secular priest.
- F. Hunt, a Carthusian fryer, lodging in Holborn, an old man.
- F. Conway, a Jesuite.
- F. Stevens, a little man, a monk.
- F. Wilde, a secular priest.
- F. Smith, } two secular priests, besides the two Jesuites of that name, now resident
F. Smith, } in London.
- F. Greene, lodging over against Northampton stables.
- F. Houghton, a secular priest.
- F. Southworth, } both secular priests.
- F. Southworth, }
- F. Edmunds, } the one, as I have heard, a Jesuite; the other, a Franciscan frier.
- F. Edmunds, }
- F. Melling, a secular priest, lodging in Holborne.
- F. Lovell, a secular priest, lodging in Holborne.
- F. Townely, a secular priest, lodging about the Strand.
- F. Bonham, alias Evison, a Jesuite, lodging at M. Whittings, in Fetter-Lane.

- F. Farmer, a Jesuite, prisoner in the Clink.
 F. Mattocks.
 F. Marshall, a secular priest, lately come to towne.
 F. Ward.
 F. Greenway, a Jesuite.
 F. Heath, a Jesuite.
 F. Turner.
 F. Price, superiour of the Benedictins.
 F. Ploydon, a Jesuite.
 F. Holt.
 F. Copely, senior, a Jesuite.
 F. Copely, junior, one that hath newly taken orders, and came from beyond sea.
 F. Faulkner, a Jesuite.
 F. Hart, a Jesuite.
 F. Cleak, the gentlewomens confessor.
 F. Blunt.
 F. Jackson, alias Nelson, a secular priest, an antient man.
 F. Poulton.
 F. Bacon, a secular priest.
 F. Grainer.
 F. Ash.
 F. Worthington, a Jesuite, nephew to Doctor Worthington.
 F. Jo. Benet, } secular priests.
 F. Ed. Benet, }
 F. Cannow, a secular priest.
 F. Southcot, a Jesuite.
 F. Mannock.
 F. Lovet, brother to the three popish goldsmiths of that name.
 F. Fairclough, born in London.
 F. Lurtice, a Jesuite; his brother a pewterer, a Papist in London, dwelling in Towre-street.
 F. Joseph Haines, alias Harvy.
 F. Tho. Everet.
 F. Shepheard.
 F. Black-stone, alias Ford.
 F. Prescot.
 F. Wainman.
 F. Laithwait.
 F. Reynolds.
 F. Bangor.
 F. Harrington.
 F. Davenport.
 F. Allinson.
 F. Thomas.
 F. Dawson.
 F. Man.
 F. Hukan.
 F. Porter, a Jesuite, lately come out of Lancashire.
 F. Bunney, an Irishman.
 F. Blackman.
 D. Stanley.
 F. Maxfield, a secular priest, lodging in Holborne.

- Simon Maxfield, a deacon, lodging in Fleet-street.
F. Gerard, a secular priest, lodging about Westminster.
F. Davyes, an old blind man, lodging about Holborne Conduit.
F. Bently, I know not of what order.
F. Pursell, an Irishman, a monk, a young proud fellow.
F. Walsingham, alias Knot, lodging about the Custome-house.
F. Linch, an Irishman.
F. Gerald, an Irishman.
F. Sherlock, an Irishman.
F. Stannihurst, an Irishman.
F. Carrig, an Irishman.
F. Houling, an Irishman.
F. Chamberlaine, a secular priest, lodging about the Black-friers, a man of great
imploiment, born about London.
F. Turpin.
F. Annieur, a Frenchman.
F. Castle.
F. Jones, alias Hay, a Jesuite.
F. Jones, a secular priest.
F. Martin, alias Quarleys, a monk, a citizens son of London.
F. Bastin.
F. Wood, a very dangerous fellow.
F. Bellingam.
F. Young.
F. Harris, very shallow-pated; and yet some say he is a Jesuite, which I much wonder at.
F. Baldwin.
F. Conniers.
F. York.
F. Brookes.
F. Arncot.
F. Hughes.
F. Scroop, a Jesuite.
F. Langtree.
F. Umpton, a Jesuite, an old short fellow.
F. Bold, a Benedictin monk.
F. Bradshaw, a Jesuite.
F. Line, an Augustine fryer: he now and then fetcheth a voyage into Buckinghamshire.
F. Doughty.
F. Read.
F. Chambers.
F. Halsal, an Ingaro.
F. North.
F. Cox, a Jesuite.
F. Banister.
F. Eveleigh.
F. Powell.
F. Skinner, a Benedictin monk.
F. Edwards.
F. Jo. Worthington.
F. White.

F. Stroud

F. Jennings

F. Bat.

F. Sanders.

F. Diet.

F. Heigham, author of many loud-lying pamphlets.

F. Rimmington.

F. Molineux.

F. Birket, disguised under the name and profession of a physician or chirurgion.

F. Kinsman.

F. Durham.

Two priests, lodging in Mistris Fowlers house, in Tetter-Lane, whose names I cannot learne.

F. Ireland, sometimes school-master of Westminster.

F. Weston, a Jesuite.

F. Tomson, a Jesuite, lodging in Shoo-Lane, otherwise called Tom Poet; his right name W. Weathered, borne in London.

F. Lawrence.

F. Charles, a limping hobbling priest.

F. Stone, a Jesuite.

F. Newton, lying behinde the old Exchange.

F. Towers, an Augustin frier.

F. Lancaster.

F. Stubbley, a boon companion.

F. Mountague, a Jesuite.

F. Banks, a secular priest, lodging in Field-Lane, borne in London, deputy Banks his sonne.

F. Taylor, late confessor to the friers in Ireland, and newly come into this kindome.

These bec all the birds of this feather, which have come to my eye or knowledge by name, as residing in or resorting to this city; yet above 7 times so many there are, that overspred our thickets through England, as appeareth by the empty nests beyond the seas, from whence they have flowne by shoales of late; I meane, the seminarie colleges, which have deeply disgorged by severall missions of them, and also is gathered by particular computation of their divided troops; when, as in one shire, where I have abode sometime, there are reputed to nestle almost three hundred of this brood

Though they bee heere set downe by one name, they are not unfurnished of divers other names, which they change at pleasure, as oft as gallants do their suits; yet sometimes they double-line themselves with many names at once.

The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster; with the Arraignement and Triall of Nineteene notorious Witches, at the Assizes and generall Gaole deliverie, holden at the Castle of Lancaster, upon Munday the seventh of August last. 1612, before Sir James Altham, and Sir Edward Bromley, Knights, Barons of his Majesties Court of Erchequer, and Justices of Assize, Oyer and Terminer, and generall Gaole deliverie in the Circuit of the North Parts. Together with the Arraignement and Triall of Jennet Preston, at the Assizes holden at the Castle of Yorke, the seven-and-twentieth day of Julie last past, with her execution for the murther of Master Laster, by witchcraft.

Published and set forth by commandement of his Majesties Justices of Assize in the North Parts. By Thomas Potts, Esquier.

London: Printed by W. Stansby, for John Barnes, dwelling near Holborne Conduit. 1613.

The object of this Collection being as well to collect such Tracts as throw light upon the manners of the successive periods to which they refer, as to preserve those which are in themselves valuable, it has been judged proper to insert the following authentic account of a trial which made much noise at the time when it took place. The genius of the English nation, even in its darkest period, seems to have given but little way to persecution of the unhappy beings who fell under suspicion of witchcraft. It was not till the first year of James's reign that witchcraft and sorcery were declared capital crimes. The monarch had unfortunately rested a considerable portion of his literary reputation on his dialogue on *Dæmonologie*, which he was moved, as he is pleased to tell us, to send forth post, from the fearful abounding, at the time, of those detestable slaves of the devil, the witches or enchanters. His majesty's arguments were chiefly directed against Reginald Scot and Wierus, who had controverted the existence of witches. It was scarce possible that his majesty's creed should not soon become that of his clergy and lawyers; and accordingly his reign was signalized by prosecutions upon the penal statute against witchcraft, which probably had rise in the complaisance of James's first Parliament.

The Lancashire Witches, whose name became proverbial, were among the most noted of the period. It appears, from the following account of their trial, published by authority, that no less than nineteen notorious witches were arraigned at the same time, and that ten of these unfortunate creatures were executed. The evidence against them is, independently of the absurdity of the crimes imputed to them, too slight even for conviction upon a charge of petty larceny, although it seems to have been thought no small presumption of Anne Whittle, *alias* Chuttox, being a "dangerous witch," that she was a "very old, withered, spent, and decrepid creature; her sight almost gone, her lips ever chattering and walking, but no man knew what." Some indeed confessed their guilt. The judicial confession of the criminal is, generally speaking, the strongest proof which can be adduced against him. But from the following remarks of Sir George Mackenzie, who was a believer in witchcraft, and had, as king's advocate, conducted many trials for that crime, the reader will see how little stress can be laid upon the confession of the accused person in such cases.

"Those poor persons who are ordinarily accused of this crime, are poor ignorant creatures, and oft times women, who understand not the nature of what they are accused of, and many mistake their own fears and apprehensions for witchcraft, of which I shall give you two instances: one of a poor weaver, who, after he had confessed witchcraft, being asked how he saw the devil? he answered, like flies dancing about the candle; another of a woman, who asked seriously, when she was accused, if a woman might be a witch and not know it? And it is dangerous that these, who are of all others the most simple, should be tried for a crime which of all others is most mysterious.

"These poor creatures, when they are defamed, become so confounded with fear, and the close prison in which they are kept, and so starved for want of meat and sleep, (either of which wants

is enough to disorder the strongest reason) that hardly wiser and more serious people than they, would escape distraction; and when men are confounded with fear and apprehension, they will imagine things very ridiculous and absurd. And as no man would escape a profound melancholy upon such an occasion, and amidst such usages, therefore I remit to physicians and others to consider, what may be the effects of melancholy, which hath oft made men, who appeared otherwise solid enough, imagine they were horses, or had lost their noses, &c. And since it may make men err in things which are obvious to their senses, what may be expected as to things which transcend the wisest man's reason?

"Most of these poor creatures are tortured by their keepers, who being perswaded they do God good service, think it their duty to vex and torment poor prisoners; and I know *ex certissima scientia*, that most of all that ever were taken, were tormented after this manner, and this usage was the ground of all their confession: and albeit the poor miscreants cannot prove this usage, the actors being the only witnesses, yet the judge should be afraid of it, as that which at first did elicit the confession, and for fear of which they dare not retract it.

"I went, when I was a justice-depute, to examine some women, who had confest judicially; and one of them, who was a silly creature, told me under secrecy, that she had not confest because she was guilty, but being a poor creature who wrought for her meat, and being defamed for a witch, she knew she would starve, for no person thereafter would either give her meat or lodging, and that all men would beat her, and hound dogs at her, and that therefore she desired to be out of the world; whereupon she wept most bitterly, and upon her knees called God to witness what she said. Another told me, she was afraid the devil would challenge a right to her, as the minister said, when he was desiring her to confess, and therefore she desired to die. And really ministers are oft times indiscreet in their zeal to have poor creatures to confess in this; and I recommend to judges, that the wisest ministers should be sent to them, and those who are sent, should be cautious in this."—*The Laws and Customs of Scotland, in Matters Criminal*, apud Sir George Mackenzie's Works, Vol. II. p. 86.

The persons by whom these cruelties were inflicted, were in most cases self-authorized miscreants, who pretending to more than an usual insight into the ways of Satan among his vassals, were not only permitted, but encouraged to traverse the country in search of pretended witches and wizards, upon whom they exercised with impunity the cruel experiments believed to ascertain their guilt. Sometimes the accused were stripped and thrown into a river or pond, having their thumbs and toes tied together, where, if they sunk, they were held innocent, but if they swam, were dragged forth to prison. Sometimes needles and pins were thrust into their bodies, under pretence of discovering the fatal mark which the devil had rendered insensible. On other occasions, the suspected witch was bound cross-legged upon a stool, there to be watched and kept without meat or sleep for the space of four-and-twenty hours, within which time it was expected her imp would make her a visit. A more ready device could hardly have been invented to render a miserable old wretch either distracted or reckless of her life. In the years 1645, and 1646, a villain called Matthew Hopkins, of Manningtree, in Essex, with one Stern, and a woman, his accomplices, travelled through the shires of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Huntingdon, in the character of witch-finders. With what assurance they carried on their bloody trade, may appear from the following letter, which Hopkins had the insolence to write to a justice of peace in Huntingdonshire. It is extracted by Dr Hutchinson, from a letter published by Mr Gaul of Stoughton, who, with other clergymen, opposed strenuously the villainous traffic of the writer. My service to your worship presented. I have this day received a letter, &c. to come to a town called Great Stoughton, to search for evil disposed persons, called witches (though I heare your minister is farre against us, through ignorance :) I intend to come (God willing) the sooner to heare his singular judgement in the behalfe of such parties; I have known a minister in Suffolk preach as much against their discovery in a pulpit, and forced to recant it, (by the committee) in the same place. I much marvaile such evil members should have any (much more any of the clergy) who should daily preach terror to convince such offenders, stand up to take their parts, against such as are complainants for the king, and sufferers themselves, with their families and estates. I intend to give your town a visite suddenly. I am to come to Kimbolton this week, and it shall be tenne to one but I will come to your town first; but I would certainly know afore, whether your town affords many sticklers for such cattell, or willing to give us good weloome and entertainment, as otherwhere I have beene, else I shall wave your shire, (not as yet beginning in any part of it myself) and betake me to such places where I see, and may persist without controle, but with thanks and recompence. So I humbly take my leave, and rest

Your servant to be commanded,

MATTHEW HOPKINS."

Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft. By F. HUTCHINSON, D. D. Lond. 1720, p. 88.

the appearance of retribution in the fate of Hopkins. For some gentlemen, incensed at his pretences, or imagining that he himself derived his pretended skill from diabolical inspiration, put him to the swimming ordeal, to which he had subjected so many others. He was convicted of sorcery, and executed. Butler is supposed to refer to Hopkins in the following lines:

Has not the present Parliament
A leaguer to the devil sent,
Fully empowered to treat about
Finding revolted witches out?
And has not he, within a year,
Hang'd threescore of 'em in one shire?
Some only for not being drowned:
And some for sitting above ground
Whole days and nights upon their breeches,
And feeling pain, were hang'd for witches;
And some for putting knavish tricks
Upon green geese and turkey chicks;
Or pigs that suddenly deceast
Of grief unnatural, as he guest,
Who after proved himself a witch,
And made a rod for his own breech.

Hudibras, P. II. C. III.

The history of Hopkins is not foreign to that of the "Lancashire Witches." For as he was discovered to be a villainous and murderous impostor, so did Robinson, upon whose evidence the unfortunate persons mentioned in the following trial were convicted, prove to be a counterfeit. The discovery, however, did not take place until more than twenty years after 1612. How many innocent persons he caused to be tormented and murdered in the interval, it is impossible to guess; but the account of his detection shall be given in the words of Webster, whose sagacity seems greatly to have contributed to it.

About the year 1634, (for having lost our notes of the same, we cannot be so exact as we should) there was a great pretended meeting of many supposed witches at a new house or barn in Pendle Forest, in Lancashire, then not inhabited, where (as the accusation pretended) some of them, by pulling by a rope of straw or hay, did bring milk, butter, cheese, and the like, and were carried away upon dogs, cats, or squirrels. The informer was one Edmund Robinson, (yet living at the writing hereof, and commonly known by the name of Ned of Roughs), whose father was by trade a waller, and but a poor man, and they finding that they were believed, and had encouragement by the adjoining magistrates, and the persons being committed to prison, and bound over to the next assizes, the boy, his father,* and some others besides, did make a practice to go from church to church, that the boy might reveal and discover witches, pretending that there was a great number at the pretended meeting, whose faces he could know, and by that means they got a good living; that in a short space the father bought a cow or two, when he had none before. And it came to pass, that this said boy was brought into the church of Kildwick, a large parish church, where I (being then curate there) was preaching in the afternoon, and was set upon a stall (he being but ten or eleven years old) to look about him, which moved some little disturbance in the congregation for a while. And after prayers, I enquiring what the matter was, the people told me that it was the boy that discovered witches; upon which I went to the house where he was to stay all night, where I found him, and two very unlikely persons that did conduct him, and manage the business. I desired to have some discourse with the boy in private, but that they utterly refused. Then, in the presence of a great many people, I took the boy near me, and said, Good boy, tell me truly and in earnest, did thou see and hear such strange things of the meeting of witches, as is reported by many thou dost relate, or did not some person teach thee to say such things of thyself? But the two men not giving the boy leave to answer, did pluck him from me, and said he had been examined by two able justices of the peace, and they did never ask him such a question; to which I replied, the persons accused had therefore the more wrong. But the assizes following at Lancaster, there were seventeen found guilty by the jury; yet, by the prudent discretion of the judge, who was not satisfied with the evidence,

* The father was that James Robinson who appears as evidence against Anne Whittle. He had probably found the trade lucrative.

they were reprieved, and his majesty and his council being informed by the justice-master, the Bishop of Chester was appointed to examine them, and to certify what was cause of them, which he did; and thereupon four of them, to wit, Margaret Johnson, Francis Dicconson, Mary Spenser, and Hargrave's wife, were sent for up to London, and were viewed and examined by his majesties physicians and chirurgeons, and after by his majesty and the council, and no cause of guilt appearing, but great presumptions of the boy's being suborned to accuse them falsely: therefore it was resolved to separate the boy from his father, they having both followed the women up to London; they were both taken, and put into several prisons asunder. Whereupon, shortly after, the boy confessed that he was taught and suborned to devise and feign those things against them, and had persevered in that wickedness by the counsel of his father and some others, whom envy, revenge, and hope of gain, had prompted on to that devillish design and villany; and he also confessed, that upon that day when he said that they met at the aforesaid house or barn, he was that very day a mile off, getting plumbs in his neighbour's orchard. And that this is a most certain truth, there are many persons yet living, of sufficient reputation and integrity, that can avouch and testifie the same; and besides, what I write, is the most of it true, upon my own knowledge, and the whole I have had from his own mouth more than once." —WEBSTER'S *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*. London, 1677. P. 276—278.

This last batch of witches were sent to London, where they attracted a good deal of notice. Heywood composed upon the story his Comedy entitled the "Lancashire Witches," acted at the Globe in 1634, which afterwards became the ground-work of Shadwell's play, under the same title. In the *Dramatis Personæ* of this last comedy, we meet Mother Demdike, Mother Hargrove, and other witches distinguished in the following trial. It is well known that the phrase Lancashire Witches, long used in memory of these bloody and inhuman proceedings, is now applied as a proverbial compliment to the beauty of the Lancashire women.

To the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Knyvet, Baron of Eserick, in the Countie of Yorke, my very honorable good lord and master.

And to the Right Honorable and vertuous Ladie, the Ladie Elizabeth Knyvet, his wife, my honourable good ladie and mistris.

Right Honorable,

LET it stand (I beseech you) with your favours, whom profession of the same true religion towards God, and so great love hath united together in one, jointly to accept the protection and patronage of these my labours, which not their owne worth hath encouraged, but your worthinesse hath enforced me to consecrate unto your honours.

To you, Right Honourable my very good Lord, of right doe they belong: for to whom shall I rather present the first fruits of my learning then to your lordship: who nourished then both mee and them, when there was scarce any being to mee or them? And whose just and upright carriage of causes, whose zeale to justice and honourable curtesie to all men, have purchased you a reverend and worthie respect of all men in all partes of this kingdome where you are knowne. And to your good ladiship they doe of great right belong likewise; whose religion, justice and honourable admittance of my unworthie service to your ladiship doe challenge at my handes the uttermost of what ever I may bee able to performe.

Here is nothing of my own act worthie to bee commended to your honours; it is the worke of those reverend magistrates, his majesties justices of assizes in the north partes, and no more then a particular declaration of the proceedings of justice in those partes. Here shall you behold the justice of this land truly administred, *præmium et pœnam*, mercie and judgement, freely and indifferently bestowed and inflicted; and above all thinges to bee remembred, the excellent care of these judges in the trial of offenders.

It hath pleased them, out of their respect to mee, to impose this worke upon mee, and according to my understanding, I have taken paines to finish, and now, confirmed by their judgement, to publish the same for the benefit of my countrie. That the ex-

These convicted upon their owne examinations, confessions, and evidence at
may worke good in others, rather by with-holding them from, then imbold-
to, the atchieving such desperate actes as these or the like.

are some part of the fruits of my time spent in the service of my countrie,

by your grave and reverend counsell, my good lord, I reduced my wavering and
wandering thoughts to a more quiet harbour of repose.

If it please your honours to give them your honourable respect, the world may
judge them the more worthie of acceptance, to whose various censures they are now ex-
posed.

God of heaven, whose eies are on them that feare him, to bee their protector and
guide, behold your honours with the eye of favor, be evermore your strong hold, and
your great reward, and blesse you with blessings in this life, externall and internall,
temporall and spirituall, and with eternall happines in the world to come: to which I
commend your honours; and rest both now and ever, from my lodging in Chancerie
Lane, the sixteenth of November, 1612,

Your Honours humbly devoted servant,

THOMAS POTTS.

Upon the arraignment and triall of these witches at the last assizes and generall
gaole-deliverie, holden at Lancaster, wee found such apparent matters against them,
that we thought it necessarie to publish them to the world, and thereupon imposed the
labour of this worke upon this gentleman, by reason of his place, being a clerke at that
time in court, imploied in the arraignment and triall of them.

JA. ALTHAM.

EDW. BROMLEY.

After he had taken great paines to finish it, I tooke upon mee to revise and correct
it, that nothing might passe but matter of fact, apparent against them by record. It is
very little he hath inserted, and that necessarie, to shew what their offences were, what
people, and of what condition they were: The whole proceedings and evidence against
them, I finde upon examination carefully set forth, and truely reported, and judge the
worke fit and worthie to be published.

EDWARD BROMLEY.

*A particular Declaration of the most barbarous and damnable Practises, Murthers, wicked
and devilish Conspiracies, practized and executed by the most dangerous and malicious
Witch, Elizabeth Sowerthornes, alias Demdike, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie
of Lancaster, Widdow, who died in the Castle at Lancaster, before she came to receive
her tryall.*

• Though publique justice hath passed at these assises upon the capitall offendours,
and after the arraignment and tryall of them, judgement being given, due and timely
execution succeeded; which doth import and give the greatest satisfaction that can be
to all men; yet because upon the caryage, and event of this businesse, the eyes of all
the partes of Lancashire, and other counties in the north partes thereunto adjoyning
were bent: And so infinite a multitude came to the arraignment and tryall of these
witches at Lancaster, the number of them being knowne to exceed all others at any
time heretofore, at one time to be indicted, arraigned, and receive their tryall, especial-
ly for so many murders, conspiracies, charmes, meetinges, hellish and damnable prac-
tises, so apparant upon their owne examinations and confessions. These, my honour-
able and worthy lords, the judges of assise, upon great consideration, thought it neces-
sarie and profitable. to publish to the whole world, their most barbarous and damnable

practises, with the direct proceedings of the court against them, aswell for that there doe passe divers uncertaine reportes and relations of such evidences, as was publicly given against them at their arraignment. As for that divers came to prosecute against many of them that were not found guiltie, and so rest very discontented, and not satisfied. As also for that it is necessary for men to know and understande the meanes whereby they worke their mischiefe, the hidden misteries of their divelish and wicked inchauntmentes, charmes, and sorceries, the better to prevent and avoyde the danger that may ensue. And lastly, who were the principall authors and actors in this late woefull and lamentable tragedie, wherein so much blood was spilt.

Therefore I pray you give me leave, (with your patience and favour,) before I proceed to the indictment, arraignment, and tryall of such as were prisoners in the castle, to lay open the life and death of this damnable and malicious witch, of so long continuance, (old Demdike,) of whom our whole businesse hath such dependence, that without the particular declaration and record of her evidence, with the circumstaunces, we shall never bring any thing to good perfection: for from this sincke of villainie and mischiefe, have all the rest proceeded; as you shall have them in order.

Shee was a very old woman, about the age of fourscore yeares, and had been a witch for fiftie yeares. Shee dwelt in the Forrest of Pendle, a vaste place, fitte for her profession: What shee committed in her time, no man knowes.

Thus lived shee securely for many yeares, brought up her owne children, instructed her graund children, and tooke great care and paines to bring them to be witches. Shee was a generall agent for the devill in all these partes: no man escaped her, or her furies, that ever gave them any occasion of offence, or denyed them any thing they stood need of: and certaine it is, no man neere them was secure or free from danger.

But God, who had in his divine providence provided to cut them off, and roote them out of the commonwealth, so disposed above, that the justices of those partes, understanding, by a generall charme and muttering, the great and universall resort to Maulking Tower, the common opinion, with the report of these suspected people, the complaint of the kinges subjectes for the losse of their children, friendes, goodes, and cattle (as there could not be so great fire without some smoake), sent for some of the countrey, and tooke great paynes to enquire after their proceedings and courses of life.

In the end, Roger Nowell, Esquire, one of his majesties justices in these partes, a very religious honest gentleman, painefull in the service of his countrey; whose fame, for this great service to his countrey, shall live after him, tooke upon him to enter into the particular examination of these suspected persons: and, to the honour of God, and the great comfort of all his countrey, made such a discovery of them in order, as the like hath not been heaid of: which, for your better satisfaction, I have heere placed in order against her as they are upon record, amongst the recordes of the crowne at Lancaster, certified by M. Nowell and others.

The voluntarie Confession and Examination of Elizabeth Sowtherns, alias Demdike, taken at the Fence, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the second Day of Aprill, Annoq. Regni Regis Jacobi Angliæ, &c. Decimo, et Scotiæ Quadragesimo quinto; before Roger Nowell, of Reade, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the sayd Countie; viz.

The said Elizabeth Sowtherns confesseth, and sayth, that, about twentie yeares past, as she was comming homeward from begging, there met her this examine neere unto a stonepit in Gouldshey, in the sayd Forrest of Pendle, a spirit or devill in the shape of a boy, the one halfe of his coate blacke, and the other browne, who bade this examine

to her, that, if she would give him her soule, she should have any thing would request. Whereupon this examinat demaunded his name, and the answered, his name was Tibb: and so this examine, in hope of such gaine as was raised by the sayd devill or Tibb, was contented to give her soule to the said spirit, for the space of five or sixe yeares next after, the sayd spirit or devill appeared at sundry times unto her this examine about day-light gate, alwayes bidding her stay, and asking her this examine what she would have or doe? To whom this examine replied, Nay nothing: for she this examine said she wanted nothing yet. And so about the end of the said sixe yeares, upon a Sabbath-day in the morning, this examine having a litle child upon her knee, and she being in a slumber, the sayd spirit appeared unto her in the likenes of a browne dogg, forcing himselfe to her knee, to get blood under her left arm: and she being without any apparrell, saving her smocke, the said devill did get blood under her left arm. And this examine awaking, sayd, "Jesus save my child;" but had no power, nor could not say, Jesus save herselfe: whereupon the browne dogge vanished out of this examinats sight. after which, this examine was almost sturke madd for the space of eight weekes.

And upon her examination, she further confesseth, and saith, that, a little before Christmas last, this examines daughter having been to helpe Richard Baldwyns folkes at the mill, this examines daughter did bid her this examine goe to the said Baldwyns house, and aske him some thing for her helping of his folkes at the mill (as abovesaid) and in this examines going to the said Baldwyns house, and neere to the said house, she mette with the said Richard Baldwyn; which Baldwyn sayd to this examine, and the said Alizon Device (who at this time ledde this examine, being blinde) get out of my ground, whores and witches; I will burne the one of you, and hang the other. To whom this examine answered, I care not for thee, hang thy selfe. Presently whereupon, at this examines going over the next hedge, the said spirit or devill called Tibb, appeared unto this examinat, and sayd, "Revenge thee of him. To whom this examine sayd againe to the said spirit, "Revenge thee evther of him or his." And so the said spirit vanished out of her sight, and she never saw him since.

And further this examine confesseth and sayth, that the speediest way to take a mans life away by witchcraft, is to make a picture of clay, like unto the shape of the person whom they meane to kill, and dry it thorowly; and when they would have them to be ill in any one place more then an other, then take a thorne or pinne, and pricke it in that part of the picture you would so have to be ill; and when you would have any part of the body to consume away, then take that part of the picture, and burne it. And when they would have the whole body to consume away, then take the remnant of the sayd picture, and burne it; and so thereupon, by that meanes, the body shall die.

The Confession and Examination of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, being Prisoner at Lancaster, taken the 19. Day of May, Annoq Regni Regis Jacobi Angliæ, Decimo. at Scotie Quadragesimo quinto; before William Sandes, Maior of the Borough Towne of Lancaster, James Anderton, of Clayton, one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the same County, and Thomas Cowell, one of his Majesties Coroners in the sayd Countie of Lancaster; viz.

First, the sayd Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, sayth, that, about foureteene yeares past, she entered, through the wicked perswasions and counsell of Elizabeth Southens alias Demdike, and was seduced to condescend and agree to become subject unto that devilish abhominable profession of witchcraft: soone after which the devill appeared unto her, in the liknes of a man, about midnight, at the house of the sayd Demdike,

and thereupon the sayd Demdike, and shee went foorth of the said house unto him, whereupon the said wicked spirit mooved this examine, that she would become his subject, and give her soule unto him; the which at first she refused to assent unto; but after, by the great perswasions made by the sayd Demdike, shee yeelded unto be at his commaundement and appoyntment: whereupon the sayd wicked spirit then sayd unto her, that he must have one part of her body for him to sucke upon; the which shee denyed then to graunt unto him; and withall asked him, what part of her body hee would have for that use? who said, hee would have a place of her right side, neere to her ribbes, for him to sucke upon; whereunto shee assented.

And she further sayth, that at the same time there was a thing in the likenes of a spotted bitch, that came with the sayd spirit unto the sayd Demdike, which then did speake unto her in this examines hearing, and sayd, that she should have gould, silver, and worldly wealth, at her will. And at the same time she saith, there was victuals, viz. flesh, butter, cheese, bread, and drinke, and bidde them eate enough. And after their eating, the devill called Fancie, and the other spirit calling himselfe Tibbe, caried the remnant away. And she sayeth, that, although they did eate, they were never the fuller, nor better for the same; and that at their said banquet, the said spirits gave them light to see what they did, although they neyther had fire nor candle light; and that they were both shee spirites and divels.

And being further examined how many sundry persons have been bewitched to death, and by whom they were so bewitched: she sayth, that one Robert Nutter, late of the Greene-head, in Pendle, was bewitched by this examine, the said Demdike, and widdow Lomshawe (late of Burnely), now deceased.

And she further sayth, that the said Demdike shewed her, that she had bewitched to death Richard Ashton, sonne of Richard Ashton, of Downham, Esquire.

The Examination of Alizon Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the County of Lancaster, Spinster, taken at Reade, in the said Countie of Lancaster, the xiii. Day of March, Anno Regni Jacobi Angliæ, &c. Nono: et Scotiæ xlv. Before Roger Nowell of Read, aforesayd, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the said Countie, against Elizabeth Sowtherns, alias Demdike, her Graund-mother; viz.

The said Alizon Device sayth, that about two yeares ago, her graund-mother (called Elizabeth Sowtherns, alias old Demdike) did sundrie times, in going or walking together as they went begging, perswade and advise this examine to let a devill or familiar appeare unto her; and that shee this examine would let him sucke at some part of her, and shee might have and doe what shee would.

And shee further sayth, that one John Nutter, of the Bulhole, in Pendle aforesaid, had a cow which was sicke, and requested this examine's grand-mother to amend the said cow; and her said graund-mother said she would; and so her said graund-mother, about ten of the clocke in the night, desired this examine to lead her foorth, which this examine did, being then blind; and her graund-mother did remaine about halfe an houre foorth; and this examines sister did fetch her in againe; but what shee did when shee was so foorth, this examine cannot tell. But the next morning, this examine heard that the sayd cow was dead. And this examine verily thinketh that her said graund-mother did bewitch the sayd cow to death.

And further, this examine sayeth, that about two yeares ago, this examine having gotten a piggin full of blew milke by begging, brought it into the house of her graund-mother, where (this examine going foorth presently, and staying about halfe an houre) there was butter to the quantity of a quarterne of a pound in the said milke, and the quantitie of the said milke still remayning; and her graund-mother had no

the house when this examine went forth; duering which time this examine's mother still lay in her bed.

And further, this examine sayth, that Richard Baldwin, of Wheethhead, within the Forrest of Pendle, about 2 yeares agoe, fell out with this examines graund-mother, and so would not let her come upon his land; and about foure or five dayes then next after, her said graund-mother did request this examine to lead her forth about ten of the clocke in the night; which this examine accordingly did, and she stayed forth then about an houre, and this examines sister fetched her in againe; and this examine heard the next morning, that a woman child of the sayd Richard Baldwins was fallen sicke; and, as this examine did then heare, the sayd child did languish afterwards by the space of a yeare, or thereabouts, and dyed; and this examine verily thinketh that her said graund-mother did bewitch the sayd child to death.

And further, this examine sayeth, that she heard her sayd graund-mother say, presently after her falling out with the sayd Baldwin, shee would pray for the sayd Baldwin both still and loude: and this examine heard her curse the sayd Baldwin sundry times.

The Examination of James Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Labourer, taken the 27. Day of April, Annoq. Regni Regis Jacobi, Anglia, &c. Decimo: ac Scotie Quadragesimo quinto: Before Roger Nowell and Nicholas Banister, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the sayd Countie.

The sayd examine James Device sayth, that about a month agoe, as this examine was coming towards his mothers house, and at day-gate of the same night, this examine mette a browne dogge comming from his graund-mothers house, about tenne roodes distant from the same house; and about two or three nights after, that this examine heard a voyce of a great number of children screiking and crying pittifully, about day-light gate; and likewise about ten roodes distant of this examines sayd graund-mothers house. And about five nights then next following, presently after day-light, within 20 roodes of the sayd Elizabeth Sowtherns house, he heard a foule yelling, like unto a great number of cattes; but what they were this examine cannot tell. And he further sayth, that, about three nights after that, about midnight of the same, there came a thing, and lay upon him very heavily about an houre, and went then from him out of his chamber window, coloured blacke, and about the bignesse of a hare or catte. And he further sayth, that about S. Peters day last, one Henry Bullocke came to the sayd Elizabeth Sowtherns house, and sayd, that her graund child Alizon Device had bewitched a child of his, and desired her that she would goe with him to his house, which accordingly she did; and thereupon she the said Alizon fell downe on her knees, and asked the said Bullocke forgiveness, and confessed to him, that she had bewitched the said child, as this examine heard his said sister confesse unto him this examine.

The Examination of Elizabeth Device, Daughter of old Demdike, taken at Read, before Roger Nowell, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the Countie of Lancaster the xxx. Day of March, Annoq. Regni Jacobi Decimo, ac Scotie xlv.

The sayd Elizabeth Device, the examine, sayth, that the sayd Elizabeth Sowtherns, alias Demdike, hath had a place on her left side by the space of forty yeares, in such sort as was to be seene at this examines examination, taking at this present time.

Heere this worthy justice M. Nowell, out of these particular examinations, or rather accusations, finding matter to proceed, and having now before him old Demdike, old

Chattox, Alizon Device, and Redferne, both old and young, *Reos confitentes et accusantes invicem*. About the second of Aprill last past, committed and sent them away to the castle at Lancaster, there to remaine untill the comming of the kinges majesties justices of assise, then to receive their tryall.

But heere they had not stayed a weeke, when their children and friendes being abroad at libertie, laboured a speciall meeting at Malking Tower, in the Forrest of Pendle, upon Good-fryday, within a weeke after they were committed, of all the most dangerous, wicked, and damnable witches in the county farre and neere. Upon Good-fryday they met, according to solemne appoyntment, solemnized this great festivall day according to their former order, with great cheare, merry company, and much conference.

In the end, in this great assemblie, it was decreed M. Covell, by reason of his office, shall be slaine before the next assises: the castle of Lancaster to be blown up, and ayde and assistance to be sent to kill M. Lister, with his oldemie and wicked neighbour Jennet Preston, with some other such like practises, as upon their arraignment and tryall are particularly set forth and given in evidence against them.

This was not so secret, but some notice of it came to M. Nowell, and by his great paines taken in the examination of Jennet Device, al their practises are now made known. Their purpose to kill M. Covell, and blow up the castle, is prevented; all their murders, witchcraftes, inchauntments, charmes, and sorceries, are discovered; and even in the middest of their consultations they are all confounded and arrested by Gods justice; brought before M. Nowell and M. Bannister, upon their voluntary confessions, examinations, and other evidence accused, and so by them committed to the castle: so as now both old and young have taken up their lodgings with M. Covell, untill the next assises, expecting their tryall and deliverance, according to the lawes provided for such like.

In the meane time, M. Nowell having knowledge by this discovery of their meeting at Malkeing Tower, and their resolution to execute mischief, takes great paines to apprehend such as were at libertie, and prepared evidence against all such as were in question for witches.

Afterwaides sendes some of these examinations to the assises at Yorke, to be given in evidence against Jennet Preston, who, for the murder of M. Lister, is condemned and executed.

The circuite of the north partes being now almost ended.

The 16. of August.

Upon Sunday in the after noone, my honorable lords the judges of assise came from Kendall to Lancaster.

Whereupon M. Covell presented unto their lordships a calendar, conteyning the names of the prisoners committed to his charge, which were to receive their tryall at the assises: out of which we are onely to deale with the proceedings against witches, which were as followeth; viz.

The Names of the Witches committed to the Castle of Lancaster.

Elizabeth Sowtherns,	} Who dyed before
alias	
Old Demdike,	} came to her tryall.
Anne Whittle, alias Chattox.	
Elizabeth Device, daughter of old Demdike.	
James Device, sonne of Elizabeth Device.	
Anne Redferne, daughter of Anne Chattox.	

Alice Natter.
 Katherine Hewytte.
 John Bulcocke.
 Jane Bulcock.
 Alizon Device, daughter of Elizabeth Device.
 Isabell Robey.
 Margaret Pearson.

The Witches of Salmesbury.

Jennet Bierley.	}	Elizabeth Astley.
Elen Bierley.		Alice Gray.
Jane Southworth.		Isabell Sidegraves.
John Ramesden.		Lawrence Hay.

The next day, being Monday the 17. of August, were the assises holden in the castle of Lancaster, as followeth.

Placita Coronæ.

Lanc. ss.—Deliberatio gaolæ Domini regis castri sui Lancastr. ac prisonariorum in eadem existent. Tenta apud Lancastr. in com. Lancastr. die luna, decimo septimo die Augusti, anno regni Domini nostri Jacobi Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris decimo: et Scotiæ quadragesimo sexto; coram Jacobo Altham milit. uno baronum scaccarii. Domini regis, et Edwardo Bromley milit. altero baronum in ejusdem scaccarii Domini regis: ac Justic. dicti Domini regis apud Lancastr.

Upon the Tewesday in the after noone, the judges, according to the course and order, devided them selves, where upon my Lord Bromley, one of his majesties judges of assise, comming into the hall to proceede with the pleaes of the crowne, and the arraignment and tryall of prisoners, commanded a generall proclamation, that all justices of peace that had taken any recognisaunces, or examinations of prisoners, should make returne of them: and all such as were bound to prosecute indictmentes, and give evidence against witches, should proceede, and give attendance; for hee now intended to proceed to the arraignment and tryall of witches.

After which, the court being set, M. Sherieffe was commaunded to present his prisoners before his lordship, and prepare a sufficient jurie of gentlemen for life and death. But heere we want old Demdike, who dyed in the castle before she came to her tryall.

Heere you may not expect the exact order of the assises, with the proclamations, and other solemnities belonging to so great a court of justice; but the proceedings against the witches, who are now upon their deliverance here, in order as they came to the barre, with the particular poyntes of evidence against them: which is the labour and worke we now intend (by God's grace) to perform as we may, to your generall contentment.

Whereupon, the first of all these, Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, was brought to the barre; against whom wee are now ready to proceed.

The Arraignment and Tryall of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Widdow; about the age of Four-score yeares, or thereabouts.

ANNE WHITTLE, alias CHATTOX.

If, in this damnable course of life, and offences, more horrible and odious, than any man is able to expresse, any man lyving could lament the estate of any such like upon earth; the example of this poore creature would have moved pittie, in respect of her great contrition and repentance, after she was committed to the castle at Lancaster, until the coming of his majesties judges of assise. But such was the nature of her offences, and the multitude of her crying sinnes, as it tooke away all sense of humanity. And the repetition of her hellish practises, and revenge, being the chiefest things wherein she alwayes tooke great delight, togeather with a particular declaration of the murders shee had committed, layde open to the world, and given in evidence against her at the time of her arraignment and tryall; as certainly it did beget contempt in the audience, and such as she never offended.

Her owne examination.

This Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, was a very old, withered, spent, and decreped creature, her sight almost gone: A dangerous witch, of very long continuance; alwayes opposite to old Demdike: For whom the one favoured, the other hated deadly. And how they envie and accuse one another, in their examinations may appeare.

In her witchcraft, alwayes more ready to doe mischief to mens goods, than themselves. Her lippes ever chattering and walking; but no man knew what. She lived in the Forrest of Pendle, amongst this wicked company of dangerous witches. Yet in her examination and confession, she dealt alwayes very plainly and truly: for, upon a speciall occasion, being oftentimes examined in open court, shee was never found to vary, but alwayes to agree in one, and the selfe same thing.

I place her in order, next to that wicked fire-brand of mischief, old Demdike, because from these two, sprung all the rest in order: and were the children and friendes of these two notorious witches.

Many things in the discovery of them, shall be very worthy your observation. As the times and occasions to execute their mischief. And this in generall: the spirit could never hurt till they gave consent.

And, but that it is my charge, to set foorth a particular declaration of the evidence against them, upon their arraignment and tryall; with their divelish practises, consultations, meetings, and murders committed by them, in such sort, as they were given in evidence against them; for the which, I shall have matter upon record; I could make a large comentarie of them: But it is my humble duty, to observe the charge and commaundement of these my honourable good lordes the judges of assise, and not to exceed the limits of my commission. Wherefore I shall now bring this auncient witch to the due course of her tryall, in order, viz.

Indictment.

This Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the countie of Lancaster, widdow, being indicted, for that shee feloniously had practised, used, and exercised divers wicked and divelish artes, called witchcraftes, inchauntements, charmes, and sorceries, in and upon one Robert Nutter of Greenehead, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the countie of Lanc: and by force of the same witchcraft, feloniously the sayd Robert Nutter had killed, *contra pacem, &c.* Being at the barre, was arraigned.

To this indictment, upon her arraignment, shee pleaded *Not guilty*: and for the tryall of her life, put herselfe upon God and her country.

Whereupon my Lord Bromley commaunded M. Sheriffe of the county of Lancaster, in open court, to returne a jurie of worthy sufficient gentlemen of understanding, to passe betweene our soveraigne lord the kinges majesue, and her, and others the prisoners, upon their lives and deathes; as hereafter follow in order: who were afterwarde sworne, according to the forme and order of the court, the prisoners being admitted to their lawfull challenges.

Which being done, and the prisoner at the barre readie to receive her tryall: M. Nowell, being the best instructed of any man, of all the particular poyntes of evidence against her, and her fellowes, having taken great paynes in the proceedings against her and her fellowes; humbly prayed her owne voluntary confession and examination taken before him, when she was apprehended and committed to the castle of Lancaster for witchcraft; might openly be published against her: which hereafter followeth. Viz.

The Voluntary Confession and Examination of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, taken at the Fence, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, before Roger Nowell, Esq. one of the Kinges Majesties Justices of Peace, in the Countie of Lancaster. Viz.

The said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, upon her examination, voluntarily confesseth, and sayth, That about foureteene or fiftene yeares agoe, a thing like a Christian man, for foure yeares together, did sundry times come to this examine, and requested this examine to give him her soule: And in the end, this examine was contented to give him her sayd soule, shee being then in her owne house, in the Forrest of Pendle; whereupon the devill, then in the shape of a man, sayd to this examine, Thou shalt want nothing; and be revenged of whom thou list. And the devill then further commaunded this examine, to call him by the name of Fancie; and when she wanted any thing, or would be revenged of any, call on Fancie, and he would be ready. And the sayd spirit or devill, did appeare unto her not long after, in mans likenesse, and would have had this examine to have consented, that he might hurt the wife of Richard Baldwin of Pendle; but this examine would not then consent unto him: For which cause the sayd devill would then have bitten her by the arme; and so vanished away, for that time.

And this examine further sayth, That Robert Nutter did desire her daughter, one Redfearn's wife, to have his pleasure of her, being then in Redfearn's house: but the sayd Redfearn's wife denied the sayd Robert; whereupon the sayd Robert seeming to be greatly displeased therewith, in a great anger tooke his horse, and went away, saying in a great rage, that if ever the ground came to him, shee should never dwell upon his land. Whereupon this examine called Fancie to her; who came to her in the likenesse of a man, in a parcell of ground called, The Laund; asking this examine, what shee would have him to doe? And this examine bade him goe revenge her of the said Robert Nutter. After which time, the sayd Robert Nutter lived about a quarter of a yeare, and then dyed.

And this examine further sayth, That Elizabeth Nutter, wife to old Robert Nutter, did request this examine, and Loomeshaw's wife, of Burley, and one Jane Boothman, of the same, who are now both dead, (which time of request was before that Robert Nutter desired the company of Redfearn's wife) to get young Robert Nutter his death, if they could; all being together then at that time, to that end, that if Robert were dead, then the women their coosens might have the land: By whose persuasion, they all consented unto it. After which time, this examines sonne in law, Thomas Redfearn, did persuade this examine, not to kill or hurt the sayd Robert Nutter; for which persuasion, the said Loomeshaw's wife had like to have killed the sayd Redfearn, but that one Mr. Baldwin (the late schoole-maister at Couine) did,

by his learning, stay the sayd Loomeshaw's wife, and therefore had a capon from Redferne.

And this examine further sayth, That she thinketh the sayd Loomeshaw's wife, and Jane Boothman, did what they could to kill the sayd Robert Nutter, as well as this examine did.

The Examination of Elizabeth Southernes, alias Old Demdike: taken at the Fence, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the day and yeare aforesaid: Before Roger Nowell, Esquire, one of the Kings Majesties Justices of Peace in the said Countie, against Anne Whittle, alias Chattox.

The said Elizabeth Southernes saith upon her examination, That about halfe a yeare before Robert Nutter died, as this examine thinketh, this examine went to the house of Thomas Redferne, which was about mid-sommer, as this examine remembreth it. And there, within three yards of the east end of the said house, shee saw the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, and Anne Redferne, wife of the said Thomas Redferne, and daughter of the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox: the one on the one side of the ditch; and the other on the other: and two pictures of clay or marle lying by them: and the third picture the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, was making: and the said Anne Redferne, her said daughter, wrought her clay or marle to make the third picture withall. And this examine passing by them, the said spirit, called Tibb, in the shape of a black cat, appeared unto her this examine, and said, turne back againe, and doe as they doe: To whom this examine said, what are they doing? whereunto the said spirit said, they are making three pictures: whereupon she asked whose pictures they were? whereunto the said spirit said, they are the pictures of Christopher Nutter, Robert Nutter, and Marie, wife of the said Robert Nutter. But this examine denying to goe back to helpe them to make the pictures aforesaid; the said spirit seeming to be angrie, therefore shove or pushed this examine into the ditch, and so shed the milke which this examine had in a can or kit: and so thereupon the spirit at that time vanished out of this examines sight: But presently after that, the said spirit appeared to this examine againe in the shape of a hare, and so went with her about a quarter of a mile, but said nothing to this examine, nor shee to it.

The Examination and Evidence of James Robinson, taken the day and yeare aforesaid. Before Roger Nowell, Esquire, aforesaid, against Anne Whittle, alias Chattox. Prisoner at the Barre, as followeth. Viz.

The said examine saith, That about sixe yeares agoe, Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, was hired by this examines wife to card wooll; and so upon a Friday and Saturday, shee came and carded wooll with this examines wife, and so the Munday then next after shee came likewise to card: and this examines wife having newly tunned drinke into stands, which stood by the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox: and the said Anne Whittle taking a dish or cup, and drawing drinke severall times: and so never after that time, for some eight or nine weekes, they could have any drinke, but spoiled, and, as this examine thinketh, was by the meanes of the said Chattox. And further he saith, That the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, and Anne Redferne her said daughter, are commonly reputed and reported to bee witches. And he also saith, that about some eightene yeares agoe, he dwelled with one Robert Nutter the elder, of Pendle aforesaid. And that young Robert Nutter, who dwelled with his grand-father, in the sommer time, he fell sicke, and in his said sicknesse hee did severall times complaine, that he had harme by them: and this examine asking him what hee meant by that word, *Them*, he said, that he verily thought that the said Anne Whittle, alias

Chattox, and the said Redfernes wife, had bewitched him. And the said Robert Nutter shortly after, being to goe with his then master, called for Sir Richard Shattleworth, into Wales, this examine heard him say before his then going, unto the said Thomas Redferne, that if ever he came again he would get his father to put the said Redferne out of his house, or he himselfe would pull it downe, to whom the said Redferne replied, saying, when you come back againe you will be in a better minde: but he never came back againe, but died before Candlemas in Cheshire, as he was comming homeward.

Since the voluntarie confession and examination of a witch, doth exceede all other evidence, I spare to trouble you with a multitude of examinations, or depositions of any other witnesses, by reason this bloudie fact, for the murder of Robert Nutter, upon so small an occasion, as to threaten to take away his owne land from such as were not worthie to inhabite or dwell upon it, is now made by that which you have already heard, so apparant, as no indifferent man will question it, or rest unsatisfied. I shall now proceede to set forth unto you the rest of her actions, remaining upon record. And how dangerous it was for any man to live near these people, to give them any occasion of offence, I leave it to your good consideration.

The Examination and Voluntarie Confession of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, taken at the Pence, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the second day of Aprill, Anno Regni Regis Jacobi Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, decimo, et Scotiæ xlv. Before Roger Nowell, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the Countie of Lancaster.

Shee, the said examine, saith, That shee was sent for by the wife of John Moore, to helpe drinke that was forspoken or bewitched: at which time shee used this prayer for the amending of it, viz.

A Charme.

Three biters hast thou bitten,
The hart, ill eye, ill tonge:
Three bitter shall be thy boote,
Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost
a God's name.
Five pater-nosters, five avies,
and a creede,
In worship of five wounds
of our Lord.*

After which time that this examine had used these prayers, and amended her drinke, the said Moore's wife did chide this examine, and was grieved at her.

And thereupon this examine called for her devill, Fancie, and bad him goe bite a browne cow of the said Moore's by the head, and make the cow goe madde. And the devill then, in the likenesse of a browne dogge, went to the said cow, and bit her. Which cow went madde accordingly, and died within six weekes next after, or thereabouts.

Also this examine saith, that shee, perceiving Anthonie Nutter of Pendle to favour Elizabeth Southernes, alias Demdike, shee, this examine, called Fancie to her, (who

* This charme, and others stated to have been used by these poor creatures, seem to be of popish origin, much corrupted by the illiterate reciters.

appeared like a man) and bad him goe kill a cow of the said Anthonies; which the said devill did, and that cow died also.

And further this examine saith, That the devill, or Fancie, hath taken most of her sight away from her. And further this examine saith, That in summer last, save one, the said devill, or Fancie, came upon this examine in the night-time; and at diverse and sundry times in the likenesse of a beare, gaping as though he would have wearied* this examine. And the last time of all, shee, this examine, saw him, was upon Thursday last yeare but one, next before midsummer day, in the evening, like a beare, and this examine would not then speake unto him, for the which the said devill pulled this examine downe.

The Examination of James Devise, sonne of Elizabeth Devise, taken the seven and twentieth day of Aprill, Annoq Reg. Regis Jacobi Angliæ, &c. Decimo ac Scotiæ xlv. Before Roger Nowell and Nicholas Banister, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the said Countie. Viz.

And further saith, That twelve yeares agoe, the said Anne Chattox, at a buriall at the new church in Pendle, did take three scalpes of people which had been buried, and then cast out of a grave, as she the said Chattox told this examine; and tooke eight teeth out of the said scalpes, whereof she kept foure to her selfe, and gave other foure to the said Demdike, this examines grand mother: which foure teeth now shewed to this examine, are the foure teeth that the said Chattox gave to his said grand mother, as aforesaid; which said teeth have ever since beene kept, until now found by the said Henry Hargieives and this examine, at the west-end of this examines grand mothers house, and there buried in the earth, and a picture of clay there likewise found by them, about halfe a yard over in the earth, where the said teeth lay, which said picture so found, was almost withered away, and was the picture of Anne, Anthony Nutters daughter; as this examines grand-mother told him.

The Examination of Allizon Devise, Daughter of Elizabeth Devise. Taken at Reade, in the Countie of Lancaster, the thurtenth day of March. Annoq Reg. Regis Jacobi nunc Angliæ, &c. Decimo, & Scotiæ Quadragesimo quinto. Before Roger Nowell of Reade aforesaid, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace, within the said Countie.

This examine saith, That about eleven yeares agoe, this examine and her mother had their fire-house broken, and all, or most part of their linnen clothes, and halfe a peck of cut oat-meale, and a quantitie of meale gone, all which was worth twentie shillings or above, and upon a Sunday then next after, this examine did take a band and a coife, parcell of the goods aforesaid, upon the daughter of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, and claimed them to be parcell of the goods stollen, as aforesaid.

And this examine further saith, That her father, called John Devise, being afraid, that the said Anne Chattox should doe him or his goods any hurt by witchcraft, did covenant with the said Anne, that if she would hurt neither of them, she should yearly have one aghen-dole of meale; which meale was yearly paid, until the yeare which her father died in, which was about eleven yeares since. Her father upon his then death-bed, taking it that the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, did bewitch him to death, because the said meale was not paid the last yeare.

And she also saith, That about two yeares agoe, this examine being in the house of Anthony Nutter of Pendle, aforesaid, and being then in company with Anne Nut-

ter, daughter of the said Anthony, the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, came into the said Anthony Nutter's house, and seeing this examine and the said Anne Nutter laughing, and saying, that they laughed at her, the said Chattox: well said then (sayes Anne Chattox) I will be meet with the one of you. And, upon the next day after, she, the said Anne Nutter, fell sicke, and within three weekes after died. And further, this examine saith, That about two yeares agoe, she, this examine, hath heard, that the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, was suspected for bewitching the drinke of John Moore of Higham, gentleman; and not long after, shee, this examine, heard the said Chattox say, that she would meet with the said John Moore, or his. Whereupon a child of the said John Moores, called John, fell sick, and languished about halfe a yeare, and then died. During which languishing, this examine saw the said Chattox sitting in her owne garden, and a picture of clay, like unto a child, in her apron; which this examine espying, the said Anne Chattox would have hidde with her apron: and this examine declaring the same to her mother, her mother thought it was the picture of the said John Moores childe.

And she this examine further saith, That about six or seven yeares agoe, the said Chattox did fall out with one Hugh Moore, of Pendle, as aforesaid, about certaine cattell of the said Moores, which the said Moore did charge the said Chattox to have bewitched; for which the said Chattox did curse and worry the said Moore, and said she would be revenged of the said Moore; whereupon the said Moore presently fell sicke, and languished about halfe-a-yeare, and then died. Which Moore, upon his death-bed, said, that the said Chattox had bewitched him to death. And she further saith, that about six yeares ago, a daughter of the said Anne Chattox, called Elizabeth, having been at the house of John Nutter of the Bull-hole, to begge or get a dish full of milke, which she had, and brought to her mother, who was about a fields breadth of the said Nutters house, which her said mother, Anne Chattox, tooke and put into a kan, and did charne the same with two stickes across, in the same field; whereupon the said John Nutters sonne came unto her, the said Chattox, and mishiking her doings, put the said kan and milke over with his foot; and the morning next after, a cow of the said John Nutters fell sicke, and so languished three or foure dayes, and then died.

In the end, being openly charged with all this in open court, with weeping teares she humbly acknowledged them to be true, and cried out unto God for mercy and forgiveness of her sinnes, and humbly prayed my lord to be mercifull unto Anne Redfearne, her daughter, of whose life and condition you shall heare more upon her arraignment and triall; whereupon shee being taken away, Elizabeth Device comes now to receive her triall, being the next in order, of whom you shall heare at large.

The Arraignment and Triall of Elizabeth Device, daughter of Elizabeth Sothernes, alias Old Dembdike, late Wife of Jo. Device, of the Forest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Widow, for Witchcraft, upon Tuesday the eighteenth of August, at the Assises and General Gaole Deliverie holden at Lancaster. Before Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assise at Lancaster.

ELIZABETH DEVICE.

O barbarous and inhumane monster, beyond example, so farre from sensible understanding of thy owne miserie, as to bring thy owne naturall children into mischief and

* This affecting touch of nature, by which the mother seems to have devoted herself to save her daughter, seems to have been totally lost on the prejudiced audience, as well as upon the reporter. Sometimes even these degrading trials gave rise to a noble display of character. A poor young woman, whom cruel tortures had compelled to confess this fantastic crime, was urged by the compassionate spectators to plead pregnancy. She answered firmly, she would not make herself both a witch and a strumpet, and suffered death accordingly.—*HUTCHINSON on Witchcraft.*

bondage, and thy selfe to be a witnesse upon the gallows, to see thy owne children, by thy devillish instructions, hatcht up in villanie and witchcraft, to suffer with thee, even in the beginning of their time, a shamefull and untimely death. Too much (so it be true) cannot be said or written of her. Such was her life and condition, that even at the barre, when she came to receive her triall, (where the least sparke of grace or modestie would have procured favour, or moved pitie) she was not able to containe her selfe within the limits of any order or government; but exclaiming, in very outrageous manner, crying out against her owne children, and such as came to prosecute indictments and evidence for the kings majestie against her, for the death of their children, friends, and kinsfolkes, whome cruelly and bloudily, by her enchauntments, charmes, and sorceries, she had murthered and cut off, spawing no man with fearfull execrable curses and banning. Such in generall was the common opinion of the countrey where she dwelt, in the Forrest of Pendle, (a place fit for people of such condition) that no man neere her, neither his wife, children, goods, or cattell, should be secure, or free from danger.

Thus Elizabeth Device was the daughter of Elizabeth Sothernes, old Dembdike, a malicious, wicked, and dangerous witch for fiftie yeares, as appeareth by record; and how much longer, the devill and shee knew best, with whome shee made her covenant.

It is very certaine, that amongst all these witches, there was not a more dangerous and devillish witch to execute mischief, having old Dembdike, her mother, to assist her; James Device, and Alizon Device, her owne naturall children, all provided with spirits, upon any occasion of offence readie to assist her.

Upon her examination, although Master Nowel was very circumspect, and exceeding carefull in dealing with her, yet she would confesse nothing, until it pleased God to raise up a yong maid, Jennet Device, her owne daughter, about the age of nine yeares, (a witnesse unexpected) to discover all their practises, meetings, consultations, murthers, charmes, and villanies. Such, and in such sort, as I may justly say of them, as a reverend and learned judge of this kingdome speaketh of the greatest treason that ever was in this kingdom, *Quis hac posteris sic narrare poterit, ut facta non jcta esse rideantur?* That when these things shall be related to posterity, they will be reputed matters fained, not done.

And then knowing that both Jennet Device, her daughter, James Device, her sonne, and Alizon Device, with others, had accused her and layd open all things, in their examinations taken before Master Nowell, and although she were their owne naturall mother, yet they did not spare to accuse her of every particular fact which in her time she had committed, to their knowledge; she made a very liberall and voluntarie confession, as hereafter shall be given in evidence against her, upon her arraignment and triall.

This Elizabeth Device being at libertie, after old Dembdike, her mother, Alizon Device, her daughter, and old Chattocks, were committed to the castle of Lancaster for witchcraft, laboured not a little to procure a solemne meeting at Malkyn Tower, of the ground witches of the counties of Lancaster and Yorke, being yet unsuspected and untaken, to consult of some speedie course for the deliverance of their friends, the witches at Lancaster, and for the putting in execution of some other devillish practises of murther and mischief; as upon the arraignment and triall of James Device, her sonne, shall hereafter in every particular point appere at large against her.

The First Indictment.

This Elizabeth Device, late the wife of John Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the countie of Lancaster, widdow, being indicted for that shee feloniously had practized, used, and exercised divers wicked and devillish arts, called witchcrafts, enchantments,

charmes, and sorceries, in and upon one John Robinson, alias Swyer; and by force of the same feloniously, the said John Robinson, alias Swyer, had killed. *Contra pacem, &c.*, being at the barre, was arraigned.

2. *Indictment.*

The said Elizabeth Device was the second time indicted in the same manner and forme, for the death of James Robinson, by witchcraft. *Contra pacem, &c.*

3. *Indictment.*

The said Elizabeth Device was the third time, with others, viz. Alice Nuttall and Elizabeth Sothernnes, alias old Dembdike, her grand-mother, indicted in the same manner and forme, for the death of Henric Mytton. *Contra pacem, &c.*

To these three severall indictments, upon her arraignment, shee pleaded not guiltie, and for the tryall of her life, put her selfe upon God and her countie.

So as now the gentlemen of the jurie of life and death, stand charged to finde whether shee bee guiltie of them, or any of them.

Whereupon there was openly read and given in evidence against her, for the kings majestie, her owne voluntarie confession and examination, when she was apprehended, taken, and committed to the Castle of Lancaster, by M. Nowel, and M. Banmester, two of his majesties justices of peace in the same countie, viz.

The Examination and Voluntarie Confession of Elizabeth Device, taken at the House of James Wilsey, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the seven-and-twentieth day of April, Anno Reg. Jacobi, Angl. &c. Decimo, et Scotiae xlv. Before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Banmester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the same Countie, viz.

The said Elizabeth Device, mother of the said James, being examined, confesseth and saith,

That at the third time her spirit, the spirit Ball, appeared to her in the shape of a browne dogge, at or in her mothers house in Pendle Forrest aforesaid; about foure yeares agoe the said spirit bidde this examinee make a picture of clay, after the said John Robinson, alias Swyer, which this examinee did make accordingly, at the west end of her said mothers house, and dryed the same picture with the fire, and crumbled all the same picture away, within a weeke, or thereabouts; and about a weeke after the picture was crumbled or milled away, the said Robinson dyed.

The reason wherefore shee this examinee did so bewitch the said Robinson to death, was, for that the said Robinson had chidden and becalled this examinee, for having a bastard child with one Seller.

And this examinee further saith and confesseth, That shee did bewitch the said James Robinson to death, as in the said Jennet Device her examination is confessed.

And further she saith and confesseth, That shee, with the wife of Richard Nuttall, and this examines said mother, joyued altogether, and did bewitch the said Henric Mytton to death.

The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device, Daughter of the said Elizabeth Device, late Wife of John Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, against Elizabeth Device, her Mother, Prisoner at the Barre, upon her Arraignement and Trial, viz.

The said Jennet Device, being a yong maide, about the age of nine yeares, and commanded to stand up to give evidence against her mother, prisoner at the barre, her mother, according to her accustomed manner, outrageously cursing, cryed out against the child in such fearefull manner, as all the court did not a little wonder at her, and so amazed the child, as with weeping teares she cryed out unto my lord the judge, and told him, shee was not able to speake in the presence of her mother.

This odious witch was branded with a preposterous marke in nature, even from her birth, which was her left eye standing lower than the other, the one looking downe, the other looking up, so strangely deformed, as the best that were present in that honourable assembly and great audience, did affirme they had not often seene the like.

No intreatie, promise of favour, or other respect, could put her to silence, thinking by this her outrageous cursing and threatening of the child to inforce her to denie that which she had formerly confessed against her mother before M. Nowel, forswearing and denying her owne voluntarie confession, which you have heard given in evidence against her at large, and so, for want of further evidence, to escape that which the justice of the law had provided as a condigne punishment for the innocent blood shee had spilt, and her wicked and devillish course of life.

In the end, when no meanes would serve, his lordship commanded the prisoner to be taken away, and the maide to bee set upon the table, in the presence of the whole court, who delivered her evidence in that honourable assembly, to the gentlemen of the jurie of life and death, as followeth, viz.

Jennet Device, daughter of Elizabeth Device, late wife of John Device, of the Forrest of Pendle aforesaid, widow, confesseth and saith, That her said mother is a witch, and that this shee knoweth to be true, for that shee hath seene her spirit sundrie times come unto her said mother in her owne house, called Malking Tower, in the likenesse of a browne dogge, which shee called Ball; and at one time amongst others, the said Ball did aske this examines mother what she would have him to doe? and this examines mother answered, that she would have the said Ball to helpe her to kill John Robinson of Bailey, alias Swyre; by helpe of which said Ball, the said Swyre was killed by witchcraft accordingly; and that this examines mother hath continued a witch for these thre or foure yeares last past. And further, this examine confesseth, That about a yeare after, this examines mother called for the said Ball, who appeared as aforesaid, asking this examines mother what shee would have done? who said, that shee would have him to kill James Robinson, alias Swyer, of Barlow aforesaid, brother to the said John; whereunto Ball answered, he would doe it; and about three weekes after, the said James dyed.

And this examine also saith, That one other time shee was present, when her said mother did call for the said Ball, who appeared in manner as aforesaid, and asked this examines mother what shee would have him to doe? whereunto this examines mother then said, she would have him to kill one Mitton of the Rough-Lee; whereupon the said Ball said he would doe it, and so vanished away; and about three weekes after, the said Mitton likewise dyed.

The Examination of James Device, Sonne of the said Elizabeth Device, taken the seven and-twentieth day of Aprill, Annoq. Reg. Regis Jacobi Angliæ, &c. Decimo, ac Scotiæ, xlv. Before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the said Countie, viz.

The said James Device being examined, saith, That he heard his grandmother say, about a yeare agoe, that his mother, called Elizabeth Device, and others, had killed one Henry Mitton of the Rough-Lee aforesaid, by witchcraft. The reason wherefore he was so killed, was for that this examines said grandmother, old Demdike, had asked the said Mitton a penny, and he denying her thereof, therupon she procured his death as aforesaid.

And he, this examine, also saith, That about three years ago, this examine being in his grandmothers house, with his said mother, there came a thing in shape of a browne dogge, which his mother called Ball, who spake to this examines mother, in the sight and hearing of this examine, and bad her make a picture of clay like unto John Robinson alias Swyer, and drie it hard, and then crumble it by little and little, and as the said picture should crumble or mull away, so should the said Jo. Robinson, alias Swyer, his body decay and weare away. And within two or three dayes after, the picture shall so all be wasted and mulld away, so then the said John Robinson should die presently. Upon the agreement betwixt the said dogge and this examines mother, the said dogge suddenly vanished out of this examines sight. And the next day, this examine saw his said mother take clay at the west-end of her said house, and make a picture of it after the said Robinson, and brought it into her house, and dried it some two dayes; and about two dayes after the drying thereof, this examines said mother fell on crumbling the said picture of clay, every day some, for some three weekes together; and within two dayes after all was crumbled or mulld away, the said John Robinson died.

Being demanded by the court what answer shee could give to the particular points of the evidence against her, for the death of these severall persons, impudently she denied them, crying out against her children, and the rest of the witnesses against her.

But because I have charged her to be the principall agent to procure a solemne meeting at Malking Tower of the grand witches, to consult of some speedy course for the deliverance of her mother, old Demdike, her daughter, and other witches at Lancaster; the speedie execution of Master Covell, who little suspected or deserved any such practise or villany against him; the blowing up of the castle, with divers other wicked and divellish practises and murthers; I shall make it apparant unto you, by the particular examinations and evidence of her owne children, such as were present at the time of their consultation, together with her owne examination and confession, amongst the records of the crowne at Lancaster, as hereafter followeth.

The Voluntary Confession and Examination of Elizabeth Device, taken at the House of James Wilsey, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the seven and-twentieth day of Aprill, Annoq. Reg. Regis Jacobi Angliæ, &c. Decimo, et Scotiæ Quadragesimo quinto. Before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the same Countie, viz.

The said Elizabeth Device being further examined, confesseth, That upon Good-Friday last, there dined at this examines house, called Malking Tower, those which she hath said are witches, and doth verily think them to be witches; and their names are those whom James Device hath formerly spoken of to be there. And she further

saith, That there was also at her said mothers house, at the day and time aforesaid, two women of Burneley parish, whose names the wife of Richard Nutter doth know. And there was likewise there, one Anne Crouckshey, of Marsden: and shee also confesseth in all things touching the christening of the spirit, and the killing of Master Lister of Westbie, as the said James Device hath before confessed; but denieth of any talke was amongst them, the said witches, to her now remembrance, at the said meeting together, touching the killing of the gaoler, or the blowing up of Lancaster Castle.

The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device, Daughter of the said Elizabeth Device, late Wife of John Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, against Elizabeth Device, her Mother, Prisoner at the Barre, upon her Arraignment and Triall, viz.

The said Jennet Device saith, That upon Good-Friday last, there was about twentie persons (whereof onely two were men, to this examinatees remembrance) at her said grandmothers house, called Malking Tower, aforesaid, about twelve of the clocke; all which persons, this examinatees said mother told her were witches, and that they came to give a name to Alizon Device spirit, or familiar, sister to this examinee, and now prisoner at Lancaster. And also this examinee saith, that the persons aforesaid had to their dinners beefe, bacon, and roasted mutton; which mutton (as this examinatees said brother said) was of a wether of Christopher Swyers of Bailey; which wether was brought in the night before into this examinatees mothers house by the said James Device, this examinatees said brother; and in this examinatees sight killed and eaten, as aforesaid. And shee further saith, that shee knoweth the names of sixe of the said witches, viz. the wife of Hugh Hargraves, Under Pendle, Christopher Howgate of Pendle, unckle to this examinee, and Elizabeth his wife, and Dick Miles his wife of the Rough-Lee, Christopher Jackes of Thorney-Holme, and his wife; and the names of the residue shee this examinee doth not know, saving that this examinatees mother and brother were both there. And lastly, shee this examinee confesseth and saith, That her mother hath taught her two prayers: the one to cure the bewitched, and the other to get drinke: both which particularly appeare.

The Examination and Evidence of James Device, Sonne of the said Elizabeth Device, late Wife of John Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster. Against Elizabeth Device, his Mother, Prisoner at the Barre, upon her Arraignment and Triall, viz.

The said James Device saith, That on Good-Friday last, about twelve of the clocke, in the day time, there dined in this examinatees said mothers house, at Malking-Tower, a number of persons, whereof three were men, with this examinee, and the rest women; and that they met there for three causes following, as this examinatees said mother told this examinee. The first was, for the naming of the spirit, which Alizon Device, now prisoner at Lancaster, had, but did not name him, because shee was not there. The second was, for the deliverie of his said grandmother, Olde Denb-dike; this examinatees said sister Alizon; the said Anne Chattox, and her daughter Redferne; killing the gaoler at Lancaster; and before the next assises, to blow up the castle there; and to that end, the aforesaid prisoners might by that time make an escape, and get away. All which this examinee then heard them conferre of.

And he also saith, That the names of the said witches, as were on Good-Friday at this examinatees said grandmothers house, and now this examinatees own mothers, for

so many of them as hee did know, were these, viz. the wife of Hugh Hargreives of Burley; the wife of Christopher Bulcock of the Mosse end, and John her sonne; the mother of Myles Nutter; Elizabeth, the wife of Christopher Hargreives of Thurniholme; Christopher Howgate, and Elizabeth his wife; Alice Graye of Coulne, and one Mould-heeles, wife of the same; and this examine, and his mother. And this examine further sayth, That all the witches went out of the said house in their own shapes and likenesses. And they all, by that they were forth of the dores, gotten on horsebacke, like unto foales, some of one colour, some of another; and Prestons wife was the last; and when she got on horsebacke, they all presently vanished out of this examines sight. And before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said Prestons wives house that day twelve-moneths; at which time the said Prestons wife promised to make them a great feast. And if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be given, that they all should meete upon Romleyes moore.

Executed at
Corke the last
Assises.

And here they parted, with resolution to execute their devillish and bloudie practises, for the deliverance of their friends, untill they came to meete here, where their power and strength was gone. And now finding her meanes was gone, shee cryed out for mercie. Whereupon shee being taken away, the next in order was her sonne, James Device, whom she and her mother, old Dembdike, brought to act his part, in this wooll tragedie.

The Arraignement and Triall of James Device, Sonne of Elizabeth Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, within the Countie of Lancaster aforesaid, Labourer, for Witchcraft; upon Tuesday the eighteenth of August, at the Assises and Generall Gaole-Deliverie, holden at Lancaster, before Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assise, at Lancaster.

James Device.

This wicked and miserable wretch, whether by practise, or meanes, to bring himselfe to some untimely death, and thereby to avoide his tryall by his countrey, and just judgement of the law; or ashamed to bee openly charged with so many devillish practises, and so much innocent blood as hee had spilt; or by reason of his imprisonment so long time before his tryall, (which was with more favour, commiseration, and reliefe then he deserved,) I know not; but being brought forth to the barre, to receive his triall before this worthie judge, and so honourable and worshipfull an assembly of justices for this service, was so insensible, weake, and unable in all thinges, as he could neither speake, heare, or stand, but was holden up when hee was brought to the place of his arraignement, to receive his triall.

This James Device of the Forrest of Pendle, being brought to the barre, was there, according to the forme, order, and course, indicted and arraigned; for that hee feloniously had practised, used, and exercised divers wicked and devilish arts, called witch-crafts, inchauntments, charmes, and sorceries, in, and upon one Anne Townely, wife of Henrie Townely of the Carre, in the countie of Lancaster, gentleman, and her by force of the same, feloniously had killed. *Contra pacem, &c.*

The said James Device was the second time indicted and arraigned in the same manner and forme, for the death of John Duckworth, by witch-craft. *Contra pacem, &c.*

To these two severall indictments upon his arraignement, he pleaded not guiltie, and for the triall of his life, put himself upon God and his countrie.

So as now the gentlemen of the jurie, of life and death, stand charged to find, whether he be guiltie of these, or either of them.

Whereupon Master Nowel humbly prayed Master Townely might be called, who attended to prosecute, and give evidence against him for the kings majestie, and that the particular examinations, taken before him and others, might be openly published and read in court, in the hearing of the prisoner.

But because it were infinite to bring him to his particular triall for every offence, which hee hath committed in his time, and every practice wherein he hath had his hand, I shall proceede in order with the evidence remaining upon record against him, amongst the records of the crowne; both how, and in what sort hee came to be a witch, and shew you what apparant prooffe there is to charge him with the death of these two severall persons, for the which hee now standeth upon his triall for al the rest of his devillish practises, incantations, murders, charmes, sorceries, meetings to consult with witches to execute mischief (take them as they are against him upon record :) Enough, I doubt not. For these with the course of his life, will serve his turne to deliver you from the danger of him that never tooke felicitie in any things, but in revenge, blood, and mischief, with crying out unto God for vengeance; which hath now at the length brought him to the place where hee stands to receive his triall with more honour, favour, and respect, then such a monster in nature doth deserve; and I doubt not, but in due time, by the justice of the law, to an untimely and shameful death.

The Examination of James Devise, Sonne of Elizabeth Devise, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Labourer. Taken the seven and twentieth day of Aprill Annoq. Reg. Regis Jacobi, Angliæ, &c. xº. et Scotiæ Quadragesimo quinto, before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the said Countie.

He saith, That upon Sheare-Thursday was two years, his grand-mother Elizabeth Southernns, alias Denbdike, did bid him, this examine, goe to the church to receive the communion, (the next day after being Good Friday,) and then not to eate the bread the minister gave him, but to bring it and deliver it to such a thing, as should meet him in his way homewards: notwithstanding her perswasions, this examine did eate the bread; and so in his coming homeward some fortie roodes off the said church, there met him a thing in the shape of a hare, who spoke unto this examine, and asked him whether hee had brought the bread that his grand-mother had bidden him or no? whereupon this examine answered, he had not; and thereupon the said thing threatened to pull this examine in peeces, and so this examine thereupon marked himself to God, and so the said thing vanished out of this examines sight. And within some foure daies after that, there appeared in this examines sight, hard by the new church in Pendle, a thing like unto a browne dogge, who asked this examine to give him his soule, and he should be revenged of any whom hee would; whereunto this examine answered, that his soule was not his to give, but was his Saviour Jesus Christs, but as much as was in him this examine to give, he was contented he should have it.

And within two or three daies after, this examine went to the Carre-hall, and upon some speeches betwixt Mistris Townely and this examine; she charging this examine and his said mother, to have stolne some tuves of hers, badde him packe the doores: and withall as he went forth of the doore, the said Mistris Towneley gave him a knock betweene the shoulders; and about a day or two after that, there appeared unto this examine in his way, a thing like unto a black dog, who put this examine in mind of the said Mistres Towneleys falling out with him, this examine; who bad

this examine make a picture of clay, like unto the said Mistris Towneley; and that this examine with the helpe of his spirit, (who then ever after bidde this examinat: to call it Dandy,) would kill or destroy the said Mistris Towneley; and so the said dogge vanished out of this examines sight. And the next morning after, this examine tooke clay, and made a picture of the said Mistris Towneley, and dried it the same night by the fire, and within a day after, hee, this examine, began to crumble the said picture, every day some, for the space of a weeke; and within two daies after all was crumbled away, the said Mistris Towneley died.

And hee further saith, That in Lent last, one John Duckworth of the Lawnde, promised this examine an old shirt, and within a fortnight after, this examine went to the said Duckworthes house and demanded the said old shirt; but the said Duckworth denied him thereof. And going out of the said house, the said spirit Dandy appeared unto this examine, and said, thou didst touch the said Duckworth; whereunto this examine answered, he did not touch him: yes, (said the spirit again,) thou didst touch him, and therefore I have power of him: whereupon this examine joyned with the said spirit, and then wished the said spirit to kill the said Duckworth: and within one weeke, then next after, Duckworth died.

This voluntary confession and examination of his owne, containing in it selfe matter sufficient in law to charge him, and to prove his offences, contained in the two severall indictments, was sufficient to satisfie the gentlemen of the jury of life and death, that he is guiltie of them, and either of them, yet my lord Bromley commanded, for their better satisfaction, that the witnesses present in court, against any of the prisoners, should be examined openly, *viva voce*, that the prisoner might both heare, and answer to every particular point of their evidence: notwithstanding any of their examinations taken before any of his majesties justices of peace within the same countie.

Herein do but observe the wondertull work of God; to raise up a young infant, the very sister of the prisoner, Jennet Device, to discover, justifie and prove these things against him, at the time of his arraignment and triall, as hereafter followeth, viz.

The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device, Daughter of Elizabeth Device, late Wife of John Device of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster. Against James Device, Prisoner at the Barre, upon his Arraignment and Triall, viz

Being examined in open court, she saith, That her brother James Device, the prisoner at the barre, hath beene a witch for the space of three yeares; about the beginning of which time, there appeared unto him, in this examines mothers house, a black dogge, which her said brother called Dandy. And further, this examine confesseth, and saith, That her said brother, about a twelve month since, in the presence of this examine, and in the house aforesaid, called for the said Dandy, who thereupon appeared, asking this examines brother what he would have him to doe. This examines brother then said, he would have him to helpe him to kill old Mistris Towneley of the Carre; whereunto the said Dandy answered, and said, That her said brother should have his best helpe for the doing of the same, and that her said brother, and the said Dandy, did both in this examines hearing, say, they would make away the said Mistris Towneley. And about a weeke after, this examine comming to the Carre-hall, saw the said Mistris Towneley in the kitchen there, nothing well; whereupon it came into this examines minde, that her said brother, by the help of Dandy, had brought the said Mistress Towneley into the state she then was in.

Which examine, although she were but very yong, yet it was wondertull to the court, in so great a presence and audience, with what modestie, government, and understanding, shee delivered this evidence against the prisoner at the barre, being her

owne naturall brother, which he himselfe could not deny, but there acknowledged in every particular to be just and true.

But behold a little further, for here this bloody monster did not stay his hands: for besides his wicked and devillish spels, practises, meetings to consult of murder and mischief, which (by God's grace,) hereafter shall follow in order against him; there is yet more blood to be laid unto his charge. For although he were but yong, and in the beginning of his time, yet was he carefull to observe his instructions from old Dem-like his grandmother, and Elizabeth Device his mother, in so much, that no time should passe since his first entrance into that damnable arte and exercise of witchcrafts, enchantments, charmes and sorceries, without mischief or murder. Neither should any man upon the least occasion of offence given unto him, escape his hands, without some danger. For these particulars were no sooner given in evidence against him, when he was againe indicted and arraigned for the murder of these two, viz.

James Device of the Forrest of Pendle aforesaid, in the countie of Lancaster, labourer, the third time indicted and arraigned for the death of John Hargrave of Gould shey-booth, in the countie of Lancaster, by witchcraft, as aforesaid. *Contra &c.*

To this indictment upon his arraignment, he pleaded thereunto not guiltie; and for his triall put himself upon God and his countrey, &c.

James Device of the Forrest of Pendle aforesaid, in the countie of Lancaster, labourer, the fourth time indicted and arraigned for the death of Blaze Hargreaves of Higham, in the countie of Lancaster, by witchcraft, as aforesaid. *Contra pacem, &c.*

To this indictment upon his arraignment, he pleaded thereunto not guiltie; and for the triall of his life, put himself upon God and the countrey, &c.

Hereupon Jennet Device produced, sworne and examined, as a witnesse on his majesties behalfe, against the said James Device, was examined in open court, as followeth, viz.

The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device aforesaid. Against James Device, her brother, Prisoner at the Barre, upon his Arraignment and Triall, viz.

Being sworne and examined in open court, she saith, That her brother James Device hath beene a witch for the space of three yeares: about the beginning of which time, there appeared unto him, in this examines mothers house, a blacke dogge, which her said brother called Dandy, which Dandy did aske her said brother, what he would have him to doe, whereunto he answered, hee would have him to kill John Hargreives, of Gold-shey booth; whereunto Dandy answered, that he would doe it; since which time the said John is dead.

And at another time this examine confesseth, and saith, That her said brother did call the said Dandy, who thereupon appeared in the said house, asking this examines brother what hee would have him to doe; whereupon this examines said brother said, he would have him to kill Blaze Hargreives of Higham; whereupon Dandy answered, hee should have his best helpe, and so vanished away; and shee saith, that since that time the said Hargreives is dead; but how long after, this examine doth not now remember.

All which things, when he heard his sister upon her oath affirme, knowing them in his conscience to be just and true, slenderly denyed them, and thereupon insisted.

To this examination were diverse witnesses examined in open court, *viva voce*, concerning the death of the parties, in such manner and forme, and at such time as the said Jennet Device in her evidence hath formerly declared to the court.

Which is all, and I doubt not but matter sufficient in law to charge him with, for the death of these parties.

For the proove of his practises, charmes, meetings at Malking-Tower, to consult with witches to execute mischief, Master Nowel humbly prayed, his owne examination, taken and certified, might openly be read; and the rest in order, as they remain upon record amongst the records of the crowne at Lancaster: as hereafter followeth, viz.

The Examination of James Devise, Sonne of Elizabeth Devise, of the Forrest of Pendle: Taken the seven-and-twentieth day of Aprill aforesaid. Before Roger Nowell and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the said Countie, viz.

And being examined, he further saith, That upon Shcare-Thurseday last, in the evening, he this examine stole a wether from John Robinson of Bailey, and brought it to his grand-mothers house, old Dembdike, and there killed it; and that upon the day following, being Good-Friday, about twelve of the clocke in the day time, there dined in this examines mothers house a number of persons, whercof three were men, with this examine, and the rest women; and that they met there for three causes following, as this examines said mother told this examine.

1. The first was, for the naming of the spirit which Alizon Devise, now prisoner at Lancaster, had, but did not name him, because she was not there.

2. The second cause was, for the deliverie of his said grand-mother; this examine said sister Alizon; the said Anne Chattox, and her daughter Redferne; killing the gaoler at Lancaster; and before the next assises to blow up the castle there, to the end the aforesaid persons might by that meanes make an escape and get away; all which this examine then heard them conferre of.

3. And the third cause was, for that there was a woman dwelling in Gisborne parish, who came into this examines said grand-mothers house, who there came and craved assistance of the rest of them that were then there, for the killing of Master Lister of Westby, because (as she then said) he had borne malice unto her, and had thought to have put her away at the last Assises at Yorke, but could not; and this examine heard the said woman say, that her power was not strong ynough to doe it her selfe, being now lesse then before time it had beene.

And also, That the said Jennet Preston had a spirit with her, like unto a white foale, with a blacke spot in the forehead.

And he also saith, that the names of the said witches as were on Good-Friday at

* In this dismal plot of blowing up the castle, the witches forgot the limitation of their own power, which incapacitates them from acting in aid of those of the sisterhood who happen to be legally committed to jail. Yet that they have the means of carrying on their supernatural intercourse, even during imprisonment, is proved by the evidence of Sir John Reresby.

"Leaving the public affairs for a while at this untoward pass, I would venture to take notice of a private occurrence, which made some noise at York. The assizes being there held, an old woman was condemned for a witch (March 7th, 1686.) Those who were more credulous in points of this nature than myself, conceived the evidence to be very strong against her. The boy she was said to have bewitched fell down on a sudden, before all the court, when he saw her, and would then as suddenly return to himself again, and very distinctly relate the several injuries she had done him; but in all this it was observed the boy was free from any distortion, that he did not foam at the mouth, and that his fits did not leave him gradually, but all at once; so that, upon the whole, the judge thought it proper to reprove her; in which he seemed to act the part of a wise man. But though such is my own private opinion, I cannot help continuing my story. One of my soldiers being upon guard, about eleven in the night, at the gate of Clifford tower, the very night after the witch was arraigned, he heard a great noise at the castle, and going to the porch, he there saw a scroll of paper creep from under the door, which, as he imagined by moonshine, turned first into the shape of a monkey, and thence assumed the form of a turkey cock, which passed to and fro by him. Surprised at this, he went to the prison, and called the under keeper, who came and saw the scroll dance up and down, and creep under the door, where there was scarce an opening of the thickness of half-a-crown. This extraordinary story I had from the mouth of both the one and the other, and now leave it to be believed or disbelieved as the reader may be inclined this way or that."—*Reresby's Memoirs*, p. 328.

this examinate said grandmothers house, and now this examinate owne mothers, for so many of them as he did know, were these, viz. the wife of Hugh Hargreives of Barley; the wife of Christopher Bulcock of the Mosse-end, and John her sonne; the mother of Myles Nutter; Elizabeth, the wife of Christopher Hargreives of Thurnholme; Christopher Howgate, and Elizabeth his wife; Alice Graye of Coulne, and one Moulde-heeles, wife of the same; and this examine, and his mother. And this examine further saith, That all the said witches went out of the said house in their owne shapes and likenesses. And they all, by that they were forth of the doores, were gotten on horsebacke, like unto foales, some of one colour, some of another; and Prestons wife was the last; and when shee got on horsebacke, they all presently vanished out of this examines sight. And before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said Prestons wives house that day twelve-moneths; at which time the said Prestons wife promised to make them a great feast. And if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be given, that they all should meete upon Romeleyes Moore.

The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device, against James Device her said Brother Prisoner at the Barre, upon his Arraignement and Triall; Taken before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires; two of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the said Countie, viz.

Shee saith, that upon Good-Friday last there was about twentie persons, whereof only two were men, to this examines remembrance, at her said grandmothers house, called Malking-Tower aforesaid, about twelve of the clock; all which persons this examines said mother told her were witches, and that they came to give a name to Alizon Device spirit or familiar, sister to this examine, and now prisoner in the castle of Lancaster: and also this examine saith, that the persons aforesaid had to their dinners, beefe, bacon, and roasted mutton, which mutton, as this examines said brother said, was of a weather of Robinsons of Barley: which weather was brought in the night before into this examines mothers house, by the said James Device, this examines said brother, and in this examines sight killed, and eaten, as aforesaid; and shee further saith, that shee knoweth the names of sixe of the said witches, viz. the wife of the said Hugh Hargreives, Under Pendle; Christopher Howget of Pendle, uncle to this examine; and Dick Miles wife of the Rough-Lee: Christopher Jacks of Thorne-holme, and his wife; and the names of the residue, shee this examine doth not know, saving that this examines mother and brother were both there.

The Examination of Elizabeth Device, Mother of the said James Device, of the Forrest of Pendle; taken the seven-and-twentieth day of Aprill aforesaid. Before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires; as aforesaid. viz.

Being examined, the said Elizabeth saith and confesseth, that upon Good-friday last, there dined at this examines house, those which she hath said to be witches, and doth verily thinke them to bee witches, and their names are those, whom James Device hath formerly spoken of to be there.

And shee also confesseth in all things touching the christning of her spirit, and the killing of Master Lister of Westby, as the said James Device confesseth. But denieth that any talke was amongst them the said witches, to her now remembrance, at the said meeting together, touching the killing of the gaoler at Lancaster; blowing up of the castle, thereby to deliver old Dembdike her mother, Alizon Device her daughter, and other prisoners, committed to the said castle for witchcraft.

After all these things opened, and delivered in evidence against him; Master Court, who hath the custodie of the gaole at Lancaster, having taken great pains with him during the time of his imprisonment, to procure him to discover his practizes, and such other witches as hee knew to bee dangerous; humbly prayed the favour of the court, that his voluntary confession to M. Anderton, M. Sands the maior of Lancaster, M. Couel, and others, might openly bee published and declared in court.

The Voluntarie Confession and Declaration of James Device, Prisoner in the Castle at Lancaster. Before William Sands, Maior of Lancaster, James Anderton, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the Countie of Lancaster, and Thomas Couel, Gentleman, one of his Majesties Coroners in the same Countie, viz.

James Device, prisoner in the castle at Lancaster, saith, That his said spirit Dandie, being very earnest with him to give him his soule, he answered, he would give him that part thereof that was his owne to give; and thereupon the said spirit said hee was above Christ Jesus, and therefore hee must absolutely give him his soule; and that done he would give him power to revenge himselfe against any whom he disliked.

And he further saith, That the said spirit did appeare unto him after sundrie times, in the likenesse of a dogge, and at every time most earnestly perswaded him to give him his soule absolutely; who answered as before, that he would give him his owne part and no further. And hee saith, That at the last time that the said spirit was with him, whuch was the Tuesday next before his apprehension, when as hee could not prevail with him to have his soule absolutely granted unto him, as aforesaid; the said spirit departed from him, then giving a most fearefull crie and yell, and withal caused a great flash of fire to shew about him; which said spirit did never after trouble this examinee.

WILLIAM SANDS.
JAMES ANDERTON.
THO. COUEL, Coroner.

The said Jennet Device, his sister, in the very end of her examination against the said James Device, confesseth and saith, that her mother taught her two prayers; the one to get drinke, which was this, viz.

Crucifixus hoc signum vitam eternam. Amen.

And she further saith, that her brother James Device, the prisoner at the barre, hath confessed to her this examinee, that he by this prayer hath gotten drinke; and that within an houre after the saying the said prayer, drinke hath come into the house after a very strange manner. And the other prayer, the said James Device affirmed, would cure one bewitched, which shee recited as followeth, viz.

A Charme.

Upon Good-Friday, I will fast while I may
Until I heare them knell
Our Lords owne bell,
Lord in his messe
With his twelve apostles mood.

What hath he in his hand?
 Ligh in leath wand;
 What hath he in his other hand?
 Heavens doore key,
 Open, open, Heaven doore keyes
 Steck, steck, hell doore!
 Let Crizum child
 Goe to it mother mild:
 What is yonder that casts a light so farrandly?
 Mine owne deare sonne that's naid to the tree.
 He is naid sore by the heart and hand,
 And holy harne panne.
 Well is that man
 That Fryday spell can,
 His childe to learne;
 A crosse of blew, and another of red,
 As good Lord was to the roode.
 Gabriel laid him downe to sleepe
 Upon the ground of holy weepe;
 Good Lord came walking by:
 Sleep'st thou, wak'st thou Gabriel?
 No Lord I am sted with sticke and stake,
 That I can neither sleepe nor wake.
 Rise up Gabriel and go with me!
 The stick nor the stake shall never dcere thee.
 Sweet Jesus our Lord, Amen.

JAMES DEVICE.

What can be said more of this painfull steward, that was so careful to provide mut-
 ton against this feast and solemne meeting at Malking-Tower, of these hellish and
 divellish band of witches, (the like whereof hath not been heard of) then hath beene
 openly published and declared against him at the barre, upon his arraignment and
 triall; wherein it pleased God to raise up witnesses beyond expectation to convince
 him; besides his owne particular examinations, which being shewed and read unto
 him, he acknowledged to be just and true. And what I promised to set forth against
 him, in the beginning of his arraignment and triall, I doubt not but therein I have sa-
 tisfied your expectation at large, wherein I have beene very sparing to charge him with
 any thing, but with sufficient matter of record and evidence, able to satisfie the con-
 sciences of the gentlemen of the jury of life and death; to whose good consideration I
 leave him, with the perpetuall badge and brand of as dangerous and malicious a witch,
 as ever lived in these parts of Lancashire, of his time; and spotted with as much in-
 nocent bloud, as ever any witch of his yeares.

After all these proceedings, by direction of his lordship, were their several examina-
 tions, subscribed by every one of them in particular, shewed unto them at the time of
 their triall, and acknowledged by them to be true, delivered to the gentlemen of the
 jury of life and death, for the better satisfaction of their consciences; after due consi-
 deration of which said several examinations, confessions, and voluntary declarations, as
 well of themselves as of their children, friends and confederates, the gentlemen de-
 livered up their verdict against the prisoners, as followeth, viz.

The Verdict of Life and Death.

Who found Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, Elizabeth Device, and James Device, guilty of the several murders by witchcraft, contained in the indictments against them, and every of them.

THE WITCHES OF SALMESBURY.*

The Arraignement and Triall of Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth of Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaster, for Witchcraft upon the bodie of Grace Sowerbutts, upon Wednesday the Nineteenth of August: At the Assises and Generall Gaole-delivery, holden at Lancaster. Before Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assize at Lancaster; as hereafter followeth, viz.

JENNET BIERLEY.

ELLEN BIERLEY.

JANE SOUTHWORTH.

Thus have we for a time left the ground witches of [the Forrest of Pendle, to the good consideration of a verie sufficient jury of worthy gentlemen of their country. We are now come to the famous witches of Salmesbury, as the country called them, who, by such a subtil practice and conspiracie of a seminarie priest, or, as the best in this honourable assembly thinke, a Jesuite, whereof this countie of Lancaster hath good store, who, by reason of the generall entertainment they find, and great maintenance they have, resort hither, being farre from the eye of justice, and therefore, *Procul a fulmine*; are now brought to the barre, to receive their triall, and such a young witsse prepared and instructed to give evidence against them, that it must be the act of God that must be the means to discover their practises and murders, and by an infant: But how and in what sort Almighty God delivered them from the stroake of death, when the axe was layd to the tree, and made frustrate the practise of this bloudie butcher, it shall appeare unto you upon their arraignement and triall, whereunto they are now come.

Master Thomas Couel, who hath the charge of the prisoners in the castle at Lancas-

* This trial of the witches of Salmesbury, had rise in an imposture different from that under which the other pretended witches suffered. It seems to have been devised and carried on by a priest or Jesuite, called Thomson, alias Southworth, who tutored the principal evidence, Grace Sowerbutts, to counterfeit possession, and to manufacture the strange tale which had nearly cost the lives of three innocent persons. The chief object, doubtless, was the advantage and promotion of the Catholic cause, as the patient would have been in due time exorcised, and the fiends dispossessed by the same priest who had taught her to counterfeit these fits. Revenge against the women who had become proselytes to the Church of England, was probably an additional motive. A similar scheme was carried to a great length by William Perry, called the Boy of Bilson, who had learnt to counterfeit possession, attended with all the usual symptoms of convulsions, distortion of face and limbs, and throwing up pins, nails, thread, straw, and the like. He was detected by Dr Morton, bishop of Lichfield, and confessed that he had been taught these juggling tricks by some popish ecclesiastics, who desired to have the credit of curing him. In atrocity, however, this device of Thomson, by which a child was instructed to take away, by perjury, the lives of three near relations, was far beyond the imposture of the Boy of Bilson. The accused certainly owed their lives to the judge being too good a Protestant to believe witch-evidence in favour of any church but his own. Both cases are alluded to in the tract called, *The Root out of the Dore*, &c. pages 71. and 72. of this volume.

ter, was commaunded to bring forth the said Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, Jane Southworth, to the barre to receive their triall.

Indictment.

The said Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth, of Salmesbury, in the countie of Lancaster, being indicted, for that they and every of them feloniously had practised, exercised, and used diverse devillish and wicked arts, called witchcrafts, inchauntments, charmes, and sorceries, in and upon one Grace Sowerbuts: so that by meanes thereof her bodie wasted and consumed, *Contra formam statuti, &c. Et contra pacem dñi domini regis coronam et dignitatem, &c.*

To this indictment, upon their arraignment, they pleaded Not guillie; and for the triall of their lives put themselves upon God and their countrey.

Whereupon Master Sheriffe of the countie of Lancaster, by direction of the court, made returne of a very sufficient jurie to passe betweene the kings majestie and them, upon their lives and deaths, with such others as follow in order.

The prisoners being now at the barre upon their triall, Grace Sowerbutts, the daughter of Thomas Sowerbutts, about the age of foureteene yeares, was produced to give evidence for the kings majestie against them; who standing up, she was commaunded to point out the prisoners, which shee did, and said as followeth, viz.

The Examination and Evidence of Grace Sowerbutts, Daughter of Thomas Sowerbutts, of Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaster, Husband-man, upon her Oath, against Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth, Prisoners at the Barre, upon their Arraignment and Triall, viz.

The said Grace Sowerbutts upon her oath saith, that, for the space of some yeares now last past, shee hath beene haunted and vexed with some women, who have used to come to her; which women, shee sayth, were Jennet Bierley, this informers grandmother; Ellen Bierley, wife to Henry Bierley; Jane Southworth, late the wife of John Southworth; and one Old Doewife; all of Salmesburie aforesaid. And shee saith, that now lately those foure women did violently draw her by the haire of the head, and layd her on the toppe of a hay-mowe, in the said Henry Bierleys barne. And shee saith further, that not long after the said Jennet Bierley did meete this examine neere unto the place where shee dwelleth, and first appeared in her owne likenesse, and after that in the likenesse of a blacke dogge; and as this examine did goe over a style, shee picked her off: howbeit, shee saith shee had no hurt then, but rose againe, and went to her aunts in Osbaldeston, and returned backe againe to her fathers house the same night, being fetched home by her father. And she saith, that, in her way homewards, shee did then tell her father how shee had beene dealt withall, both then and at sundry times before that; and before that time she never told any bodie thereof: and being examined why she did not, she sayth, she could not speake thereof, though she desired so to doe. And she further sayth, that upon Saterday, being the fourth of this instant Aprill, shee this examine going towards Salmesbury bote, to meete her mother comming from Preston, shee saw the said Jennet Bierley, who met this examine at a place the Two Brigges, first in her owne shape, and afterwards in the likenesse of a blacke dogge, with two legges, which dogge went close by the left side of this examine, till they came to a pitte of water, and then the said dogge spake, and perswaded this examine to drowne her selfe there, saying, it was a faire and an easie death: whereupon this examine thought there came one to her in a white sheete, and

carried her away from the said pitte; upon the coming whereof the said blacke dogge departed away; and shortly after the said white thing departed also. And after this examine had gone further on her way, about the length of two or three fields, the said blacke dogge did meete her againe, and going on her left side as aforesaid, did carrie her into a barne of one Hugh Walshmans, neere there by, and layed her upon the barne-floore, and covered this examine with straw on her bodie, and haye on her head, and the dogge it selfe lay on the toppe of the said straw; but how long the said dogge lay there this examine cannot tell, nor how long herselfe lay there: for shee sayth, That upon her lying downe there as aforesaid, her speech and senses were taken from her; and the first time shee knew where shee was, shee was layed upon a bedde in the said Walshman's house, which (as shee hath since beene told) was upon the Monday at night following: and shee was also told, that shee was found and taken from the place where shee first lay by some of her friends, and carried into the said Walshmans house, within a few houres after shee was layed in the barne as aforesaid. And shee further sayth, That upon the day following, being Tuesday, neere night of the same day, shee this examine was fetched by her father and mother from the said Walshmans house to her fathers house. And shee saith, That, at the place before specified, called the Two Brigges, the said Jennet Bierley and Ellen Bierley did appeare unto her in their owne shapes; whereupon this examine fell downe, and after that was not able to speake or goe till the Friday following; during which time, as she lay in her fathers house, the said Jennet Bierley and Ellen Bierley did once appeare unto her in their owne shapes, but they did nothing unto her then; neither did shee ever see them since. And shee further sayth, That, a good while before all this, this examine did goe with the said Jennet Bierley her grand-mother, and the said Ellen Bierley her aunt, at the bidding of her said grand mother, to the house of one Thomas Walshman, in Salmesbury aforesaid; and coming thither in the night, when all the house-hold was a-bed, the doores being shut, the said Jennet Bierley did open them, but this examine knoweth not how; and being come into the said house, this examine and the said Ellen Bierley stayed there, and the said Jennet Bierley went into the chamber where the said Walshman and his wife lay, and from thence brought a little child, which this examine thinketh was in bed with its father and mother; and after the said Jennet Bierley had set her downe by the fire with the said child, shee did thrust a naile into the navell of the said child; and afterwards did take a pen and put it in at the said place, and did suck there a good space, and afterwards laid the child in bed againe: and then the said Jennet and the said Ellen returned to their owne houses, and this examine with them. And shee thinketh, that neither the said Thomas Walshman, nor his wife, knew that the said child was taken out of the bed from them. And shee saith also, That the said child did not crie when it was hurt, as aforesaid; but she saith, that shee thinketh that the said child did thenceforth languish, and not long after dyed. And after the death of the said child, the next night after the buriall thereof, the said Jennet Bierley and Ellen Bierley, taking this examine with them, went to Salmesbury church, and there did take up the said child, and the said Jennet did carrie it out of the church-yard in her armes, and then did put it in her lap, and carryed it home to her owne house, and having it there, did boile some thereof in a pot, and some did broile on the coates, of both which the said Jennet and Ellen did eate, and would have had this examine and one Grace Bierley, daughter of the said Ellen, to have eaten with them, but they refused so to doe: and afterwards the said Jennet and Ellen did seethe the bones of the said child in a pot, and with the fat that came out of the said bones they said they would annoint themselves, that thereby they might sometimes change themselves into other shapes. And after all this being done, they said they would lay the bones againe in the grave the next night following; but whether they did so or not this examine knoweth not; neither doth shee know how they got it out of the grave.