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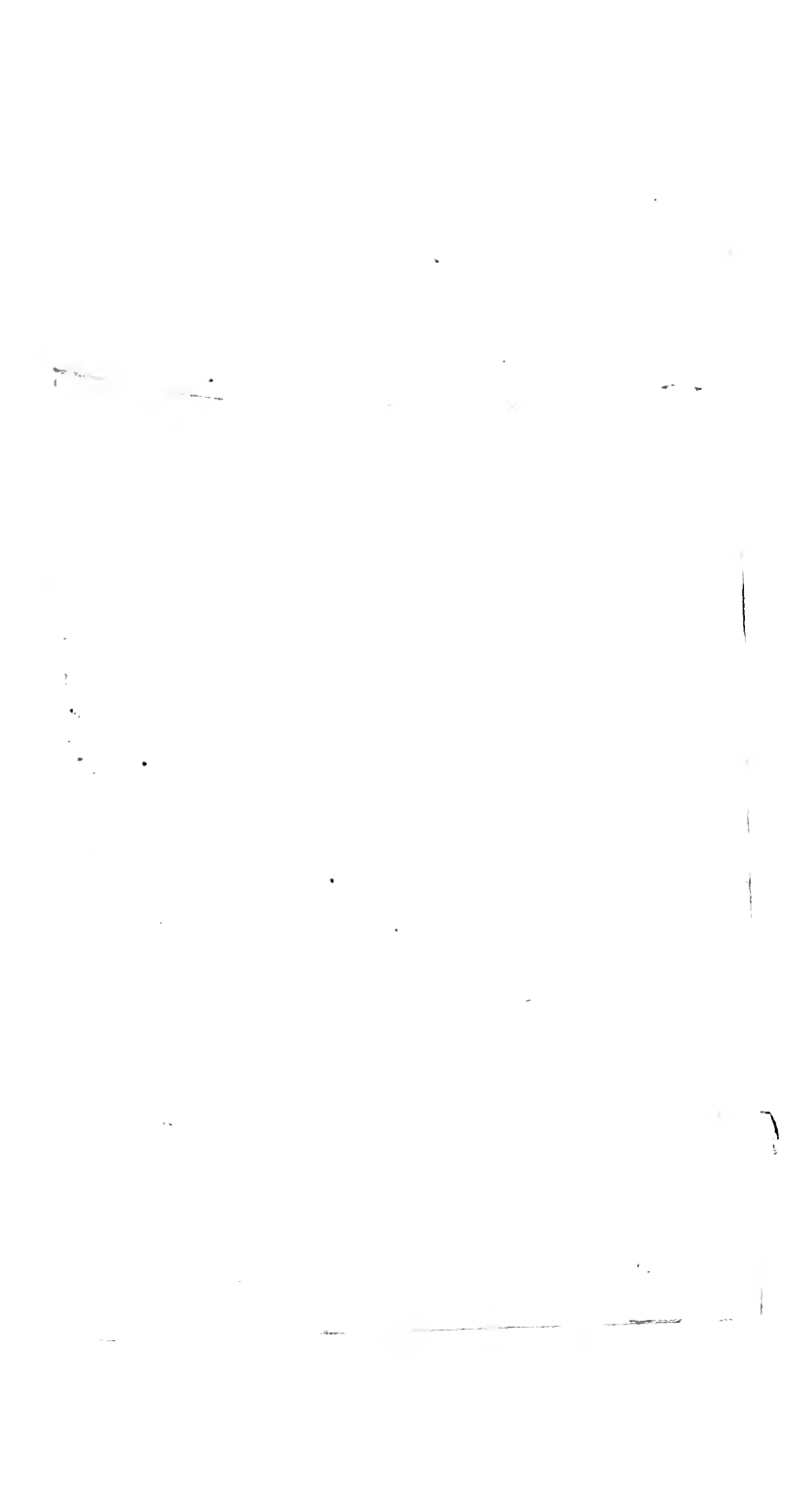












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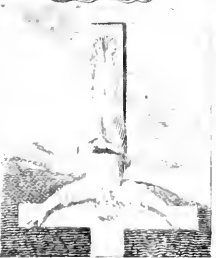
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CHRISTIAN MARTYRS



# BOOK OF MARTYRS;

OR,

A HISTORY

OF THE

LIVES, SUFFERINGS,

AND TRIUMPHANT DEATHS,

OF THE

PRIMITIVE AS WELL AS PROTESTANT

**MARTYRS:**

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF CHRISTIANITY,

TO THE

**LATEST PERIODS OF PAGAN AND POPISH PERSECUTION.**

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INQUISITION, THE BARTHOLOMEW MASSACRE, IN FRANCE, THE GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER LOUIS XIV. THE MASSACRE IN THE IRISH REBELLION, IN THE YEAR 1641, AND THE RECENT PERSECUTIONS OF THE PROTESTANTS IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE.

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“Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles.”—Matt. vii. 18.

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ORIGINALLY COMPOSED BY THE

REV. JOHN FOX, M. A.

AND NOW IMPROVED BY IMPORTANT ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS, BY

REV. CHARLES A. GOODRICH.

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EMBELLISHED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

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**Hartford:**

PRINTED BY PHILEMON CANFIELD.

1859.

1831

*District of Connecticut, ss.*

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the 6th day of March, In the 54th year of the Independence of the United States of America, D. F. Robinson & Co. of the said District, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit:

"Book of Martyrs, or a History of the Lives, Sufferings, and Triumphant Deaths of the Primitive as well as Protestant Martyrs, from the commencement of Christianity, to the latest periods of Pagan and Popish Persecution: to which is added, an Account of the Inquisition, the Bartholomew massacre in France, the general persecution under Louis XIV., the massacre in the Irish Rebellion, in the year 1651, and the recent persecutions of the Protestants in the south of France. 'Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?'—Matt. vii. 18. Originally composed by the Rev. John Fox, M. A. And now improved by important alterations and additions, by Rev. Charles A. Goodrich. Embellished with numerous engravings."

In conformity to the act of Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned." And also to the act, entitled, "An act, supplementary to an act, entitled, an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,  
*Clerk of the District of Connecticut.*

A true copy of record, examined and sealed by me,  
CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,  
*Clerk of the District of Connecticut.*

## PREFACE.

THE basis of the following work is a volume published in London, as late as the year 1824. Being too extensive for general use, the Editor has attempted such an abridgment, as, in his judgment, would adapt it to a more general circulation. He has aimed to execute the work with fidelity, and to present such a volume to the public, as the true history of the times would justify. He has prefixed an introduction, designed to show to the reader, that the principles of the gospel do not justify persecution, in any form or manner whatever; and, which may serve at the same time, to display some of the causes which have led pagans and papists to evince a bitter hostility to the true friends of Christianity.

No apology, it is thought, will be deemed necessary, for bringing forward such a work, at this time. The present depressed state of Popery, both in England and on the continent, is no proof that its leading principles have been abandoned. By means of various revolutions, its power has been shaken, and, from motives of policy, it has been compelled to cease from blood; but, in the language of a distinguished divine of our own country, "Not a principle of the system has been abandoned. All the wiles of ages are put in requisition now, to heal the fatal wounds, which the beast has received, and to render the system still more powerful and terrific."\*

To the American people, this subject presents itself with peculiar interest. Within a short period, the attention of the Pope of Rome has been directed to North America, and systematic efforts are now making, under his immediate patronage, and at his expense, to introduce and establish this corrupt system, in various parts of our land. Already, Catholic Churches are erecting; Catholic priests and emissaries are arriving by scores; publications, designed to eulogize and recommend the system, are circulating abroad.

The question presents itself to the American people: "Shall this system find encouragement in the land of the pilgrims?" We fear not, indeed, that Popery can ever greatly flourish on the American soil; but such a root of bitterness, we wish not to see planted here, much less spreading its branches to even the temporary injury of the Protestant cause. Yet, while the friends of truth should not

\* Dr. Beecher's Missionary Sermon.

be needlessly alarmed, neither should they sleep. A holy vigilance should guard well the approaches of an enemy, whose triumphs here would be the ruin of that fair fabric which cost our fathers so much toil to erect. What friend of Zion does not tremble at only the possibility that papal darkness and papal thralldom may overspread even a portion of our country.

The following work, it is believed, will present an antidote to the insidious poison attempted to be infused into the minds of the unestablished and ignorant, by the professors of popery, and its self-styled "*liberal abettors*." It is only necessary that the volume should be carefully and candidly read, to convince that the papal system is not that harmless, innocent thing, which some would represent. We wish not, indeed, that the papists should be persecuted; we would say, protect them in their private capacity, wherever they exist in the land; but beware of so encouraging them, as to bring the American people under their temporal and spiritual domination.

It may be said, indeed it is said, that the persecuting spirit of popery has passed away. But let it be remembered, that persecution is *inseparable* from it—is its very *essence*. A Church, which pretends to be *infallible*, will always seek the destruction of those who dissent from it; and as a proof that its spirit is *unchanged* and *unchangeable*, we may refer to the recent persecutions in the south of France, of which a particular account will be found in this volume. Until some further proof is given to the world, than has yet been given, of the more mild and pacific spirit of popery, we shall believe that it is still as intolerant, as when it spread its desolating ravages through the unoffending vallies of Piedmont; or, at a subsequent period, lighted up the consuming fires of Smithfield.

THE LIFE  
OF THE  
REV. JOHN FOX.

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JOHN FOX was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, in 1517, where his parents are stated to have lived in respectable circumstances. He was deprived of his father at an early age; and notwithstanding his mother soon married again, he still remained under the parental roof. From an early display of talents and inclination to learning, his friends were induced to send him to Oxford, in order to cultivate and bring them to maturity. During his residence at this place, he was distinguished for the excellence and acuteness of his intellect, which was improved by the emulation of his fellow-collegians, united to an indefatigable zeal and industry on his part. These qualities soon gained him the admiration of all; and as a reward for his exertions and amiable conduct, he was chosen fellow of Magdalen college; which was accounted a great honour in the university, and seldom bestowed unless in cases of great distinction. It appears that the first display of his genius was in poetry; and that he composed some Latin comedies, which are still extant. But he soon directed his thoughts to a more serious subject, the study of the sacred Scriptures: to divinity, indeed, he applied himself with more fervency than circumspection, and discovered his partiality to the reformation, which had then commenced, before he was known to its supporters, or to those who protected them; a circumstance which proved to him the source of his first troubles.

He is said to have often affirmed, that the first matter which occasioned his search into the popish doctrine, was, that he saw divers things, most repugnant in their nature to one another, forced upon men at the same time; upon this foundation his resolution and intended obedience to that church were somewhat shaken, and by degrees a dislike to the rest took place.

His first care was to look into both the ancient and modern history of the church; to ascertain its beginning and progress; to consider the causes of all those controversies which in the meantime had sprung up, and diligently to weigh their effects, solidity, infirmities, &c.

Before he had attained his thirtieth year, he had studied the Greek and Latin fathers, and other learned authors, the transactions of the councils, and decrees of the consistories, and had acquired a very competent skill in the Hebrew language. In these occupations he frequently spent a considerable part, or even the whole of the night; and in order to unbend his mind after such incessant study, he would resort to a grove near the college, a place much frequented by the students in the evening, on account of its sequestered gloominess. In these solitary walks he has been heard to ejaculate heavy sobs and sighs, and with tears to pour forth his prayers to God. These nightly retirements, in the sequel, gave rise to the first suspicion of his alienation from the church of Rome. Being pressed for an explanation of this alteration in his conduct, he scorned to call in fiction to his excuse; he stated his opinions; and was, by the sentence of the college, *convicted, condemned as a heretic, and expelled.*

His friends, upon the report of this circumstance, were highly offended, and especially his father-in-law, who was now grown altogether implacable, either through a real hatred conceived against him for this cause, or pretending himself aggrieved, that he might now, with more show of justice, or at least with more security, withhold from Mr. Fox his paternal estate: for he knew it could not be safe for one publicly hated, and in danger of the law, to seek a remedy for his injustice.

When he was thus forsaken by his own friends, a refuge offered itself in the house of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickshire, by whom he was sent for, to instruct his children. In this house he afterwards married. But the fear of the popish inquisitors hastened his departure thence; as they were not contented to pursue public offences, but began also to dive into the secrets of private families. He now began to consider what was best to be done to free himself from further inconvenience, and resolved either to go to his wife's father or to his father-in-law.

His wife's father was a citizen of Coventry, whose heart was not alienated from him, and he was more likely to be well entreated, for his daughter's sake. He resolved first to go to him; and, in the meanwhile, by letters, to try whether his father-in-law would receive him or not. This he accordingly did, and he received for answer, "that it seemed to him a hard condition to take one into his house whom he knew to be guilty, and condemned for a capital offence; neither was he ignorant what hazard he should undergo in so doing; he would, however show himself a kinsman, and neglect his own danger. If he would alter his mind, he might come, on condition to stay as long as he himself desired; but if he could not be persuaded to that, he must content himself with a shorter stay, and not bring him and his mother into danger.

No condition was to be refused; besides, he was secretly advised by his mother to come, and not to fear his father-in-law's severity; "for that, perchance, it was needful to write as he did, but when occasion should be offered, he would make recompense for his words with his actions." In fact he was better received by both of them than he had hoped for.

By these means he kept himself concealed for sometime, and after-

wards made a journey to London, in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. Here, being unknown, he was in much distress, and was even reduced to the danger of being starved to death, had not Providence interfered in his favour, in the following manner :

One day as Mr. Fox was sitting in St. Paul's church, exhausted with long fasting, a stranger took a seat by his side, and courteously saluted him, thrust a sum of money into his hand, and bade him cheer up his spirits ; at the same time informing him, that in a few days new prospects would present themselves for his future subsistence. Who this stranger was, he could never learn ; but at the end of three days, he received an invitation from the dutchess of Richmond to undertake the tuition of the children of the earl of Surrey, who, together with his father the duke of Norfolk, was imprisoned in the Tower, by the jealousy and ingratitude of the king. The children thus confided to his care were, Thomas, who succeeded to the dukedom ; Henry, afterwards earl of Northampton ; and Jane, who became countess of Westmoreland. In the performance of his duties he fully satisfied the expectations of the dutchess, their aunt.

These halcyon days continued during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. and the five years of the reign of Edward VI. till Mary came to the crown, who, soon after her accession, gave all power into the hands of the papists.

At this time Mr. Fox, who was still under the protection of his noble pupil, the duke, began to excite the envy and hatred of many, particularly Dr. Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, who, in the sequel, became his most violent enemy.

Mr. Fox, aware of this, and seeing the dreadful persecutions then commencing, began to think of quitting the kingdom. As soon as the duke knew his intention, he endeavoured to persuade him to remain ; and his arguments were so powerful, and given with so much sincerity, that he gave up the thought of abandoning his asylum for the present.

At that time the bishop of Winchester was very intimate with the duke, (by the patronage of whose family he had risen to the dignity he then enjoyed,) and frequently waited on him to present his service ; when he several times requested that he might see his old tutor. At first the duke denied his request, at one time alleging his absence, at another, indisposition. At length it happened that Mr. Fox, not knowing the bishop was in the house, entered the room where the duke and he were in discourse ; and seeing the bishop, withdrew. Gardiner asked who that was, the duke answered, " his physician, who was somewhat uncourtly, as being new come from the university."—" I like his countenance and aspect very well," replied the bishop, " and when occasion offers, I will send for him." The duke understood that speech as the messenger of some approaching danger ; and now he himself thought it high time for Mr. Fox to quit the city, and even the country. He accordingly caused every thing necessary for his flight to be provided in silence, by sending one of his servants to Ipswich to hire a bark and prepare all the requisites for his departure. He also fixed on the house of one of his servants, who was a farmer, where he might lodge till the wind became favourable ; and every thing being in readiness, Mr. Fox

took leave of his noble patron, and with his wife, who was pregnant at the time, secretly departed for the ship.

The vessel was scarcely under sail, when a most violent storm came on, which lasted all day and night, and the next day drove them back to the port from which they had departed. During the time that the vessel had been at sea, an officer, dispatched by the bishop of Winchester, had broken open the house of the farmer with a warrant to apprehend Mr. Fox wherever he might be found, and bring him back to the city. On hearing this news he hired a horse, under the pretence of leaving the town immediately: but secretly returned the same night, and agreed with the captain of the vessel to sail for any place as soon as the wind should shift, only desiring him to proceed, and not to doubt but that God would prosper his undertaking. The mariner suffered himself to be persuaded, and within two days landed his passengers in safety at Nieuport.

After spending a few days at that place, Mr. Fox set out for Basle, where he found a number of English refugees, who had quitted their country to avoid the cruelty of the persecutors; with these he associated, and began to write his "History of the Acts and Monuments of the Church," which was first published in Latin at Basle, and shortly after in English.

In the mean time the reformed religion began again to flourish in England, and the popish faction much to decline, by the death of Queen Mary; which induced the greater number of the protestant exiles to return to their native country.

Among others, on the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, Mr. Fox returned to England; where, on his arrival, he found a faithful and active friend in his late pupil, the duke of Norfolk, till death deprived him of his benefactor: after which event, Mr. Fox inherited a pension bequeathed to him by the duke, and ratified by his son, the earl of Suffolk.

Nor did the good man's successes stop here. On being recommended to the queen by her secretary of state, the great Cecil, her majesty granted him the prebendary of Shipton, in the cathedral of Salisbury, which was in a manner forced upon him; for it was with difficulty that he could be persuaded to accept of it.

On his re-settlement in England, he employed himself in revising and enlarging his admirable Martyrology. With prodigious pains and constant study he completed that celebrated work in eleven years. For the sake of greater correctness, he wrote every line of this vast book with his own hand, and transcribed all the records and papers himself. But, in consequence of such excessive toil, leaving no part of his time free from study, nor affording himself either the repose or recreation which nature required, his health was so reduced, and his person became so emaciated and altered, that such of his friends and relations as only conversed with him occasionally, could scarcely recognise his person. Yet, though he grew daily more exhausted, he proceeded in his studies as briskly as ever, nor would he be persuaded to diminish his accustomed labours.—The papists, foreseeing how detrimental his history of their errors and cruelties would prove to their cause, had recourse to every artifice to lessen the reputation of his work; but their malice was of signal service, both to Mr. Fox



himself, and to the church of God at large, as it eventually made his book more intrinsically valuable, by inducing him to weigh, with the most scrupulous attention, the certainty of the facts which he recorded, and the validity of the authorities from which he drew his information.

But while he was thus indefatigably employed in promoting the cause of truth, he did not neglect the other duties of his station; he was charitable, humane, and attentive to the wants, both spiritual and temporal, of his neighbours. With the view of being more extensively useful, although he had no desire to cultivate the acquaintance of the rich and great on his own account, he did not decline the friendship of those in a higher rank who proffered it, and never failed to employ his influence with them in behalf of the poor and needy. In consequence of his well known probity and charity, he was frequently presented with sums of money by persons possessed of wealth, which he accepted and distributed among those who were distressed. He would also occasionally attend the table of his friends, not so much for the sake of pleasure, as from civility, and to convince them that his absence was not occasioned by a fear of being exposed to the temptations of the appetite. In short, his character as a man and as a Christian was without reproach.

Of the esteem in which he was held, the names of the following respectable friends and noble patrons, will afford ample proof. It has been already mentioned that the attachment of the duke of Norfolk was so great to his tutor, that he granted him a pension for life; he also enjoyed the patronage of the earls of Bedford and Warwick, and the intimate friendship of Sir Francis Walsingham, (secretary of state,) Sir Thomas and Mr. Michael Hennage, of whom he was frequently heard to observe, that Sir Thomas had every requisite for a complete courtier, but that Mr. Michael possessed all the merits of his brother, besides his own, still untainted by the court. He was on very intimate and affectionate terms with Sir Drue Drury, Sir Francis Drake, Dr. Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Elmar, bishop of London, Dr. Pilkington, bishop of Durham, and Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's. Others of his most intimate acquaintances and friends were, Doctors Humphrey, Whitaker and Fulk, Mr. John Crowley, and Mr. Baldwin Collins. Among the eminent citizens, we find he was much venerated by Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Thomas Roe, Alderman Bacchus, Mr. Smith, Mr. Dale, Mr. Sherrington, &c. &c.

At length, having long served both the church and the world by his ministry, by his pen, and by the unsullied lustre of a benevolent, useful, and holy life, he meekly resigned his soul to Christ, on the 18th of April, 1587, being then in the seventieth year of his age. He was interred in the chancel of St. Giles', Cripplegate; of which parish he had been, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, for some time vicar.

The Lord had given him a foresight of his departure; and so fully was he assured that the time was just at hand when his soul should quit the body, that (probably to enjoy unmolested communion with God, and to have no worldly interruptions in his last hours) he pur-

posely sent his two sons from home, though he loved them with great tenderness; and, before they returned, his spirit, as he had foreseen would be the case, had flown to heaven.

His death occasioned great lamentations throughout the city, and his funeral was honoured with a great concourse of people, each of whom appeared to bewail the loss of a father or a brother.

## INTRODUCTION.

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THAT the introduction of Christianity into the world, considering the character of its Divine Founder, and the nature and tendency of its doctrines and precepts, should have ever given birth to *persecution*, may well appear surprising. The Son of God is described to us, as "meek and lowly," as "holy and harmless;" never did any other on earth give so illustrious an example of benevolence, patience, and kindness. So far from manifesting a persecuting spirit himself, he suffered reproaches and indignities without a murmur. "When reviled, he reviled not again;" but gave a high and noble exhibition of that self-denial, meekness, and fortitude, which he enjoined his followers to practise after him. Nay, so far from encouraging any methods of persecution, he rebuked and put a stop to every appearance of them. Thus, when his disciples would have called down fire from Heaven, to consume the Samaritans, who refused to receive him, he rebuked them, saying, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them;" and when one of those who were with Christ, cut off the ear of one of the high priest's servants, upon his laying his hands on him, he severely reproved him: "Put up again thy sword into its place; for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword." And, in order to cure his apostles of their ambition and pride, and to prevent their claiming undue power, he gave them an example of great humility and condescension, in washing and wiping their feet; and forbid them imitating the "Gentiles, by exercising dominion and authority; but whosoever will be great amongst you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief amongst you, let him be your servant; even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life for many." And as the Jewish teachers took on them the name of Rabbi, to denote their power over the consciences of those they instructed, he commanded his disciples: "Be ye not called Rabbi, for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren; and call no man father, for one is your father which is in Heaven; but he that is greatest among you shall be your servant." And it is, moreover, certain, that were Christ's doctrines and precepts regarded and practised as they should be, universal benevolence would be the certain effect, and eternal peace and union would reign amongst the members of the Christian Church. For if there be

any commands of certain clearness, any precepts of evident obligation in the gospel, they are such as refer to the exercise of love, and the maintenance of universal charity. "Blessed are the *meek*," we hear the Saviour proclaiming, "for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are the *peace makers*, for they shall be called the children of God." And in another place, describing the nature of religion in general, he tells us, that the love of God is the first commandment; and the second like unto it—thou shalt *love thy neighbour as thyself*. This he enjoins upon his disciples, as his *peculiar* command: "This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you." Nay, love was that by which his followers were to be distinguished from all others. "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye, also, love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Thus, it is evident, that there is nothing in the life of Jesus Christ, in his doctrines, or precepts, which gives any countenance to those wicked methods of propagating and supporting religion, that some of his pretended followers have made use of, but the strongest directions to the contrary.

The governing design of Christ's examples, doctrines, and precepts, was to promote meekness and condescension, universal charity and love. In this respect, his Apostles were his careful imitators. "Let love," says Paul, "be without dissimulation; be kindly affectioned one to another, with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." And the love he recommended was such, "as worketh *no ill to his neighbour*." In another place, we find the apostle guarding his Christian brethren against divisions on account of different sentiments, relating to matters of minor importance. "Receive," says he, "him that is weak in the faith, not to doubtful disputations, not to debates, or contentions about disputations, or disputable things." In relation to such matters, he directs that none should despise or judge others, because God had received them; and because every man ought to be fully persuaded in his own mind, and because the kingdom of God was not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace in the Holy Ghost; and because every one was to give an account of himself to God, to whom alone, as his master, he was to stand or fall. From these substantial reasons, he infers: "We then that are strong,"—we who have a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of Christianity, and our Christian liberty, "ought to bear the infirmities of the weak," instead of condemning them, and setting ourselves in opposition to them. On the contrary, we should employ ourselves in prayer unto the God of patience and consolation, that he would grant, that there might be no schism among heirs of the same glorious inheritance; but that all, endeavouring to be like minded, one towards another, might preserve the unity of the spirit, thus glorifying God, even the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with one mind and one spirit. Again, we find him exhorting to great lowliness and meekness, as an evidence of walking worthy of the Christian vocation, with long suffering, forbearing one another, in love. The contrary vices of bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, and malice, are to be put away, as things which grieve the Holy Spirit of God; and we must be kind one to another, forgiving one another, even as

God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us. To these precepts of the apostle Paul, which might be indefinitely extended, we shall only add the amiable description of the wisdom, that is from above, given by the apostle James. 'The wisdom that is from above, is pure, and peaceable, and gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy. But if we have bitter envying and strife in our hearts, we have nothing to glory in, but we lie against the truth,' i. e. belie our Christian profession; for whatever false judgment we may pass upon ourselves, this 'wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish; for where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work.'

"But to this it has been objected, that although the precepts of the Christian religion, as recorded both by Christ and his apostles, seem not to countenance persecution; and nothing in favour of it can be urged from the conduct of Jesus Christ himself; yet that the conduct of his apostles, particularly that of Paul, may be fairly urged, as a warrant in certain cases.

"The venerable Beza adduces two instances, as a vindication of the punishment of heretics. The first is that of Ananias and Sapphira, struck dead by Peter; and the other that of Elymas, the sorcerer, struck blind by Paul. But how impertinently are both these instances alleged? Heresy was not the thing punished, in either of them. Ananias and Sapphira were struck dead, for hypocrisy and lying; and for conspiring, if it were possible, to deceive God. Elymas was a Jewish sorcerer, and false prophet; a subtle mischievous fellow, an enemy to righteousness and virtue, who withstood the Apostolic authority, and endeavoured, by his frauds, to prevent the conversion of the deputy to the Christian faith. The two first of these persons were punished with death. By whom? What, by Peter? No; by the immediate hand of God. Peter gave them a reproof suitable to their wickedness; but as to the punishment, he was only the mouth of God in declaring it, even of that God who knew the hypocrisy of their hearts, and gave this signal instance of his abhorrence of it in the infancy of the Christian church, greatly to discourage, and, if possible, for the future to prevent men thus dealing fraudulently and insincerely with him. And, I presume, if God hath a right to punish frauds and cheats in another world, he hath a right to do so in this; especially in the instance before us, which seems to have something very peculiar in it.

"Peter expressly says to Sapphira: 'How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the spirit of the Lord?' What can this tempting of the spirit of the Lord be, but an agreement between Ananias and his wife, to put this fraud on the apostle, to see whether or not he could discover it by the spirit he pretended to? This was a proper challenge to the spirit of God, which the apostles were endued with, and a combination to put the apostolic character to the trial. Had not the cheat been discovered, the apostles' inspiration and mission would have been deservedly questioned; and as the state of Christianity required that this divine mission should be abundantly established, Peter lets them know that their hypocrisy was discovered; and, to create the greater regard and attention to their persons and message, God saw fit to punish that hypocrisy with death.

"As to Elymas, the sorcerer, this instance is as foreign and imperti-

ment as the other. Sergius Paulus, proconsul of Cyprus, had entertained at Paphos, one Barjesus, a Jew, a sorcerer; and hearing, also, that Paul and Barnabas were in the city, he sent for them to hear the doctrine they preached. Accordingly, they endeavoured to instruct the deputy in the Christian faith, but were withstood by Elymas, who by his subtleties and tricks endeavoured to hinder his conversion. St. Paul, therefore, in order to confirm his own divine mission, and to prevent the deputy's being deceived by the frauds and sorceries of Elymas, after severely rebuking him for his sin, and in opposition to Christianity, tells him not that the proconsul ought to put him in jail, and punish him with the civil sword; but that God himself would decide the controversy, by striking the sorcerer himself immediately blind; which accordingly came to pass, to the full conviction of the proconsul.

“Now what is there in all this to vindicate persecution? God punishes wicked men for fraud and sorcery, who knew their hearts, and had a right to punish the iniquity of them. Therefore men may punish others for opinions they may think to be true, and are conscientious in embracing, without knowing the heart, or being capable of discovering any insincerity in it. Or God may vindicate the character and mission of his own messengers, when wickedly opposed and denied, by immediate judgments inflicted by himself on their opposers. Therefore the magistrate may punish and put to death without any warrant from God, such who belie their mission, and are ready to submit to it, as far as they understand the nature and design of it. Are these consequences just and rational? or would any man have brought these instances as precedents for persecution, that was not resolved, at all hazards, to defend and practice it?”\*

To the candid and unprejudiced mind, the preceding view of the subject will be sufficient, it is believed, to justify the conclusion, that neither the doctrines, precepts, nor conduct of Christ, nor those of his apostles, can in the remotest degree give any sanction to the spirit, nor to any of the forms of persecution. But to the omniscient eye of Christ, it was not concealed, that the promulgation of Christianity would lead to persecutions of the most grievous kind, both from opposers and pretended friends. To these approaching persecutions—to these most bitter and grievous days of trial and calamity to his faithful followers, Christ, as a true prophet of God, often alluded. He spoke of them as certain, as seasons which would try the faith, and sincerity, and patience of his followers; at the same time, he bid them, “put a heavenly courage on;” since, by an exhibition of faith, fortitude, and constancy, they would give proof of the sustaining power of his gospel, and through such abundant tribulations, would be prepared for a more abundant weight of glory. To his disciples, who would lead in “the noble army of martyrs,” he strongly represented the dangers which would come upon them. “They will deliver you,” says he, “up to councils; they will scourge you in the synagogues; you shall be hated of all men for my sake; nay, the time cometh, when they will think they are doing God a service, by putting you to death.” And alluding to a consequence of the promulgation of the gospel, viz. the prevalence of persecution, the result of pride, envy,

\* Chandler's History of Persecution, p. 401, *et alibi*.

malice, and a love of power, he says, "Think not that I come to send peace, but a sword, for I am come to set a man at variance with his father, and the daughter against her mother," &c. And again, "I am come to send fire on the earth: and what will I, if it be already kindled? Suppose ye that I am come to send peace on earth? I tell you nay, but rather division." How is it explained by Christ himself? Why in the very next words: "For from henceforth," i. e. upon the publication of my religion and gospel, "there shall be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three," &c. Can any man need paraphrase and criticism to explain these passages of any thing but of that persecution, which should befall the preachers and believers of the gospel? or imagine it to be a prophetic description of a fire to be blown up by Christ to consume others, when the whole connexion evidently refers it to a fire, that the opposers of his religion should blow up, to consume himself and followers? Jesus knew it was such a fire, as would first consume himself. "I am come to send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled?" or, as the words should be translated, "How do I wish it was already kindled? How do I wish it to break out on my own person, that I might glorify God by my sufferings and death?" For as it follows, "I have a baptism to be baptized with," a baptism with my own blood: "and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!" After this account of his own sufferings, he foretels the same should befall his followers: "Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you nay, but rather division;" i. e. as I myself must suffer to bear witness to the truth, so after my decease, such shall be the unreasonable and furious opposition to my gospel, as shall occasion divisions among the nearest relations, some of whom shall hate and persecute the other for their embracing my religion.\*

Agreeably to these predictions of our Saviour, soon after he had himself ascended to Heaven, and while the apostles were yet publishing abroad the doctrine of Christianity, began those furious persecutions by the Romans, which for three hundred years, or to about the time of Constantine, carried thousands and tens of thousands by barbarities the most shocking, and by tortures the most excruciating and terrific, to their graves; thus rendering a profession of the gospel almost a sure passport to suffering and death.

As an account of these perilous days—of the deep rooted malice and blood thirsty spirit of barbarians, urged on by the influence of the powers of darkness, will be found in the former part of the volume, they will not be noticed farther in this place. Yet a natural curiosity may lead us to inquire by what means it happened that the Romans, who were troublesome to no nation, on account of their religion, and who suffered even the Jews to live under their own laws, and to follow their own method of worship, almost immediately, on the promulgation of Christianity, began to persecute its professors.

"One of the principal reasons," says Dr. Mosheim, "of the severity with which the Romans persecuted the Christians, seems to have been the abhorrence and contempt, with which the latter regarded the religion of the empire which was so intimately connected with

\* Chandler's History of Persecution, *ut supra*.

the form, and indeed, with the very essence of its political constitution. For, though the Romans gave an unlimited toleration to all religions, which had nothing in their tenets dangerous to the commonwealth, yet they would not permit that of their ancestors, which was established by the laws of the state, to be turned into derision, nor the people to be drawn away from their attachment to it. These, however, were the two things which the Christians were charged with, and that justly, though to their honour. They dared to ridicule the absurdities of the Pagan superstition, and they were ardent and assiduous in gaining proselytes to the truth. Nor did they only attack the religion of Rome, but also all the different shapes and forms, under which superstition appeared in the various countries, where they exercised their ministry. From hence the Romans concluded, that the Christian sect was not only insupportably daring and arrogant, but moreover an enemy to the public tranquillity, and every way proper to excite civil wars and commotions in the empire. It is probably, on this account, that Tacitus reproaches them with the odious character of *haters of mankind*, and styles the religion of Jesus a *destructive superstition*; and that Suetonius speaks of the Christians and their doctrines in terms of the same kind.

“Another circumstance that irritated the Romans against the Christians, was the simplicity of their worship, which resembled in nothing the sacred rites of any other people. The Christians had neither sacrifices, nor temples, nor images, nor oracles, nor sacerdotal orders: and this was sufficient to bring upon them the reproaches of an ignorant multitude, who imagined that there could be no religion without these. Thus they were looked upon as a sort of atheists; and by the Roman laws, those who were chargeable with atheism were declared the pests of human society. But this was not all; the sordid interests of a multitude of lazy and selfish priests, were immediately connected with the ruin and oppression of the Christian cause. The public worship of such an immense number of deities was a source of subsistence, and even of riches, to the whole rabble of priests and augurs, and also to a multitude of merchants and artists. And as the progress of the gospel threatened the ruin of this religious traffic, and the profit it produced, this raised up new enemies to the Christians, and armed the rage of mercenary superstition against their lives and their cause.”\*

To this explanation given by Mosheim, may be added, in substance, the explanation of Bishop Warburton, which is still more lucid and satisfactory. *Intercommunity of worship*, according to the latter, was a principle which run through the whole pagan world. Every religion was tolerated, while its advocates claimed for it no exclusive superiority. Hence it was not until after the return of the Jews from captivity, that they were treated by their neighbours, and afterwards by the Greeks and Romans, with hatred and contempt; since they seem not so openly to have claimed that their religion was the only true one in the world. This pretension to superiority and to exclusive divine origin, was the ground cause of the general odium cast upon the Jews by the Pagan world.

\* Mosheim, Vol. I. p. 72.



When Christianity arose, though on the foundation of Judaism, it was at first received by Pagan nations with complacency. The gospel was favourably heard, and the superior evidence with which it was enforced, inclined men long habituated to pretended revelations, to receive it into the number of the established. Accordingly we find one Roman emperor introducing it among his closet religions; and another proposing to the Senate to give it a more public entertainment. But when it was found to carry its pretensions higher, and like the Jewish, to claim the title of the *only true one*, then it was that it began to incur the same hatred and contempt with the Jewish. But when it went still further, and urged the necessity of all men forsaking their own national religions, and embracing the gospel, this so shocked the Pagans, that it soon brought upon itself the bloody storm which followed. Thus you have the true origin of persecution for religion; a persecution not committed, but undergone by the Christian church.\*

The Pagan persecutions appeared to have continued until about the time of Constantine, during whose reign the fall of Paganism began to take place, and was nearly consummated in that of Theodosius. This extraordinary revolution, one of the most extraordinary that ever took place on the theatre of this world, their own writers have described as "a dreadful and amazing prodigy, which covered the earth with darkness, and restored the ancient dominion of chaos and night." But the pen of inspiration has depicted the awful catastrophe in strains of much higher sublimity and grandeur, and doubtless upon very different principles. "I beheld," says the writer of the Apocalypse, "when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake, and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood; and the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind. And the heaven departed as a scroll, when it is rolled together: and every mountain and island were moved out of their places. And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman and every freeman, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains—and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the lamb, for the great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?" The same thing seems to be intended, when the same writer says, "There was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven; and the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world; he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him." In this highly wrought figurative language, we are taught to conceive of the dreadful conflict, which subsisted between the Christian and the heathen professions; the persecution which for three centuries had been inflicted upon the former, with the issue of the whole, in the ultimate overthrow of the Pagan persecuting powers, and the subversion of that idolatrous system in the empire.

\* Divine Legation of Moses, Vol. II. 6, 2. § 6, &c.

Having noticed the persecutions which occurred under the reign of Paganism, and assigned the causes which led those nations which were Pagan, so powerfully to enlist themselves against Christianity, we shall next notice the persecutions which were commenced and carried forward under the influence of the Roman Hierarchy. These persecutions, the reader will notice, occupied by far the greater part of the volume. As these persecutions are of a more recent date, as they were conducted by the *pretended friends* of Christianity, and as the spirit of that system still prevails in nearly every country on the globe, no apology, it is thought, will be necessary, for occupying so large a space in the development of the spirit and tendency of the papal system.

The *rise* of such a power is clearly predicted in the scriptures. Even in the days of the apostles, there were not wanting symptoms of the approaching wide spread corruption.

“When the apostle Paul delivered to the elders of the church at Ephesus, a solemn warning to take heed to themselves, and to the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers, he adds, as the reason of it, ‘for I know this, that after my departure shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock; also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them.’ Acts xx. 29, 30. The jealousy and fear which he entertained relative to the influence of false teachers, is manifest in the following passage. ‘But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve, through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ: For such are false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ: and no wonder, for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light; therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be transformed into ministers of righteousness.’ (2 Cor. xi. 3, 13, 14, 15.) The same general caution against the effects which should proceed from false teachers, is very plainly given by the apostle Peter. ‘But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bringing upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you, whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.’ 2 Pet. ii. 1—3. To these passages, and many others that might be adduced, as calculated to awaken the attention of Christians to the dangers they should be exposed to from corrupt teachers, we may particularly add the following, as it not only foretels, but describes the nature of the apostacy that should take place, and at a period remote from the time when the predictions were delivered. Now the spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hyprocrisy, having their consciences seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them who believe and know the truth.’ 1 Tim. iv. 1—3. Again, ‘This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come; for

men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God;—having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.” 2 Tim. iii. 1—3. But of all the predictions contained in the New Testament, the most particular and express description of the anti-christian power that should arise under the Christian name, is the following: “Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled; neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come except there be a falling away first, and that *man of sin* be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work; only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way; and then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming; even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders; and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.” 2 Thess. ii. 1—10.

“In this representation of the apostacy from the purity of the Christian faith and its influence, which terminated in the man of sin sitting in the temple of God, we may notice the following particulars:

“1. That the apostle describes its origin as taking place in his own day. ‘The mystery of iniquity doth already work,’ verse 7. The seed was then sown; idolatry was already stealing into the churches. 1 Cor. x. 14. A voluntary humility and worshipping of angels. Col. ii. 18. Men of corrupt minds, destitute of the truth, supposing that gain was godliness, and teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre sake. Men of this class appear to have early abounded, and, as acting not wholly in direct opposition to Christianity, but corrupting it in the way of deceit and hypocrisy. During the whole progress towards the full revelation of the man of sin, there was no direct disavowal of the truth of Christianity; it was a form of godliness without the power of it.

“2. There is an evident intimation in this passage, of an obstacle or hinderance in the way of this power being fully revealed. ‘And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work, only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that wicked be revealed,’ &c. ver. 6, 7. Without going into any minute and critical examination of these verses, it is obvious that the wicked power which is here the subject of the apostle’s discourse, and deno-

minated the man of sin, had not been fully displayed, and that there existed some obstacle to a complete revelation of the mystery of iniquity. The apostle uses a particular caution when hinting at it; but the Thessalonians, he says, knew of it; probably from the explanation he had given them verbally, when he was with them. It can scarcely be questioned, that the hinderance or obstacle, referred to in these words, was the *heathen or pagan Roman government*, which acted as a restraint upon the pride and domination of the clergy, through whom the man of sin ultimately arrived at his power and authority, as will afterwards appear. The extreme caution which the apostle manifests in speaking of this restraint, renders it not improbable that it was something relating to the higher powers; for we can easily conceive how improper it would have been, to declare in plain terms that the existing government of Rome should come to an end. There is a remarkable passage in Tertullian's Apology, that may serve to justify the sense which Protestants put upon these verses; and since it was written long before the accomplishment of the predictions, it deserves the more attention. 'Christians,' says he, 'are under a particular necessity of praying for the emperors, and for the continued state of the empire; because we know that dreadful power which hangs over the world, and the conclusion of the age, which threatens the most horrible evils, is restrained by the continuance of the time appointed for the Roman empire. This is what we would not experience; and while we pray that it may be deferred, we hereby show our good will to the perpetuity of the Roman state.' From this extract, it is very manifest, that the Christians, even in Tertullian's time, a hundred and twenty years before the pagan government of Rome came to an end, looked forward to that period as pregnant with calamity to the cause of Christ; though it is probable they did not accurately understand the manner in which the evils should be brought on the church. And this, indeed, the event proved to be the case. For while the long and harassing persecutions, which were carried on by the pagan Roman emperors, continued, and all secular advantages were on the side of paganism, there was little encouragement for any one to embrace Christianity, who did not discern somewhat of its truth and excellence. Many of the errors, indeed, of several centuries, the fruit of vain philosophy, paved the way for the events which followed; but the hinderance was not effectually removed, until Constantine, the emperor, on professing himself a Christian, undertook to convert the kingdom of Christ into a kingdom of this world, by exalting the teachers of Christianity to the same state of affluence, grandeur, and influence in the empire, as had been enjoyed by pagan priests and secular officers in the state. The professed ministers of Jesus having now a wide field opened to them, for gratifying their lust of power, wealth, and dignity, the connexion between the Christian faith and the cross was at an end. What followed was the kingdom of the clergy, supplanting the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

"3. It is worthy of observation, in what language the apostle describes the revelation of the man of sin, when this hinderance, or let, should be removed. 'And then shall that wicked be revealed;—whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs,

and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish.' He had before described this power, and personified him as 'the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.'

"Every feature in this description corresponds to that of a religious power, in the assumption of divine authority, divine honours, and divine worship; a power which should arrogate the prerogatives of the MOST HIGH, having its seat in the temple or house of God, and which should be carried on by Satan's influence, with all deceit, hypocrisy, and tyranny; and with this corresponds the figurative representation given of the same power: Rev. xiii. 5—8."\*

Thus clearly predicted in the scriptures is this mystery of iniquity, and of which during the apostolic days there were indications of its having begun to work. From the time of Constantine, however, the great obstruction, viz. Paganism, which had hitherto operated against the full manifestation of the anti-christian power, being removed, the current of events brought matters to that state in which the man of sin was fully revealed, sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself to be God.

The corruption of Christianity however, was not effected in a day. Under Constantine, Christianity became the religion of the state. In consequence of this, the power and wealth of the clergy were greatly augmented. Contests among bishops for pre-eminence became frequent, and were conducted with a spirit wholly at variance with the genius of the gospel. Power now became an engine of support to different factions, and the sword of persecution, which for three centuries had been drawn by the pagans against the followers of Christ, the besotted ecclesiastics employed against each other, in defence of what was now called the "Holy Catholic Church."

After a long and violent contest between the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, particularly the former two, the bishop of Rome, at length, succeeded in triumphing over all others, being in the year 606 invested with the proud title of *universal bishop*. This may be considered as the date of the establishment of the papal power, although this was not the period of its full growth.

The *causes*, which contributed to the growth of this gigantic power, must be sought in the pages of Ecclesiastical History. It may not be amiss, however, to notice some of the principal circumstances which contributed to the lordly sway and extended influence of the Roman pontiffs, and their clergy, viz: *the pretended infallibility of the Pope—the decrees of councils—the preference given to human compositions over the Bible—the introduction of image worship—the passion for relics and saints—the sale of indulgences, and free absolution—the doctrine of purgatory—the establishment of the order of Jesuits, and the Inquisition*. By these and other means, the papal power continued for several centuries to gather strength, until, at length, it reached a point to which the annals of history furnish no parallel. Whoever ventured to lift his voice in opposition to the unwarrantable claims of the sovereign pontiffs, or to decry the authority of their clergy, were sure to bring down upon them a tide of papal wrath and vengeance.

\* Jones' History of the Christian Church, p. 154, &c.

Previously to the reformation, many had been cruelly sacrificed for their honest opposition to papal usurpation; but during the progress of that glorious revolution, and after its establishment, martyrs to the cause of truth and gospel simplicity were increased a hundred, if not a thousand fold.

In the following pages, the reader will find a developement of some of the works of Popish arrogance, cruelty, and superstition. When he has attentively gone through the volume, let him ask himself, whether a system which authorizes and sanctions such cruelties can be the offspring of, or compatible with, the gospel of Christ Jesus? "By their fruits," says our Saviour, "shall we know them." It is not their words, but their *works*, we should consider. What quarter of the globe has escaped the ravages of their power? If we look to the East, China and Japan, where they once bore rule, exhibit the most cruel and bloody massacres ever heard of, *because their satellites aimed at political power, to the overthrow of the lawful governments.* If we look to America, where their power was supreme, we freeze with horror at the wanton barbarities inflicted upon the heathen. If we cast our eyes over Europe, the seat of their authority, we again see the like tragedies exhibited; witness in France the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the revocation of the edict of Nantz, the extermination of the Waldenses and Albigenses, the cruel expulsions in Spain, and above all, the cruel and bloody Inquisition, a court which they call holy, but surely the most accursed on earth. If we turn our eyes to England, we see the stakes in Smithfield, and the fires lighted to consume the bodies of those holy martyrs, who gave up their lives courageously in defence of their religion; we see the vile mysteries of iniquity discovered at the suppression of the monasteries, and the shameful practices exposed, by which the priests deluded the people. I will not recur to other persecutions, but ask: "Is this the religion of the meek Jesus, or is it not rather the triumph of Satan over fallen man?"

We cannot more appropriately close this part of our subject, than with the following extracts from Mr. Goring's "Thoughts on the Revelations," in which he contrasts the character of our blessed Saviour, and of those men who presume to call themselves his "substitutes on earth."

"Jesus Christ, as one of his last acts, left mankind this new law, 'Love one another, as I have loved you; by this shall all men know that ye are *my disciples.*' Popery hates all that are not of its communion, and condemns them soul and body to the pit. The blessed Saviour declared his kingdom was not of this world, being spiritual; that he judged no man, but that the words he uttered should judge them in the last day. The Popes claim the dominion of the whole earth, spiritual and temporal; they wear a triple crown, and pretend to judge all men. The Saviour previous to his death, condescended to wash his disciples' feet, assuring them they should have no part in him unless they submitted to it. The Popes, so far from submitting to this lesson of humility, arrogantly permit them to kiss their feet. Our blessed Lord claimed not a spot upon earth, nor had he a place where to lay his head; to him, sufficient for the day was the evil thereof, both with respect to food and raiment—not so the Popes; from their votaries they extort the scanty gains of the sweat of their brows, go gorgeously attired, and feed sumptuously every day. Our

Saviour freely pardoned the sins of his penitent creatures without fee or reward—the Popes presume to pardon sins; nay, grant indulgences for committing more; but it is for money, and the sordid lucre of gain.

“Can any man find a resemblance in these two characters? Is not the counterfeit easily discovered; and will not men blush with shame, when they see how grossly they have been deluded by this deceiver? Let them but fairly read the gospel of Jesus Christ; they will there find he delegated his power to no man, in the way the Popes claim it, and that he alone is the intercessor between God and man, and no man can approach God but through him.”

We are convinced that there are no true Christians, who will not agree unequivocally in the justice of the above observations. They *must* be convinced that popery is absurd, superstitious, idolatrous, and cruel; that it darkens the understanding, and enslaves the consciences of its votaries, and is as much an enemy to virtue as to truth.





FOX'S  
BOOK OF MARTYRS.

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BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE FIRST TEN PERSECUTIONS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, FROM THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 67, TILL THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT; DETAILING THE LIVES AND ACTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL CHRISTIAN MARTYRS OF BOTH SEXES, IN EUROPE AND IN AFRICA.

THE dreadful martyrdoms which we are now about to describe, arose from the persecutions of the Romans against the Christians, in the primitive ages of the church, during the space of three hundred years, or till the time of Constantine.

It is both wonderful and horrible, to peruse the descriptions of the sufferings of these godly martyrs, as they are described by the ancient historians. Their torments were as various as the ingenuity of man, urged on by the malicious influence of Satan, could devise; and their numbers were truly incredible.

The first martyr to our holy religion was its blessed Founder himself. His history is sufficiently known, as it has been handed down to us in the New Testament; nevertheless, it will be proper here to give an outline of his sufferings, and more particularly as they will be followed by those of the apostles and evangelists. The persecutions by the emperors took place long after the death of our Saviour.

*Brief History of our Saviour.*

It is known that in the reign of Herod, the angel Gabriel was sent by divine command to the Virgin Mary. This maiden was betrothed to a carpenter named Joseph, who resided at Nazareth, a city of Galilee. The angel informed Mary how highly she was favoured of God, and that she should conceive a son by the Holy Spirit, which happened accordingly: for travelling to Bethlehem, to pay the capitation-tax then levied, the town was so crowded that they could only get lodgings in a stable, where Mary gave birth to our Blessed Redeemer, which was announced to the world by a star and an angel; the wise men of the east saw the former, and the shepherds the latter.

After Jesus had been circumcised, he was presented in the temple by his mother; upon which occasion Simeon exclaimed in the cele-

brated words recorded by Luke: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." Luke ii. 29, 30.

Jesus, in his youth, disputed with the most learned doctors in the temple, and soon after was baptized by John in the river Jordan, when the Holy Ghost descended upon him in the form of a dove, and a voice was heard audibly to pronounce these words: "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased."

After this Christ fasted forty days and nights in the wilderness, where he was tempted by the devil, but resisted all his allurements. He performed his first miracle at Cana, in Galilee; he likewise conversed with the good Samaritan, and restored to life a nobleman's dead child. While travelling through Galilee, he restored the blind to sight, and cured the lame, the lepers, &c. Among other benevolent actions, he cured, at the pool of Bethesda, a paralytic man, who had been lame thirty-eight years, bidding him take up his bed and walk; and he afterwards cured a man whose right hand was shrunk up and withered; with many acts of a similar nature.

When he had chosen his twelve apostles, he preached the celebrated sermon upon the mount; after which he performed several miracles, particularly the feeding of the multitude, and the walking on the surface of the sea.

On the celebration of the passover, Jesus supped with his disciples: he informed them that one of them would betray him and another deny him, and preached his farewell sermon. A multitude of armed men soon afterwards surrounded him, and Judas kissed him, in order to point him out to the soldiers, who were not acquainted with his person. In the contention occasioned by the apprehension of Jesus, Peter cut off the ear of Malchus, the servant of the high priest, for which Jesus reproved him, and by touching the wound, healed it. Peter and John followed Jesus to the house of Annas, who, refusing to judge him, sent him bound to Caiaphas, where Peter denied Christ, as the latter had predicted; but on Christ reminding him of his perfidy, Peter went out and wept bitterly.

When the council had assembled in the morning, the Jews mocked Jesus, and the elders suborned false witnesses against him; the principal accusation being, that he had said, "I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands." Caiaphas then asked him if he was the Christ, the son of God, or not; being answered in the affirmative, he was accused of blasphemy, and condemned to death by Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, who, though conscious of his innocence, yielded to the solicitations of the Jews, and condemned him to be crucified. His remarkable expression at the time of passing sentence, proved how much he was convinced that the Lord was persecuted.

Previous to the crucifixion, the Jews, by way of derision, clothed Christ in a regal robe, put a crown of thorns upon his head, and a reed, for a sceptre, in his hand; they then mocked him with ironical compliments, spit in his face, slapped his cheek, and taking the reed out of his hand, they struck him with it upon the head. Pilate would fain have released him, but the general cry was, Crucify him, crucify him; which occasioned the governor to call for a basin of water, and having washed his hands, he declared himself innocent of the blood of

Christ, whom he termed a just person. But the Jews said, Let his blood be upon us, and our children; and the governor found himself obliged to comply with their wishes, which wish has manifestly taken place, as they have never since been a collected people.

While leading Christ to the place of crucifixion, they obliged him to bear the cross, which being afterwards unable to sustain, they compelled one Simon, a native of Cyrenia, to carry it the rest of the way. Mount Calvary was fixed on for the place of execution, where, having arrived, the soldiers offered him a mixture of gall and vinegar to drink, which he refused. Having stripped him, they nailed him to the cross, and crucified him between two malefactors. After being fastened to the cross, he uttered this benevolent prayer for his enemies: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The soldiers who crucified him, being four in number, now cut his mantle to pieces, and divided it between them; but his coat being without a seam, they cast lots for it. Whilst Christ remained in the agonies of death, the Jews mocked him, and said, "If thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross." The chief priests and scribes also reviled him, and said, "He saved others, but cannot save himself." One of the criminals who was crucified with him, also cried out, and said, "If you are the Messiah, save yourself and us;" but the other malefactor, having great faith, exclaimed, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." To which Christ replied, "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise."

When Christ was upon the cross, the earth was covered with darkness, and the stars appeared at noon-day, which struck the people, and even the Jews, with terror. In the midst of his tortures, Christ cried out, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and then expressed a desire to drink; when one of the soldiers gave him, upon the point of a reed, a sponge dipped in vinegar, which, however, he refused. About three o'clock in the afternoon he gave up the ghost, and at that time a violent earthquake happened, when the rocks were rent, the mountains trembled, and the dead were thrown up from their graves. These signal prodigies attended the death of Christ, and such was the mortal end of the Redeemer of mankind.

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THE LIVES, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOM OF THE APOSTLES,  
EVANGELISTS, &c.

I. *Stephen,*

Who was the first in the "noble company of martyrs," was elected, with six others, as a deacon out of the Lord's seventy disciples. He was an able and successful preacher. The principal persons belonging to five Jewish synagogues entered into many altercations with him; but he, by the soundness of his doctrine, and the strength of his arguments, overcame them all, which so much irritated them, that they bribed false witnesses to accuse him of blaspheming God and Moses. On being carried before the council, he made a noble defence: but that so much exasperated his judges, that they resolved to condemn him. At this instant, Stephen saw a vision from heaven, which represented Jesus, in his glorified state, sitting at the right hand

of God. This vision so greatly rejoiced him, that he exclaimed, in raptures, "Behold, I see the heavens open, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God." This caused him to be condemned, and, having dragged him out of the city, they stoned him to death. On the spot where he was martyred, Eudocia, the empress of the Emperor Theodosius, erected a superb church.

The death of Stephen was succeeded by a severe persecution in Jerusalem, in which 2600 Christians, with Nicanor the deacon, were martyred, and many others obliged to leave that country.

## II. *James the Great,*

Was a Galilean, and the son of Zebedee, a fisherman, the elder brother of John, and a relation to Christ himself; for his mother Salome was cousin-german to the Virgin Mary. Being one day with his father fishing in the sea of Galilee, he and his brother John were called by our Saviour to become his disciples. They cheerfully obeyed the mandate, and leaving their father, followed Jesus. It is to be observed, that Christ placed a greater confidence in them than in any other of the apostles, Peter excepted.

Christ called these brothers Boanerges, or the Sons of Thunder, on account of their vigorous minds, and impetuous tempers.

When Herod Agrippa was made governor of Judea, by the Emperor Caligula, he raised a persecution against the Christians, and particularly singled out James as an object of his vengeance. This martyr, on being condemned to death, showed such an intrepidity of spirit, and constancy of mind, that even his accuser was struck with admiration, and became a convert to Christianity. This transition so enraged the people in power, that they condemned him likewise to death; when James the apostle and his penitent accuser were both beheaded on the same day, and with the same sword. These events took place in the year of Christ 44.

About the same period, Timon and Parmenas, two of the seven deacons, suffered martyrdom, the former at Corinth, and the latter at Philippi, in Macedonia.

## III. *Philip,*

The apostle and martyr, was born at Bethsaida, in Galilee, and was the first called by the name of Disciple. He was employed in several important commissions by Christ, and being deputed to preach in Upper Asia, laboured very diligently in his apostleship. He then travelled into Phrygia, and arriving at Heliopolis, found the inhabitants so sunk in idolatry as to worship a large serpent. Philip, however, converted many of them to Christianity, and even procured the death of the serpent. This so enraged the magistrates, that they committed him to prison, had him severely scourged, and afterwards crucified. His friend, Bartholomew, found an opportunity of taking down the body and burying it; for which, however, he was very near suffering the same fate. His martyrdom happened eight years after that of James the Great, A. D. 52.

## IV. *Matthew,*

The evangelist, apostle, and martyr, was born at Nazareth, in Galilee, but resided chiefly at Capernaum, on account of his business, which was that of a toll-gatherer, to collect tribute of such as had oc-

casion to pass the sea of Galilee. On being called as a disciple, he immediately complied, and left every thing to follow Christ. After the ascension of his master, he continued preaching the gospel in Judea about nine years. Intending to leave Judea, in order to go and preach among the Gentiles, he wrote his gospel in Hebrew, for the use of his Jewish converts; but it was afterwards translated into Greek by James the Less. He then went to Ethiopia, ordained preachers, settled churches, and made many converts. He afterwards proceeded to Parthia, where he had the same success; but returning to Ethiopia, he was slain by a halberd, in the city of Nadabar, about the year of Christ 60.

#### V. *Mark,*

The evangelist and martyr, was born of Jewish parents, of the tribe of Levi. It is imagined, that he was converted to Christianity by Peter, whom he served as an amanuensis, and whom he attended in all his travels. Being entreated by the converts at Rome, to commit to writing the admirable discourses they had heard from Peter and himself, he complied with this request, and composed his gospel accordingly in the Greek language. He then went to Egypt, and afterwards proceeded to Lybia, where he made many converts. On returning to Alexandria, some of the Egyptians, exasperated at his success, determined on his death. They therefore tied his feet, dragged him through the streets, left him bruised in a dungeon all night, and the next day burned his body.

#### VI. *James the Less,*

The apostle and martyr, was called so, to distinguish him from James the Great. He was the son, by a first wife, of Joseph, the reputed father of Christ: he was, after the Lord's ascension, elected to the oversight of the church of Jerusalem: he wrote his general epistles to all Christians and converts whatever, to suppress a dangerous error then propagating, viz. "That a faith in Christ was alone sufficient for salvation, without good works." The Jews, being at this time greatly enraged that Paul had escaped their fury, by appealing to Rome, determined to wreak their vengeance on James, who was now ninety-four years of age: they accordingly threw him down, beat, bruised, and stoned him; and then dashed out his brains with a club, such as was used by fullers in dressing cloth.

#### VII. *Matthias,*

The apostle and martyr, was called to the apostleship after the death of Christ, to supply the vacant place of Judas who had betrayed his master, and was likewise one of the seventy disciples. He was martyred at Jerusalem, being first stoned and then beheaded.

#### VIII. *Andrew,*

The apostle and martyr, was the brother of Peter, and preached the gospel to many Asiatic nations. On arriving at Edessa, the governor of the country, named Egeas, threatened him for preaching against the idols there worshipped. Andrew persisting in the propagation of his doctrines, he was ordered to be crucified on a cross, two ends of which were transversely fixed in the ground. He boldly told his accusers, that he would not have preached the glory of the cross, had he

feared to die on it. And again, when they came to crucify him, he said, that he coveted the cross, and longed to embrace it. He was fastened to the cross, not with nails, but cords, that his death might be more slow. In this situation he continued two days, preaching the greatest part of the time to the people, when he expired.

#### IX. *Peter,*

The great apostle and martyr, was born at Bethsaida, in Galilee, being the son of Jonah, a fisherman, which employment Peter himself followed. He was persuaded by his brother to turn Christian, when Christ gave him the name of Cephias, implying, in the Syriac language, a rock. He was called at the same time as his brother, to be an apostle; gave uncommon proofs of his zeal for the service of Christ, and always appeared as the principal speaker among the apostles. He had, however, the weakness to deny his master, after his apprehension, though he defended him at the time. But after the death of Christ, the Jews still continued to persecute the Christians, and ordered several of the apostles, among whom was Peter, to be scourged. This punishment they bore with the greatest fortitude, and rejoiced that they were thought worthy to suffer for the sake of their Redeemer.

When Herod Agrippa caused James the Great to be put to death, and found that it pleased the Jews, he resolved, in order to ingratiate himself with the people, that Peter should fall the next sacrifice. He was accordingly apprehended, and thrown into prison; but an angel of the Lord released him, which so enraged Herod, that he ordered the sentinels who guarded the dungeon in which he had been confined, to be put to death. Peter, after various other miracles, retired to Rome, where he defeated all the artifices, and confounded the magic, of Simon, the magician, a great favourite of the emperor Nero; he likewise converted to Christianity one of the concubines of that monarch, which so exasperated the tyrant, that he ordered both Peter and Paul to be apprehended. During the time of their confinement, they converted two of the captains of the guards, and forty-seven other persons, to Christianity. Having been nine months in prison, Peter was brought out from thence for execution, when, after being severely scourged, he was crucified with his head downwards; which position, however, was at his own request.

#### X. *Paul,*

The apostle and martyr, was a Jew of the tribe of Benjamin, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, and, before his conversion, was called Saul. He was at first a great enemy to, and persecutor of the Christians; and a principal promoter of the death of Stephen. While on his way to Damascus, the glory of the Lord came suddenly upon him, he was struck to the earth, and was afflicted with blindness during three days; on his recovery from which, he immediately became a professor, an apostle, and ultimately a martyr for the religion which he had formerly persecuted. Amongst his labours in spreading the doctrine of Christ, he converted to the faith Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, on which he took his name, and as some suppose, was from thence called Paulus instead of Saulus. After his many labours he took to him Barnabas, and went up to Jerusalem, to Peter, James,

and John, where he was ordained, and sent out with Barnabas to preach to the Gentiles. At Iconium, Paul and Barnabas were near being stoned to death by the enraged Jews; upon which they fled to Lycaonia. At Lystra, Paul was stoned, dragged out of the city, and left for dead. He, however, happily revived, and escaped to Derbe. At Philippi, Paul and Silas were imprisoned and whipped; and both were again persecuted at Thessalonica. Being afterwards taken at Jerusalem, he was sent to Cæsarea, but appealed to Cæsar at Rome. Here he continued a prisoner at large for two years; and, at length being released, he visited the churches of Greece and Rome, and preached in France and Spain. Returning to Rome, he was again apprehended, and, by the order of Nero, martyred, by being beheaded.

#### XI. *Jude,*

The apostle and martyr, the brother of James, was commonly called Thaddeus. Being sent to Edessa, he wrought many miracles, and made many converts, which stirring up the resentment of the people in power, he was crucified about the year 72.

#### XII. *Bartholomew,*

The apostle and martyr, preached in several countries, performed many miracles, and healed various diseases. He translated Matthew's gospel into the Indian language, and propagated it in that country; but at length the idolaters growing impatient with his doctrines, severely beat, crucified, and slew him, and then cut off his head.

#### XIII. *Thomas,*

Was called by this name in Syriac, but Didymus in Greek; he was an apostle and martyr, and preached in Parthia and India, where, displeasing the Pagan priests, he was martyred by being thrust through with a spear.

#### XIV. *Luke the Evangelist,*

Was the author of a most excellent gospel. He travelled with Paul to Rome, and preached to divers barbarous nations, till the priests in Greece hanged him on an olive tree.

#### XV. *Simon,*

The apostle and martyr, was distinguished, from his zeal, by the name of Zelotes. He preached with great success in Mauritania, and other parts of Africa, and even in Britain, where, though he made many converts, he was crucified, A. D. 74.

#### XVI. *John,*

Was distinguished for being a prophet, apostle, divine, evangelist, and martyr. He is called the beloved disciple, and was brother to James the Great. He was previously a disciple of John the Baptist, and afterwards not only one of the twelve apostles, but one of the three to whom Christ communicated the most secret passages of his life. He founded churches at Smyrna, Pergamus, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and Thyatira, to whom he directs his book of Revelation. Being at Ephesus, he was ordered by the Emperor Domitian to be sent bound to Rome, where he was condemned to be cast into a cauldron of boiling oil. But here a miracle appeared in his favour;

the oil did him no injury, and Domitian, therefore, not being able to put him to death, banished him to Patmos, to work in the mines. He was, however, recalled by Nerva, who succeeded Domitian; but was deemed a martyr, on account of his having undergone an execution, though it did not take effect. He wrote his epistles, gospel, and revelations, all in a different style; but they are all equally admired. He was the only apostle who escaped a violent death, and lived the longest of any of them, being nearly 100 years of age at the time of his death.

#### XVII. *Barnabas,*

Was a native of Cyprus, but of Jewish parents; the time of his death is uncertain, but it is supposed to be about the year of Christ 73.

#### THE FIRST PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION UNDER NERO.

The first persecution, in the primitive ages of the church, was begun by that cruel tyrant Nero Domitius, the sixth emperor of Rome, A. D. 67. This monarch reigned, for the space of five years, with tolerable credit to himself, but then gave way to the greatest extravagancy of temper, and to the most atrocious barbarities. Among other diabolical outrages, he ordered that the city of Rome should be set on fire, which was done by his officers, guards, and servants. While the city was in flames, he went up to the tower of Mæcenas, played upon his harp, sung the song of the burning of Troy, and declared, "That he wished the ruin of all things before his death." Among the noble buildings burnt was the circus, or place appropriated to horse-races. It was half a mile in length, of an oval form, with rows of seats rising above each other, and capable of receiving, with ease, upwards of 100,000 spectators. Many other palaces and houses were consumed; and several thousands of the people perished in the flames, were smothered, or buried beneath the ruins.

This dreadful conflagration continued nine days: when Nero, finding that his conduct was greatly blamed, and a severe odium cast upon him, determined to lay the whole upon the Christians, at once to excuse himself, and have an opportunity of witnessing new cruelties. The barbarities exercised upon the Christians, during the first persecution, were such as excited the commiseration of the Romans themselves. Nero even refined upon cruelty, and contrived all manner of punishments for the Christians. In particular, he had some sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and then worried by dogs till they expired; and others dressed in shirts made stiff with wax, fixed to axle-trees, and set on fire in his gardens. This persecution was general throughout the whole Roman empire; but it rather increased than diminished the spirit of Christianity. In the course of it, Paul and Peter were martyred; and to their names may be added Erastus, chamberlain of Corinth, Aristarchus, the Macedonian, Trophimus, an Ephesian, converted by Paul, and fellow-labourer with him, Joseph, commonly called Barsabas, and Ananias, a preacher in Damascus.



## THE SECOND PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION, UNDER DOMITIAN.

Domitian came to the throne A. D. 81, having slain his brother Titus, the reigning emperor. In his temper he strongly resembled Nero; yet he spared the Christians until the year 95, when he commenced the general persecution. His rage was such, that he even put to death many of the Roman senators; some through malice, and others to confiscate their estates; after which he commanded all the lineage of David to be extirpated. Two Christians were brought before him, accused of being of the tribe of Judah, and line of David; but from their answers he despised them as idiots, and dismissed them accordingly. He, however, was determined to be more secure upon other occasions; for he took away the property of many Christians, put several to death, and banished others.

Amongst the numerous martyrs that suffered during this persecution, was Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, who was crucified; and the apostle John, who was boiled in oil, and afterwards banished to Patmos. Flavia, the daughter of a Roman senator, was likewise banished to Pontus; and a law was enacted, "That no Christian, once brought before an appropriate tribunal, should be exempted from punishment, without renouncing his religion."

During this reign, there were a variety of tales, composed in order to injure the Christians. Among other falsehoods, they were accused of indecent nightly meetings, of a rebellious turbulent spirit; of being inimical to the Roman empire; of murdering their children, and even of being cannibals; and at this time, such was the infatuation of the pagans, that if famine, pestilence, or earthquakes, afflicted any of the Roman provinces, these calamities were said to be manifestations of the divine wrath, occasioned by their impieties. These persecutions increased the number of informers; and many, for the sake of gain, swore away the lives of the innocent. When any Christians were brought before the magistrates, a test oath was proposed, when, if they refused it, death was pronounced against them; and if they confessed themselves Christians, the sentence was the same. The various kinds of punishments and inflicted cruelties were, imprisonment, racking, searing, broiling, burning, scourging, stoning, hanging, and worrying. Many were torn piecemeal with red hot pincers, and others were thrown upon the horns of wild bulls. After having suffered these cruelties, the friends of the deceased were refused the privilege of burning their remains.

The following were the most remarkable of the numerous martyrs who suffered during this persecution.

Dionysius, the Areopagite, an Athenian by birth, and educated in all the useful and ornamental literature of Greece. From Greece, he travelled into Egypt, where he devoted himself to the study of astronomy, and made very particular observations on the great and supernatural eclipse, which happened at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion. On his return to Athens, he became a convert to Christianity, and was appointed bishop of that city. This office he continued to discharge with great fidelity and acceptance, till Domitian's persecuting spirit brought him to the block.

Timothy, the celebrated disciple of Paul, and bishop of Ephesus, also suffered during this persecution, about the year 97. During the

celebration of a pagan festival, called Catagogion, this holy man, meeting a procession, composed of an idolatrous multitude, severely reproved them, for ridiculous and wicked conduct; upon which, under a high wrought excitement, they fell upon him with clubs, and beat him in so cruel a manner, that he expired of the bruises two days after.

Many other distinguished and pious men, under various tortures, were, during this persecution, brought to the grave, but brevity requires us to omit a particular mention of them.

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#### THE THIRD PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION, UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

Between the second and third Roman persecution was but one year. Upon Nerva succeeding Domitian, he gave a respite to the Christians; but reigning only thirteen months, his successor Trajan, in the tenth year of his reign, and in A. D. 108, began the third persecution against them. While the persecution raged, Plinius Secundus, a heathen philosopher, wrote to the emperor in favour of Christians, stating that he found nothing objectionable in their conduct; and that "the whole sum of their error consisted in this, that they were wont at certain times appointed, to meet before day, and to sing certain hymns to one Christ, their God; and to confederate among themselves, to abstain from all theft, murder, and adultery; to keep their faith, and to defraud no man; which done, then to depart for that time, and afterwards to resort again to take meat in companies together, both men and women, one with another, *and yet without any act of evil.*" To this epistle Trajan returned this indecisive answer: "That Christians ought not to be sought after, but when brought before the magistracy they should be punished." This reply of the emperor, vague as it was, occasioned the persecution in some measure to abate, as his officers were uncertain, if they carried it on with severity, how he might choose to interpret his letter. Trajan, however, soon after wrote to Jerusalem, and gave orders to exterminate the stock of David; in consequence of which, all that could be found of that race were put to death.

Phocas, bishop of Pontus, refusing to sacrifice to Neptune, was, by the immediate order of Trajan, cast first into a hot lime-kiln, and being drawn from thence, was thrown into a scalding bath till he expired.

Trajan likewise commanded the martyrdom of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch. This holy man, it is said, was the person whom, when an infant, Christ took into his arms and showed to his disciples, as one that would be a pattern of humility and innocence. He received the gospel afterwards from John the Evangelist, and was exceedingly zealous in his mission. He boldly vindicated the faith of Christ before the emperor, for which he was cast into prison, and was tormented in a cruel manner; for, after being dreadfully scourged, he was compelled to hold fire in his hands, and at the same time, papers dipped in oil were put to his sides, and set alight. His flesh was then torn with red-hot pincers, and at last he was despatched by being torn to pieces by wild beasts.

Symphorosa, a widow, and her seven sons, were commanded by Trajan to sacrifice to the heathen deities. Refusing to comply with the impious request, the emperor, greatly exasperated, ordered her to be carried to the temple of Hercules, where she was scourged, and hung up for some time by the hair of the head: then a large stone was fastened to her neck, and she was thrown into the river. Her sons were fastened to seven posts, and being drawn up by the pulleys, their limbs were dislocated; these tortures not affecting their resolution, they were thus martyred. Crescentius, the eldest, was stabbed in the throat; Julian, the second, in the breast; Nemesius, the third, in the heart; Primitius, the fourth, in the navel; Justice, the fifth, in the back; Stacteus, the sixth, in the side; and Eugenius, the youngest, was sawed asunder.

Trajan died in the year 117, and was succeeded by Adrian, during whose reign of 21 years, the condition of the church was, upon the whole, less distressing than during the reign of his predecessor. Yet, in the *first* years of Adrian, the persecution went on, and many illustrious men, and more still humbler disciples of Christ, fell victims to his cruel laws, which had been passed by Trajan, and which continued unrepealed for several years.

At length Quadratus, bishop of Athens, made a learned apology in favour of Christians before the emperor, Adrian, who happened to be there; and Aristides, a philosopher of the same city, wrote an elegant epistle, which caused Adrian to relax in his severities, and relent in their favour. He indeed went so far as to command, that no Christian should be punished on the score of religion or opinion only; but this gave other pretexts to the Jews and pagans, to persecute them; for then they began to employ and suborn false witnesses, to accuse them of crimes against the state or civil authority.

Adrian died in the year 138, and was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, so amiable a monarch, that his people gave him the title of "The Father of Virtues." Immediately upon his accession to the throne, he published an edict concluding with these words: "If any hereafter shall vex or trouble the Christians, having no other cause but that they are such, let the accused be released and the accusers be punished." This stopped the persecution, and the Christians enjoyed a respite from their sufferings during this emperor's reign, though their enemies took every occasion to do them what injuries they could. The piety and goodness of Antoninus were so great, that he used to say, that he had rather save one citizen, than destroy a thousand of his adversaries.

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THE FOURTH PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION, UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS,  
WHICH COMMENCED A. D. 162.

Antoninus Pius, was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus, who began the fourth persecution, in which many Christians were martyred, particularly in several parts of Asia, and in France. Such were the cruelties used in this persecution, that many of the spectators shuddered with horror at the sight, and were astonished at the intrepidity of the sufferers. Some of the martyrs were obliged to

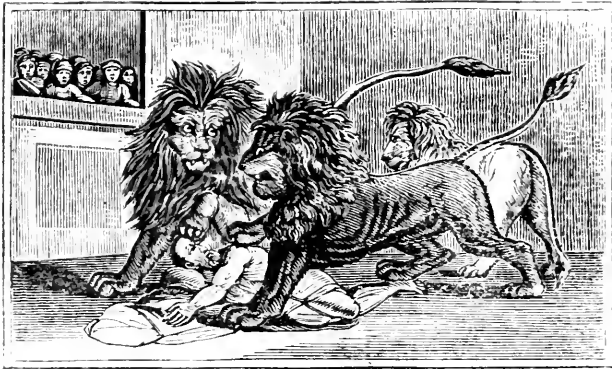
pass, with their already wounded feet, over thorns, nails, sharp shells, &c. others were scourged till their sinews and veins lay bare; and after suffering the most excruciating tortures, they were destroyed by the most terrible deaths.

Germanicus, a young and true Christian, being delivered to the wild beasts on account of his faith, behaved with such astonishing courage, that several pagans became converts to a faith which inspired such fortitude. This enraged others so much, that they cried out, he merited death; and many of the multitude wondering at this beloved martyr for his constancy and virtue, began suddenly to cry with a loud voice, saying, "Destroy the wicked men, let Polycarpus be sought for." And whilst a great uproar and tumult began to be raised upon those cries, a certain Phrygian, named Quintus, lately arrived from his country, was so afflicted at the sight of the wild beasts, that he rushed to the judgment-seat, and upbraided the judges, for which he was put to death.

Polycarpus, bishop of Smyrna, the disciple and pupil of the apostle John, now in the 57th year of his age, and 27th of his ministry, hearing that he was sought after, escaped, but was discovered by a child. From this circumstance, and having dreamed that his bed suddenly became on fire, and was consumed in a moment, he concluded that it was God's will that he should suffer martyrdom. He therefore did not attempt to make a second escape when he had an opportunity of so doing. Those who apprehended him were amazed at his serene countenance and gravity. After feasting them, he desired an hour for prayer, which being allowed, he prayed with such fervency, that his guards repented they had been instrumental in taking him. He was, however, carried before the pro-consul, condemned, and conducted to the market-place. Wood being provided, the holy man earnestly prayed to heaven, after being bound to the stake; and as the flames grew vehement, the executioners gave way on both sides, the heat now becoming intolerable. In the mean time, the bishop sung praises to God in the midst of the flames, but remained unconsumed therein, and the burning of the wood spreading a fragrance around, the guards were much surprised. Determined, however, to put an end to his life, they stuck spears into his body, when the quantity of blood that issued from the wounds extinguished the flames. After considerable attempts, however, they put him to death, and burnt his body when dead, not being able to consume it while alive. This extraordinary event had such an effect upon the people, that they began to adore the martyr; and the pro-consul was admonished not to deliver his body, lest the people should leave Christ, and begin to worship him. Twelve other Christians, who had been intimate with Polycarpus, were soon after martyred.

Felicitas, an illustrious Roman lady, of a considerable family, and great virtues, was a devout Christian. She had seven sons, whom she had educated with the most exemplary piety. The empire having been about this time grievously troubled with earthquakes, famine, inundations, &c. the Christians were accused as the cause, and Felicitas was included in the accusation. The lady and her family being seized, the emperor gave orders to Publius, the Roman governor, to proceed against her. Upon this Publius began with the mother, thinking that if he could prevail with her to change her religion, the

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*Ignatius gives a to Lions.* Page 34.



*Polycarp Burned.* Page 36.



*Proptus and Felicitas.* Page 40.

example would have great influence with her sons. Finding her inflexible, he turned his entreaties to menaces, and threatened her with destruction to herself and family. She despised his threats as she had done his promises; he then caused her sons to be brought before him, whom he examined separately. They all, however, remained steadfast in their faith, and unanimous in their opinions, on which the whole family were ordered for execution. Januarius, the eldest, was scourged and pressed to death with weights; Felix and Philip, the two next, had their brains dashed out with clubs; Sylvanus, the fourth, was murdered by being thrown from a precipice; and the three younger sons, viz. Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis, were all beheaded. The mother was beheaded with the same sword as the three latter.

Justin, the celebrated philosopher, fell a martyr in this persecution. He was a native of Neapolis, in Samaria, and was born A. D. 103. He had the best education those times could afford, and travelled into Egypt, the country where the polite tour of that age was made for improvement. At Alexandria he was informed of every thing relative to the seventy interpreters of the sacred writings, and shewn the rooms, or rather cells, in which their work was performed. Justin was a great lover of truth, and an universal scholar; he investigated the Stoic and Peripatetic philosophy, and attempted the Pythagorean system; but the behaviour of one of its professors disgusting him, he applied himself to the Platonic, in which he took great delight. About the year 133, when he was thirty years of age, he became a convert to Christianity. Justin wrote an elegant epistle to the Gentiles, to convert them to the faith he had newly acquired, and lived in so pure and innocent a manner, that he well deserved the title of a Christian philosopher. He likewise employed his talents in convincing the Jews of the truth of the Christian rites, and spent much time in travelling, till he took up his abode in Rome, and fixed his habitation on the Viminal mount. He kept a public school, taught many who afterwards became great men, and wrote a treatise to confute heresies of all kinds. As the pagans began to treat the Christians with great severity, Justin wrote his first apology in their favour, and addressed it to the Emperor Antoninus, to two princes whom he had adopted as his sons, and to the senate and people of Rome in general. This piece, which occasioned the emperor to publish an edict in favour of the Christians, displays great learning and genius.

A short time after, he entered into frequent contests with Crescens, a person of vicious life, but a celebrated cynic philosopher; and his arguments appeared so powerful, yet disgusting to the cynic, that he resolved on his destruction, which, in the sequel, he accomplished. The second apology of Justin was occasioned by the following circumstances: a man and his wife, who were both bad livers, resided at Rome. The woman, however, becoming a convert to Christianity, attempted to reclaim her husband; but not succeeding, she sued for a divorce, which so exasperated him, that he accused her of being a Christian. Upon her petition, however, he dropped the prosecution, and levelled his malice at Ptolemeus, who had converted her. Ptolemeus was condemned to die; and one Lucius, with another person, for expressing themselves too freely upon the occasion, met with the same fate. Justin's apology upon these severities gave Crescens an opportunity of prejudicing the emperor against the writer of it; upon

which Justin and six of his companions were apprehended. Being commanded, as usual, to deny their faith, and sacrifice to the pagan idols, they refused to do either: they were, therefore, condemned to be first scourged and then beheaded.

Some of the restless northern nations having risen in arms against Rome, the emperor marched to encounter them. He was, however, drawn into an ambuscade, and dreaded the loss of his whole army. Enveloped with mountains, surrounded by enemies, and perishing with thirst, the pagan deities were invoked in vain; when the men belonging to the militine, or thundering legion, who were all Christians, were commanded to call upon their God for succour. A miraculous deliverance immediately ensued; a prodigious quantity of rain fell, which, being caught by the men, and filling the dykes, afforded a sudden and astonishing relief. It appears that the storm which miraculously flashed in the faces of the enemy, so intimidated them, that part deserted to the Roman army; the rest were defeated, and the revolted provinces entirely recovered.

This affair occasioned the persecution to subside for some time, at least in those parts immediately under the inspection of the emperor; but we find that it soon after raged in France, particularly at Lyons, where the tortures to which many of the Christians were put, almost exceed the powers of description.

The principal of these martyrs were Vetius Agathus, a young man; Blandinia, a Christian lady, of a weak constitution; Sanctus, a deacon of Vienna; red-hot plates of brass were placed upon the tenderest parts of his body; Biblius, a weak woman, once an apostate; Attalus, of Pergamus; and Pothinus, the venerable bishop of Lyons, who was ninety years of age.

When the Christians, upon these occasions, received martyrdom, they were ornamented, and crowned with garlands of flowers; for which they, in heaven, received eternal crowns of glory.

The torments were various; and, exclusive of those already mentioned, the martyrs of Lyons were compelled to sit in red-hot iron chairs till their flesh broiled. This was inflicted with peculiar severity on Sanctus, already mentioned, and some others. Some were sewed up in nets, and thrown on the horns of wild bulls; and the carcasses of those who died in prison, previous to the appointed time of execution, were thrown to dogs. Indeed, so far did the malice of the pagans proceed, that they set guards over the bodies while the beasts were devouring them, lest the friends of the deceased should get them away by stealth; and the offals left by the dogs were ordered to be burnt.

The martyrs of Lyons, according to the best accounts we could obtain, who suffered for the gospel, were forty-eight in number, and their executions happened in the year of Christ 177.

Epipodius and Alexander were celebrated for their great friendship, and their Christian union with each other. The first was born at Lyons, the latter at Greece. Epipodius, being compassionated by the governor of Lyons, and exhorted to join in their festive pagan worship, replied, "Your pretended tenderness is actually cruelly; and the agreeable life you describe is replete with everlasting death. Christ suffered for us, that our pleasures should be immortal, and hath prepared for his followers an eternity of bliss. The frame of man be-



ing composed of two parts, body and soul, the first, as mean and perishable, should be rendered subservient to the interests of the last. Your idolatrous feasts may gratify the mortal, but they injure the immortal part; that cannot therefore be enjoying life which destroys the most valuable moiety of your frame. Your pleasures lead to eternal death, and our pains to perpetual happiness." Epipodius was severely beaten, and then put to the rack, upon which being stretched, his flesh was torn with iron hooks. Having borne his torments with incredible patience and unshaken fortitude, he was taken from the rack, and beheaded.

Valerian and Marcellus, who were nearly related to each other, were imprisoned at Lyons, in the year 177, for being Christians. The father was fixed up to the waist in the ground; in which position, after remaining three days, he expired, A. D. 179. Valerian was beheaded.

Apollonius, a Roman senator, an accomplished gentleman, and a sincere Christian, suffered under Commodus, because he would not worship him as Hercules.

Eusebius, Vincentius, Potentianus, Peregrinus, and Julius, a Roman senator, were martyred on the same account.

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#### THE FIFTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

The Emperor Commodus, who had succeeded his father Antoninus in 180, dying in the year 191, was succeeded by Pertinax, and he by Julianus, both of whom reigned but a short time. On the death of the last, Severus became emperor in the year 192. When he had been recovered from a severe fit of sickness by a Christian, he became a great favourer of Christians in general; and even permitted his son Caracalla to be nursed by a female of that persuasion. Hence, during the reigns of the emperors already mentioned, who successively succeeded Commodus, and some years of the latter's reign, the Christians had a respite for several years from persecution. But the prejudice and fury of the ignorant multitude again prevailed, and the obsolete laws were put in execution against the Christians. The pagans were alarmed at the progress of Christianity, and revived the calumny of placing accidental misfortunes to the account of its professors. Fire, sword, wild beasts, and imprisonments, were resorted to; and even the dead bodies of Christians were torn from their graves, and subjected to every insult; yet the gospel withstood the attacks of its boisterous enemies. Tertullian, who lived in this age, informs us, that if the Christians had collectively withdrawn themselves from the Roman territories, the empire would have been greatly depopulated.

Victor, bishop of Rome, suffered martyrdom in the first year of the third century, viz. A. D. 201, though the circumstances are not ascertained.

Leonidas, the father of the celebrated Origen, was beheaded for being a Christian. Previous to the execution, the son, in order to encourage him, wrote to him in these remarkable words: "Beware,

Sir, that your care for us does not make you change your resolution." Many of Origen's hearers likewise suffered martyrdom.

Among those who suffered during this persecution was also the venerable Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who was born in Greece, and received a Christian education. It is generally supposed that the account of the persecutions at Lyons was written by himself. He succeeded the martyr Pothynus as bishop of Lyons, and ruled his diocese with great propriety; he was a zealous opposer of heresies in general, and wrote a celebrated tract against heresy about A. D. 187.

Victor, the bishop of Rome, wanting to impose a particular mode of keeping Easter there, it occasioned some disorders among the Christians. In particular, Irenæus wrote him a synodical epistle in the name of the Gallic churches. This zeal in favour of Christianity, pointed him out as an object of resentment to the emperor; and he was accordingly beheaded in A. D. 202.

#### *Persecutions in Africa.*

The persecutions about this time extended to Africa, and many were martyred in that part of the globe; but we must content ourselves with giving a particular account only of Perpetua, a married lady of about twenty-six years of age, with a young child at her breast; she was seized for being a Christian. Her father, who tenderly loved her, went to console her during her confinement, and attempted to persuade her to renounce Christianity. Perpetua, however, resisted every entreaty. This resolution so much incensed her father, that he beat her severely, and did not visit her for some days after; and, in the mean time, she, and some others who were confined, were baptized, as they were before only catechumens.

On being carried before the pro-consul Minutius, she was commanded to sacrifice to the idols; but refusing, she was ordered to a dark dungeon, and was deprived of her child. Two deacons, however, Tertius and Pomponius, who had the care of persecuted Christians, allowed her some hours daily to inhale the fresh air, during which time she had the satisfaction of being allowed to nurse her child. Foreseeing, however, that she should not long be permitted to take care of it, she recommended it strongly to her mother's attention. Her father at length paid her a second visit, and again entreated her to renounce Christianity. His behaviour was now all tenderness and humanity; but inflexible to all things but Christ, she knew she must leave every thing for his sake; and she only said to him, "God's will must be done." He then, with an almost bursting heart, left her.

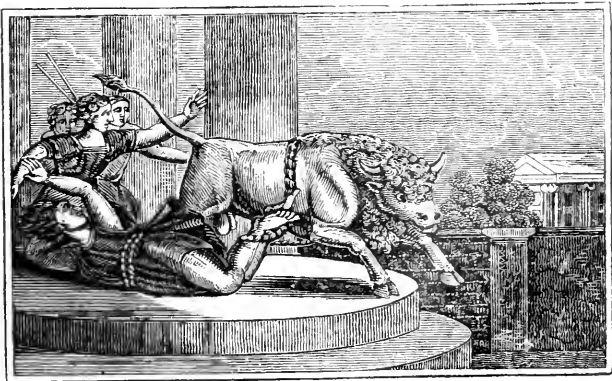
Perpetua gave the strongest proof of fortitude and strength of mind on her trial. Her judge entreated her to consider her father's tears, her infant's helplessness, and her own life; but triumphing over the softer sentiments of nature, she forgot the ideas of both mental and corporeal pain, and determined to sacrifice all the feelings of human sensibility, to that immortality offered by Christ. In vain did they attempt to persuade her that their offers were gentle, and her own religion otherwise. Aware that she must die, her father's parental tenderness returned, and in his anxiety he attempted to carry her off, on which he received a severe blow from one of the officers. Irritated at this, the daughter immediately declared, that she felt that blow more severely than if she had received it herself. Being conducted back to prison, she awaited



*Julian put into a sack with serpents. Page 43.*



*Tortures of the early Christian Martyrs.*



*Saturnius tied to a Bull. Page 46.*

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her execution with several other persons, who were to be executed at the same time; one of these, Felicitas, a married Christian lady, was big with child at the time of her trial. The procurator, when he examined her, entreated her to have pity upon herself and her condition; but she replied, that his compassion was useless, for no thought of self-preservation could induce her to submit to any idolatrous proposition. She was delivered in prison of a girl, which was adopted by a Christian woman as her own.

Revocatus was a catechumen of Carthage, and a slave. The names of the other prisoners, who were to suffer upon this occasion, were Satur, Saturnius, and Secundulus. When the day of execution arrived, they were led to the amphitheatre. Satur, Saturnius, and Revocatus, having the fortitude to denounce God's judgments upon their persecutors, were ordered to run the gauntlet between the hunters, or such as had the care of the wild beasts. The hunters being drawn up in two ranks, they ran between, and as they passed were severely lashed. Felicitas and Perpetua were stripped, in order to be thrown to a mad bull; but some of the spectators, through decency, desired that they might be permitted to put on their clothes, which request was granted. The bull made his first attack upon Perpetua, and stunned her: he then attacked Felicitas, and wounded her much; but not killing them, the executioner did that office with a sword. Revocatus and Satur were destroyed by wild beasts; Saturnius was beheaded; and Secundulus died in prison. These executions took place on the 8th of March, A. D. 205

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#### THE SIXTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

The sixth general persecution occurred under Maximinus, the son of a herdsman of Thrace, who by means of the army was made emperor A. D. 235. In Cappadocia, the president Semiramus made great efforts to exterminate the Christians from that kingdom. A Roman soldier who refused to wear a laurel crown bestowed on him by the emperor, and confessed himself a Christian, was scourged, imprisoned, and put to death. Pontianus, bishop of Rome, for preaching against idolatry, was banished to Sardina, and there destroyed. Anteros, a Grecian, who succeeded this bishop in the see of Rome, gave so much offence to the government by collecting the acts of the martyrs, that after having held his dignity only forty days, he suffered martyrdom himself. Pammachius, a Roman senator, with his family, and other Christians to the number of forty-two, were, on account of their religion, all beheaded in one day, and their heads set up on the city gates. Simplicius, another senator, suffered martyrdom in a similar way. Calepodius, a Christian minister, after being inhumanly treated, and barbarously dragged about the streets, was thrown into the river Tiber with a mill-stone fastened about his neck. Quiritus, a Roman nobleman, with his family and domestics, were, on account of their Christian principles, put to most execruciating tortures, and painful deaths. Martina, a noble and beautiful virgin, suffered martyrdom, being variously tortured, and afterwards beheaded; and

Hippolitus, a Christian prelate, was tied to a wild horse, and dragged through fields, stony places, bushes, &c. till he died.

While this persecution continued, numerous Christians were slain without trial, and buried indiscriminately in heaps; sometimes fifty or sixty being cast into a pit together. Maximinus died in A. D. 238; he was succeeded by Gordian, during whose reign, and that of his successor Philip, the church was free from persecution for the space of more than ten years: but in the year 249, a violent persecution broke out in Alexandria. It is, however, worthy of remark, that this was done at the instigation of a pagan priest, without the emperor's privity. At this time the fury of the people being great among the Christians, the mob broke open their houses, carried away the best of their property, destroyed the rest, and murdered the owners; the universal cry being, "Burn them, burn them! kill them, kill them!" The names of the martyrs have not been recorded, with the exception of the three following: Metrus, an aged and venerable Christian, who refusing to blaspheme his Saviour, was beaten with clubs, pricked with sharp reeds, and at length stoned to death. Quinta, a Christian woman, being carried to the temple, and refusing to worship the idols there, was dragged by her feet over sharp flint stones, scourged with whips, and at last dispatched in the same manner as Metrus. And Appolonia, an ancient maiden lady, confessing herself a Christian, the mob dashed out her teeth with their fists, and threatened to burn her alive. A fire was accordingly prepared for the purpose, and she fastened to a stake; but requesting to be unloosed, it was granted, on a supposition that she meant to recant, when, to their astonishment, she immediately threw herself into the flames, and was consumed.

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#### THE SEVENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

In the year 249, Decius being emperor of Rome, a dreadful persecution was began against the Christians. This was occasioned partly by the hatred he bore to his predecessor Philip, who was deemed a Christian, and partly to his jealousy concerning the amazing increase of Christianity; for the heathen temples were almost forsaken, and the Christian churches crowded with proselytes. Decius, provoked at this, attempted, as it were, to extirpate the name of Christian; and, unfortunately for the cause of the gospel, many errors had, about this time, crept into the church; the Christians were at variance with each other; and a variety of contentions ensued amongst them. The heathens, in general, were ambitious to enforce the imperial decrees upon this occasion, and looked upon the murder of a Christian as a merit to themselves. The martyrs were, therefore, innumerable.

#### *Martyrdom of Fabian, and others.*

Fabian, bishop of Rome, was the first person of eminence who felt the severity of this persecution. The deceased emperor, Philip, had, on account of his integrity, committed his treasure to the care of this good man; but Decius, not finding as much as his avarice made him expect, determined to wreak his vengeance on the good prelate.

He was accordingly seized; and on the 20th of January, A. D. 250, suffered martyrdom, by decapitation.

Julian, a native of Cilicia, as we are informed by St. Chrysostom, was seized upon for being a Christian. He was frequently tortured, but still remained inflexible; and though often brought from prison for execution, was again remanded, to suffer greater cruelties. He, at length, was obliged to travel for twelve months together, from town to town, in order to be exposed to the insults of the populace. When all endeavours to make him recant his religion were found ineffectual, he was brought before his judge, stripped, and whipped in a dreadful manner. He was then put into a leather bag, together with a number of serpents, scorpions, &c. and in that condition thrown into the sea.

Peter, a young man, amiable for the superior qualities of his body and mind, was apprehended as a Christian, at Lampsacus, and carried before Optimus, pro-consul of Asia. On being commanded to sacrifice to Venus, he said, "I am astonished that you should wish me to sacrifice to an infamous woman, whose debauches even your own historians record, and whose life consisted of such actions as your laws would punish. No! I shall offer to the true God the sacrifice of prayers and praise."

Optimus, on hearing this, ordered him to be stretched upon a wheel, by which all his bones were broken in a shocking manner; but his torments only inspired him with fresh courage; he smiled on his persecutors, and seemed, by the serenity of his countenance, not to upbraid, but to applaud his tormentors. At length the pro-consul commanded him to be beheaded; which was immediately executed.

Denisa, a young woman only sixteen years of age, who beheld this terrible judgment, suddenly exclaimed, "O, unhappy wretch, why would you buy a moment's ease, at the expense of a miserable eternity?" Optimus hearing this, called to her, and asked if she was a Christian? She replied in the affirmative; and refused to sacrifice to the idols. Optimus, enraged at her resolution, gave her over to two libertines, who took her to their home, and made many attempts upon her chastity, but without effect. At midnight, however, they were deterred from their design by a frightful vision, which so amazed them, that they fell at the feet of Denisa, and implored her prayers, that they might not feel the effects of divine vengeance for their brutality. But this event did not diminish the cruelty of Optimus; for the lady was beheaded soon after by his order.

Trypho and Respicus, two eminent men, were seized as Christians, and imprisoned at Nice. They were soon after put to the rack, which they bore with admirable patience for three hours, and uttered the praises of the Almighty the whole time. They were then exposed naked in the open air, which benumbed all their limbs. When remanded to prison, they remained there for a considerable time; and then the cruelties of their persecutors were again evinced. Their feet were pierced with nails; they were dragged through the streets, scourged, torn with iron hooks, scorched with lighted torches, and at length beheaded, on the 1st of February, A. D. 251.

Agatha, a Sicilian lady, was remarkable for her beauty and endowments; her beauty was indeed so great, that Quintain, governor of Sicily, became enamoured of her, and made many attempts upon her

virtue. The governor being known as a great libertine, and a bigoted pagan, the lady thought proper to withdraw from the town, but was discovered in her retreat, apprehended, and brought to Catana; when, finding herself in the power of an enemy, both to her soul and body, she recommended herself to the protection of the Almighty, and prayed for death. In order to gratify his passion with the greater conveniency, the governor transferred the virtuous lady to Aphrodisia, an infamous and licentious woman, who tried every artifice to win her to the desired prostitution; but all her efforts were in vain. When Aphrodisia acquainted Quintain with the inefficacy of her endeavours, he changed his desire into resentment; and on her confessing that she was a Christian, he determined to gratify his revenge. He, therefore, ordered her to be scourged, burnt with red hot irons, and torn with sharp hooks. Having borne these torments with admirable fortitude, she was next laid naked upon live coals, intermingled with glass, and being carried back to prison, she there expired on the 5th of February, A. D. 251.

#### *Martyrdom of Cyril.*

Cyril, bishop of Gortyna, was seized by order of Lucius, the governor of that place, who first exhorted him to obey the imperial mandate, perform the sacrifices, and save his venerable person from destruction; for he was then eighty-four years of age. The good prelate replied, that he could not agree to any such requisitions; but as he had long taught others to save their souls, that now he should only think of his own salvation. When the governor found all his persuasion in vain, he pronounced sentence against the venerable Christian, in these words: "I order that Cyril, who has lost his senses, and is a declared enemy of our gods, shall be burnt alive." The good worthy prelate heard this sentence without emotion, walked cheerfully to the place of execution, and underwent martyrdom with great resolution.

#### *Persecutions in Crete.*

At the island of Crete, the persecution raged with fury; for the governor being exceedingly active in executing the imperial decrees, that place streamed with the blood of many Christians. The principal Cretan martyrs, whose names have been transmitted to us, are as follow: Theodulus, Saturnius, and Europus, were inhabitants of Gortyna, who had been grounded in their faith by Cyril, bishop of that city; and Eunicianus, Zeticus, Cleomenes, Agathopas, Bastides, and Euaristus, were brought from different parts of the island on accusations of professing Christianity.

At the time of their trial, they were commanded to sacrifice to Jupiter, which declining, the judge threatened them with the severest tortures. To these menaces they unanimously answered, "That to suffer for the sake of the Supreme Being, would to them be the sublimest of pleasures." The judge then attempted to gain their veneration for the heathen deities, by descanting on their merits, and recounting some of their mythological histories. This gave the prisoners an opportunity of remarking on the absurdity of such fictions, and of pointing out the folly of paying adoration to ideal deities, and real images. Provoked to hear his favourite idols ridiculed, the governor ordered them all to be put to the rack; the tortures of which they sustained with sur-



prising fortitude. They at length suffered martyrdom, A. D. 251; being all beheaded at the same time.

*Martyrdom of Babylas, bishop of Antioch, and others.*

Babylas, a Christian of liberal education, became bishop of Antioch, in A. D. 237, on the demise of Zebimus. He governed the church during those tempestuous times with admirable zeal and prudence. The first misfortune that happened to Antioch, during his mission, was the siege of it by Sapor, king of Persia; who, having overrun all Syria, took and plundered this city among others, and used the Christian inhabitants with greater severity than the rest. His cruelties, however, were not lasting, for Gordian, the emperor, appearing at the head of a powerful army, Antioch was retaken, the Persians driven entirely out of Syria, pursued into their own country, and several places in the Persian territories fell into the hands of the emperor. On Gordian's death, in the reign of Decius, that emperor came to Antioch, where, having a desire to visit an assembly of Christians, Babylas opposed him, and refused to let him come in. The emperor dissembled his anger at that time; but soon sending for the bishop, he sharply reprov'd him for his insolence, and then ordered him to sacrifice to the pagan deities as an expiation for his supposed crime. Having refused this, he was committed to prison, loaded with chains, treated with great severities, and then beheaded, together with three young men who had been his pupils. On going to the place of execution, the bishop exclaimed, "Behold me and the children that the Lord hath given me." They were martyred, A. D. 251, and the chains worn by the bishop in prison were buried with him.

The Emperor Decius having erected a pagan temple at Ephesus, in the year 251, he commanded all who were in that city to sacrifice to the idols. This order was nobly refused by seven of his own soldiers, viz. Maximianus, Martianus, Joannes, Malches, Dionysius, Constantinus, and Seraion. The emperor, wishing to prevail on the soldiers to prevent their fate by his entreaties and lenity, gave them a respite till he returned from a journey. But in the absence of the emperor, they escaped, and hid themselves in a cavern; which he being informed of at his return, the mouth of the cavern was closed up, and they were all starved to death.

Theodora, a beautiful young lady of Antioch, on refusing to sacrifice to the Roman idols, was condemned to the brothel, that her virtue might be sacrificed. Didymus, a Christian, then disguised himself in the habit of a Roman soldier, went to the house, informed Theodora who he was, and prevailed on her to make her escape in his dress. Thus being found in the brothel, instead of the lady, he was taken before the president, to whom confessing the truth, sentence of death was immediately pronounced against him. In the mean time, Theodora, hearing that her deliverer was likely to suffer, came to the judge, threw herself at his feet, and begged that the sentence might fall only on her, as the guilty person; but the inflexible judge condemned both; and they were executed accordingly, being first beheaded, and their bodies afterwards burnt.

*Account of Origen.*

Origen, the celebrated presbyter and catechist of Alexandria, at the age of sixty-four, was seized, thrown into a loathsome prison, load-

ed with chains, his feet placed in the stocks, and his legs extended to the utmost for several days. He was threatened with fire, and tormented by every means that the most infernal imagination could suggest. But his Christian fortitude bore him through all; indeed, such was the rigour of his judge, that his tortures were ordered to be lingering, that death might not too soon put a period to his miseries. During this cruel temporising, the Emperor Decius died, and Gallus, who succeeded him, engaging in a war with the Goths, the Christians met with a respite. In this interim, Origen obtained his enlargement, and retiring to Tyre, remained there till his death, which happened when he was in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

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THE EIGHTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

After the death of Gallus, Æmilian, the general, having many enemies in the army, was slain, and Valerian was elected to the empire. This emperor, for the space of four years, governed with moderation, and treated the Christians with peculiar lenity and respect; but in the year 257, an Egyptian magician, named Macrianus, gained a great ascendancy over him, and persuaded him to persecute them. Edicts were accordingly published, and the persecution, which began in the month of April, continued for three years and six months.

The martyrs that fell in this persecution were innumerable, and their tortures and deaths as various. The most eminent were the following:

Rufina and Secunda were two beautiful and accomplished ladies, daughters of Asterius, a gentleman of eminence in Rome. Rufina, the elder, was designed in marriage for Armentarius, a young nobleman; and Secunda, the younger, for Verinus, a person of rank, and immense wealth. These suitors, at the time the persecution commenced, were both Christians; but when danger appeared, to save their fortunes, they renounced their faith. They took great pains to persuade the ladies to do the same, but failed in their purpose; and as a method of safety, Rufina and Secunda left the kingdom. The lovers, finding themselves disappointed, informed against the ladies, who being apprehended as Christians, were brought before Junius Donatus, governor of Rome. After many remonstrances, and having undergone several tortures, they sealed their martyrdom with their blood, by being beheaded, in the year 257.

In the same year, Stephen, bishop of Rome, was beheaded, and about that time Saturnius, bishop of Thoulouse, was attacked and seized by the rabble of that place, for preventing, as they alleged, their oracles from speaking. On refusing to sacrifice to the idols, he was treated with many barbarous indignities, and then fastened by the feet to the tail of a bull. On a certain signal the enraged animal was driven down the steps of the temple, by which the martyr's brains were dashed out; and the small number of Christians in Thoulouse, had not, for some time, courage sufficient to carry off the dead body; at length two women conveyed it away, and deposited it in a ditch. This martyr was an orthodox and learned primitive Christian, and his doctrines are held in high estimation.

Stephen was succeeded by Sextus as bishop of Rome. He is supposed to have been a Greek by birth or extraction, and had for some time served in the capacity of a deacon, under Stephen. His great fidelity, singular wisdom, and courage, distinguished him upon many occasions; and the fortunate conclusion of a controversy with some heretics, is generally ascribed to his prudence. Macrianus, who had the management of the Roman government in the year 258, having procured an order from the Emperor Valerian, to put to death all the Christian clergy in Rome, and the Senate having testified their obedience to this mandate, Sextus was one of the first who felt its severity. Cyprian tells us, that he was beheaded August 6, A. D. 258; and that six of his deacons suffered with him.

*Martyrdom of St. Laurence.*

Laurentius, generally called St. Laurence, the principal of the deacons, who taught and preached under Sextus, followed him to the place of execution; when Sextus predicted that he should meet him in heaven three days after. Laurentius considering this as a certain indication of his own approaching martyrdom, at his return collected all the Christian poor, and distributed among them the treasures of the church, which had been committed to his care, thinking the money could not be better disposed of, or less liable to fall into the hands of the heathens. His conduct alarmed the persecutors, who seized on him, and commanded him to give an immediate account to the emperor of the church treasures.

Laurentius promised to satisfy them, but begged a short respite to put things in proper order; when three days being granted him, he was suffered to depart; whereupon with great diligence, he collected together a great number of aged, helpless, and impotent poor, and repairing to the magistrate, presenting them to him, saying, "These are the true treasures of the church."

Provoked at the disappointment, and fancying the matter meant in ridicule, the governor ordered him to be immediately scourged. He was then beaten with iron rods, set upon a wooden horse, and had his limbs dislocated. He endured these tortures with such fortitude and perseverance, that he was ordered to be fastened to a large gridiron, with a slow fire under it, that his death might be the more tedious. But his astonishing constancy during these trials, and his serenity of countenance while under such excruciating torments, gave the spectators so exalted an idea of the dignity and truth of the Christian religion, that many immediately became converts.

Having lain for some time upon the gridiron, the martyr called out to the emperor, who was present, in a kind of jocose Latin distich, made extempore, which may be translated thus :

" This side enough is toasted,  
Then turn me, tyrant, and eat;  
And see, whether raw or roasted,  
I am the better meat."

On this the executioner turned him, and after having lain a considerable time longer, he had still strength and spirit enough to triumph over the tyrant, by telling him, with great serenity, that he was roasted enough, and only wanted serving up. He then cheerfully lifted

up his eyes to heaven, and with calmness yielded his spirit to the Almighty. This happened in August 10. A. D. 258.

*Persecutions in Africa—Account of Cyprian.*

Fourteen years previous to this period, the persecution raged in Africa with peculiar violence; and many thousands received the crown of martyrdom, among whom the following were the most distinguished characters:

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was an eminent prelate, and a great ornament of the church. His doctrines were orthodox and pure; his language easy and elegant; and his manners graceful. He was said to be so perfect a master of rhetoric and logic, and so complete in the practice of elocution, and the principles of philosophy, that he was made professor of those sciences in his native city of Carthage, where he taught with great success. He was educated in the principles of Gentilism, and having a considerable fortune, he lived in great splendour and pomp. Gorgeous in attire, luxurious in feasting, vain of a numerous retinue, and fond of every kind of fashionable parade, he seemed to fancy that man was born to gratify all his appetites, and created for pleasure only. About the year 246, Cœcilius, a Christian minister of Carthage, became the instrument of Cyprian's conversion: on which account, and for the great love that he always afterwards bore for his adviser, he was termed Cœcilius Cyprian.

Before his baptism he studied the scriptures with care, and being struck with the beauties of the truths they contained, he determined to practice the virtues they recommended. He sold his estate, distributed the money among the poor, dressed himself in plain attire, and commenced a life of austerity and solitude. Soon after his baptism he was made a presbyter; and being greatly admired for his virtues and his works, on the death of Donatus, in A. D. 248, he was almost unanimously elected bishop of Carthage. The care of Cyprian not only extended over Carthage, but to Numidia and Mauritania. In all his transactions he took great care to ask the advice of his clergy, knowing that unanimity alone could be of service to the church: this being one of his maxims, "That the bishop was in the church, and the church in the bishop; so that unity can only be preserved by a close connexion between the pastor and his flock."

In the year 250, he was publicly proscribed by the Emperor Decius, under the appellation of Cœcilius Cyprian, bishop of the Christians; and the universal cry of the pagans, was, "Cyprian to the lions! Cyprian to the beasts!"

The bishop, however, withdrew from the rage of the populace, and his effects were immediately confiscated. During his retirement he wrote thirty pious letters to his flock; but several schisms that then crept into the church gave him great uneasiness. The rigour of the persecution abating, he returned, and did every thing in his power to expunge erroneous opinions and false doctrines. A terrible plague now breaking out at Carthage, it was, as usual, laid to the charge of the Christians; and the magistrates began to persecute accordingly, which occasioned an epistle from them to Cyprian, in answer to which he vindicated the cause of Christianity.

Cyprian was brought before the pro-consul Aspasius Paternus, A. D. 257, when being commanded to conform to the religion of the em-

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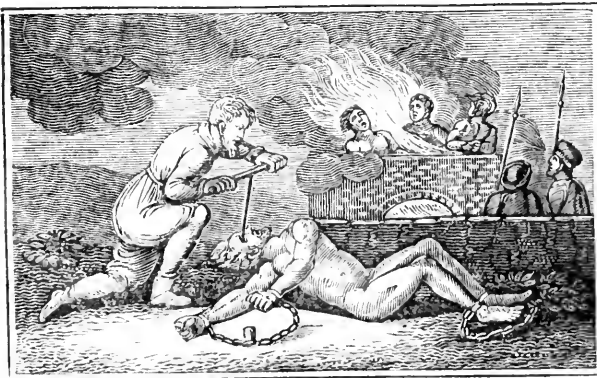
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*Laurence broiled on a bed of Iron. Page 47.*



*Sebastian shot with Arrows. Page 51.*



*Primitive Martyrdoms.*

pire, he boldly made a confession of his faith. This, however, did not occasion his death, but an order was made for his banishment, which exiled him to a little city on the Libyan sea. On the death of the pro-consul who banished him, he returned to Carthage, but was soon after seized, and carried before the new governor, who condemned him to be beheaded: and on the 14th of September, A. D. 258, this sentence was executed.

*Fate of the Emperor Valerian.*

This tyrant, who had so long and so terribly persecuted the Christians, was taken prisoner by Sapores, king of Persia, who carried him into his own country, and there treated him with the most unexampled indignity, making him kneel down as the meanest slave, and treading upon him as a footstool when he mounted his horse, saying, in a vaunting manner, "This posture is a greater proof which way the victory went, than all the pictures the Roman artists can draw."

Having kept him, for the space of seven years, in this abject state of slavery, he at last caused his eyes to be put out, though he was then eighty-three years of age, and his desire of revenge not being satisfied, he soon after ordered his body to be flayed alive, and rubbed with salt, under which torments he expired.

Gallienus, the son of Valerian, succeeded him, A. D. 260, and during his reign, the empire suffered many commotions, particularly earthquakes, pestilence, inundations, intestine broils, and incursions of barbarians. This emperor reflecting, that when his father favoured the Christians he prospered, and that when he persecuted them he was unsuccessful, determined to relax the persecution; so that (a few martyrs excepted) the church enjoyed peace for some years.

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THE NINTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

In the year 274 the Emperor Aurelian commenced a persecution against the Christians: the principal of the sufferers was Felix, bishop of Rome. This prelate was advanced to the Roman see in 274, and was beheaded in the same year, on the 22d of December. Agapetus, a young gentleman, who sold his estate, and gave the money to the poor, was seized as a Christian, tortured, and then brought to Præneste, a city within a day's journey of Rome, where he was beheaded. These are the only martyrs left upon record during this reign, as it was soon put a stop to by the emperor's being murdered by his own domestics, at Byzantium. Aurelian was succeeded by Tacitus, who was followed by Probus, as was the latter by Carus, this emperor being killed by a thunder storm, his sons, Carinus and Numerian, succeeded him; and during all these reigns, the church enjoyed rest.

Diocletian mounting the imperial throne, A. D. 284, at first shewed great favour to the Christians. In the year 286, he associated Maximian with him in the empire; and the following Christians were put to death before any general persecution broke out—Felician and Primus, two brothers. They were seized by an order from the imperial court; and owning themselves Christians, were accordingly scourged,

tortured, and finally beheaded. Marcus and Marcellianus were twins, natives of Rome, and of noble descent. Their parents were heathens, but the tutors to whom the education of their children was intrusted, brought them up as Christians. Being apprehended on account of their faith, they were severely tortured, and then sentenced to be beheaded. A respite of a month was obtained for them by their friends, when their father, mother, and all their relations, attempted to bring them back to paganism, but in vain. At last their constancy subdued their persuaders, and their parents and whole family became converts to a faith they had just before condemned.

Tranquilinus, the father of the two young men, was sent for by the prefect, to give him an account of the success of his endeavours; when he confessed, that so far from having persuaded his sons to forsake the faith they had embraced, he was become a Christian himself. He then stopped till the magistrate had recovered from his surprise, and resuming his discourse, he used such powerful arguments, that he made a convert of him, who soon after sold his estate, resigned his command, and spent the remainder of his days in a pious retirement.

The prefect who succeeded the above-mentioned convert, had nothing of the disposition of his predecessor: he was morose and severe, and soon seized upon the whole of this Christian race, who were accordingly martyred, by being tied to posts, and having their feet pierced with nails. After remaining in this situation for a day and night, their sufferings were put an end to by thrusting lances through their bodies.

Zoe, the wife of the gaoler, who had the care of the before-mentioned martyrs, being greatly edified by their discourses, had a desire to become a Christian; this, as she was dumb with a palsy, she could only express by gestures. They gave her instructions in the faith, and told her to pray in her heart to God to relieve her from her disorder. She did so, and was at length relieved; for her paralytic disorder by degrees left her, and her speech returned again. This enforced her belief, and confirmed her a Christian; and her husband, finding her cured, became a convert himself. These conversions made a great noise, and the proselytes were apprehended. Zoe was commanded to sacrifice to Mars, which refusing, she was hanged upon a tree, and a fire of straw lighted under her. When her body was taken down, it was thrown into a river, with a large stone tied to it, in order to sink it.

#### *Massacre of a whole Legion of Christian Soldiers.*

A very remarkable affair occurred in A. D. 286. A legion of soldiers, consisting of 6666 men, contained none but Christians. This legion was called the Theban legion, because the men had been raised in Thebais: they were quartered in the East, till the Emperor Maximian ordered them to march to Gaul, to assist him against the rebels of Burgundy; when passing the Alps under the command of Mauritius, Candidus, and Exuperis, they at length joined the emperor. About this time, Maximian ordered a general sacrifice, at which the whole army were to assist; and he commanded that they should take oaths of allegiance, and swear, at the same time, to assist him in the extirpation of Christianity in Gaul.



Terrified at these orders, each individual of the Theban legion absolutely refused either to sacrifice, or take the oaths prescribed. This so greatly enraged Maximian, that he ordered the legion to be decimated, that is, every tenth man to be selected from the rest, and put to the sword. This cruel order having been put into execution, those who remained alive were still inflexible, when a second decimation took place, and again every tenth man of those living was put to the sword.

But this second severity made no more impression than the first; the soldiers preserved their fortitude, and their principles; but, by the advice of their officers, drew up a remonstrance to the emperor, in which they told him, "that they were his subjects and his soldiers, but could not at the same time forget the Almighty; that they received their pay from him, and their existence from God. While your commands (said they) are not contradictory to those of our common master, we shall always be ready to obey, as we have been hitherto; but when the orders of our prince and those of the Almighty differ, we must always obey the latter. Our arms are devoted to the emperor's use, and shall be directed against his enemies; but we cannot submit to stain our hands with effusion of Christian blood; and how, indeed, could you, O emperor, be sure of our allegiance and fidelity, should we violate our obligation to our God, in whose service we were solemnly engaged before we entered the army? You commanded us to search out, and to destroy the Christians: it is not necessary to look any farther for persons of that denomination; we ourselves are such, and we glory in the name. We saw our companions fall without the least opposition or murmuring, and thought them happy in dying for the sake of Christ. Nothing shall make us lift up our hands against our sovereign; we had rather die wrongfully, and by that means preserve our innocence, than live under a load of guilt: whatever you command, we are ready to suffer: we confess ourselves to be Christians, and therefore cannot persecute Christians, nor sacrifice to idols."

Such a declaration, it might be presumed, would have softened the emperor, but it had a contrary effect; for, enraged at their perseverance and unanimity, he commanded that the whole legion should be put to death, which was accordingly executed by the other troops, who cut them to pieces with their swords.

This barbarous transaction happened on the 22d of September, A. D. 286; and such was the inveterate malice of Maximian, that he sent to destroy every man of a few detachments, which had been drafted from the Theban legion, and dispatched to Italy.

*Alban, the first British Martyr.*

Alban, from whom St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, received its name, was the first British martyr. He was originally a pagan, and being of a very humane disposition, he sheltered a Christian ecclesiastic, named Amphibalus, who was pursued on account of his religion. The pious example, and edifying discourses of the refugee, made a great impression on the mind of Alban; he longed to become a member of a religion which charmed him; the fugitive minister, happy in the opportunity, took great pains to instruct him; and, before his discovery, perfected Alban's conversion.

Alban now took a firm resolution to preserve the sentiments of a Christian, or to die the death of a martyr. The enemies of Amphibalus having intelligence of the place where he was secreted, came to the house of Alban, in order to apprehend him. The noble host desirous of protecting his guest, changed clothes with him, in order to facilitate his escape; and when the soldiers came, offered himself up as the person for whom they were seeking. Being accordingly carried before the governor, the deceit was immediately discovered: and Amphibalus being absent, that officer determined to wreak his vengeance upon Alban: with this view he commanded the prisoner to advance to the altar, and sacrifice to the pagan deities. The brave Alban, however, refused to comply with the idolatrous injunction, and boldly professed himself to be a Christian. The governor therefore ordered him to be scourged, which punishment he bore with great fortitude, seeming to acquire new resolution from his sufferings; he was then beheaded.

The venerable Bede states, that upon this occasion, the executioner suddenly became a convert to Christianity, and entreated permission either to die for Alban or with him. Obtaining the latter request, they were beheaded by a soldier, who voluntarily undertook the task. This happened on the 22d of June, A. D. 287, at Verulam, now St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, where a magnificent church was erected to his memory, about the time of Constantine the Great. This edifice was destroyed in the Saxon wars, but was rebuilt by Offa, king of Mercia, and a monastery erected adjoining to it, some remains of which are still visible.

*Martyrdom of St. Faith, and others.*

Faith, a Christian female, of Aquitaine, in France, being informed that there was a design to seize her, anticipated the intention, by surrendering herself a prisoner; and being inflexible in her faith, was ordered to be broiled on a gridiron, and then beheaded, which sentence was executed A. D. 287. Capacius, a Christian, concealed himself from the persecutors, but being informed of the fortitude of Faith, he openly avowed his religion, and delivered himself up to the governor, who had him first tortured, and then beheaded. Quintin was a Christian, and a native of Rome, but he determined to attempt the propagation of the gospel in Gaul. He accordingly went to Picardy, attended by one Lucian, and they preached together at Amiens; after which Lucian went to Beauvais, where he suffered martyrdom. Quintin, however, remained in Picardy, and was very zealous in his ministry. His continual prayers to the Almighty were to increase his faith, and strengthen his faculties to propagate the gospel. Being seized upon as a Christian, he was stretched with pulleys till his joints were dislocated: his body was then torn with wire scourges, and boiling oil and pitch poured on his naked flesh; lighted torches were applied to his sides and arm pits; and after he had been thus tortured he was remanded back to prison. Varus, the governor, being obliged to repair to Vermandois, ordered Quintin to be conducted thither under a strong guard; and here he died of the barbarities he had suffered, on the 31st of October, A. D. 287; his body was sunk in the Somme.

## THE TENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the heathens to exterminate the Christians, and abolish their mode of faith, yet they increased so greatly as to become formidable by their numbers. They, however, forgot the precepts of their meek prototype, and instead of adopting his humility, they gave themselves up to vanity, by dressing gaily, living sumptuously, building stately edifices for churches, &c. which created a general envy, and particularly excited the hatred of Galerius, the adopted son of Diocletian, who, stimulated by his mother, a bigoted pagan, persuaded the emperor to commence a persecution. It accordingly began on the 23d of February, A. D. 303, that being the day on which the Terminalia were celebrated, and on which, as the pagans boasted, they hoped to put a termination to Christianity.

The persecution began in Nicomedia: the prefect of that city repaired, with a great number of officers and assistants, to the church of the Christians, where, having forced open the doors, they seized upon all the sacred books, and committed them to the flames. This transaction took place in the presence of Diocletian and Galerius, who also caused the church to be levelled with the ground. It was followed by a severe edict, commanding the destruction of all other Christian churches and books; and an order soon succeeded, the object of which was to render Christians of all denominations outlaws, and consequently to make them incapable of holding any place of trust, profit, or dignity; or of receiving any protection from the legal institutions of the realm. An immediate martyrdom was the result of the publication of this edict; for a bold Christian not only tore it down from the place to which it was affixed, but execrated the name of the emperor for his injustice and cruelty: he was in consequence seized, severely tortured, and then burnt alive. The Christian prelates were likewise apprehended and imprisoned; and Galerius privately ordered the imperial palace to be set on fire, that the Christians might be charged as the incendiaries, and a plausible pretext given for carrying on the persecution with the greatest severity.

*A general sacrifice of the Christians.*

A general sacrifice was then commanded, which occasioned various martyrdoms. Among others, a Christian, named Peter, was tortured, broiled, and then burnt; several deacons and presbyters were seized upon, and executed by various means; and the bishop of Nicomedia, named Anthimus, was beheaded. So great was the persecution, that there was no distinction made of age or sex, but all were indiscriminately massacred. Many houses were set on fire, and whole Christian families perished in the flames: others had stones fastened about their necks, and were driven into the sea. The persecution became general in all the Roman provinces, but more particularly in the East; and as it lasted ten years, it is impossible to ascertain the numbers martyred, or to enumerate the various modes of martyrdom: some were beheaded in Arabia; many devoured by wild beasts in Phœnicia; great numbers were broiled on gridirons in Syria; others had their bones broken, and in that manner were left to expire in Cappadocia; and in Mesopotamia, several were hung with

their heads downwards, over a slow fire, and suffocated. In Pontus, a variety of tortures were used: in particular, pins were thrust under the nails of the prisoners, melted lead was poured upon them; but without effect. In Egypt, some Christians were buried alive in the earth, others were drowned in the Nile, many were hung in the air till they perished, and great numbers were thrown into large fires, &c. Scourges, racks, daggers, swords, poison, crosses, and famine, were made use of in various parts to despatch the Christians; and invention was exhausted to devise tortures against them.

A town of Phrygia, consisting entirely of Christians, was surrounded by a number of pagan soldiers, to prevent any from escaping; they then set the town on fire, and all the inhabitants perished in the flames.

*Provincial Governors address the Emperor to stop the Persecution.*

At last, several governors of provinces represented to the imperial court, that "it was unfit to pollute the cities with the blood of the inhabitants, or to defame the government of the emperors with the death of so many subjects." Hence many were respited from execution; but though not put to death, they were subjected to every species of indignity. Many had their ears cut off, their noses slit, their right eyes put out, their limbs dislocated, and their flesh seared in conspicuous places, with red-hot irons.

*Account of some who suffered.*

Amongst those who forfeited their lives during this bloody persecution, was Sebastian, a celebrated holy man, who was born at Narbonne in Gaul, instructed in the principles of Christianity at Milan, and afterwards became an officer of the emperor's guard at Rome. He remained a true Christian in the midst of idolatry; unallured by the splendours of a court, and untainted by evil examples: esteemed by the most eminent, beloved by his equals, and admired by his inferiors, he lived happily, and kept his faith and place, till the rigour of the persecution deprived him of life. He was informed against, and betrayed to Fabian the Roman Prætor, by Torquatus, a pretended Christian; but being of a rank too considerable to be put to death without the emperor's express orders, Diocletian was made acquainted with the circumstance.

The emperor, on hearing the accusation, sent for Sebastian, and charged him with ingratitude, in betraying the confidence reposed in him, and being an enemy to the gods of the empire and to himself: To this he answered, that his religion was of a good, not a pernicious tendency, and that it did not stimulate him to any thing against the welfare of the empire, or the emperor, and that the greatest proof he could give of his fidelity, was the praying to the only true God for the health and prosperity of his imperial person. Incensed at this reply, the emperor ordered him to be taken to a field near the city, termed the Campus Martius, and there to be shot to death with arrows; which sentence was accordingly executed. A few Christians attended at the place of execution, in order to give his body burial, perceived signs of life in him, and moving him to a place of security, they in a short time effected his recovery, and prepared him for a second martyrdom; for as soon as he was able to walk, he placed

himself intentionally in the emperor's way as he was going to the temple. The unexpected appearance of a person supposed to be dead, greatly astonished the emperor, nor did the words of the martyr less surprise him; for he began with great severity to reprehend him for his various cruelties, and for his unreasonable prejudices against Christianity.

When Diocletian had overcome his surprise, he ordered Sebastian to be seized, carried to a place near the palace, and beat to death; and that the Christians should not either use means again to recover, or bury his body, he ordered that it should be thrown into the common sewer. Nevertheless, a Christian lady, named Lucina, found means to remove it from the sewer, and bury it in the catacombs.

*A Pagan Father seeks to sacrifice his own Son.*

Vitus, a Sicilian of a considerable family, was brought up a Christian; his virtues increased with his years, his constancy supported him under all his afflictions, and his faith was superior to the most dangerous perils and misfortunes. Hylas, his father, who was a pagan, finding that he had been instructed in the principles of Christianity by the nurse who brought him up, used all his endeavours to bring him back to paganism; but finding his efforts in vain, he forgot all the feelings of a parent, and informed against his son to Valerian, governor of Sicily, who was very active in persecuting the Christians at this period.

This youth, when apprehended upon the information of his father, was little more than twelve years of age; Valerian, therefore, on account of his tender age, thought to frighten him out of his faith: he was accordingly threatened, and ordered to be severely scourged.

After this, the governor sent him back to his father, thinking that what he had suffered would make him change his principles; but in this he was mistaken; and Hylas, finding his son inflexible, suffered nature to sink under superstition, and determined to sacrifice his son to the idols. On being apprised of his design, Vitus escaped to Lucania, where, being seized, he was by order of Valerian put to death, June 14, A. D. 303. His nurse, Crescentia, who brought him up as a Christian, and Modestus, a person who escaped with him, were martyred at the same time; but the manner is unknown.

There was one Victor, a Christian, of a good family at Marseilles, in France, who spent a great part of the night in visiting the afflicted, and confirming the weak, which pious work he could not, consistently with his own safety, perform in the day-time; and his fortune he spent in relieving the distresses of poor Christians. His actions becoming known, he was seized by the emperor's orders, and being carried before two prefects, they advised him to embrace paganism, and not forfeit the favour of his prince, on account of a dead man, as they styled Christ: in answer to which he replied, "That he preferred the service of that dead man, who was in reality the Son of God, and had risen from the grave, to all the advantages he could receive from the emperor's favour: that he was a soldier of Christ, and would therefore take care that the post he held under an earthly prince, should never interfere with his duty to the King of Heaven." For this reply, Victor was loaded with reproaches, but being a man of rank, he was sent to the emperor to receive his final sentence. When brought before

him, Maximian commanded him, under the severest penalties, to sacrifice to the Roman idols; and on his refusal, ordered him to be bound, and dragged through the streets. During the execution of this order, he was treated by the enraged populace with all manner of indignities. Remaining, however, inflexible, his courage was deemed obstinacy: to which he replied, "That the ready disposition of the disciples of Christ to undergo any sufferings on that score, and the joy with which they met the most ignominious and painful deaths, were sufficient proofs of their assurance of the object of that hope." He added, "That he was ready to give an example of what he had said in his own person." When stretched upon the rack, he turned his eyes towards heaven, and prayed to God to give him patience; after which he underwent the tortures with admirable fortitude. The executioners being tired with inflicting the torments, he was taken from the rack, and conveyed to a dungeon. During his confinement, he converted the gaolers, named Alexander, Felician, and Longinus. This affair coming to the knowledge of the emperor, he ordered them immediately to be put to death, and they were beheaded accordingly. Victor was afterwards again put to the rack, beaten with clubs, and then again sent to his dungeon. Being a third time examined concerning his religion, he persevered in his principles; a small altar was then brought, and he was commanded to offer incense upon it immediately; but at the request, he boldly stepped forward, and with his foot overthrew both altar and idol. The Emperor Maximian, who was present, was so enraged at this, that he ordered the foot with which he had kicked the altar, to be immediately cut off; and Victor to be thrown into a mill, and crushed to pieces with the stones. This horrid sentence was put into execution: but part of the apparatus breaking, he was drawn from the mill terribly bruised; and the emperor not having patience to stay till it was mended, ordered his head to be struck off, which was executed accordingly.

*Fortitude and noble conduct of three Christian friends.*

While Maximus, governor of Cilicia, was at Tarsus, three Christians were brought before him by Demetrius, a military officer. Tarachus, the eldest, and first in rank, was addressed by Maximus, who asked him what he was? The prisoner replied, "A Christian." This reply offending the governor, he again made the same demand, and was answered in a similar manner. Hereupon the governor told him, that he ought to sacrifice to the gods, as that was the only way to promotion, riches, and honours; and that the emperors themselves did what he recommended to him to perform: but Tarachus replied, that avarice was a sin, and gold itself an idol as abominable as any other; for it promoted frauds, treacheries, robberies, and murders; it induced men to deceive each other, by which in time they deceived themselves, and bribed the weak to their own eternal destruction. As for promotion, he desired it not, as he could not in conscience accept of any place which would subject him to pay adoration to idols; and with regard to honours, he desired none greater than the honourable title of Christian. As to the emperors themselves being pagans, he added with the same undaunted and determined spirit, that they were superstitiously deceived in adoring senseless idols, and evidently misled by the machinations of the devil himself. For the boldness

of this speech, his jaws were ordered to be broken. He was then stripped, scourged, loaded with chains, and thrown into a dismal dungeon, to remain there till the trials of the other two prisoners. Probus was then brought before Maximus, who, as usual, asked his name. Undauntedly the prisoner replied, the most valuable name he could boast of was that of a Christian. To this Maximus replied in the following words: "Your name of Christian will be of little service to you; be therefore guided by me; sacrifice to the gods, engage my friendship, and the favour of the emperor." Probus nobly answered, "that as he had relinquished a considerable fortune to become a soldier of Christ, it might appear evident, that he neither cared for his friendship, nor the favour of the emperor." Probus was then scourged; and Demetrius, the officer, observing to him how his blood flowed, advised him to comply; but his only answer was, that those severities were agreeable to him. "What?" cried Maximus, "does he still persist in his madness?" To which Probus rejoined, "that character is badly bestowed on one who refuses to worship idols, or what is worse, devils." After being scourged on the back, he was scourged on the belly, which he suffered with as much intrepidity as before, still repeating, "the more my body suffers and loses blood, the more my soul will grow vigorous, and be a gainer." He was then committed to goal, loaded with irons, and his hands and feet stretched upon the stocks. Andronicus was next brought up, when, being asked the usual questions, he said, "I am a Christian, a native of Ephesus, and descended from one of the first families in that city." He was ordered to undergo punishments similar to those of Tarachus and Probus, and then to be remanded to prison.

Having been confined some days, the three prisoners were again brought before Maximus, who began first to reason with Tarachus, saying, that as old age was honoured, from the supposition of its being accompanied by wisdom, he was in hopes that what had already past, must, upon deliberation, having caused a change in his sentiments. Finding himself, however, mistaken, he ordered him to be tortured by various means; particularly, fire was placed in the palms of his hands; he was hung up by his feet, and smoked with wet straw; and a mixture of salt and vinegar was poured into his nostrils; and he was then again remanded to his dungeon. Probus being again called, and asked if he would sacrifice, replied, "I come better prepared than before; for what I have already suffered, has only confirmed and strengthened me in my resolution. Employ your whole power upon me, and you will find that neither you, nor your masters, the emperors, nor the gods whom you serve, nor the devil, who is your father, shall oblige me to adore gods whom I know not." The governor, however, attempted to reason with him, paid the most extravagant praises to the pagan deities, and pressed him to sacrifice to Jupiter; but Probus turned his casuistry into ridicule, and said, "shall I pay divine honours to Jupiter; to one who married his own sister; to an infamous debauchee, as he is even acknowledged to have been by your own priests and poets?" Provoked at this speech, the governor ordered him to be struck upon the mouth, for uttering what he called blasphemy: his body was then seared with hot irons; he was put to the rack, and afterwards scourged; his head was then shaved,

and red hot coals placed upon the crown; and after all these tortures, he was again sent to prison.

When Andronicus was again brought before Maximus, the latter attempted to deceive him, by pretending that Tarachus and Probus had repented of their obstinacy, and owned the gods of the empire. To this the prisoner answered, "Lay not, O governor, such a weakness to the charge of those who have appeared here before me in this cause, nor imagine it to be in your power to shake my fixed resolution with artful speeches. I cannot believe that they have disobeyed the laws of their fathers, renounced their hopes in our God, and consented to your extravagant orders: nor will I ever fall short of them in faith and dependance upon our common Saviour: thus armed, I neither know your gods, nor fear your authority; fulfil your threats, execute your most sanguinary inventions, and employ every cruel art in your power on me; I am prepared to bear it for the sake of Christ." For this answer he was cruelly scourged, and his wounds were afterwards rubbed with salt; but being well again in a short time, the governor reproached the gaoler for having suffered some physician to attend to him. The gaoler declared, that no person whatever had been near him, or the other prisoners, and that he would willingly forfeit his head if any allegation of the kind could be proved against him. Andronicus corroborated the testimony of the gaoler, and added, that the God whom he served was the most powerful of physicians.

These three Christians were brought to a third examination, when they retained their constancy, were again tortured, and at length ordered for execution. Being brought to the amphitheatre, several beasts were let loose upon them; but none of the animals, though hungry, would touch them. Maximus became so surprised and incensed at this circumstance, that he severely reprehended the keeper, and ordered him to produce a beast that would execute the business for which he was wanted. The keeper then brought out a large bear that had that day destroyed three men; but this creature, and a fierce lioness, also refused to touch the Christians. Finding the design of destroying them by the means of wild beasts ineffectual, Maximus ordered them to be slain by a sword, which was accordingly executed on the 11th of October, A. D. 303. They all declared, previous to their martyrdom, that as death was the common lot of all men, they wished to meet it for the sake of Christ; and to resign that life to faith, which must otherwise be the prey of disease.

#### *Horrid Martyrdom of Romanus.*

Romanus, a native of Palestine, was deacon of the church of Cæsarea, at the time of the commencement of Dioclesian's persecution. He was at Antioch when the imperial order arrived for sacrificing to idols, and was greatly afflicted to see many Christians, through fear, submit to the idolatrous mandate, and deny their faith to preserve their existence. While censuring some of them for their conduct, he was informed against, and soon after apprehended. Being brought to the tribunal, he confessed himself a Christian, and said he was willing to suffer any thing which they might be pleased to inflict upon him for his confession. When condemned, he was scourged, put to the rack, his body torn with hooks, his flesh cut with knives, his face scarified, his teeth beat from their sockets, and his hair plucked up by the roots.



Thus cruelly mangled, he turned to the governor, and very calmly thanked him for what he had done, and for having opened for him so many mouths to preach the doctrines of Christianity; "for," says he, "every wound is a mouth, to sing the praises of the Lord." He was soon after ordered to be strangled; which sentence was executed on the 17th of November, A. D. 303.

*Persecutions in Africa.*

It was in the year 304, the persecution of Diocletian again began to prevail, and many Christians were put to cruel tortures, and the most painful deaths: the most eminent of these were, Saturninus, a priest of Albitina, a town of Africa: he used to preach and administer the sacrament to a society of Christians, who privately assembled at the house of Octavius Felix; having been informed against, Saturninus, with four of his children, and several other persons, were apprehended: and that their punishment might be the more exemplary and public, they were sent to Carthage, the capital of Africa, where they were examined before Anulinus, the proconsul of that quarter of the globe.

Saturninus, on the examination, gave such spirited answers, and vindicated the Christian religion with such eloquence, as showed that he was worthy to preside over an assembly that possessed a faith of purity and truth. Anulinus, enraged at his arguments, ordered him to be stopped from saying any more, by being put to a variety of tortures, such as scourging, tearing his flesh with hooks, burning with hot irons, &c. Having been thus inhumanly tortured, he was remanded to prison, and there starved to death. His four children, notwithstanding they were variously tormented, remained steady in their faith; on which they were sent back to the dungeon in which their father was confined, and were also starved to death in the same manner.

*Martyrdom of three Sisters.*

Three sisters, Chionia, Agape, and Irene, were seized upon at Thessalonica. They had been educated in the Christian faith, but had taken great precautions to remain unknown. They therefore retired to a solitary place, and spent their hours in performing religious duties. Being, however, discovered and seized, they renounced their former timidity, blamed themselves for being so fearful, and begged of God to strengthen them against the great trial they had to undergo.

When Agape was examined before Dulcatius, the governor, and was asked whether she was disposed to comply with the laws of the land, and obey the mandates of the emperor? she answered, "That being a Christian, she could not comply with any laws which recommended the worship of idols and devils; that her resolution was fixed, and nothing should deter her from continuing in it." Her sister Chionia replied in the same manner; when the governor, not being able to draw them from their faith, pronounced sentence of condemnation on them; pursuant to which they were burnt, March 25, A. D. 304.

Irene was then brought before the governor, who fancied that the death of her sisters would have an effect upon her fears, and that the dread of similar sufferings, would engage her to comply with his proposals. He therefore exhorted her to acknowledge the heathen deities, to sacrifice to them, to partake of the victims, and to deliver up her books relative to Christianity. But she positively refused to comply with any of them: the governor asked her, who it was that persua-

ded her and her sisters to keep those books and writings? She answered, It was that God who commanded them to love him to the last; for which reason she was resolved to submit to be burned alive rather than give them up into the hands of his professed enemies.

When the governor found that he could make no impression on her, he ordered her to be exposed naked in the streets; which shameful order having been executed, she was burnt, April, A. D. 304, at the same place where her sisters had suffered before her.

*Martyrdom of Theodotus and others.*

Theotecnus, the governor of Dalmatia, whose cruelty could be equalled by nothing but his bigotry, received the mandate for persecuting the Christians with great satisfaction, and wrote the emperor word that he would do his utmost endeavours to root out Christianity from every place under his jurisdiction. Thus encouraged by the governor, the pagans began to inform against, abuse and persecute the Christians. Great numbers were seized upon and imprisoned; their goods were destroyed, and their estates confiscated. Many fled into the woods, or retired to caves, where some supported themselves by feeding upon roots, and others perished by famine. Many were also starved in the city, by means of the following singular stratagem: The governor gave strict orders, that no provisions whatever should be exposed to sale in the markets without having been first consecrated to the idols; hence the Christians were compelled to eat what had been offered to the devil, or to refrain from food and perish. The latter dreadful alternative was chosen by many, who, to preserve the purity of their faith, heroically gave up their lives.

In these dreadful times, Theodotus, a Christian innkeeper of Ancyra, did all that he could to comfort the imprisoned, and buried the bodies of several who had been martyred, though it was forbidden on pain of death. He likewise privately assisted many with food; for having laid in a great stock of corn and wine, he sold it at prime cost.

Polychronicus, a Christian, being seized, forfeited his faith, in order to preserve his life, and informed against his friend, Theodotus, who hearing of this treachery, surrendered himself to the governor, of his own accord.

On his arrival in the court, he surveyed the instruments of torture with a smile, and seemed totally regardless of their effects. When placed at the bar, the governor informed him, that it was still in his power to save himself, by sacrificing to the gods of the empire; "and," he continued, "if you renounce your faith in Christ, I promise you my friendship, and the emperor's protection, and will constitute you one of the magistrates of the town."

Theodotus displayed great courage and eloquence in his answer: he absolutely refused to renounce his faith, declined the friendship of the governor and protection of the emperor, and treated the idols with the greatest contempt. The pagans, on this, were in general extremely clamorous against the prisoner, and demanded him to be immediately punished; the priests, in particular, rent their clothes, and tore their chaplets; the badges of their offices, through rage. The governor complied with their desire, when Theodotus was scourged, torn with hooks, and then placed upon the rack. After this, vinegar was poured into his wounds, his flesh was seared with burning torches, and his

teeth were knocked out of their sockets. He was then remanded to prison, and as he went, pointing to his mangled body, he said to the people, "It is but just that Christians should suffer for him who suffered for us all." Five days afterwards he was brought from prison, tortured, and then beheaded.

There was one Victor, a native of Ancyra, accused by the priests of Diana of having abused their goddess. For this imputed crime, he was seized upon, and committed to prison, his house plundered, his family turned out of doors, and his estate forfeited. When put to the rack his resolution failed, and he began to waver in his faith, through the severity of his torments. Being carried back to prison, in order to make a full recantation, God punished him for his intended apostasy; for his wounds mortified, and put an end to his life.

Seven aged women of Ancyra were about this time apprehended for their faith; they were examined before the governor, who reviled their belief, ridiculed their age, and ordered them to be delivered over to some young libertines: on this, one of the fellows, more bold than the rest, seized upon the eldest of the women, named Teecusa, who thus addressed him: "What designs, child, can you have on us, who are worn out with age and infirmities? I am now more than threescore and ten years old, my companions are not much younger; you may look on us as so many rotten carcasses, as we shall soon be, for the governor after death refuses us burial." Then lifting up her veil, she shewed him her grey hairs, and added: "You may, perhaps, have a mother of nearly the same age as myself; this should give you some respect for us." The young men were so affected with this speech, that they desisted, and immediately returned to their homes.

The governor, on the failure of his design of having them prostituted, determined to compel them to assist in the idolatrous rites of washing the goddesses Minerva and Diana; for in Ancyra it was the custom, annually to wash the images of those goddesses, and the washing was considered as a material part of the adoration of the idols.

Accordingly they were forced to the temple; but absolutely refusing to wash the idols, the governor was so enraged, that he ordered them all to have stones tied about their necks, and to be pushed into the water intended for the washing, in which they were drowned.

It now happened that, weary of the toils of state, Diocletian and Maximian resigned the imperial diadem, and were succeeded by Constantius and Galerius; the former, a prince of the most mild and humane disposition; and the latter, remarkable for his tyranny and cruelty. These divided the empire into two equal governments; Galerius ruling in the East, and Constantius in the West; and the people in the two governments felt the effects of the different dispositions of the emperors; for those in the West were governed in the mildest manner, but such as resided in the East felt all the miseries of cruelty and oppression.

#### *Dreadful Persecutions by Galerius.*

As Galerius bore an implacable hatred towards the Christians, we are informed, that "he not only condemned them to tortures, but to be burnt, in slow fires, in this horrible manner: they were first chained to a post, then a gentle fire put to the soles of their feet, which contracted the callus till it fell off from the bone; then flam-

beaux just extinguished were put to all parts of their bodies, so that they might be tortured all over; and care was taken to keep them alive, by throwing cold water in their faces, and giving them some to wash their mouths, lest their throats should be dried up with thirst, and choke them. Thus their miseries were lengthened out whole days, till at last, their skins being consumed, and they just ready to expire, were thrown into a great fire, and had their bodies burned to ashes, after which their ashes were thrown into some river."

Julitta, a Lycaonian of royal descent, was a Christian lady of great humility, constancy, and integrity. When the edict for sacrificing to idols was published at Iconium, she withdrew from that city, taking with her only her young son Cyrius, and two female servants. She was however seized at Tarsus, and being carried before Alexander, the governor, she acknowledged she was a Christian. For this confession her son was taken from her, and she was immediately put to the rack, and tortured with great severity, which she bore with pious resignation. The child, however, cried bitterly to get at his mother; when the governor, observing the beauty, and being melted at the tears of the infant, took him upon his knee, and endeavoured to pacify him. Nothing, however, could quiet Cyrius: he still called upon his mother, and at length, in imitation of her words, lisped out, "I am a Christian." This innocent expression turned the governor's compassion into rage; and throwing the child furiously against the pavement, he dashed out its brains. The mother, who from the rack beheld the transaction, thanked the Almighty that her child was gone before her; and she should have no anxiety concerning his future welfare. To complete the torture, boiling pitch was poured on her feet, her sides were torn with hooks, and she was finally beheaded, April 16, A. D. 305.

Pantaleon, a native of Nicomedia, was instructed by his father in the learning of the pagans, and was taught the precepts of the gospel by his mother, who was a Christian. Applying to the study of medicine, he became eminent in that science, and was appointed physician to the Emperor Galerius. The name of Pantaleon in Greek signifies *humane*, and the appellation well suited his nature, for he was one of the most benevolent men of his time; but his extraordinary reputation roused the jealousy of the pagan physicians, who accused him to the emperor. Galerius, on finding him a Christian, ordered him to be tortured, and then beheaded, which sentence was accordingly executed on July 27, A. D. 305.

Hermolaus, an aged and pious Christian, and an intimate acquaintance of Pantaleon, suffered martyrdom for his faith on the same day, and in the same manner.

Juitta, of Cappadocia, was a lady of distinguished abilities, great virtue, and uncommon courage: she was put to death in consequence of the accusation of a heathen who had usurped her estates, and bribed the judges in his favour. Refusing to offer incense to the pagan deities, she was burnt to death.

Eustratius, secretary to the governor of Armenia, was thrown into a furnace, for exhorting some Christians, who had been apprehended, to persevere in their faith. Auxentius and Eugenius, two of Eustratius's adherents, were burnt at Nicopolis; Mardarius, another friend of his, expired under torment; and Orestes, a military officer, was

broiled to death on a gridiron, for wearing a golden cross at his breast. Theodore, a Syrian by birth, a soldier and a Christian, set fire to the temple of Cybele, in Amasia, through indignation at the idolatrous worship practised in it, for which he was scourged, and on February 18. A. D. 306, burnt to death.

Dorothea, a Christian of Cappadocia, was, by the governor's order, placed under the care of two women, who had become apostates to the faith, in order that she might be induced to follow their example. But her discourses had such an effect upon the two apostates, that they were reconverted, and put to death; soon after which, Dorothea was tortured, and then beheaded.

Pancratius was a native of Phrygia, but being made a Christian, and brought to Rome, by his uncle, he there suffered martyrdom.

Cyrius, Nazarius, Nabor, and Basilides, four Christian officers at Rome, were thrown into prison for their faith, scourged with rods of wire, and then beheaded.

Two Roman military officers, Nicander and Marcian, were apprehended on the same account. As they were both men of great abilities, the utmost endeavours were made to induce them to renounce Christianity; but being without effect, they were ordered to be beheaded. The execution was attended by vast crowds of the populace, among whom were the wives of the two sufferers. The consort of Nicander was a Christian, and encouraged her husband to meet his fate with fortitude; but the wife of Marcian being a pagan, entreated her husband to save himself, for the sake of her and her child. Marcian, however, reproved her for her idolatry and folly, but tenderly embraced her and the infant. Nicander likewise took leave of his wife in the most affectionate manner, and then both, with great resolution, received the crown of martyrdom. Besides these, there were many others, whose names and sufferings are not recorded by the ancient historians.

#### *Martyrdoms in Naples.*

In the kingdom of Naples several martyrdoms took place: in particular, Januarius, bishop of Beneventum; Sosius, deacon of Misene; Proculus, another deacon; Eutyches and Acutius, two laymen; Festus, a deacon; and Desiderius, a curate, were all condemned, by the governor of Campania, to be devoured by wild beasts for professing Christianity. The animals, however, not touching them, they were beheaded.

Marcellus, a centurion of the Trajan legion, was posted at Tangier, and being a Christian, suffered martyrdom, under the following circumstances:

While he was there, the emperor's birth day was kept, and the sacrifices to the pagan idols made a considerable part of that solemnity. All the subjects of the empire were expected, on that occasion, to conform to the blind religion of their prince; but Marcellus, who had been well instructed in the duties of his profession, expressed his detestation of those profane practices, by throwing away his belt, the badge of his military character, at the head of his company, declaring aloud that he was a soldier of Christ, the eternal king. He then quitted his arms, and added, that from that moment he ceased to serve the emperor; and that he thus expressed his contempt of the gods of the em-

pire, which were no better than deaf and dumb idols. "If," continued he, "their imperial majesties impose the obligation of sacrificing to them and their gods, as a necessary condition of their service, I here throw up my commission, and quit the army." This behaviour occasioned an order for his being beheaded. Cassian, secretary to the court which tried Marcellus, expressing his disapprobation of such proceedings, was ordered into custody; when avowing himself a Christian, he met with the same fate.

*Martyrdom of St. George.*

George was born in Cappadocia, of Christian parents; by whom he was instructed in the tenets of the gospel. His father dying when he was young, he travelled with his mother into Palestine, which was her native country, where she inherited an estate, which afterwards descended to her son. George being active and spirited, became a soldier, and was made a tribune or colonel. In this post he exhibited great proofs of his courage, and was promoted in the army of Diocletian. During the persecution, he threw up his command, went boldly to the senate-house, and avowed his being a Christian, taking occasion at the same time to remonstrate against paganism. This conduct so greatly provoked the senate, that he was ordered to be tortured, which he underwent with great constancy. He was afterwards, by the emperor's orders, dragged through the streets and beheaded.

*Constantine becomes the champion of the Christians.*

Constantine the Great at length determined to redress the grievances of the Christians, for which purpose he raised an army of 30,000 foot, and 8000 horse, with which he marched towards Rome, against Maxentius, the emperor. But reflecting on the fatal miscarriages of his predecessors, who had maintained a multiplicity of gods, and reposed an entire confidence in their assistance; and considering that while his own father adored only one God he continually prospered: Constantine rejected the adoration of idols, and implored the assistance of the Almighty; who heard his prayers, and answered them in a manner so surprising and miraculous, that Eusebius acknowledges it would not have been credible, had he not received it from the emperor's own mouth, who publicly and solemnly ratified the truth upon his oath.

*The vision of Constantine.*

This vision of Constantine appears, upon the whole, to be entitled to little credit. Some ecclesiastical historians, indeed, and among them Milner, seem to admit the reality of the miracle; but the weight of evidence is certainly against it. Dr. Haweis gives up the miracle altogether, and pronounces it "an imposition." "The whole story," says the translator of Mosheim, "is attended with difficulties which render it, both as a miracle and a fact, extremely dubious." To this it may be added, that Eusebius, who has transmitted the account to us, and to whom Constantine related it, does not himself appear to have believed it. Neither the day, nor the year, the time, nor the place of the vision, is recorded. No evidence exists that any of the army saw the phenomenon; and more than all, why, if Constantine believed it himself, did he neglect to be baptized, till on his death bed, many years after the occurrence is said to have happened? In short, there is reason to believe it to have been a political fabrication—an artful



*Slow Tortures.* Page 61.



*Julitta put to the Rack.* Page 62.



*Tarbula, sister of Simeon, and others, sawn asunder.* Page 63.

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contrivance to stimulate the army to greater zeal in the then approaching contest.—Ed.

The army being advanced near Rome, and the emperor employed in his devout ejaculations, on the 27th day of October, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the sun was declining, there suddenly appeared to him a pillar of light in the heavens, in the form of a cross, with this plain inscription on or about it, "In this overcome." Constantine was greatly surprised at this strange sight, which was visible to the whole army, who equally wondered at it with himself. The officers and commanders, prompted by the augurs and auspices, or sooth-sayers, looked upon it as an inauspicious omen, portending an unfortunate expedition; the emperor himself did not understand it, till at length our Saviour appeared to him in a vision, with the cross in his hand, commanding him to make a royal standard, like that he had seen in the heavens, and cause it to be continually carried before his army, as an ensign both of victory and safety. Early the next morning, Constantine informed his friends and officers of what he had seen in the night, and sending for proper workmen, sat down by them and described to them the form of the standard, which he then ordered them to make with the greatest art and magnificence; and accordingly they made it thus: a long spear, plated with gold, with a transverse piece at the top, in the form of a cross, to which was fastened a four-square purple banner, embroidered with gold, and beset with precious stones, which reflected an amazing lustre; towards the top was depicted the emperor between his two sons; on the top of the shaft, above the cross, stood a crown, overlaid with gold and jewels, within which was placed the sacred symbol, namely, the two first letters of Christ in Greek, X and P, struck one through the other: this device he afterwards bore not only upon his shields, but also upon his coins, many of which are still extant.

#### *Death of Maximus and Licinius.*

Afterwards engaging Maxentius, he defeated him, and entered the city of Rome in triumph. A law was now published in favour of the Christians, in which Licinius joined with Constantine, and a copy of it was sent to Maximus in the East. Maximus, who was a bigoted pagan, greatly disliked the edict, but being afraid of Constantine, did not, however, openly avow his disapprobation of it. At length, he invaded the territories of Licinius; but being defeated, put an end to his life by poison. The death of Maxentius has already been described.

Licinius was not really a Christian, but affected to appear such, through dread of Constantine's power; for even after publishing several edicts in favour of the Christians, he put to death Blase, bishop of Sebaste, several bishops and priests of Egypt and Lybia, who were cut to pieces and thrown into the sea, and forty soldiers of the garrison of Sebaste, who suffered martyrdom by fire. This cruelty and hypocrisy greatly incensed Constantine; he marched against Licinius, and defeated him, and that commander was afterwards slain by his own soldiers.

REMARKS ON THE VENGEANCE OF GOD TOWARDS THE PERSECUTORS  
OF THE CHRISTIANS.

We cannot close our account of the ten persecutions under the Roman emperors, without calling the attention of the Christian reader to the manifestations of the great displeasure of the Almighty against the persecutors. History evidently proves, that no nation or individual can ultimately prosper, by whom Christ Jesus, the Son of God, is contemned. During the persecutions of the holy martyrs which we have related above, the Roman people were the victims of the cruelty and tyranny of their rulers, and the empire was perpetually torn and distracted by civil wars. In the reign of Tiberius, five thousand were crushed to death by the fall of a theatre, and on many other occasions the divine wrath was manifested against that cruel and merciless nation.

Neither did the emperors themselves escape without their just reward. Tiberius was murdered; as were his three immediate successors. Galba, after a reign of only seven months, was put to death by Otho, who being vanquished by Vitellius, killed himself. Vitellius, shortly after, was tortured, and his body thrown into the Tiber. Titus is said to have been poisoned by his brother Domitian, who was afterwards slain by his wife. Commodus was strangled. Pertinax and Didius were put to death; Severus killed himself; Caracalla slew his brother Geta, and was in his turn slain by Macrinus, who, with his son, was afterwards killed by his own soldiers. Heliogabalus was put to death by the people. Alexander Severus, a virtuous emperor, was murdered by Maximinus, who was afterwards slain by his own army. Pupienus and Balbinus were murdered by the Prætorian guards. Gordian and Philip were slain. Decius was drowned, and his son killed in battle. Gallus and Volusianus were murdered by Æmilianus, who within three months afterwards was himself slain. Valerian was taken prisoner by the Persians, and at length flayed alive, and his son Gallienus was assassinated. Aurelian was murdered; as were Tacitus, Florianus, and Probus. Galerius died in a miserable manner, as did Maximinus of a horrible and loathsome disease. Maxentius, being conquered by Constantine, was drowned in his attempt to escape; and Licinius was deposed, and slain by his soldiers.

The Jews, also, for their obstinacy and wickedness in rejecting the gospel so graciously offered to them by Jesus Christ, were signally punished. Forty years had scarcely elapsed from the crucifixion of our Saviour, when Jerusalem was levelled with the ground, and more than a million of the Jews killed; innumerable multitudes sold for slaves; and many thousands torn to pieces by wild beasts, or otherwise cruelly slain. Indeed the nation may be said to have been annihilated—its political existence was terminated, and the descendants of that people, which was once peculiarly favoured of God, are now scattered over the face of the earth—a by-word and a reproach among the nations.

Thus it is evident that wickedness and infidelity are certainly, though sometimes slowly, punished by Him who is just, although merciful; and if he has hitherto graciously refrained from visiting the

sins of this nation with the punishment which they deserve, let us not be vain of that exemption : let us not attribute it to any merit of our own ; but rather let it afford an additional motive to our gratitude and praise ; let us unfeignedly thank him for his tender mercies daily vouchsafed to us ; and while we bow before him in humble adoration, let us earnestly endeavour to preserve our worship of him, free from all ungodliness and superstition. So shall we not only secure our happiness in this world, but, in the end, attain everlasting joy and felicity, through the merits of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave up himself as a precious sacrifice for our transgressions.

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## BOOK II.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS IN PERSIA BY SAPORES II. ; IN EGYPT, &C. BY THE ARIAN HERETICS ; BY JULIAN THE APOSTATE ; BY THE GOTHs, VANDALS, &C. &C.

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### SECTION I.

#### PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS IN PERSIA.

IN consequence of the gospel having spread itself into Persia, the pagan priests became greatly alarmed, dreading the loss of their influence over the minds of their people. Sapores II., the grandson of Sapores I., at this time swayed the sceptre of Persia, A. D. 328. To him, therefore, the priests complained of the Christians, representing them to be the enemies of Persia, and secretly carrying on a correspondence with the Roman government. Naturally averse to Christianity, the jealousy and hatred of Sapores were greatly increased by the above representations of the priests, and orders were issued for the persecution of the Christians, throughout the Persian empire. Two other persecutions followed the above ; but the third, it is said, was more cruel and destructive than either of the others.

#### *Martyrdom of Simeon and others.*

In consequence of the above mandate of Sapores, Simeon archbishop of Selencia, with many other ecclesiastics, to the number of 128, were apprehended, and accused of having betrayed the affairs of Persia to the Romans. The emperor being greatly exasperated against them, ordered Simeon to be brought before him. The archbishop in his presence boldly acknowledged his faith, and defended the cause of Christianity. The emperor, offended at his freedom, ordered him to kneel before him as he had heretofore done. To this Simeon answered, "That being now brought before him a prisoner, for the truth of his religion, it was not lawful for him to kneel, lest he should be thought to worship a man, and betray his faith to his God." Where-

upon the emperor told him, that if he did not kneel, he and all the Christians in his dominions should be put to death; but Simeon still rejected the command with disdain. The emperor then ordered him to be sent to prison.

A short time after, Simeon, with his fellow prisoners, was again examined, and commanded to worship the sun, agreeably to the Persian custom; but this they unanimously refused. The emperor then sentenced them to be beheaded, which sentence was accordingly executed.

An aged eunuch, named Usthazares, who had been tutor to the emperor, and was in great estimation at court, meeting Simeon as he was led to prison, saluted him. Simeon, however, (as Usthazares had formerly been a Christian, and had apostatized to oblige the emperor,) would not return his salute, but reproved him for his apostacy. This so affected the eunuch, that he burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Ah! how shall I hereafter look upon my God, whom I have denied, when Simeon, my old companion and familiar acquaintance, disdains to give me a gentle word, or to return my salute!"

The emperor learning that his ancient tutor was greatly afflicted, sent for him, and asked him whether he desired any thing which could be procured for him; to which the eunuch replied, "That there was nothing that he wanted, which this earth could afford; but that his grief was of another kind, and for which he justly mourned, namely, that to oblige his sovereign he had denied his God, and had dissemblingly worshipped the sun, against his own conscience; for which," continued he, "I am deserving of a double death; first, for denying of Christ, and secondly, for dissembling with my king."

The emperor, greatly offended at this speech, ordered Usthazares to be beheaded; who therefore requested that it might be proclaimed, "That Usthazares did not die for any crime against the emperor or state; but only that being a Christian, he would not deny his God." This petition was granted and was a great satisfaction to Usthazares, whose chief reason for desiring it was, because his falling off from Christ had caused many others to follow his example; who now hearing that he died for no crime but his religion, might, like him, return to Christ and the faith. Usthazares then cheerfully yielded his neck to the sword.

Soon after the above execution, an edict was published, ordering that all who confessed themselves Christians, should be put to death; which caused the destruction of multitudes. About this time the empress of Persia falling sick, the sisters of Simeon, the archbishop, were accused by some of the magi of causing this calamity. This report being credited, they were by the emperor's orders, sawed in quarters, and their limbs fixed upon poles, between which the empress passed as a charm to effect the restoration of her health.

Acepsimus, and many other ecclesiastics, were seized, and ordered to adore the sun; which refusing, they were scourged, and then tormented to death, or kept in prison till they expired. Athalas, a priest though not put to death, was so miserably racked, that his arms were rendered useless; and he was ever after obliged to be fed like a child. In short, by this edict, above 16,000 persons either suffered horribly by torture, or lost their lives.

*Constantine writes to the king of Persia in favour of the Christians.*

When Constantine the Great was informed of the persecutions in Persia, he was much concerned, and began to reflect in what manner he should redress their grievances, when an ambassador arrived from the Persian emperor upon some political business. Constantine received him courteously, granted his demands, and wrote a letter to the Persian monarch in favour of the Christians, in which he alluded to the vengeance that had fallen on persecutors, and the success that had attended those who had refrained from the persecution; and then referring to the tyrants and persecuting emperors of his own time, he said, "I subdued those solely by faith in Christ; for which God was my helper, who gave me victory in battle, and made me triumph over my enemies, and hath so enlarged to me the bounds of the Roman empire, that it extends from the Western Ocean almost to the uttermost parts of the East: for which purpose I neither offered sacrifices to the ancient deities, nor made use of charm or divination; but only offered up prayers to the Almighty God, and followed the cross of Christ: and how glad should I be to hear that the throne of Persia flourished, by embracing the Christians! that so you with me, and they with you, may enjoy all the felicity your souls could desire; as undoubtedly you would, God, the Almighty Creator of all things, becoming your protector and defender. These men, therefore, I commend to your honour; I commit them unto you, desiring you to embrace them with humanity; for in so doing, you will procure to yourself grace through faith, and bestow on me a benefit worthy of my thanks."

In consequence of this appeal, the persecution ended during the life of Sapore; but it was renewed under his successors.

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## SECTION II.

### PERSECUTIONS BY THE ARIAN HERETICS.

The sect denominated the Arian heretics, had its origin from Arius,\* a native of Lybia, and priest of Alexandria, who, in A. D. 318, began to publish his errors. He was condemned by a council of Lybian and Egyptian bishops, and the sentence was confirmed by the council of Nice, A. D. 325. After the death of Constantine the Great, the Arians found means to ingratiate themselves into the favour of Constantius, his son and successor in the East; and hence a persecution was raised against the orthodox bishops and clergy. The celebrated Athanasius, and other bishops, were banished at this period, and their sees filled with Arians.

In Egypt and Lybia, thirty bishops were martyred, and many other Christians cruelly tormented; and A. D. 336, George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, under the authority of the emperor, began a persecution in that city and its environs, which was continued with the ut-

\* Arius, the founder of this sect of heretics, and the first cause of the persecutions which are related in this section, died miserably at Constantinople, just as he was about to enter the church in triumph.

most severity. He was assisted by Catophonius, governor of Egypt; Sebastian, general of the Egyptian forces, Faustinus, the treasurer, and a Roman officer, named Heraclius. Indeed, so fierce was this persecution, that the clergy were driven from Alexandria, their churches were shut, and the severities practised by the Arian heretics were as great as those which had been exercised by the pagan idolaters. If a man accused of being a Christian made his escape, his whole family were massacred, and his effects forfeited. By this means, the orthodox Christians, being deprived of all places of public worship in the city of Alexandria, used to perform their devotions in a desert at some distance from it. Having, one Lord's day, met for worship, George, the Arian bishop, engaged Sebastian, the general, to fall upon them with his soldiers, while they were at prayers: and many were sacrificed to the fury of the troops, while others were reserved for more cruel and lingering deaths; some were beaten on their faces till all their features were disfigured; or were lashed with twigs of palm-trees, with such violence, that they expired under the blows, or by the mortification of their wounds. Several, whose lives had been spared, were, however, banished to the deserts of Africa, where, amidst all their sufferings, they passed their time in prayer.

Secundus, an orthodox priest, differing in point of doctrine from a prelate of the same name, the bishop, who had imbibed all the opinions of Arianism, determined to put Secundus to death, for rejecting opinions which he himself had embraced. He therefore went with one Stephen, an Arian also, sought out Secundus privately, fell upon and murdered him; the holy martyr, just before he expired, calling upon Christ to receive his soul, and to forgive his enemies.

At this time, not satisfied with the cruelties exercised upon the orthodox Christians in Alexandria, the principal persecutors applied to the emperor for an order to banish them from Egypt and Lybia, and to give up their churches to the Arians: they obtained their request, and an order was sent for that purpose to Sebastian, who signified the emperor's pleasure to all the sub-governors and officers. Hence a great number of the clergy were seized and imprisoned; and it appearing that they adopted the opinions of Athanasius, an order was signed for their banishment into the desert. While the orthodox clergy were thus used, many of the laity were condemned to the mines, or compelled to work in the quarries. Some few, indeed, escaped to other countries, and several were weak enough to renounce their faith, in order to avoid the severities of the persecutors.

#### *Persecution of Paul.*

Paul, the bishop of Constantinople, was a Macedonian, and had been designed, from his birth, for a clerical life. When Alexander, the predecessor of Paul, was on his death-bed, he was consulted by some of the clergy on the choice of a successor; when he told them, "That if they were disposed to choose a person of exemplary life, and thoroughly capable of instructing the people, Paul was the man; but if they had rather have a man acquainted with worldly affairs, and fit for the conversation of a court, they might then choose Macedonius." This latter was a deacon in the church of Constantinople, in which office he had spent many years, and gained great experience; and the dying prelate did both him and Paul justice in their different charac-

ters. Nevertheless, the Arians gave out, that Alexander had bestowed great commendations on Macedonius for sanctity, and had only given Paul the reputation of eloquence, and a capacity for business: after some struggle, the orthodox party carried their point, and Paul was consecrated. Macedonius, offended at this preference, did his utmost to calumniate the new bishop, but not gaining belief, he dropped the charge, and was reconciled to him. This, however, was not the case with Eusebius of Nicomedia, who accused Paul of having led a disorderly life before his consecration; and of having been placed in the see of Constantinople without the consent of the bishops of Nicomedia and Heraclea, two metropolitans, who ought to have been consulted upon that occasion.

Eusebius, to support these accusations, procured the emperor's authority, by representing, that Paul having been chosen during the absence of Constantius, the imperial dignity had been insulted. This artifice succeeded, and Paul being deposed, Eusebius succeeded him.

Paul having thus lost all authority in the East, retired to the territories of Constans, in the West, where he was well received by the orthodox prelates and clergy. At Rome he visited Athanasius, and assisted at a council held there, by Julius, the bishop of that see. Letters being written by this council to the eastern prelates, Paul returned to Constantinople, but was not restored to his bishopric till the death of Eusebius. The Arians, however, constituting Macedonius their bishop, by the title of bishop of Constantinople, a kind of civil war ensued, in which many were put to death.

Constantius, the emperor, who was then at Antioch, hearing of this schism, laid the whole blame upon Paul, and ordered that he should be driven from Constantinople. But Hermogenes, the officer who had received the emperor's order, attempted in vain to put it into execution; being slain by the orthodox Christians, who had risen in defence of Paul. This event greatly exasperated the emperor, who left Antioch in the depth of winter, and returned to Constantinople, with a design to punish the Christians. He, however, contented himself with banishing Paul, and suspending Macedonius. Paul then again retired to the territories of Constans, implored the protection of that emperor, and by his intercession, was again vested in his see. His re-establishment exasperated his enemies, who made many attempts against his life, against which the affections of his people were his only security; and being convinced that the emperor had no other motive for allowing his stay at Constantinople, but the dread of disoblighing his brother, Paul could not think himself wholly restored to his bishopric; and being very much concerned at what the orthodox bishops suffered from the power and malice of the Arian faction, he joined Athanasius, who was then in Italy, in soliciting a general council. This council was held at Sardica, in Illyrium, in the year 347, at which were present one hundred bishops of the western, and seventy-three of the eastern empire. But disagreeing in many points, the Arian bishops of the East retired to Philipoppolis, in Thrace; and forming a meeting there, they termed it the council of Sardica, from which place they pretended to issue an excommunication against Julius, bishop of Rome, Paul, bishop of Constantinople, Athanasius bishop of Alexandria, and several other prelates. In

the year 350, the Emperor Constans died, which gave the Arians fresh courage, and they applied to the Emperor Constantius, who, being inclined towards the Arians, wrote an order to the prefect Philip, to remove Paul from the bishopric of Constantinople, and to restore Macedonius. Paul was then exiled to Cucucus, confined in a dark dungeon for six days, without food, and then strangled. He met death with uncommon fortitude.

The Arian party now made Gregory of Cappadocia, a very obscure person, bishop of Alexandria, after having deposed Athanasius. In the accomplishment of this affair, they were assisted by Philagerius, the governor of Egypt, who was an apostate, and who authorized them to commit every outrage. Hence, arming themselves with swords, clubs, &c. they broke into one of the principal churches of Alexandria, where great numbers of orthodox Christians were assembled at their devotions; and falling upon them in a most barbarous manner, without the least respect to sex or age, butchered the greater number. Potamo, a venerable bishop of Heraclea, who had formerly lost one of his eyes in Diocletian's persecution, fell a martyr upon this occasion, being so cruelly scourged and beaten, that he died of his wounds. The Arians also broke into many places, public and private, under a pretence of searching for Athanasius, and committed innumerable barbarities; robbing orphans, plundering the houses of widows, dragging virgins to private places to be the sacrifices of desire, imprisoning the clergy, burning churches and dwelling houses belonging to the orthodox Christians; besides other enormous cruelties.

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### SECTION III.

#### PERSECUTIONS UNDER JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

Julian the Apostate was the son of Julius Constantius, and the nephew of Constantine the Great. He studied the rudiments of grammar under the inspection of Mardonius, a eunuch and a heathen. His father sent him afterwards to Nicomedia, to be instructed in the Christian religion, by Eusebius, his kinsman; but his principles were corrupted by the pernicious doctrines of Maximus the magician, and Ecebolius the professor of rhetoric.

Constantius died in the year 361, when Julian succeeded him; but he had no sooner obtained the imperial dignity, than he renounced Christianity, and embraced paganism. He again restored idolatrous worship, by opening the several temples that had been shut up, rebuilding such as were destroyed, and ordering the magistrates and people to follow his example; but he did not issue any edicts against Christianity. He recalled all banished pagans, allowed the free exercise of religion to every sect, but deprived the Christians of all offices, civil and military, and the clergy of the privileges granted to them by Constantine the Great. He was chaste, temperate, vigilant, laborious, and apparently pious; so that by his hypocrisy and pretended virtues, he for a time did more mischief to Christianity than the most profligate of his predecessors.



Accordingly, this persecution was more dangerous than any of the former, as Julian, under the mask of clemency, practised the greatest cruelty, in seeking to delude the true believers; and the Christian faith was now in more danger of being subverted than it ever had been, by means of a monarch at once witty and wicked, learned and hypocritical; who, at first, made his attempts by flattering gifts and favours, bestowing offices and dignities; and then, by prohibiting Christian schools, he compelled the children either to become idolaters, or to remain illiterate.

Julian ordered that Christians might be treated coldly upon all occasions, and in all parts of the empire, and employed witty persons to turn them and their principles into ridicule. Many were likewise martyred in his reign; for though he did not publicly persecute them himself, he connived at their being murdered by his governors and officers; and though he affected never to reward them for those cruelties, neither did he ever punish them. We might give a long catalogue of persons who suffered during this reign, but our limits permit us to notice only the death of Basil.

#### *Martyrdom of Basil.*

By his opposition to Arianism, Basil made himself famous, which brought upon him the vengeance of the Arian bishop of Constantinople, who issued an order to prevent him from preaching. He continued, however, to perform his duty at Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, till his enemies accused him of being an incendiary, and a disturber of the public peace; Julian, however, was too intent on an expedition to Persia, to take notice of the accusation, and the malice of his enemies at that time being wholly frustrated, he continued to preach against the idolatry of paganism on the one hand, and the errors of Arianism on the other; earnestly exhorting the people to serve Christ in the purity of faith, and fervency of truth.

One day meeting with a number of pagans going in procession to a sacrifice, he boldly expressed his abhorrence of such idolatrous proceedings, and inveighed against such absurd worship. This liberty caused the people to seize him, and carry him before Saturninus, the governor, where they accused him of reviling the gods, abusing the emperor, and disturbing the peace of the city. Having heard these accusations, Saturninus desired to know his sentiments from his own mouth; when finding him a strenuous Christian, he ordered him to be put to the rack, and then committed to prison. The governor wrote an account of his proceedings to the emperor, who was at this time very busy in establishing the worship of Cybele, the fictitious mother of the fabulous deities. Julian, on receiving the letter, sent Pagosus and Elpidius, two apostates, to Ancyra, the city where Basil was confined, to employ both promises and threats to engage him to renounce his faith, and in case of their failure, they had orders to give him up to the power of the governor. The emperor's agents tampered in vain with Basil by means of promises, threats, and tortures; he was firm in the faith, and remained in prison till the emperor by accident came to Ancyra. As soon as the people knew of Julian's approach, they met him in grand procession, and presented to him their idol, the goddess Hecate. The two agents then gave the emperor an account of what Basil had suffered, and of his firm resist-

ance. Julian, on this, determined to examine Basil himself, when that holy man being brought before him, the emperor did every thing in his power to dissuade him from persevering in the faith; but Basil not only continued firm, but with a prophetic spirit foretold the death of the emperor, and that he should be tormented in the other world. Julian on this lost his usual affectation of clemency, and told Basil, in great anger, that though he had an inclination to pardon him at first, yet he had now, by the insolence of his behaviour, put it out of his power to save his life. He then commanded that the body of Basil should be torn every day in seven different parts, till his skin and flesh were entirely mangled. The inhuman sentence was executed with rigour, and the martyr expired under his severities on the 28th of June, A. D. 362.

Marcus, bishop of Arethusa, having destroyed a pagan temple in that city, erected a Christian church in its room, on which account he was accused to Julian. His persecutors, stripping him naked, cruelly beat him. He was then thrust into a filthy sewer, or sink, till he was almost suffocated; afterwards he was goaded with sharp-pointed sticks: and lastly, he was hung up in a basket in the heat of the sun, after having been smeared over with honey, in order to be tormented to death by wasps. As soon as he was hung up, they asked him if he would rebuild their temple. To which he answered, that he would neither rebuild it, nor contribute in the smallest degree towards its being rebuilt; upon which they left him, and he fell a martyr to the stings of the insects.

About the end of the year 363, the persecution raged with more than usual violence. In Palestine many were burnt alive, others were dragged by their feet through the streets naked till they expired; some were scalded to death, many stoned, and great numbers had their brains beaten out with clubs. In Alexandria innumerable martyrs suffered by the sword, burning, crucifixion, and stoning. In Arethusa, several were ripped open, and corn being put into their bellies, swine were brought to feed thereon, who, in devouring the grain, likewise devoured the entrails of the victim.

*Christians fined for refusing to sacrifice to Idols.*

When Julian intended an expedition against the Persians, he imposed a large fine upon every one who refused to sacrifice to the idols, and by that means got a great sum from the Christians towards defraying his expenses. Many of the officers, in collecting these fines, exacted more than their due, and some of them tortured the Christians to make them pay what they demanded, at the same time telling them in derision, "that when they were injured, they ought to take it patiently, for so their God hath commanded them." The inhabitants of Casarea were fined in an immense sum, and several of the clergy obliged to serve in the wars, as a punishment for having overthrown the temples of Jupiter, Fortune, and Apollo. The governor, at Meris, in Phrygia, having cleansed and opened a pagan temple, the Christians in the night broke in, and demolished the idols. Next day the governor ordered all Christians that accidentally came in the way to be seized, that he might make examples of them, and by this means would have executed several innocent persons; but those who really perpetrated the act, being too just to suffer such re

taliation, voluntarily delivered themselves up; when they were scourged severely, and then put upon gridirons and broiled to death.

Julian died of a wound which he received in his Persian expedition, A. D. 363, and even while expiring, uttered the most horrible blasphemies. He was succeeded by Jovian, who restored peace to the church. After the decease of Jovian, Valentinian succeeded to the empire, and associated to himself Valens, who had the command in the East, and was an Arian of unrelenting and persecuting disposition.

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#### SECTION IV.

##### PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS BY THE GOTHs AND VANDALS.

Many Scythian Goths having embraced Christianity about the time of Constantine the Great, the light of the gospel spread itself considerably in Seythia, though the two kings who ruled that country, and the majority of the people, continued pagans. Fritegern, king of the West Goths, was an ally to the Romans; but Athanarick, king of the East Goths, was at war with them. The Christians, in the dominions of the former, lived unmolested, but the latter, having been defeated by the Romans, wreaked his vengeance on his Christian subjects, commencing his pagan injunctions in the year 370.

Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, makes a most distinguished figure in the ecclesiastical history, and was one of the most eminent champions of Christ against the Arian heresy. Eusebius, after being driven from his church, and wandering about through Syria and Palestine, encouraging the orthodox, was restored with other orthodox prelates to his see, which, however, he did not long enjoy, for an Arian woman threw a tile at him from the top of a house, which fractured his skull, and terminated his life in the year 380.

The Vandals, passing from Spain to Africa in the fifth century, under their leader, Genserik, committed the most unheard-of cruelties. They persecuted the Christians wherever they came, and even laid waste the country as they passed, that the Christians left behind, who had escaped them, might not be able to subsist. Sometimes they freighted a vessel with martyrs, let it drift out to sea, or set fire to it, with the sufferers shackled on the decks.

Having seized and plundered the city of Carthage, they put the bishop, and all the clergy, into a leaky ship, and committed it to the mercy of the waves, thinking that they must all perish of course; but providentially the vessel arrived safe at Naples. Innumerable orthodox Christians were beaten, scourged, and banished to Capsur, where it pleased God to make them the means of converting many of the Moors to Christianity; but this coming to the ears of Genserik, he sent orders that they and their new converts should be tied by the feet to chariots, and dragged about till they were dashed to pieces.

Pampinian, the bishop of Mansuetes, was tortured to death with plates of hot iron; the bishop of Urice was burnt; and the bishop of Habensa was banished, for refusing to deliver up the sacred books which were in his possession.

The Vandalian tyrant Genseric, having made an expedition into Italy, and plundered the city of Rome, returned to Africa, flushed with the success of his arms. The Arians took this occasion to persuade him to persecute the orthodox Christians, as they assured him that they were friends to the people of Rome.

After the decease of Himeric, his successor recalled him, and the rest of the orthodox clergy: the Arians, taking the alarm, persuaded him to banish them again, which he complied with, when Eugenius exiled to Languedoc in France, died there of the hardships he underwent, on the sixth of September, A. D. 305.

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## BOOK III.

### HISTORY OF THE PERSECUTIONS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, BETWEEN THE FIFTH AND THE TENTH CENTURIES.

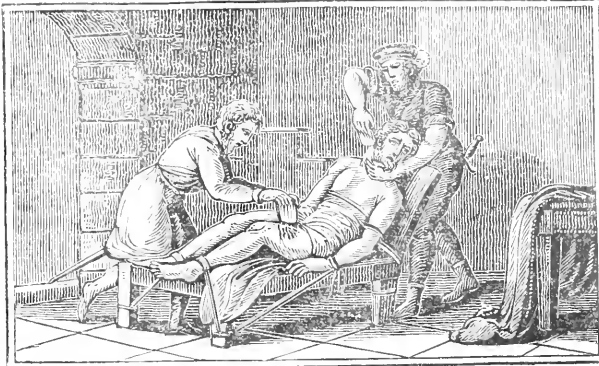
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#### SECTION I.

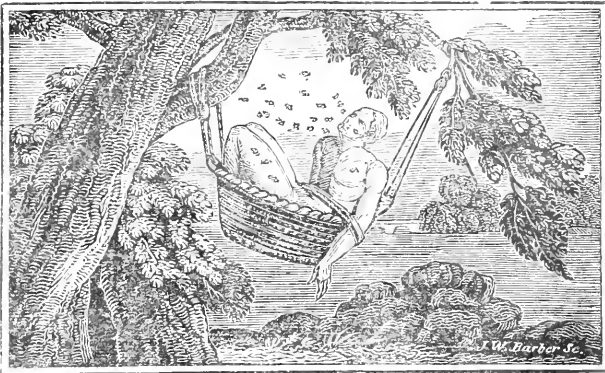
##### PERSECUTIONS FROM THE FIFTH TO THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

**PROTERIUS** was made a priest by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, who was well acquainted with his virtues, before he appointed him to preach. On the death of Cyril, the see of Alexandria was filled by Dioscorus, an inveterate enemy to the memory and family of his predecessor. Being condemned by the council of Chalcedon for having embraced the errors of Eutyches, he was deposed, and Proterius chosen to fill the vacant see, who was approved of by the emperor. This occasioned a dangerous insurrection, for the city of Alexandria was divided into two factions; the one to espouse the cause of the old, and the other of the new prelate. In one of the commotions, the Eutychians determined to wreak their vengeance on Proterius, who fled to the church for sanctuary: but on Good Friday, A. D. 457, a large body of them rushed into the Church, and barbarously murdered the prelate; after which they dragged the body through the streets, insulted it, cut it to pieces, burnt it, and scattered the ashes in the air.

**Hermenigildus**, a Gothic prince, was the eldest son of **Leovigildus**, a king of the Goths, in Spain. This prince, who was originally an Arian, became a convert to the orthodox faith, by means of his wife **Ingonda**. When the king heard that his son had changed his religious sentiments, he stripped him of the command at Seville, where he was governor, and threatened to put him to death, unless he renounced the faith he had newly embraced. The prince, in order to prevent the execution of his father's menaces, began to put himself into a posture of defence; and many of the orthodox persuasion in Spain declared for him. The king, exasperated at this act of rebellion, began to



*Basil cruelly tortured to death by order of Julian the Apostate  
Page 71.*



*Marcus covered with honey. Page 71.*



*Dreadful Sufferings of Primitive Martyrs. Page 74.*

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punish all the orthodox Christians who could be seized by his troops : and thus a very severe persecution commenced : he likewise marched against his son at the head of a very powerful army. The prince took refuge at Seville, from which he fled, and was at length besieged and taken at Asieta. Loaded with chains, he was sent to Seville, and at the feast of Easter refusing to receive the Eucharist from an Arian bishop, the enraged king ordered his guards to cut the prince to pieces, which they punctually performed, April 13, A. D. 586.

Martin, bishop of Rome, was born at Todi, in Italy. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and his parents bestowed on him an admirable education. He opposed the heretics called Monothelites, who were patronized by the Emperor Heraclius. Martin was condemned at Constantinople, where he was exposed in the most public places to the ridicule of the people, divested of all episcopal marks of distinction, and treated with the greatest scorn and severity. After lying some months in prison, Martin was sent to an island at some distance, and there cut to pieces, A. D. 655.

John, bishop of Bergamo, in Lombardy, was a learned man, and a good Christian. He did his utmost endeavours to clear the church from the errors of Arianism, and joining in this holy work with John, bishop of Milan, he was very successful against the heretics, on which account he was assassinated on July 11, A. D. 683.

Killien was born in Ireland, and received from his parents a pious and Christian education. He obtained the Roman pontiff's license to preach to the pagans in Franconia, in Germany. At Wurtzburg he converted Gozbert, the governor, whose example was followed by the greater part of the people in two years after. Persuading Gozbert that his marriage with his brother's widow was sinful, the latter had him beheaded, A. D. 689.

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## SECTION II.

### PERSECUTIONS FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY.

Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, and father of the German church, was an Englishman, and is, in ecclesiastical history, looked upon as one of the brightest ornaments of this nation. Originally his name was Winfrid, or Winfrith, and he was born at Kirton, in Devonshire, then part of the West-Saxon kingdom. When he was only about six years of age, he began to discover a propensity to reflection, and seemed solicitous to gain information on religious subjects. Wolfrad, the abbot, finding that he possessed a bright genius, as well as a strong inclination to study, had him removed to Nutselle, a seminary of learning in the diocese of Winchester, where he would have a much greater opportunity of attaining improvement than at Exeter.

After due study, the abbot, seeing him qualified for the priesthood, obliged him to receive that holy order when he was about thirty years old. From which time he began to preach, and labour for the salvation of his fellow-creatures : he was released to attend a synod of bishops in the kingdom of West-Saxons. He afterward, in 719, went

to Rome, where Gregory II. who then sat in Peter's chair, received him with great friendship, and finding him full of all the virtues that compose the character of an apostolical missionary, dismissed him with a commission at large to preach the gospel to the pagans wherever he found them. Passing through Lombardy and Bavaria, he came to Thuringia, which country had before received the light of the gospel; he next visited Utrecht, and then proceeded to Saxony, where he converted some thousands to Christianity.

Pope Gregory III. succeeded to the papal chair in 731, upon whose accession Boniface sent proper persons to Rome to acquaint him with the success of his labours. The pope not only answered the message by assuring him of the communion and friendship of the see of Rome, but as a mark of his respect for our missionary, sent him the pallium, granted him the title of archbishop, or metropolitan of all Germany, and empowered him to erect new bishoprics.

Bavaria had at this time only one bishop; he therefore pursuant to his commission from Rome, erected three new bishoprics, one at Saltzbourg, a second at Freisingent, and a third at Ratisbon, and thus all Bavaria was divided into four dioceses.

Gregory III. was succeeded in the popedom by Zachary, A. D. 741, and the latter confirmed Boniface in his power; and approved of all he had done in Germany, making him at the same time archbishop of Mentz, and metropolitan over thirteen bishoprics.

During the ministry of this meek prelate, Pepin was declared king of France. It was that prince's ambition to be crowned by the most holy prelate he could find, and Boniface was pitched on to perform that ceremony, which he did at Soissons in 752. The next year his great age and many infirmities lay so heavily on him, that, with the consent of the new king, the bishops, &c. of his diocess, he consecrated Lullus, his countryman, and faithful disciple, and placed him in the see of Mentz. When he had thus eased himself of his charge, he recommended the church of Mentz to the care of the new bishop in very strong terms, desired he would finish the church at Fuld, and see him buried in it, for his end was near. Having left these orders, he took boat to the Rhine, and went to Friesland, where he converted and baptized several thousands of the barbarous natives, demolished the temples, and raised churches on the ruins of those superstitious structures. A day being appointed for confirming a great number of new converts, he ordered them to assemble in a new open plain, near the river Bourde. Thither he repaired the day before; and, pitching a tent, determined to remain on the spot all night, in order to be ready early in the morning.

Some pagans, who were his inveterate enemies, having intelligence of this, poured down upon him and the companions of his mission in the night, and killed him and fifty-two of his companions and attendants on June 5, A. D. 755. Thus fell the great father of the Germanic church, the honour of England, and the glory of the age in which he lived.

Forty-two persons of Armonian, in Upper Phrygia, were martyred in the year 845, by the Saracens, the circumstances of which transaction are as follows:

In the reign of Theophilus, the Saracens ravaged many parts of the eastern empire, gained several considerable advantages over the



Christians, took the city of Armonian, and numbers suffered martyrdom.

Flora and Mary, two ladies of distinction, suffered martyrdom at the same time.

Perfectus was born at Corduba, in Spain, and brought up in the Christian faith. Having a quick genius, he made himself master of all the useful and polite literature of that age; and at the same time was not more celebrated for his abilities than admired for his piety. At length he took priest's orders, and performed the duties of his office with great assiduity and punctuality. Publicly declaring Mahomet an impostor, he was sentenced to be beheaded, and was accordingly executed, A. D. 850; after which his body was honourably interred by the Christians.

Adalbert, bishop of Prague, a Bohemian by birth, after being involved in many troubles, began to direct his thoughts to the conversion of the infidels, to which end he repaired to Dantzic, where he converted and baptized many, which so enraged the pagan priests, that they fell upon him, and despatched him with darts, on the 23d of April, A. D. 997.

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## BOOK IV.

PERSECUTIONS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

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### SECTION I.

PERSECUTIONS IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

*Account of Archbishop Alphage.*

ALPHAGE, archbishop of Canterbury, came from a considerable family in Gloucestershire, and received an education suitable to his birth. His parents were Christians, and Alphage inherited all their virtues. He was prudent, humble, pious, and chaste; and made rapid progress both in polite literature and theological learning. In order to be more at leisure to contemplate the beauties of divine history, he determined to renounce his fortune, quit his home, and become a recluse. He accordingly retired to a monastery of Benedictines, at Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire, and soon after took the habit. Here he lived with the utmost temperance, and spent the greatest part of his time in prayer. But not thinking the austerities he underwent in this monastery sufficiently severe, he retired to a lonely cell, near Bath, and lived in a manner still more rigid; but some devout persons finding out his retreat, his austere life soon became the subject of conversation in the neighbouring villages, whence many flocked

to him, and begged to be taken under his pastoral care. Consenting to their importunities, he raised a monastery near his cell, by contributions of several well-disposed persons; formed his new pupils into a community, and placed a prior over them. Having prescribed rules for their regulation, he again retired to his cell, fervently wishing to pass the remainder of his days in religious security; when the following affair again drew him from his retreat.

The see of Winchester being vacant by the death of Ethelwold, a dispute arose respecting a successor to that bishopric. The clergy had been driven out of the cathedral for their scandalous lives, but were admitted again by king Ethelred, upon certain terms of reformation. The monks, who had been introduced upon their expulsion, looked upon themselves as the chapter of that church; and hence arose a violent contest between them and the clergy who had been re-admitted, about the election of a bishop; while both parties were vigorously determined upon supporting their own man. This dispute at last ran so high, that Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, as primate of all England, was obliged to interpose, and he consecrated Alphage to the vacant bishopric, to the general satisfaction of all concerned in the election.

The behaviour of Alphage was a proof of his being equal to the dignity of his vocation. Piety flourished in his diocese; unity was established among his clergy and people; and the conduct of the church of Winchester made the bishop the admiration of the whole kingdom. Dunstan had an extraordinary veneration for Alphage, and when at the point of death, made it his ardent request to God, that he might succeed him in the see of Canterbury; which accordingly happened, though not till about eighteen years after Dunstan's death. In the course of that period, the metropolitan church was governed by three successive prelates; the last of whom was Alfric; upon whose decease, in 1006, Alphage was raised to the see of Canterbury. The people belonging to the diocese of Winchester, were too sensible of the loss they sustained by his translation, not to regret his removal to Canterbury.

Soon after he was made archbishop, he went to Rome, and received the pall from Pope John XVIII.

When Alphage had governed the see of Canterbury about four years with great reputation, the Danes made an incursion into England. Ethelred, who then reigned, was a prince of a very weak mind, and pusillanimous disposition. Being afraid to face the enemy himself, and too irresolute to furnish others with the means of acting, he suffered his country to be ravaged with impunity, and the greatest depredations to be committed by the enemy.

Upon this occasion, the Archbishop Alphage acted with great resolution and humanity; he went boldly to the Danes, purchased the freedom of several whom they had made captives; found means to send food to others, whom he had not money enough to redeem, and even made converts of some of the Danes; but the latter circumstance made the Danes, who still continued pagans, greater enemies to him than they would otherwise have been, and they were determined to be revenged on him. Edric, an English malcontent and traitor, gave the Danes every encouragement, and assisted them in laying siege to Canterbury. When the design of attacking that city was known, many

of the principal people made a precipitous flight from it, and would have persuaded Alphege to follow their example: but he would not listen to such a proposal: assured them he could not think of abandoning his flock at a time when his presence was more necessary than ever, and was resolved to hazard his life in their defence. While he was employed in assisting his people, Canterbury was taken by storm; the enemy poured into the town, and destroyed all that came in their way. The monks endeavoured to detain the archbishop in the church, where they hoped he might be safe. But his concern for his flock made him break from them, and run into the midst of the danger. On this occasion he addressed the enemy, begging the people might be saved, and that he alone might be their victim. The barbarians seized him, tied his hands, insulted and abused him, and obliged him to remain on the spot till his church was burnt, and the monks massacred. They then decimated all the inhabitants, both ecclesiastics and laymen, leaving only every tenth person alive: so that they put 7236 persons to death, and left only four monks and 500 laymen alive; after which they confined the archbishop in a dungeon, where they kept him for several months. During his confinement, they proposed to him to purchase his liberty with the sum of 3000*l.* and to persuade the king to procure their departure out of the kingdom with a farther sum of 10,000*l.* Alphege's circumstances not allowing him to satisfy the exorbitant demand, they bound him and put him to severe torments, to oblige him to discover the treasures of his church. But he remaining inflexible; they remanded him to prison again, confined him six days longer, and then taking him with them to Greenwich, brought him to trial. Here he exhorted them to forsake their idolatry, and embrace Christianity. This so enraged them, that the soldiers dragged him out of the camp, and beat him unmercifully. Alphege bore this treatment patiently, and even prayed for his persecutors. One of the soldiers, who had been converted and baptized by him, was greatly afflicted that his pains should be so lingering, as he knew his death was determined on: he, therefore, in a kind of barbarous compassion, cut off his head, and thus put the finishing stroke to his martyrdom. This happened on April 19, A. D. 1012, on the very spot where the church of Greenwich, which is dedicated to him, now stands. After his death, his body was thrown into the Thames, but being found the next day, it was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul's, by the bishops of London and Lincoln: from whence it was, in the year 1023, removed to Canterbury, by Æthelnoth, archbishop of that province.

*Stanislaus.*

Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, was of an illustrious family. The piety of his parents was equal to their opulence; and they rendered their wealth subservient to all the purposes of benevolence. Stanislaus was their only child; he possessed a penetrating genius, retentive memory, and solid understanding; hence study became his amusement. His disposition was not inferior to his abilities: and he voluntarily gave himself, in the dawn of youth, to such austerities as might have acquired reputation for a hermit. In process of time, he was sent to a seminary of learning in Poland, and afterwards to the university of Paris; here he remained several years, and then returned to his own country, where, on the demise of his parents, he be-

came possessed of a large fortune, of which he devoted the greater part to charitable uses. His views were now solely directed to the ministry; but he remained for some time undetermined whether he should embrace a monastic life, or engage among the secular clergy. He was at length persuaded to the latter, by Lambert Zula, bishop of Cracow, who gave him holy orders, and made him a canon of his cathedral. In this capacity he lived in a most exemplary manner, and performed his duties with unremitting assiduity. Lambert was charmed with the many virtues which so particularly distinguished Stanislaus, and would fain have resigned his bishopric to him, alleging as a reason, his great age, but Stanislaus absolutely refused to accept of the see, for the contrary reason, viz. his want of years; as being then only 36 years old, he deemed that too early a time of life for a man to undertake the important care of a diocese. Lambert, however, made him his substitute upon various occasions, and dying on November 25, 1071, all concerned in the choice of a successor declared for Stanislaus; but he declined the acceptance for the same reason as before. At length the king, clergy, and nobility, unanimously joined in writing to Pope Alexander II. who, at their entreaty, sent an express order that Stanislaus should accept the bishopric. He then obeyed, and exerted himself to the utmost in improving his flock. He was equally careful with respect both to clergy and laity, kept a list of all the poor in his diocese, and by feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and administering remedies to the sick, he proved himself not only the godly pastor, but the physician and benefactor of the people.

Bolislus the second, king of Poland, had many good qualities, but giving way too much to his passions, he committed many enormities, till from being deemed a good king, he at last acquired the appellation of CRUEL. The nobility were shocked at his conduct, and the clergy saw his proceedings with grief; but Stanislaus alone had the courage to tell him of his faults. The king was greatly exasperated at this freedom; but awed by the virtues of the bishop, he dissembled his resentment, and appearing to be convinced of his errors, promised to reform his conduct. He, soon after, attempting the chastity of a married lady, who rejected his offers with disdain, violated her by force. This iniquitous act greatly incensed the nobility; they assembled, and, calling the clergy to their assistance, entreated Peter, archbishop of Gresne, to remonstrate to the king on the impropriety of his conduct. The archbishop, however, declined the task; for though virtuous, he was timid. Several other prelates imitated his example, and Stanislaus was, as before, the only one who had courage and zeal sufficient to perform what he looked upon as an indispensable duty. He, therefore, put himself at the head of a number of ecclesiastics, noblemen, and gentlemen, and solemnly addressed the king on the heinousness of his crime. Bolislus, violently irritated, threatened the prelate with his severest vengeance; but Stanislaus, un intimidated by his menaces, visited him twice more, and remonstrated with him in a similar manner, which increased his wrath.

The nobility and clergy, finding that the admonitions of the bishop had not the desired effect upon the king, thought proper to interpose. The nobility entreated the bishop to refrain from any further exasperating a monarch of so ferocious a temper; and the clergy endeav-

voured to persuade the king not to be offended with Stanislaus for his charitable remonstrances. But the haughty sovereign determined at any rate to get rid of a prelate, who, in his opinion, was too censorious; and hearing that the bishop was alone, in the chapel of St. Michael, at a small distance from the town, he despatched some soldiers to murder him. The men readily undertook the task; but when they came into the presence of Stanislaus, the venerable aspect of the prelate struck them with such awe, that they could not perform what they had promised. On their return, the king, finding they had not obeyed his orders, snatched a dagger from one of them, and ran furiously to the chapel, where, finding Stanislaus at the altar, he plunged the weapon into his heart. This took place on the 8th of May, A. D. 1079.

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## SECTION II.

### PERSECUTIONS OF THE WALDENSES IN FRANCE.

Before this time the church of Christ was tainted with many of the errors of popery, and superstition began to predominate; but a few, who perceived the pernicious tendency of such errors, determined to show the light of the gospel in its real purity, and to disperse those clouds which artful priests had raised about it, in order to delude the people. The principal of these worthies was Berengarius, who, about the year 1000, boldly preached gospel truths according to their primitive purity. Many, from conviction, went over to his doctrine, and were, on that account, called Berengarians. Berengarius was succeeded by Peter Bruis, who preached at Toulouse, under the protection of an earl, named Hildephonsus; and the whole tenets of the reformers, with the reasons of their separation from the church of Rome, were published in a book written by Bruis under the title of **ANTICHRIST**.

In the year 1140, the number of the reformed was very great, and the probability of their increasing alarmed the pope, who wrote to several princes to banish them from their dominions, and employed many learned men to write against them.

In 1147, Henry of Toulouse, being deemed their most eminent preacher, they were called Henricians; and as they would not admit of any proofs relative to religion but what could be deduced from the scriptures themselves, the popish party gave them the name of Apostolics. Peter Waldo, or Valdo, a native of Lyons, at this time became a strenuous opposer of popery; and from him the reformed received the appellation of Waldos, or Waldenses. Waldo was a man eminent for his learning and benevolence; and his doctrines were adopted by multitudes. The bishop of Lyons taking umbrage at the freedom with which he treated the pope and the Romish clergy, sent to admonish him to refrain in future from such discourses; but Waldo answered, "That he could not be silent in a cause of such importance as the salvation of men's souls; wherein he must obey God rather than man."

*Accusations of Peter Waldo against Popery.*

His principal accusations against the Roman Catholics were, that they affirm the church of Rome to be the only infallible church of Christ upon earth; and that the pope is its head, and the vicar of Christ; that they hold the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, insisting that the bread and wine given in the sacrament is the very identical body and blood of Christ which was nailed to the cross; that they believe there is a place called purgatory, where the souls of persons, after this life, are purged from the sins of mortality, and that the pains and penalties here inflicted may be abated according to the masses said by and the money paid to the priests; that they teach, the communion of one kind, or the receiving the wafer only, is sufficient for the lay people, though the clergy must be indulged with both bread and wine; that they pray to the Virgin Mary and saints, though their prayers ought to be immediately to God; that they pray for souls departed, though God decides their fate immediately on the decease of the person; that they will not perform the service of the church in a language understood by the people in general; that they place their devotion in the number of prayers, and not in the intent of the heart; that they forbid marriage to the clergy, though God allowed it; and that they use many things in baptism, though Christ used only water. When Pope Alexander the Third was informed of these transactions, he excommunicated Waldo and his adherents, and commanded the bishop of Lyons to exterminate them: thus began the papal persecutions against the Waldenses.

*Tenets of the Waldenses.*

1. That holy oil is not to be mingled in baptism.
2. That prayers used over things inanimate are superstitious.
3. Flesh may be eaten in Lent; the clergy may marry; and auricular confession is unnecessary.
4. Confirmation is no sacrament: we are not bound to pay obedience to the pope; ministers should live upon tithes; no dignity sets one clergyman above another, for their superiority can only be drawn from real worth.
5. Images in churches are absurd; image worship is idolatry; the pope's indulgences ridiculous; and the miracles pretended to be done by the church of Rome are false.
6. Fornication and public stews ought not to be allowed; purgatory is a fiction; and deceased persons, called saints, ought not to be prayed to.
7. Extreme unction is not a sacrament; and masses, indulgences, and prayers, are of no service to the dead.
8. The Lord's prayer ought to be the rule of all other prayers.

Waldo remained three years undiscovered in Lyons, though the utmost diligence was used to apprehend him; but at length he found an opportunity of escaping from the place of his concealment to the mountains of Dauphiny. He soon after found means to propagate his doctrines in Dauphiny and Picardy, which so exasperated Philip, king of France, that he put the latter province, which contained most of the sectaries, under military execution; destroying above 300 gentlemen's seats, erasing some walled towns, burning many of the reformed, and driving others into Flanders and Germany.

Notwithstanding these persecutions, the reformed religion seemed to flourish; and the Waldenses, in various parts, became more numerous than ever. At length the pope accused them of heresy, and the monks of immorality. These slanders they, however, refuted; but the pope, incensed at their increase, used all means for their extirpation; such as excommunications, anathemas, canons, constitutions, decrees, &c. by which they were rendered incapable of holding places of trust, honour, or profit; their lands were seized, their goods confiscated, and they were not permitted to be buried in consecrated ground. Some of the Waldenses having taken refuge in Spain, Aldephonsus, king of Aragon, at the instigation of the pope, published an edict, strictly ordering all Roman Catholics to persecute them wherever they could be found; and decreeing that all who gave them the least assistance should be deemed traitors.

The year after this edict, Aldephonsus was severely punished by the hand of Providence; for his son was defeated in a great battle, and 50,000 of his men slain, by which a considerable portion of his kingdom fell into the hand of the Moors.

The reformed ministers continued to preach boldly against the Romish church; and Peter Waldo, in particular, wherever he went, asserted, that the pope was antichrist, that mass was an abomination, that the host was an idol, and that purgatory was a fable.

#### *Origin of the Inquisition.*

These proceedings of Waldo, and his reformed companions, occasioned the origin of inquisitors; for Pope Innocent III. authorized certain monks inquisitors, to find and deliver over the reformed to the secular power. The monks, upon the least surmise or information, gave up the reformed to the magistrate, who delivered them to the executioner; for the process was short, as accusation supplied the place of evidence, and a fair trial was never granted to the accused.

#### *Cruelties of the Pope, and artifices of Dominic.*

When the pope found that these cruel means had not the desired effect, he determined to try others of a milder nature; he therefore sent several learned monks to preach amongst the Waldenses, and induce them to change their opinions. Among these monks was one Dominic, who appeared extremely zealous in the cause of popery. He instituted an order, which, from him, was called the order of Dominican friars; and the members of this order have ever since been the principal inquisitors in every country into which that horrible tribunal has been introduced. Their power was unlimited; they proceeded against whom they pleased, without any consideration of age, sex, or rank. However infamous the accusers, the accusation was deemed valid; and even anonymous informations were thought sufficient evidence. The dearest friends or kindred could not, without danger, serve any one who was imprisoned on account of religion; to convey to those who were confined a little straw, or give them a cup of water, was called favouring the heretics; no lawyer dared to plead even for his own brother, or notary register any thing in favour of the reformed. The malice of the papists, indeed, went beyond the grave, and the bones of many Waldenses, who had been long dead, were dug up and burnt. If a man on his death-bed were accused of being a follower of Waldo, his estates were confiscated, and the heir defrauded of his

inheritance ; and some were even obliged to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land, while the Dominicans took possession of their houses and property, which they refused to surrender to the owners upon their return.

*Prisons filled with Christians.*

A knight named Euraudus, being accused of embracing the opinions of Waldo, was burnt at Paris A. D. 1201. About 1228, such numbers of the reformed were apprehended, that the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, took compassion on them, and thus expressed themselves to the inquisitors : " We hear that you have apprehended such a number of Waldenses, that it is not only impossible to defray the charge of their food and confinement, but to provide lime and stone to build prisons for them."

*Avarice and Injustice of Boralli.*

In 1380, a monk inquisitor, named Francis Boralli, had a commission granted him by Pope Clement VII. to search for, and punish the Waldenses in Aix, Ambrune, Geneva, Savoy, Orange, Arles, Vienne, Avignon, &c. He went to Ambrune, and summoned all the inhabitants to appear before him : when those who were found to be of the reformed religion, were delivered over to the secular power, and burnt ; and those who did not appear, were excommunicated for contumacy, and had their effects confiscated. In the distribution of the effects, the clergy had two thirds of the property of all who were condemned, and the secular power one third. All the reformed inhabitants of the other places, named in the commission of this ecclesiastic, were equal sufferers.

*Persecutions in Dauphiny.*

In 1400, the Waldenses who resided in the valley of Pragela, were, at the instigation of some priests, suddenly attacked by a body of troops, who plundered their houses, murdered many, and drove others into the Alps, where great numbers were frozen to death, it being in the depth of winter. In 1460, a persecution was carried on in Dauphiny against the Waldenses, by the archbishop of Ambrune, who employed a monk, named John Vayleti, who proceeded with such violence, that not only the Waldenses, but even many papists, were sufferers : for if any of them expressed compassion or pity for the inoffensive people, they were accused of favouring the Waldenses, and punished. At length Vayleti's proceedings became so intolerable, that a great number of the papists themselves addressed a petition against him to Louis XI. king of France, who granted the request of the petitioners, and sent an order to the governor of Dauphiny to stop the persecution. Vayleti, however, by order of the archbishop, still continued it ; for, taking advantage of the last clause of the edict, he pretended that he did nothing contrary to the king's precept, who had ordered punishment to such as affirmed any thing against the holy catholic faith. This persecution at length concluded with the death of the archbishop, which happened in 1487.

*Attempts of the Pope to exterminate the Waldenses.*

Pope Innocent VIII. in 1488, determined to persecute the Waldenses. To this end he sent Albert de Capitaneis, archdeacon of Cremona, to France ; who, on arriving in Dauphiny, craved the assistance of



the king's lieutenant to exterminate the Waldenses from the valley of Loyse: the lieutenant readily granted his assistance, and marched a body of troops to the place; but when they arrived at the valley, they found that it had been deserted by the inhabitants, who had retired to the mountains, and hid themselves in caverns, &c. The archdeacon and lieutenant immediately followed them with the troops, and apprehending many, they cast them headlong from the precipices, by which they were dashed to pieces. Several, however, retired to the innermost parts of the caverns, and knowing the intricacies, were able to conceal themselves. The archdeacon and lieutenant, not being able to come at them, ordered the mouths of the caves to be filled with faggots, which being lighted, those within were suffocated. On searching the caves, 400 infants were found smothered, either in their cradles or in their mother's arms; and, upon the whole, about 3000 men, women, and children, were destroyed in this persecution.

After this tragical work, the lieutenant and archdeacon proceeded with the troops to Pragela and Frassanier, in order to persecute the Waldenses in those parts. But these having heard of the fate of their brethren in the valley of Loyse, thought proper to arm themselves; and by fortifying the different passes, and bravely disputing the passages through them, they so harrassed the troops, that the lieutenant was compelled to retire without effecting his purpose.

*The King of France favours the Waldenses.*

In 1494, Anthony Fabri and Christopher de Salence, having a commission to persecute the Waldenses of Dauphiny, put some to death, sequestered the estates of others, and confiscated the goods of many; but Louis XII. coming to the crown in 1498, the Waldenses petitioned him for a restitution of their property. The king determined to have the affair impartially canvassed, and sent a commissioner of his own, together with a commissary from the Pope, to make proper inquiries. The witnesses against the Waldenses having been examined, the innocence of these poor people evidently appeared, and the king's commissioner declared, "That he only desired to be as good a Christian as the worst of them." When this favourable report was made to the king, he immediately gave orders that the Waldenses should have their property restored to them. The archbishop of Ambrune, having the greatest quantity of these poor people's goods, it was generally imagined that he would set a laudable example to others, by being the first to restore them. The archbishop, however, declared that he would not restore any of the property, for it was incorporated with, and become part of his archbishopric. He, however, with an affectation of candour, offered to relinquish several vineyards, of which he had dispossessed the Waldenses, provided the lords of Dauphiny would restore all they had taken from those poor people; but this the lords absolutely refused, being as desirous of keeping their plunder as the archbishop himself.

The Waldenses finding that they were not likely to recover any of their property, again appealed to the king; and the monarch having attended to their complaints, wrote to the archbishop; but that artful and avaricious prelate replied, "That at the commencement of the persecution, the Waldenses had been excommunicated by the Pope, in consequence of which their goods were distrained; therefore, till

the sentence of excommunication was taken off, which had occasioned them to be seized, they could not be restored with propriety." This plea was allowed to be reasonable; and the application was ineffectually made to the Pope to remove the sentence of excommunication; for the archbishop, supposing this would be the case, had used all his interest at Rome to prevent the application from succeeding.

*Progress of the Waldenses.*

At length this sect, having spread from Dauphiny into several other provinces, became very numerous in Provence. At their first arrival, Provence was almost a desert, but by their great industry, it soon abounded with corn, wine, oil, fruit, &c. The pope, by being often near them, at his seat at Avignon, heard occasionally many things concerning their differing from the church of Rome, which greatly exasperated him, and he determined to persecute them. Proceeding to some extremities, under the sanction of his ecclesiastical authority only, without consulting the king of France, the latter became alarmed, and sent his master of requests and his confessor to examine into the affair. On their return they reported that the Waldenses were not such dangerous or bad people as they had been represented; that they lived with perfect honesty, were friendly to all, caused their children to be baptised, had them taught the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments; expounded the scriptures with purity, kept the Lord's day sacred, feared God, honoured the king, and wished well to the state. "Then," said the king, "they are much better Christians than myself or my catholic subjects, and therefore they shall not be persecuted." He was as good as his word, and sent orders to stop the persecution.

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### SECTION III.

#### PERSECUTIONS OF THE ALBIGENSES.

The Albigenses were people of the reformed religion, who inhabited the country of Albi. They were condemned on account of religion, in the council of the Lateran, by order of Pope Alexander III.; but they increased so prodigiously, that many cities were inhabited by persons only of their persuasion, and several eminent noblemen embraced their doctrines. Among the latter were Raymond, earl of Toulouse, Raymond, earl of Foix, the earl of Beziers, &c. The Pope, at length, pretended that he wished to draw them to the Romish faith by sound argument and clear reasoning, and for this end ordered a general disputation; in which, however, the popish doctors were entirely overcome by the arguments of Arnold, a reformed clergyman, whose reasonings were so strong, that they were compelled to confess their force.

*Persecution of the earl of Toulouse.*

A friar, named Peter, having been murdered in the dominions of the earl of Toulouse, the Pope made the murder a pretence to persecute that nobleman and his subjects. He sent persons throughout all

Europe, in order to raise forces to act coercively against the Albigenses, and promised paradise to all who would assist in this war, (which he termed holy,) and bear arms for forty days. The same indulgences were held out to all who entered for this purpose, as to such as engaged in crusades to the Holy Land. The pope likewise sent orders to all archbishops, bishops, &c. to excommunicate the earl of Toulouse every Sabbath and festival; at the same time absolving all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance to him, and commanding them to pursue his person, possess his lands, destroy his property, and murder such of his subjects as continued faithful to him. The earl of Toulouse, hearing of these mighty preparations against him, wrote to the pope in a very candid manner, desiring not to be condemned unheard, and assuring him that he had not the least hand in Peter's death: for that friar was killed by a gentleman, who, immediately after the murder, fled out of his territories. But the pope, being determined on his destruction, was resolved not to hear his defence: and a formidable army, with several noblemen and prelates at the head of it, began its march against the Albigenses. The earl had only the alternative to oppose force by force, or submit: and as he despaired of success in attempting the former, he determined on the latter. The pope's legate being at Valence, the earl repaired thither, and said, "He was surprised that such a number of armed men should be sent against him, before the least proof of his guilt had been deduced. He therefore came voluntarily to surrender himself, armed only with the testimony of a good conscience, and hoped that the troops would be prevented from plundering his innocent subjects, as he thought himself a sufficient pledge for any vengeance they chose to take on account of the death of the friar." The legate replied, that he was very glad the earl had voluntarily surrendered: but, with respect to the proposal, he could not pretend to countermand the orders to the troops, unless he would consent to deliver up seven of his best fortified castles as securities for his future behaviour. At this demand the earl perceived his error in submitting, but it was too late; he knew himself to be a prisoner, and therefore sent an order for the delivery of the castles. The pope's legate had no sooner garrisoned these places, than he ordered the respective governors to appear before him. When they came, he said, "That the earl of Toulouse having delivered up his castles to the pope, they must consider that they were now the pope's subjects, and not the earl's; and that they must therefore act conformably to their new allegiance." The governors were greatly astonished to see their lord thus in chains, and themselves compelled to act in a manner so contrary to their inclinations and consciences. But the subsequent treatment of the earl afflicted them still more; for he was stripped nearly naked, led nine times round the grave of friar Peter, and severely scourged before all the people. Not content with this, the legate obliged him to swear that he would be obedient to the pope during the remainder of his life, conform to the church of Rome, and make irreconcilable war against the Albigenses; and even ordered him, by the oaths he had newly taken, to join the troops, and inspect the siege of Beziers. But thinking this too hard an injunction, he took an opportunity privately to quit the army, and determined to go to the pope and relate the ill usage he had received.

*Siege of Beziers.*

The army, however, proceeded to besiege Beziers; and the earl of Beziers, who was governor of that city, thinking it impossible to defend the place, came out, and presenting himself before the legate, implored mercy for the inhabitants; intimating, that there were as many Roman catholics as Albigenses in that city. The legate replied, that all excuses were useless; the place must be delivered up at discretion, or the most dreadful consequences would ensue.

The earl of Beziers returning into the city, told the inhabitants he could obtain no mercy, unless the Albigenses would abjure their religion, and conform to the worship of the church of Rome. The Roman catholics pressed the Albigenses to comply with his request; but the Albigenses nobly answered, that they would not forsake their religion for the base price of their frail life: that God was able, if he pleased, to defend them: but if he would be glorified by the confession of their faith, it would be a great honour to them to die for his sake. They added, that they had rather displease the pope, who could but kill their bodies, than God, who could cast both body and soul into hell. On this the popish party, finding their importunities ineffectual, sent their bishop to the legate, beseeching him not to include them in the chastisement of the Albigenses; and representing, that the best means to win the latter over to the Roman catholic persuasion, was by gentleness, and not by rigour. The legate, upon hearing this, flew into a violent passion with the bishop, and declared that, "If all the city did not acknowledge their fault, they should taste of one curse without distinction of religion, sex, or age."

*Horrid Cruelties on taking the Town.*

The inhabitants refusing to yield upon such terms, a general assault was made, and the place taken by storm, when every cruelty that barbarous superstition could devise was practised; nothing was to be heard, but the groans of men, who lay weltering in their blood, the lamentations of mothers, who, after being violated by the soldiery, had their children taken from them, and dashed to pieces before their faces. The city being fired in various parts, new scenes of confusion arose; in several places the streets were streaming with blood. Those who hid themselves in their dwellings, had only the dreadful alternative to remain and perish in the flames, or rush out and fall by the swords of the soldiers. The bloody legate, during these infernal proceedings, enjoyed the carnage, and even cried out to the troops, "Kill them, kill them all; kill man, woman, and child; kill Roman Catholics as well as Albigenses, for when they are dead the Lord knows how to pick out his own." Thus the beautiful city of Beziers was reduced to a heap of ruins; and 60,000 persons were murdered.

*Courage of the Earl of Beziers.*

The earl of Beziers and a few others made their escape, and went to Carcasson, which they endeavoured to put in the best posture of defence. The legate, not willing to lose an opportunity of spilling blood during the forty days which the troops were to serve, led them immediately against Carcasson. As soon as the place was invested, a furious assault was given, but the besiegers were repulsed with great slaughter; and upon this occasion the earl of Beziers gave the most

distinguished proof of his courage, saying, to encourage the besieged, "We had better die fighting than fall into the hands of such bigotted and bloody enemies."

Two miles from the city of Carcasson there was a small town of the same name, which the Albigenses had likewise fortified. The legate, being enraged at the repulse he had received from the city of Carcasson, determined to wreak his vengeance upon the town: the next morning he made a general assault; and, though the place was bravely defended, he took it by storm, put all within it to the sword, and then burnt the town.

During these transactions the king of Arragon arrived at the camp, and, after paying his obedience to the legate, told him, he understood the earl of Bezieres, his kinsman, was in the city of Carcasson, and that, if he would grant him permission, he would go thither and endeavour to make him sensible of the duty he owed to the pope and church: the legate acquiescing, the king repaired to the earl, and asked him from what motives he shut himself up in that city against so great an army. The earl answered, it was to defend his life, goods, and subjects: that he knew the pope, under the pretence of religion, resolved to destroy his uncle, the earl of Toulouse, and himself; that he saw the cruelty which they had used at Bezieres, even against the priests; and at the town of Carcasson; and that they must look for no mercy from the legate, or his army; he, therefore, rather chose to die, defending himself and his subjects, than fall into the hands of so inexorable an enemy as the legate; that though he had in his city some that were of another religion, yet they were such as had not wronged any, were come to his succour in his greatest extremity, and for their good service he was resolved not to abandon them; that his trust was in God, the defender of the oppressed; and that he would assist them against those ill advised men who forsook their own homes, to burn, ravage, and murder, without reason, judgment, or mercy.

*Infamous Treachery of the Legate.*

The king reported to the legate what the earl had said: the legate, after considering for some time, replied, "For your sake, sir, I will receive the earl of Bezieres to mercy, and with him twelve others shall be safe, and be permitted to retire with their property; but as for the rest, I am determined to have them at my discretion." This answer displeased the king; and when the earl heard it, he absolutely refused to comply with such terms. The legate then commanded another assault, but his troops were again repulsed with great slaughter, and the dead bodies occasioned a stench that was exceedingly offensive both to the besieged and the besiegers. The legate, vexed and alarmed at this second disappointment, determined to act by stratagem. He, therefore, sent a person, well skilled in dissimulation and artifice, to the earl of Bezieres, with a seeming friendly message. The design was, by any means, to induce the earl to leave the city, in order to have an interview with the legate; and to this end the messenger was to promise, or swear, whatever he thought proper; for, said the legate, "swear to what falsehoods you will in such a cause, I will give you absolution."

This infamous plot succeeded: for the earl, believing the promises made him of personal security, and crediting the solemn oaths that

the perjured agent swore upon the occasion, left the city, and went with him. The legate no sooner saw him, than he told him he was a prisoner, and must remain so till Carcasson was surrendered, and the inhabitants taught their duty to the pope. The earl, on hearing this, cried out that he was betrayed, and exclaimed against the treachery of the legate, and the perjury of the person he had employed. But he was ordered into close confinement, and the place summoned to surrender immediately.

The people, on hearing the captivity of the earl, were thrown into the utmost consternation, when one of the citizens informed the rest, that he had been formerly told by some old men, that there was a very capacious subterraneous passage, which led from thence to the castle of Camaret, at three leagues distance. "If," continued he, "we can find this passage, we may all escape before the legate can be apprized of our flight." This information was joyfully received; all were employed to search for the passage; and, at length, it was discovered. Early in the evening the inhabitants began their flight, taking with them their wives, children, a few days' provisions, and such property as was most valuable and portable. They reached the castle by the morning, and escaped to Arragon, Catalonia, and such other places as they thought would secure them from the power of the sanguinary legate.

Next morning the troops were astonished, not hearing any noise, nor seeing any man stir in the city; yet they approached the walls with much fear, lest it should be but a stratagem to endanger them; but finding no opposition, they mounted the walls, crying out, that the Albigenses were fled; and thus was the city, with all the spoils, taken, and the earl of Bezieres committed to prison in one of the strongest towers of the castle, where he soon after died.

The legate now called all the prelates and great lords of his army together, telling them, that though it was requisite there should be always a legate in the army, yet it was likewise necessary that there should be always a secular general, wise and valiant, to command in all their affairs, &c. This charge was first offered to the Duke of Burgogne, then to the earl of Ennevers, and, thirdly, to the earl of St. Paul; but they all refused it. At length it was offered to Simon, earl of Montfort, who, after some excuses, accepted of it. Four thousand men were left to garrison Carcasson, and the deceased earl of Bezieres was succeeded, in title and dignity, by Earl Simon, a bigoted Roman Catholic, who threatened vengeance on the Albigenses, unless they conformed to the worship of the church of Rome. But the king of Arragon, who was in his heart of the reformed persuasion, secretly encouraged the Albigenses, and gave them hopes, that if they acted with prudence, they might cast off the yoke of the tyrannical Earl Simon. They took his advice, and while Simon was gone to Montpellier, they surprised some of his fortresses, and were successful in several expeditions against his officers.

#### *Conduct of Simon.*

These proceedings so enraged Simon, that, returning from Montpellier, he collected together some forces, marched against the Albigenses, and ordered every prisoner he took to be immediately burnt; but not succeeding in some of his enterprises, he grew disheartened,

and wrote to every Roman Catholic power in Europe to send him assistance, otherwise he should not be able to hold out against the Albigenses. He soon received some succours, with which he attacked the castle of Beron, and making himself master of it, ordered the eyes to be put out, and the noses to be cut off, of all the garrison, one person alone excepted, who was deprived of one eye only, that he might conduct the rest to Cabaret. He then undertook the siege of Menerbe, which, on account of the want of water, was obliged to yield to him. The lord of Termes, the governor, was put in prison, where he died; his wife, sister, daughter, and 180 others, were committed to the flames. Many other castles surrendered to the forces of this monster, and the inhabitants were butchered in a manner equally barbarous.

*Earl of Toulouse excommunicated.*

In the mean time the earl of Toulouse, by means of letters of recommendation from the king of France, was reconciled to the pope: at least the pope pretended to give him remission for the death of Friar Peter, and to absolve him from all other crimes he had committed. But the legate, by the connivance of the pope, did all he could to ruin the earl. Some altercations having passed between them, the legate excommunicated the earl; and the bishop of Toulouse, upon this encouragement, sent this impudent message to the earl, "That as he was an excommunicated person, he commanded him to depart the city; for an ecclesiastic could not say mass with propriety, while a person of such a description was so near him."

Being greatly exasperated at the bishop's insolence, the earl sent him an order immediately to depart from the place on pain of death. This order was all the prelate wanted, as it would give him some reason to complain of his lord. The bishop, with the canons of the cathedral church, marched out of the city in solemn procession, barefooted and bareheaded, taking with them the cross, banner, host, &c. and proceeded in that manner to the legate's army, where they were received with great respect as persecuted saints; and the legate thought this a sufficient excuse to proceed against the earl of Toulouse for having, as he termed it, relapsed from the truth. He attempted to get the earl into his power by stratagem, but the latter being apprized of his design, escaped. The legate, enraged at this disappointment, laid siege to the castle of Montferrand, which belonged to the earl, and was governed by Baldwin his brother. On the first summons, Baldwin not only surrendered, but abjured his religion, and turned papist. This event, which severely afflicted the earl, was followed by another that gave him still greater mortification; for his old friend, the king of Arragon, forsook his interest; and agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Earl Simon's eldest son:—the legate's troops were then joined by the forces of Arragon, and those belonging to Earl Simon, on which they jointly laid siege to Toulouse.

*Successes of the Albigenses.*

Nevertheless, the earl determined to interrupt the besiegers by frequent sallies. In the first attempt he met with a severe repulse; but in the second he took Simon's son prisoner, and in the third he unhorsed Simon himself. After several furious assaults given by the popish army, and some successful sallies of the Albigenses, the earl of

Toulouse compelled his enemies to raise the siege. In their retreat they did much mischief in the countries through which they passed, and put many defenceless Albigenes to death.

The earl of Toulouse now did all he could to recover the friendship of the king of Arragon; and as the marriage ceremony between that monarch's daughter, and Simon's son, had not been performed, he entreated him to break off that match, and proposed another more proper, viz. that his own eldest son and heir should wed the princess of Arragon, and that by this match their friendship should be again united, and more firmly cemented. His majesty was easily persuaded not only to agree to this proposal, but to form a league with the principal Albigenes, and to put himself as captain-general at the head of their united forces, consisting of his own people, and of the troops of the earls of Toulouse, Foix, and Comminges. The papists were greatly alarmed at these proceedings; Simon sent to all parts of Europe, to engage the assistance of the Roman Catholic powers, and the pope's legate began hostilities by entering the dominions of the earl of Foix, and committing the most cruel depredations.

As soon as the army of Albigenes was ready, the king of Arragon began his operations by laying siege to Murat, a strongly fortified town near Toulouse, belonging to the Roman Catholics. Earl Simon, by forced marches, came to the assistance of the place, at a time when the king of Arragon, who kept very little discipline in his army, was feasting and revelling. Simon suddenly attacked the Albigenes, while they were in confusion, when the united forces of the reformed were defeated, and the king of Arragon was killed. The loss of this battle was imputed to the negligence of the king, who would have as much entertainment in a camp, as if he had been securely at peace in his capital. This victory made the popish commanders declare they would entirely extirpate the whole race of the Albigenes; and Simon sent an insolent message to the earls of Toulouse, Foix, and Comminges, to deliver to him all the castles and fortresses of which they were possessed. Those noblemen, instead of answering the demand, retired to their respective territories, to put them into the best posture of resistance.

#### *Surrender of Toulouse.*

Soon after, Simon marched towards the city of Toulouse, when the earl of Toulouse, who had retired to Montalban, sent word to the citizens to make the best terms they could with the Roman Catholics, as he was confident they could not hold out a siege; but he recommended them to preserve their hearts for him, though they surrendered their persons to another. The citizens of Toulouse, upon receiving this intimation, sent deputies to Simon, with offers of immediate surrender, provided the city itself, and the persons and properties of its inhabitants, should be protected from devastation. These conditions were agreed to, and Simon, in order to ingratiate himself at court, wrote a letter to Prince Louis, the son of Philip, king of France, informing him that the city of Toulouse had offered to surrender to him; but being willing that the prince should have the honour of receiving the keys, and the homage of the people, he begged that he would repair to the camp for that purpose. The prince, pleased with the invitation, went directly to the army, and had the city of Toulouse surren-



dered to him in form. The pope's legate, however, was greatly displeased at the mild conditions granted to the people, and insisted, that though the prince might take upon him the sovereignty of the place, and receive the homage of the people, yet the plunder belonged to the *holy pilgrims*, (for so the popish soldiers employed in these expeditions were called;) and that the place, as a receptacle of heretics, ought to be dismantled. The prince and Earl Simon in vain remonstrated against proceedings so contrary to the conditions granted at the surrender: the legate was peremptory, when Earl Simon and the prince, unwilling to come to an open rupture with him, gave up the point. The legate immediately set his holy pilgrims to work, when they presently dismantled the city, and plundered the inhabitants of all their property, in defiance of the security granted to them by the articles of the surrender.

#### *Dispute between the Legate and the Prince.*

Now the legate finding that among the Albigenses were many lucrative places which would fall to the disposal of the prince, determined, by an artifice, to deprive him of any advantage which might accrue from them; to this end, he gave absolution to the Albigenses, which, though they had not in the least changed their religious opinions, he called reconciling them to the church. The prince, not apprised of this stratagem, was about to give his officers possession of some places of profit: when, to his great astonishment, the legate informed him, that he had no power to dispose of those places. The prince demanded an explanation of his meaning. "My meaning," replied the legate, "is, that the people have received absolution, and being reconciled to, are consequently under the protection of the church; therefore, all places among, or connected with them, are in the disposal of the church only."

The prince, offended at this mode of reasoning, and highly displeased at the meanness of the subterfuge, nevertheless thought proper to dissemble his resentment. But being determined to quit the legate, he put the troops that were under his command in motion, and marched to attack some other fortresses; but he found, wherever he came, that the legate had played the same trick, and plainly perceived, if he continued his military operations, that when unsuccessful, he should bear all the blame, and when successful, the legate would steal all the profit; he therefore left the army in disgust, and returned to court.

#### *Defeat of Earl Simon.*

On this, Earl Simon, with his own forces, those the prince had just quitted, and some other auxiliaries, undertook the siege of Foix, being chiefly provoked to it by the death of his brother, who was slain by the earl of Foix. He lay before the castle of Foix for ten days, during which time he frequently assaulted it, but was as often repulsed. Hearing that an army of Arragonese were in full march towards him, in order to revenge the death of their king, he raised the siege, and went to meet them. The earl of Foix immediately sallied out and harrassed his rear, and the Arragonese attacking his front, gave him a total defeat, which compelled him to shut himself up in Carcasson.

Soon afterwards, the pope's legate called a council at Montpellier,

for renewing the military operations against the Albigenses, and for doing proper honour to Earl Simon, who was present; for the Arragonese, not taking advantage of their victory, had neglected to block up Carcasson, by which omission Simon had an opportunity of repairing to Montpellier. On meeting the council, the legate, in the pope's name, paid many compliments to Simon, and declared, that he should be prince of all the countries that might in future be taken from the Albigenses: at the same time, by order of the pontiff, he styled him "the active and dexterous soldier of Jesus Christ, and the invincible defender of the Catholic faith." But just as the earl was about to return thanks for these great honours and fine encomiums, a messenger brought word that the people having heard Earl Simon was in the council, had taken up arms, and were coming thither to destroy him as a common disturber. This intelligence threw the whole council into great confusion; and Earl Simon, though a minute before styled an *invincible* defender of the faith, jumped out of the window, and stole away from the city.

#### *Council of Lateran.*

The disputes becoming serious, according to the opinion of the papists, the pope himself soon after called a council, to be held at Lateran, in which great powers were granted to Roman Catholic inquisitors, and many Albigenses were immediately put to death. This council of Lateran likewise confirmed to Earl Simon all the honours intended him by the council of Montpellier, and empowered him to raise another army against the Albigenses. Earl Simon immediately repaired to court, received his investiture from the French king, and began to levy forces. Having now a considerable number of troops, he determined, if possible, to exterminate the Albigenses, when he received advice, that his countess was besieged in Narbonne by the earl of Toulouse. He proceeded to the relief of his wife, when the Albigenses met him, gave him battle, and defeated him; but he found means to escape and get into the castle of Narbonne.

#### *Recovery of Toulouse by the Albigenses.*

After this, Toulouse was recovered by the Albigenses; but the pope espousing Earl Simon's cause, raised forces for him, and enabled him once more to undertake the siege of that city. The earl assaulted the place furiously, but being repulsed with great loss, he seemed sunk in affliction: when the pope's legate said, to comfort him, "Fear nothing, my lord, make another vigorous attack; let us by any means recover the city, and destroy the inhabitants; and those of our men who are slain in the fight, I will assure you, shall immediately pass into paradise." One of the earl's principal officers, on hearing this, said with a sneer, "Monsieur cardinal, you talk with great assurance; but if the earl believes you, he will, as heretofore, pay dearly for his confidence." Earl Simon, however, took the legate's advice, made another assault, and was again repulsed. To complete his misfortune, before the troops could recover from their confusion, the earl of Foix made his appearance at the head of a formidable body of forces, attacked the already dispirited army of Earl Simon, and easily put them to the route; when the earl himself narrowly escaped drowning in the Garonne, into which he had hastily plunged, in order to avoid being captured. This miscarriage almost broke his heart; but the

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*Peter Wadto appealing to the Bible.* Page 84.



*Cruelties practised in France.* Page 98-99.



*Inquisition in Spain.* Page 104.

pope's legate continued to encourage him, and offered to raise another army, which promise, with some difficulty, and three years delay, he at length performed, and that bigoted nobleman was once more enabled to take the field. On this occasion he turned his whole force against Toulouse, which he besieged for the space of nine months, when in one of the sallies made by the besieged, his horse was wounded. The animal being in great anguish, ran away with him, and bore him directly under the ramparts of the city, when an archer shot him in the thigh with an arrow; and a woman immediately after throwing a large stone from the wall, it struck him upon the head, and killed him; thus were the Albigenses, like the Israelites, delivered by the hand of a woman; and thus this atrocious monster, who had so long persecuted the people of God, was at length himself slain by one of those whom he had intended to have slaughtered if he had been successful. The siege was raised; but the legate, enraged to be disappointed of his vengeance on the inhabitants, engaged the king of France in the cause, who sent his son to besiege it. The French prince, with some chosen troops, furiously assaulted Toulouse; but meeting with a severe repulse, he abandoned that city to besiege Mirmand. This place he soon took by storm, and put to the sword all the inhabitants, consisting of 5000 men, women, and children.

The bloodthirsty legate, whose name was Bertrand, being very old, grew weary of following the army; but his passion for murder still remained, as appears by his epistle to the pope, in which he begs to be recalled on account of age and infirmities; but entreats the pontiff to appoint a successor, who might carry on the war, as he had done, with spirit and perseverance. In consequence, the pope recalled Bertrand, and appointed Conrade, bishop of Portua, to be legate in his room. The latter determined to follow the steps of his predecessor, and to persecute the Albigenses with the greatest severity. Guido, earl of Montfort, the son and heir of Earl Simon, undertook the command of the troops, and immediately laid siege to Toulouse, before the walls of which he was killed. His brother Almeric succeeded to the command, but the bravery of the garrison soon obliged him to raise the siege. On this the legate prevailed upon the king of France to undertake the siege of Toulouse in person, and reduce to the obedience of the church those obstinate heretics, as he called the brave Albigenses. The earl of Toulouse, hearing of the great preparations made by the king of France, sent the women, children, cattle, &c. into secret and secure places in the mountains, ploughed up the land, that the king's forces should not obtain any forage, and did all that a skilful general could perform to distress the enemy. By these wise regulations, the French army, soon after entering the earldom of Toulouse, suffered all the extremities of famine, which obliged the troops to feed on the carcasses of horses, dogs, cats, &c. which unwholesome food produced the plague. The king died of grief; but his son, who succeeded him, determined to carry on the war; he was, however, defeated in three engagements, by the earl of Toulouse. The king, the queen-mother, and three archbishops, again raised a formidable army, and had the art to persuade the earl of Toulouse to come to a conference, when he was treacherously seized upon, made a prisoner, forced to appear barefooted and bareheaded before his enemies, and compelled to subscribe the following ignominious condi-

tions: 1. That he should abjure the faith that he had hitherto defended. 2. That he should be subject to the church of Rome. 3. That he should give his daughter Joan in marriage to one of the brothers of the king of France. 4. That he should maintain in Toulouse six popish professors of the liberal arts, and two grammarians. 5. That he should take upon him the cross, and serve five years against the Saracens in the Holy Land. 6. That he should level the walls of Toulouse with the ground. 7. That he should destroy the walls and fortifications of thirty of his other cities and castles, as the legate should direct. 8. That he should remain prisoner at Paris till his daughter was delivered to the king's commissioners. After these cruel conditions, a severe persecution took place against the Albigenes, many of whom suffered for the faith: and express orders were issued, that *the laity should not be permitted to read the sacred writings!*

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#### SECTION IV.

##### PERSECUTIONS IN FRANCE, PREVIOUS TO, AND DURING THE CIVIL WARS OF THAT NATION.

In the year 1524, at a town in France called Melden, one John Clark affixed a bill on the church door, in which he called the pope Antichrist: for this offence he was repeatedly whipped, and then branded in the forehead. His mother, who saw the chastisement, cried with a loud voice, "Blessed be Christ, and welcome these marks for his sake." He went afterwards to Metz, in Lorraine, and demolished some images, for which he had his right hand and nose cut off, and his arms and breast torn by pincers; while suffering these cruelties, he sang the 115th psalm, which expressly forbids superstition. On concluding the psalm, he was thrown into the fire and burnt to ashes.

About the same time several persons of the reformed persuasion were beaten, racked, scourged, and burnt to death, in several parts of France; but particularly at Paris, Limosin, and Malda.

A native of Malda was burnt by a slow fire for saying that mass was a plain denial of the death and passion of Christ. At Limosin, John de Cadurco, a clergyman of the reformed religion, was apprehended, degraded, and ordered to be burnt. When under examination, a friar undertook to preach a sermon upon the occasion; when opening the New Testament, he pitched upon this text, in the first epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, chap. iv. ver. 1. "Now the spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils." The friar began to expound this verse in favour of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and in condemnation of the reformed religion, when John de Cadurco begged, that before he proceeded in his sermon, he would read the two verses which followed his text:—the friar again opened the Testament, but on casting his eye on the passage, he appeared confounded. Cadurco then desired that the book might be handed to him; this request being complied with, he read thus, "Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God

hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth." The Roman Catholics, irritated at this exposure, condemned him to the flames.

At Paris, Alexander Kanus, a clergyman, was burnt in a slow fire; and four men were committed to the flames for distributing papers which ridiculed the saying of mass. One had his tongue bored through for ridiculing the Romish superstitions. Peter Gaudet, a Genoese, was burnt on the accusation of his own uncle, a bigoted Roman Catholic; and John Pointer, a surgeon, had his tongue cut out, and was then burnt.

#### *Martyrdom at Arras, &c.*

At Arras, Fontanis, and Rutiers, many were martyred for being of the reformed religion; at the latter place, in particular, one Stephen Brune was condemned to be burnt for refusing to attend mass. When the fire was kindled, the flames were driven from him by a brisk wind, which occasioned the executioner to heap more faggots round him, and pour oil on them. Still, however, the wind blew the flames in a contrary direction, when the executioner was absurdly enraged with Brune, and struck him on the head; but Brune, very calmly said, "As I am condemned only to be burnt, why do you strike me like a dog?" This expression so greatly enraged the executioner, that he ran him through with a pike, and then burnt the lifeless body.

Aymond de Lavoy, a minister of Bourdeaux, had a complaint lodged against him by the Romish clergy of that city. His friends advised him to abscond, but he refused. He remained nine months in prison. Being then brought to trial, he was ordered to be racked; and when in the extremity of torture, he comforted himself with this expression: "This body must once die, but the soul shall live; for the kingdom of God endureth for ever." At length he swooned; but on recovering, he prayed for his persecutors. The question was then put to him, whether he would embrace the Roman Catholic persuasion; which positively refusing, he was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution he said, "O Lord, make haste to help me; tarry not; despise not the work of thy hands." And perceiving some who used to attend his sermons, he addressed them thus: "My friends, I exhort you to study and learn the gospel; for the word of God abideth forever:—labour to know the will of God, and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power over the soul." The executioner then strangled him, and burnt his body afterwards.

Husson, an apothecary of Blois, went to Rouen, and there privately distributed several small pamphlets, explaining the tenets of the reformed church, and exposing the Romish superstitions. These books gave a general alarm, and a council being called, an order was issued for search to be made for the author and distributor. It was discovered that Husson had brought them to Rouen, and that he had gone to Dieppe, and orders were given to pursue him. He was brought back to Rouen, where he confessed he was both author and distributor of the books. This occasioned his condemnation, and he was executed in the following manner: his tongue being cut out, his hands and feet were tied behind, and he was drawn up by a pulley to a gibbet, and then let down into a fire kindled beneath; in which situation he called upon the Lord, and soon breathed his last.

Francis Bribard, secretary to cardinal de Bellay, for speaking in favour of the reformed, had his tongue cut out, and was burnt, A. D. 1544. James Cobard, a schoolmaster in the city of St. Michael, was burnt, A. D. 1545, for saying the mass was useless and absurd; and about the same time, fourteen men were burnt at Malda, their wives being compelled to behold their martyrdom.

Peter Chapot brought a number of Bibles in the French tongue to France, and publicly sold them there in the year 1546, for which he was condemned to be burnt; as, soon after, were a cripple of Meaux, a schoolmaster of Fera, named Stephen Polliot, and a man named John English.

#### *Numerous Martyrdoms.*

Michael Michelot being told either to recant and be beheaded, or to persevere and be burned, chose the latter, making use of these words: "God has given me grace not to deny the truth, and will give me strength to endure the fire." About the same time many were burnt at Paris, Bar, &c.; and at Langres five men and two women suffered for being of the reformed religion; when the youngest women encouraged the other, saying, "This day shall we be married to Jesus Christ, and be with him for ever."

Monsieur Blondel, a rich jeweller, was, in 1549, apprehended at Lyons, and sent to Paris, where he suffered death for the faith. Hubert, a youth of nineteen years of age, was committed to the flames at Dijon; as was Florent Venote, at the same time.

A lady, named Ann Audebert, who designed, on account of her faith, to retire to Geneva, was seized and sent to Paris. She was led to execution by a rope placed round her waist. This rope she called her wedding girdle; and said, "I was once married to a man on a Saturday, and now I shall be married to God on the same day of the week."

Shortly after the coronation of Henry the Second, a tailor was apprehended for working on a saint's day; being asked why he gave such an offence to religion, his reply was, "I am a poor man, and have nothing but my labour to depend upon; necessity requires that I should be industrious, and my conscience tells me there is no day but the Sabbath which I ought to keep sacred from labour. Having expressed himself thus, he was committed to prison, and the affair being soon after runoured at court, some of the nobles persuaded the king to be present at the trial. On the day appointed, the monarch appeared in a superb chair of state, and the bishop of Maseon was ordered to interrogate the prisoner. The tailor, on perceiving the king, paid his obedience to him in the most respectful manner. The king was much affected with his arguments, and seemed to muse; on which the bishop exclaimed, "He is an obstinate and impudent heretic; let him be taken back to prison and burnt to death." The prisoner was accordingly conveyed to prison; and the bishop artfully insinuated, that the heretics, as he called the reformed, had many specious arguments, which at first hearing, appeared conclusive; but on examination, they were found to be false. He then endeavoured to persuade the king to be present at the execution, who at length consented, and repaired to a balcony which overlooked the place. On seeing the king, the tailor fixed his eyes steadfastly upon him, and even while the flames were consuming him, kept gazing in such a manner, as threw the monarch



into visible confusion, and obliged him to retire before the martyr was dead. He was so much shocked, that he could not recover his spirits for some time; and what added to his disquiet was, his continually dreaming, for many nights, that he saw the tailor with his eyes fixed upon him, in the same manner as during the execution.

A pious man, named Claudius, was burnt at Orleans; a Genoese youth, called Thomas, having rebuked a Roman Catholic for profanely swearing, was informed against as a heretic, and burnt at Paris; as were three men at Lyons, two of them with ropes about their necks; but the third, having been an officer in the king's service, was exempted from that disgrace. He, however, begged to be treated in the same manner as his companions, in honour of the Lord: his request was complied with; and after having sung a psalm with great fervency, they were all consumed.

A citizen of Geneva, Simon Laloe, Matthew Dimonet, a converted libertine, and Nicholas Naile, a bookseller of Paris, were burnt for professing the reformed religion. Peter Serre was originally a priest, but reflecting on the errors of popery, he, at length, embraced the reformed religion, and learned the trade of a shoemaker. Having a brother at Toulouse, who was a bigoted Roman Catholic, Serre, out of fraternal love, made a journey to that city, in order to dissuade him from his superstitions: the brother's wife not approving of his design, lodged a complaint against him, on which he was apprehended, and made a full declaration of his faith. The judge asked him concerning his occupation, to which he replied, "I have of late practised the trade of a shoemaker." "Of late!" said the Judge, "and what did you practise formerly?" "That I am almost ashamed to tell you," exclaimed Serre, "because it was the vilest and most wicked occupation imaginable." The judge, and all who were present, from these words, supposed he had been a murderer or thief, and that what he spoke was through contrition. He was, however, ordered to explain precisely what he meant; when, with tears in his eyes, he exclaimed, "O, I was formerly a POPISH PRIEST!" This reply so much exasperated the judge, that he condemned Serre to be first degraded, then to have his tongue cut, and afterwards to be burnt.

In 1554, two men of the reformed religion, with the son and daughter of one of them, were committed to the castle of Niverne. On examination they confessed their faith, and were ordered for execution; they were first smeared with grease, brimstone, and gunpowder; their tongues were then cut out, and they were afterwards committed to the flames.

Philip Hamlin, a priest, was apprehended for having renounced the errors of popery. Being brought to the stake, he began to exhort the people to quit the errors of the church of Rome; on which the officer who presided at the execution ordered the faggots to be lighted, and that a trumpet should be blown while Hamlin was burning, that the people might not hear his voice.

## BOOK V.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE INQUISITION IN SPAIN, PORTUGAL,  
ITALY, &c.

## SECTION I.

## ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND CRUELITIES OF THE INQUISITION.

WHEN the reformed religion began to diffuse the pure light of the gospel throughout Europe, the bigoted Roman Catholics, fearing the exposure of the frauds and abuses of their church, determined to leave nothing unattempted to crush the Reformation in its infancy; Pope Innocent III. therefore instituted a number of *inquisitors*, or persons who were to make inquiry after, apprehend, and punish the professors of the reformed faith. At the head of these inquisitors was one Dominic, who was canonized by the pope, in order to render his authority the more respectable. He and the other inquisitors visited the various Roman Catholic countries, and treated the protestants with the utmost severity: but at length the pope, not finding them so useful as he had expected, resolved upon the establishment of fixed and regular courts of inquisition; the first office of which was established in the city of Toulouse, and Dominic became the first inquisitor.

Courts of inquisition were also erected in several other countries; but the Spanish inquisition became the most powerful, and the most dreadful of any. Even the kings of Spain themselves, though arbitrary in all other respects, were taught to dread its power; and the horrid cruelties exercised by the inquisition, compelled multitudes, who differed in opinion from the Catholics, carefully to conceal their sentiments. The Dominicans and Franciscans were the most zealous of all the monks: these, therefore, the pope invested with an exclusive right of presiding over, and managing the different courts of inquisition. The friars of those two orders were always selected from the very dregs of the people, and therefore were not much troubled with scruples of conscience; they were obliged, by the rules of their respective orders, to lead very austere lives, which rendered their manners unsocial, and better qualified them for their barbarous employment.

The pope gave the inquisitors the most unlimited powers, as judges delegated by him, and immediately representing his person: they were permitted to excommunicate, or sentence to death, whom they thought proper, upon the slightest information of heresy: were allowed to publish crusades against all whom they deemed heretics, and enter into leagues with sovereign princes, to join those crusades with their forces. About the year 1244, their power was further increased by the Emperor Frederic the Second, who declared himself the protector and friend of all inquisitors, and published two cruel edicts, viz. that all heretics, who continued obstinate, should be burnt; and that all who repented, should be imprisoned for life. This zeal in the emperor for

the inquisitors, and the Roman Catholic persuasion, arose from a report which had been propagated throughout Europe, that he intended to turn Mahometan; the emperor, therefore, judiciously determined, by the height of bigotry and cruelty, to show his attachment to *popery*.

The officers of the inquisition are, three inquisitors or judges, a proctor fiscal, two secretaries, a magistrate, a messenger, a receiver, a gaoler, an agent of confiscated possessions, and several assessors, counsellors, executioners, physicians, surgeons, door keepers, familiars, and visiters, who are all sworn to profound secrecy. The chief accusation against those who are subject to this tribunal is heresy, which comprises all that is spoken or written against any of the articles of the creed, or the tradition of the Romish church. The other articles of accusation are, renouncing the Roman Catholic persuasion, and believing that persons of any other religion may be saved, or even admitting that the tenets of any but papists are in the least reasonable. There are two other things which incur the most severe punishments, viz. to disapprove of any action done by the inquisition, or disbelieve any thing said by an inquisitor.

Heresy comprises many subdivisions; and upon a suspicion of any of these, the party is immediately apprehended. Advancing an offensive proposition; failing to impeach others who may advance such; contemning church ceremonies; defacing idols; reading books condemned by the inquisition; lending such books to others to read; deviating from the ordinary practices of the Romish church: letting a year pass without going to confession; eating meat on fast days; neglecting mass; being present at a sermon preached by a heretic; not appearing when summoned by the inquisition; lodging in the house of, contracting a friendship with, or making a present to a heretic; assisting a heretic to escape from confinement, or visiting one in confinement, are all matters of suspicion, and prosecuted accordingly. All Roman Catholics are commanded, under pain of excommunication, to give immediate information, even of their nearest and dearest friends, if they judge them to be heretics, or inclining to heresy. All who give the least assistance to protestants are called factots, or abettors of heresy, and the accusations against these are for comforting such as the inquisition have begun to prosecute; assisting, or not informing against such, if they should happen to escape; concealing, abetting, advising, or furnishing heretics with money; visiting, or writing to, or sending them subsistence; secreting, or burning books and papers which might serve to convict them. The inquisition also takes cognizance of such as are accused of being magicians, witches, blasphemers, soothsayers, wizards, common swearers; and of such who read, or even possess the Bible in the vulgar tongues, the Talmud of the Jews, or the Alcoran of the Mahometans.

Upon all occasions, the inquisitors carry on their processes with the utmost severity. They seldom show mercy to a Protestant; and a Jew, who turns Christian, is far from being secure; for if he is known to keep company with another new converted Jew, a suspicion arises that they privately practise together some Jewish ceremonies; if he keep company with a person who was lately a Protestant, but now professes popery, they are accused of plotting together; but if he associate with a Roman Catholic, an accusation is often laid against

him for only pretending to be a papist, and the consequence is, a confiscation of his effects, and the loss of his life if he complain.

A defence is of little use to the prisoner; for a suspicion only is deemed sufficient cause of condemnation, and the greater his wealth the greater his danger. Most of the inquisitors' cruelties are owing to their rapacity; they destroy life to possess the property; and, under pretence of zeal, plunder individuals of their rights. A prisoner of the inquisitors is never allowed to see the face of his accuser, or any of the witnesses against him, but every method is taken, by threats and tortures, to oblige him to accuse himself. If the jurisdiction of the inquisition be not fully allowed, vengeance is denounced against such as call it in question; or if any of its officers are opposed, those who oppose them are almost certain to be sufferers for their temerity; the maxim of the inquisition being to strike terror, and awe those who are the objects of its power into obedience. High birth, distinguished rank, or eminent employments, are no protection from its severities, and its lowest officers can make the most exalted nobleman tremble at their authority.

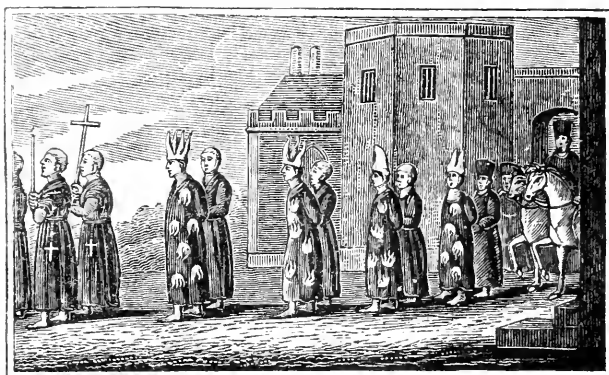
Such are the circumstances which subject a person to the rage of the inquisition; and the modes of beginning the process are, 1. To proceed by imputation, or prosecute on common report; 2. By the information of any indifferent person who chooses to impeach another; 3. On the information of spies who are retained by the inquisition; and, 4. On the confession of the prisoner himself.

The inquisitors never forget or forgive; length of time cannot efface their resentments; nor can the humblest concessions, or most liberal presents, obtain a pardon; they carry the desire of revenge to the grave, and wish to have both the property and lives of those who have offended them. Hence, when a person once accused to the inquisition, after escaping, is retaken, pardon is next to an impossibility. If a positive accusation be given, the inquisitors direct an order to the executioner, who takes a certain number of familiars with him to assist in the execution. Father, son, brother, sister, husband, or wife, must quietly submit; none dare resist or even speak; as either would subject them to the same punishment as the devoted victim. No respite is allowed, but the prisoner is instantaneously hurried away.

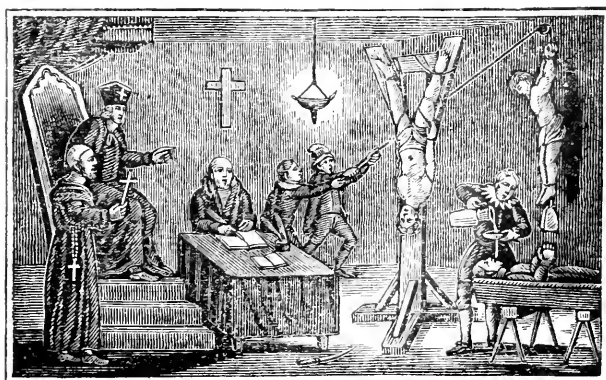
This dreadful engine of tyranny may, at any time, be introduced into a country where the Catholics have the upper hand; and hence, how careful ought we to be, who are not cursed with such an arbitrary court, to prevent its introduction! In treating of this subject, an elegant author pathetically says, "How horrid a scene of perfidy and inhumanity! What kind of community must that be, whence gratitude, love, and mutual forbearance, with regard to human frailties, are banished! What must that tribunal be, which obliges parents not only to erase from their minds the remembrance of their own children, to extinguish all those keen sensations of tenderness and affection wherewith nature inspires them, but even to extend their inhumanity so far as to force them to commence their accusers, and, consequently, to become the cause of the cruelties inflicted upon them! What ideas ought we to form to ourselves of a tribunal, which obliges children not only to stifle every soft impulse of gratitude, love, and respect, due to those who gave them birth, but even forces them, and that under the most rigorous penalties, to be spies over their parents, and to discover



*Scene at a prison by order of the Inquisition. Page 105.*



*Procession of Criminals condemned by the Inquisition on the Auto de fe. Page 106.*



*Cruelties of the Inquisition. Page 110.*

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to a set of merciless inquisitors the crimes, the errors, and even the little lapses to which they are exposed by human frailty! In a word, a tribunal which will not permit relations, when imprisoned in its horrid dungeons, to give each other the succours, or perform the duties which religion enjoins, must be of an infernal nature. What disorder and confusion must such conduct give rise to, in a tenderly affectionate family! An expression, innocent in itself, and, perhaps, but too true, shall, from an indiscreet zeal, or a panic of fear, give infinite uneasiness to a family: shall ruin its peace entirely, and perhaps cause one or more of its members to be the unhappy victims of the most barbarous of all tribunals. What distractions must necessarily break forth in a house where the husband and wife are at variance, or the children loose and wicked! Will such children scruple to sacrifice a father, who endeavours to restrain them by his exhortations, by reproofs, or paternal corrections? Will they not rather, after plundering his house to support their extravagance and riot, readily deliver up their unhappy parent to all the horrors of a tribunal founded on the blackest injustice? A riotous husband, or a loose wife has an easy opportunity, assisted by means of the persecution in question, to rid themselves of one who is a check to their vices, by delivering him, or her, up to the rigours of the inquisition."

When the inquisitors have taken umbrage against an innocent person, all expedients are used to facilitate his condemnation; false oaths and testimonies are employed to prove the accused to be guilty; and all laws and institutions are sacrificed to the bigoted revenge of papacy.

When a person accused is taken, his treatment is deplorable. The goalers first begin by searching him for books and papers which might tend to his conviction, or for instruments which might be employed in self-murder or escape, and on this pretext they even rob him of his wearing apparel. When he has been searched and robbed, he is committed to prison. Innocence, on such an occasion, is a weak reed; nothing being easier than to ruin an innocent person.

The mildest sentence is imprisonment for life; yet the inquisitors proceed by degrees, at once subtle, slow, and cruel. The gaoler first of all insinuates himself into the prisoner's favour, by pretending to wish him well, and advise him well; and among other pretended kind hints, tells him to petition for an audit. When he is brought before the consistory, the first demand is, "What is your request?" To this the prisoner very naturally answers, that he would have a hearing. Hereupon one of the inquisitors replies, "Your hearing is this: confess the truth, conceal nothing, and rely on our mercy." Now, if the prisoner make a confession of any trifling affair, they immediately found an indictment on it; if he is mute, they shut him up without light, or any food but a scanty allowance of bread and water, till his obstinacy is overcome; and if he declare he is innocent, they torment him till he either die with the pain, or confess himself guilty.

On the re-examination of such as confess, they continually say, "You have not been sincere; you tell not all; you keep many things concealed, and therefore must be remanded to your dungeon." When those who have stood mute are called for re-examination, if they continue silent, such tortures are ordered as will either make them speak, or kill them; and when those who proclaim their innocence

are re-examined, a crucifix is held before them, and they are solemnly exhorted to take an oath of their confession of faith. This brings them to the test; they must either swear they are Roman Catholics, or acknowledge they are not. If they acknowledge they are not, they are proceeded against as heretics. If they acknowledge they are Roman Catholics, a string of accusations is brought against them, to which they are obliged to answer extempore; no time being given even to arrange their answers. On having verbally answered, pen, ink, and paper are given them, in order to produce a written answer, which must in every degree coincide with the verbal answer. If the verbal and written answers differ, the prisoners are charged with prevarication; if one contain more than the other, they are accused of wishing to conceal certain circumstances; if they both agree, they are charged with premeditated artifice.

After a person impeached is condemned, he is either severely whipped, violently tortured, sent to the galleys, or sentenced to death; and in either case his effects are confiscated. After judgment, a procession is formed to the place of execution, which ceremony is called an *Auto da Fe*, or Act of Faith.

*Auto da Fe, at Madrid.*

The following is an account of an *Auto da Fe*, at Madrid, in the year 1682.

The officers of the inquisition, preceded by trumpets, kettle-drums, and their banner, marched on the 30th of May, in cavalcade, to the palace of the great square, where they declared by proclamation, that on the 30th of June the sentence of the prisoners would be put in execution. There had not been a spectacle of this kind at Madrid for several years, for which reason it was expected by the inhabitants with as much impatience as a day of the greatest festivity and triumph.

When the day appointed arrived, a prodigious number of people appeared, dressed as splendidly as their circumstances would allow. In the great square was raised a high scaffold; and thither, from seven in the morning till the evening, were brought criminals of both sexes; all the inquisitions in the kingdom sending their prisoners to Madrid. Twenty men and women of these prisoners, with one renegado Mahometan, were ordered to be burnt; fifty Jews and Jewesses, having never before been imprisoned, and repenting of their crime, were sentenced to a long confinement, and to wear a yellow cap; and ten others, indicted for bigamy, witchcraft, and other crimes, were sentenced to be whipped, and then sent to the galleys: these last wore large pasteboard caps, with inscriptions on them, having a halter about their necks, and torches in their hands.

On this solemn occasion the whole court of Spain was present. The grand inquisitor's chair was placed in a sort of tribunal far above that of the king. The nobles here acted the part of the sheriff's officers in England, leading such criminals as were to be burned, and holding them when fast bound with thick cords: the rest of the criminals were conducted by the familiars of the inquisition.

Among those who were to suffer, was a young Jewess of exquisite beauty, only seventeen years of age. Being on the same side of the scaffold where the queen was seated, she addressed her, in hopes of



obtaining a pardon, in the following pathetic speech: "Great queen! will not your royal presence be of some service to me in my miserable condition? Have regard to my youth; and, oh! consider that I am about to die for professing a religion imbibed from my earliest infancy!" Her majesty seemed greatly to pity her distress, but turned away her eyes, as she did not dare to speak a word in behalf of a person who had been declared a heretic by the inquisition.

Mass now began, in the midst of which the priest came from the altar, placed near the scaffold, and seated himself in a chair prepared for that purpose. Then the chief inquisitor descended from the amphitheatre, dressed in his cope, and having a mitre on his head. After bowing to the altar, he advanced towards the king's balcony, and went up to it, attended by some of his officers, carrying a cross and the gospels, with a book containing the oath by which the kings of Spain oblige themselves to protect the catholic faith, to extirpate heretics, and support, with all their power, the prosecutions and decrees of the inquisition. On the approach of the inquisitor, and on his presenting this book to the king, his majesty rose up bareheaded, and swore to maintain the oath, which was read to him by one of his counsellors; after which, the king continued standing till the inquisitor had returned to his place; when the secretary of the holy office mounted a sort of pulpit, and administered a like oath to the counsellors and the whole assembly. The mass was begun about twelve at noon, and did not end till nine in the evening, being protracted by a proclamation of the sentences of the several criminals, which were all separately rehearsed aloud one after the other. Next followed the burning of the twenty-one men and women, whose intrepidity in suffering that horrid death was truly astonishing: some thrust their hands and feet into the flames with the most dauntless fortitude; and all of them yielded to their fate with such resolution, that many of the amazed spectators lamented that such heroic souls *had not been more enlightened!* The situation of the king was so near to the criminals, that their dying groans were very audible to him: he could not, however, be absent from this dreadful scene, as it is esteemed a religious one; and his coronation oath obliges him to give a sanction by his presence to all the acts of the tribunal.

#### *Another Auto da Fe.*

Another Auto da Fe is thus described by Dr. Geddes:—"At the place of execution there are so many stakes set as there are prisoners to be burned, a large quantity of dry furze being set about them.—The stakes of the protestants, or, as the inquisitors call them, the professed, are about four yards high, and have each a small board, whereon the prisoner is seated within half a yard of the top. The professed then go up a ladder betwixt two priests, who attend the whole day of execution. When they come even with the forementioned board, they turn about to the people, and the priests spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting them to be reconciled to the see of Rome. On their refusing, the priests come down, and the executioner ascends, turns the professed from off the ladder upon the seat, chains their bodies close to the stakes, and leaves them. Then the priests go up a second time to renew their exhortations, and if they find them ineffectual, usually tell them, at parting, that they leave

them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow ready to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell-fire, as soon as they are out of their bodies.

“A general shout is then raised, and when the priests get off the ladder, the universal cry is, ‘Let the dogs’ beards be made,’ which implies, singe their beards: this is accordingly performed by means of flaming furzes thrust against their faces with long poles. This barbarity is repeated till their faces are burnt, and is accompanied with loud acclamations. Fire is then set to the furzes, and the criminals are consumed.”

#### *Inquisition of Portugal.*

The inquisition of Portugal is exactly upon a similar plan to that of Spain, having been instituted about the same time, and put under the same regulations, and the proceedings nearly resemble each other. The house, or rather palace, of the inquisition, is a noble edifice. It contains four courts, each about forty feet square, round which are about 300 dungeons or cells. The dungeons on the ground floor are for the lowest class of prisoners, and those on the second floor are for persons of superior rank. The galleries are built of free-stone, and hid from view both within and without by a double wall of about fifty feet high. So extensive is the whole prison, which contains so many turnings and windings, that none but those well acquainted with it can find the way through its various avenues. The apartments of the chief inquisitor are spacious and elegant; the entrance is through a large gate, which leads into a court-yard, round which are several chambers, and some large saloons for the king, royal family, and the rest of the court, to stand and observe the executions during an *Auto da Fe*.

A testoon (sevenpence halfpenny English money) is allowed every prisoner daily; and the principal gaoler, accompanied by two other officers, monthly visits every prisoner to inquire how he would have his allowance laid out. This visit, however, is only a matter of form, for the gaoler usually lays out the money as he pleases, and commonly allows the prisoner daily a porringer of broth, half a pound of beef, a small piece of bread, and a trifling portion of cheese.

Sentinels walk about continually to listen; if the least noise is heard, they call to, and threaten the prisoner; if the noise is repeated, a severe beating ensues. The following is a fact; a prisoner having a violent cough, one of the guards came and ordered him not to make a noise; to which he replied, that it was not in his power to forbear. The cough increasing, the guard went into the cell, stripped the poor creature naked, and beat him so unmercifully that he soon after died.

Sometimes a prisoner passes months without knowing of what he is accused, or having the least idea of when he is to be tried. The gaoler at length informs him, that he must petition for a trial. This ceremony being gone through, he is taken for examination. When they come to the door of the tribunal, the gaoler knocks three times, to give the judges notice of their approach. A bell is rung by one of the judges, when an attendant opens the door, admits the prisoner, and seats him on a stool.

The prisoner is then ordered, by the president, to kneel down, and lay his right hand upon a book, which is presented to him close shut.

This being complied with, the following question is put to him : " Will you promise to conceal the secrets of the holy office, and to speak the truth ?" Should he answer in the negative, he is remanded to his cell, and cruelly treated. If he answer in the affirmative, he is ordered to be again seated, and the examination proceeds ; when the president asks a variety of questions, and the clerk minutes both them and the answers.

When the examination is closed, the bell is again rung, the gaoler appears, and the prisoner is ordered to withdraw, with this exhortation : " Tax your memory, recollect all the sins you have ever committed, and when you are again brought here, communicate them to the holy office." The gaolers and attendants, when apprised that the prisoner has made an ingenuous confession, and readily answered every question, make him a low bow, and treat him with an affected kindness, as a reward for his candour.

He is brought in a few days to a second examination, with the same formalities as before. The inquisitors often deceive prisoners by promising the greatest lenity, and even to restore their liberty, if they will accuse themselves ; the unhappy persons, who are in their power, frequently fall into this snare, and are sacrificed to their own simplicity. Instances have occurred of some, who, relying on the faith of their judges, have accused themselves of what they were totally innocent of, in expectation of obtaining their liberty ; and thus became martyrs to their own folly.

There is another artifice made use of by the inquisitors ; if a prisoner has too much resolution to accuse himself, and too much sense to be ensnared by their sophistry, they proceed thus : a copy of an indictment against the prisoner is given him, in which, among many trivial accusations, he is charged with the most enormous crimes of which human nature is capable. This rouses his temper, and he exclaims against such falsehoods. He is then asked which of the crimes he can deny. He naturally mentions the most atrocious, and begins to express his abhorrence of them, when the indictment being snatched out of his hand, the president says, " By your denying only those crimes which you mention, you implicitly confess the rest, and we shall therefore proceed accordingly." Sometimes they make a ridiculous affectation of equity, by pretending that the prisoner may be indulged with a counsellor, if he chooses to demand one. Such a request is sometimes made, and a counsellor appointed ; but upon these occasions, as the trial itself is a mockery of justice, so the counsellor is a mere cipher : for he is not permitted to say any thing that might offend the inquisition, or to advance a syllable that might benefit the prisoner.

Though the inquisitors allow the torture to be used only three times, yet at those three it is so severely inflicted, that the prisoner either dies under it, or continues always after a cripple. The following is a description of the severe torments occasioned by the torture, from the account of one who suffered it the three respective times, but happily survived its cruelties.

#### *First time of torturing.*

The prisoner, on refusing to comply with the iniquitous demands of the inquisitors, by confessing all the crimes they charged him with,

was immediately conveyed to the torture-room, which, to prevent the cries of the sufferers from being heard by the other prisoners, is lined with a kind of quilting, which covers all the crevices, and deadens the sound. The prisoner's horror was extreme on entering this infernal place, when suddenly he was surrounded by six wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, stripped him naked to his drawers. He was then laid upon his back on a kind of stand, elevated a few feet from the floor. They began by putting an iron collar round his neck, and a ring to each foot, which fastened him to the stand. His limbs being thus stretched out, they wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh; which ropes being passed under the scaffold, through holes made for that purpose, were all drawn tight at the same instant of time, by four of the men, on a given signal. The pains which immediately succeeded were intolerable; the ropes, which were of a small size, cut through the prisoner's flesh to the bone, making the blood gush out at eight different places. As he persisted in not making any confession of what the inquisitors required, the ropes were drawn in this manner four times successively.

A physician and surgeon attended, and often felt his temples, in order to judge of the danger he might be in; by which means his tortures were for a small time suspended, that he might have sufficient opportunity of recovering his spirits to sustain each ensuing torture. During this extremity of anguish, while the tender frame is being torn, as it were, in pieces, while at every pore it feels the sharpest pangs of death, and the agonized soul is just ready to burst forth, and quit its wretched mansion, the ministers of the inquisition have the obduracy to look on without emotion, and calmly to advise the poor distracted creature to confess his imputed guilt, on doing which, they tell him, he may obtain a free pardon, and receive absolution. All this, however, was ineffectual with the prisoner, whose mind was strengthened by a sweet consciousness of innocence, and the divine consolation of religion.

While he was thus suffering, the physician and surgeon were so barbarous as to declare, that if he died under the torture, he would be guilty, by his obstinacy, of self-murder. In short, at the last time of the ropes being drawn tight, he grew so exceedingly weak, by the stoppage of the circulation of his blood, and the pains he endured, that he fainted away; upon which he was unloosed, and carried back to his dungeon.

*Second time of torturing.*

These inhuman wretches, finding that the torture inflicted, as above described, instead of extorting a discovery from the prisoner, only served the more fervently to excite his supplication to Heaven for patience and power to persevere in truth and integrity, were so barbarous, in six weeks after, as to expose him to another kind of torture, more severe, if possible, than the former; the manner of inflicting which was as follows: they forced his arms backwards, so that the palms of his hands were turned outward behind him; when, by means of a rope that fastened them together at the wrists, and which was turned by an engine, they drew them by degrees nearer each other, in such a manner that the back of each hand touched and stood exactly parallel to the other. In consequence of this violent contor-

tion, both his shoulders were dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice; after which he was again taken to the dungeon, and delivered to the physician and surgeon, who, in setting the dislocated bones, put him to the most exquisite torment.

*Third time of torturing.*

About two months after the second torture, the prisoner, being a little recovered, was again ordered to the torture room, and there made to undergo another kind of punishment. The executioners fastened a thick iron chain twice round his body, which, crossing upon his stomach, terminated at the wrists. They then placed him with his back against a thick board, at each extremity whereof was a pulley, through which there run a rope that caught the ends of the chain at his wrists. Then the executioner, stretching the end of this rope, by means of a roller placed at a distance behind him, pressed or bruised his stomach in proportion as the ends of the chain were drawn tighter. They tortured him in this manner to such a degree, that his wrists, as well as his shoulders, were quite dislocated. They were, however, soon set by the surgeons; but the barbarians, not yet satisfied with this infernal cruelty, made him immediately undergo the like torture a second time; which he sustained (though, if possible, attended with keener pains) with equal constancy and resolution. He was then again remanded to his dungeon, attended by the surgeon to dress his bruises, and adjust the parts dislocated; and here he continued till their *auto da fe*, or *gaol* delivery, when he was happily discharged.

It may be judged, from the before-mentioned relation, what dreadful agony the sufferer must have endured. Most of his limbs were dis-jointed; so much was he bruised and exhausted, as to be unable, for some weeks, to lift his hand to his mouth; and his body became greatly swelled from the inflammations caused by such frequent dislocations. After his discharge he felt the effects of this cruelty for the remainder of his life, being frequently seized with thrilling and excruciating pains, to which he had never been subject till after he had the misfortune to fall into the power of the merciless and bloody inquisition.

The unhappy females who fall into their hands, have not the least favour shown them on account of the softness of their sex, but are tortured with as much severity as the male prisoners, with the additional mortification of having the most shocking indecencies added to the most savage barbarities.

Should the above-mentioned modes of torturing force a confession from the prisoner, he is remanded to his horrid dungeon, and left a prey to the melancholy of his situation, to the anguish arising from what he has suffered, and to the dreadful ideas of future barbarities. Should he refuse to confess, he is, in the same manner, remanded to his dungeon; but a stratagem is used to draw from him what the torture fails to do. A companion is allowed to attend him, under the pretence of waiting upon, and comforting his mind till his wounds are healed: this person, who is always selected for his cunning, insinuates himself into the good graces of the prisoner, laments the anguish he feels, sympathizes with him, and, taking advantage of the hasty expressions forced from him by pain, does all he can to dive into his se-

crets. This companion sometimes pretends to be a prisoner like himself, and imprisoned on similar charges. This is to draw the unhappy person into a mutual confidence, and persuade him, in unbosoming his grief, to betray his private sentiments.

Frequently these snares succeed, as they are the more alluring by being glossed over with the appearance of friendship and sympathy. Finally, if the prisoner cannot be found guilty, he is either tortured or harrassed to death, though a few have sometimes had the good fortune to be discharged, but not without having suffered the most dreadful cruelties.

The inquisition also takes cognizance of all new books; and tolerates or condemns with the same *justice* and *impartiality* by which all its proceedings are distinguished.

When a book is published, it is carefully read by some of the familiars; who, too ignorant and bigoted to distinguish truth, and too malicious to relish beauties, search not for the merits, but for the defects of an author, and pursue the slips of his pen with unremitting diligence. They read with prejudice, judge with partiality, pursue errors with avidity and strain that which is innocent into an offensive meaning. They misapply, confound, and pervert the sense; and when they have gratified the malignity of their disposition, charge their blunders upon the author, that a prosecution may be founded upon their false conceptions, and designed misrepresentations.

Any trivial charge causes the censure of a book; but it is to be observed, that the censure is of a threefold nature, viz.

1. When the book is wholly condemned.
2. When it is partly condemned; that is, when certain passages are pointed out as exceptionable, and ordered to be expunged.
3. When it is deemed incorrect; the meaning of which is, that a few words or expressions displease the inquisitors. These, therefore, are ordered to be altered, and such alterations go under the name of corrections.

There is a catalogue of condemned books annually published under the three different heads of censures, already mentioned, which being printed on a large sheet of paper, is hung up in the most public and conspicuous places. After which, people are obliged to destroy all such books as come under the first censure, and to keep none belonging to the other two censures, unless the exceptionable passages have been expunged, and the corrections made, as in either case disobedience would be of the most fatal consequence; for the possessing or reading the proscribed books are deemed very atrocious crimes.

The publisher of such books is usually ruined in his circumstances, and sometimes obliged to pass the remainder of his life in the inquisition.

Where such an absurd and detestable system exercises its deadening influence over the literature of a nation, can we be surprised that the grossest ignorance and the most bigoted superstition prevail? How can that people become enlightened, among whom the finest productions of genius are prohibited, all discussion prevented, the most innocent inquiries liable to misconstruction and punishment, the materials for thinking proscribed, and even *thought* itself chained down, and checked by the fear of its escaping into expression, and thus bringing certain and cruel punishment on him who has dared to exercise his

reason, the noblest gift of his Almighty Creator. Surely every well wisher to the human race, must rejoice in the downfall of this most barbarous and infernal of all tribunals.

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## SECTION II.

### BARBARITIES EXERCISED BY THE INQUISITIONS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Francis Romanes, a native of Spain, was employed by the merchants of Antwerp, to transact some business for them at Bremen. He had been educated in the Romish persuasion, but going one day into a protestant church, he was struck with the truths which he heard, and beginning to perceive the errors of popery, he determined to search farther into the matter. Perusing the sacred scriptures, and the writings of some protestant divines, he perceived how erroneous were the principles which he had formerly embraced; and renounced the impositions of popery for the doctrines of the reformed church, in which religion appeared in all its purity. Resolving to think only of his eternal salvation, he studied religious truths more than trade, and purchased books rather than merchandise, convinced that the riches of the body are trifling to those of the soul. He therefore resigned his agency to the merchants of Antwerp, giving them an account at the same time of his conversion; and then resolving, if possible, to convert his parents, he went to Spain for that purpose. But the Antwerp merchants writing to the inquisitors, he was seized upon, imprisoned for some time, and then condemned to be burnt as a heretic. He was led to the place of execution in a garment painted over with devils, and had a paper mitre put upon his head by way of derision. As he passed by a wooden cross, one of the priests bade him kneel to it; but he absolutely refused so to do, saying, "It is not for Christians to worship wood." Having been placed upon a pile of wood, the fire quickly reached him, whereupon he lifted up his head suddenly; the priests thinking he meant to recant, ordered him to be taken down. Finding, however, that they were mistaken, and that he still retained his constancy, he was placed again upon the pile, where, as long as he had life and voice remaining, he kept repeating the seventh psalm.

#### *Horrid Treachery of an Inquisitor.*

A lady, with her two daughters and her niece, were apprehended at Seville for professing the protestant religion. They were all put to the torture; and when that was over, one of the inquisitors sent for the youngest daughter, pretended to sympathise with her, and pity her sufferings; then binding himself with a solemn oath not to betray her, he said, "If you will disclose all to me, I promise you I will procure the discharge of your mother, sister, cousin, and yourself." Made confident by his oath, and entrapped by his promises, she revealed the whole of the tenets they professed; when the perjured wretch, instead of acting as he had sworn, immediately ordered her to be put to the rack, saying, "Now you have revealed so much, I will make you reveal more." Refusing, however, to say any thing farther, they were

all ordered to be burnt, which sentence was executed at the next *Auto da Fe*.

The keeper of the castle of Triano, belonging to the inquisitors of Seville, happened to be of a disposition more mild and humane than is usual with persons in his situation. He gave all the indulgence he could to the prisoners, and showed them every favour in his power, with as much secrecy as possible. At length, however, the inquisitors became acquainted with his kindness, and determined to punish him severely for it, that other gaolers might be deterred from showing the least traces of that compassion which ought to glow in the breast of every human being. With this view they immediately threw him into a dismal dungeon, and used him with dreadful barbarity, so that he lost his senses. His deplorable situation, however, procured him no favour; for, frantic as he was, they brought him from prison, at an *Auto da Fe*, to the usual place of punishment, with a *sanbenito* (or garment worn by criminals) on, and a rope about his neck. His sentence was then read, and ran thus: that he should be placed upon an ass, led through the city, receive 200 stripes, and then be condemned for six years to the galleys. This unhappy, frantic wretch, just as they were about to begin his punishment, suddenly sprang from the back of the ass, broke the cords that bound him, snatched a sword from one of the guards, and dangerously wounded an officer of the inquisition. Being overpowered by multitudes, he was prevented from doing further mischief, seized, bound more securely on the ass, and punished according to his sentence. But so inexorable were the inquisitors, that for the rash effects of his madness, four years were added to his slavery in the galleys.

A young lady, named Maria de Cocceiao, who resided with her brother at Lisbon, was taken up by the inquisitors, and ordered to be put to the rack. The torments she felt made her confess the charges against her. The cords were then slackened, and she was re-conducted to her cell, where she remained till she had recovered the use of her limbs; she was then brought again before the tribunal, and ordered to ratify her confession. This she absolutely refused to do, telling them, that what she had said was forced from her by the excessive pain she underwent. The inquisitors, incensed at this reply, ordered her again to be put to the rack, when the weakness of nature once more prevailed, and she repeated her former confession. She was immediately remanded to her cell: and being a third time brought before the inquisitors, they ordered her to sign her first and second confessions. She answered as before, but added, "I have twice given way to the frailty of the flesh, and perhaps may, while on the rack, be weak enough to do so again; but depend upon it, if you torture me an hundred times, as soon as I am released from the rack I shall deny what was extorted from me by pain." The inquisitors then ordered her to be racked a third time; and during this last trial, she bore the torments with the utmost fortitude, and could not be persuaded to answer any of the questions put to her. As her courage and constancy increased, the inquisitors, instead of putting her to death, condemned her to a severe whipping through the public streets, and banishment for ten years.

A lady of a noble family in Seville, named Jane Bohorquia, was apprehended on the information of her sister, who had been tortured



and burnt for professing the protestant religion. Being pregnant, they let her remain tolerably quiet till she was delivered, when they immediately took away the child, and put it to nurse, that it might be brought up a Roman Catholic. Soon afterwards this unfortunate lady was ordered to be racked, which was done with such severity, that she expired a week after of the wounds and bruises. Upon this occasion, the inquisitors affected some remorse, and in one of the printed acts of the inquisition, which they always publish at an *Auto da Fe*, this young lady is thus mentioned: "Jane Bohorquia was found dead in prison; after which, upon reviving the prosecution, the inquisitors discovered she was innocent. Be it therefore known, that no further prosecutions shall be carried on against her; and that her effects, which were confiscated, shall be given to the heirs at law." One sentence in the above ridiculous passage, wants explanation, viz. that no further prosecutions shall be carried on against her. This alludes to the absurd custom of prosecuting and burning the bones of the dead: for when a prisoner dies in the inquisition, the process continues the same as if he was living; the bones are deposited in a chest, and if sentence of guilt is passed, they are brought out at the next *Auto da Fe*; the sentence is read against them with as much solemnity as against a living prisoner, and they are committed to the flames. In a similar manner are prosecutions carried on against prisoners who escape; and when their persons are far beyond the reach of the inquisitors, they are burnt in effigy.

Isaac Orobio, a learned physician, having beaten a Moorish servant for stealing, was accused by him of professing Judaism, and the inquisitors seized him upon the charge. He was kept three years in prison before he had the least information of what he was to undergo, and then suffered the following six modes of torture:—1. A coarse linen coat was put upon him, and then drawn so tight that the circulation of the blood was nearly stopped, and the breath almost pressed out of his body. After this the strings were suddenly loosened, when the air forcing its way hastily into his stomach, and the blood rushing into its channells, he suffered the most incredible pain. 2. His thumbs were tied with small cords so hard that the blood gushed from under the nails. 3. He was seated on a bench with his back against a wall, wherein small iron pulleys were fixed. Ropes being fastened to several parts of his body and limbs, were passed through the pulleys, and being suddenly drawn with great violence, his whole frame was forced into a distorted mass. 4. After having suffered for a considerable time the pains of the last mentioned position, the seat was snatched away, and he was left suspended against the wall. 5. A little instrument with five knobs, and which went with springs, being placed near his face, he suddenly received five blows on the cheek, which put him to such pain as caused him to faint. 6. The executioners fastened ropes round his wrists, and then drew them about his body. Placing him on his back with his feet against the wall, they pulled with the utmost violence, till the cord had penetrated to the bone. He suffered the last torture three times, and then lay seventy days before his wounds were healed. He was afterwards banished, and in his exile wrote the account of his sufferings, from which the foregoing particulars are chiefly extracted.

## SECTION III.

## TRIAL AND SUFFERINGS OF MR. ISAAC MARTIN.

In the year 1714, about Lent, Mr. Martin arrived at Malaga, with his wife and four children. On the examination of his baggage, his Bible, and some other books, were seized. He was accused in about three months time of being a Jew, for these curious reasons, that his own name was Isaac, and one of his sons was named Abraham. The accusation was laid in the bishop's court, and he informed the English consul of it, who said it was nothing but the malice of some of the Irish papists, whom he advised him always to shun. The clergy sent to Mr. Martin's neighbours, to know their opinion concerning him: the result of which inquiry was this, "We believe him not to be a Jew, but a heretic." After this, being continually pestered by priests, particularly those of the Irish nation, to change his religion, he determined to dispose of what he had, and retire from Malaga. But when his resolution became known, at about nine o'clock at night he heard a knocking at his door. He demanded who was there. The persons without said they wanted to enter. He desired they would come again the next morning; but they replied, if he would not open the door they would break it open; which they did. Then about fifteen persons entered, consisting of a commissioner, with several priests and familiars belonging to the inquisition. Mr. Martin would fain have gone to the English consul; but they told him the consul had nothing to do in the matter, and then said, "Where are your beads and fire arms?" To which he answered, "I am an English protestant, and as such carry no private arms, nor make use of beads." They took away his watch, money, and other things, carried him to the bishop's prison, and put on him a pair of heavy fetters. His distressed family was at the same time turned out of doors, till the house was stripped; and when they had taken every thing away, they returned the key to his wife.

About four days after his commitment, Mr. Martin was told he must be sent to Grenada to be tried; he earnestly begged to see his wife and children before he went, but this was denied. Being doubly fettered, he was mounted on a mule, and set out towards Grenada. By the way, the mule threw him upon a rocky part of the road, and almost broke his back.

On his arrival at Grenada, after a journey of three days, he was detained at an inn till it was dark, for they never put any one into the inquisition during day-light. At night he was taken to the prison, and led along a range of galleries till he arrived at a dungeon. The gaoler nailed up a box of books, belonging to him, which had been brought from Malaga, saying, they must remain in that state till the lords of the inquisition chose to inspect them, for prisoners were not allowed to read books. He also took an inventory of every thing which Mr. Martin had about him, even to his very buttons; and having asked him a great number of frivolous questions, he at length gave him these orders: "You must observe as great silence here, as if you were dead; you must not speak, nor whistle, nor sing, nor make

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*Coccicuo whipped through the streets.* Page 114.



*J. Martin in the Inquisition.* Page 116.



*Massacre of St. Bartholomew.* Page 125.

any noise that can be heard; and if you hear any body cry or make a noise, you must be still, and say nothing, upon pain of 200 lashes." Mr. Martin asked if he might have liberty to walk about the room; the gaoler replied that he might, but it must be very softly. After giving him some wine, bread, and a few wall nuts, the gaoler left him till the morning.—It was frosty weather, the walls of the dungeon were between two and three feet thick, the floor was bricked, and a great deal of wind came through a hole of about a foot in length, and five inches in breadth, which served as a window. The next morning the gaoler came to light his lamp, and bade him light a fire in order to dress his dinner. He then took him to a turn, or such a wheel as is found at the doors of convents, where a person on the other side turns the provisions round. He had then given him half a pound of mutton, two pounds of bread, some kidney beans, a bunch of raisins, and a pint of wine, which was the allowance for three days. He had likewise two pounds of charcoal, an earthen stove, and a few other articles.

In about a week he was ordered to an audience; he followed the gaoler, and coming to a large room, saw a man sitting between two crucifixes; and another with a pen in his hand, who was, as he afterwards learned, the secretary. The chief lord inquisitor was the person between the two crucifixes; and appeared to be about sixty years of age. He ordered Mr. M. to sit down upon a little stool that fronted him. A frivolous examination then took place; the questions related to his family, their religion, &c. and his own tenets of faith. The prisoner admitted that he was a protestant, told the inquisitor that the religion of Christ admitted of no persecution, and concluded with saying that he hoped to remain in that religion. He underwent five examinations, without any thing serious being alleged against him.

In a few days after, he was called to his sixth audience, when after a few immaterial interrogatories, the inquisitor told him the charges against him should be read, and that he must give an immediate and prompt answer to each respective charge.

The accusations against him were then read; they amounted to twenty-six, but were principally of the most trivial nature, and the greater number wholly false, or, if founded on facts, so distorted and perverted by the malice of his accusers, as to bear little resemblance to the real occurrences to which they related. Mr. Martin answered the whole of them firmly and discreetly, exposing their weakness, and detecting their falsehood.

He was then remanded to his dungeon; was shaved on Whitsun-eve, (shaving being allowed only three times in the year;) and the next day one of the gaolers gave him some frankincense to be put into the fire, as he was to receive a visit from the lords of the inquisition. Two of them accordingly came, asked many trivial questions, concluding them, as usual, with "We will do you all the service we can." Mr. Martin complained greatly of their having promised him a lawyer to plead his cause; "when instead of a proper person," said he, "there was a person whom you called a lawyer, but he never spoke to me, nor I to him: if all your lawyers are so quiet in this country, they are the quietest in the world, for he hardly said any thing but yes and no, to what your lordship said." To which one of the inquisitors gravely replied, "Lawyers are not allowed to speak

here." At this the gaoler and secretary went out of the dungeon to laugh, and Mr. Martin could scarce refrain from smiling in their faces, to think that his cause was to be defended by a man who scarce dared to open his lips. Some time after he was ordered to dress himself very clean: as soon as he was ready, one of the gaolers came and told him, that he must go with him; but that first he must have a handkerchief tied about his eyes. He now expected the torture; but, after another examination, was remanded to his dungeon.

About a month afterwards, he had a rope put round his neck, and was led by it to the altar of the great church. Here his sentence was pronounced, which was, that for the crimes of which he stood convicted, the lords of the holy office had ordered him to be banished out of the dominions of Spain, upon the penalty of 200 lashes, and being sent five years to the galleys; and that he should at present receive 200 lashes through the streets of the city of Grenada.

Mr. Martin was sent again to his dungeon that night, and the next morning the executioner came, stripped him, tied his hands together, put a rope about his neck, and led him out of the prison. He was then mounted on an ass, and received his 200 lashes, amidst the shouts and peltings of the people. He remained a fortnight after this in gaol, and at length was sent to Malaga. Here he was put in gaol for some days, till he could be sent on board an English ship: which had no sooner happened, than news was brought of a rupture between England and Spain, and that ship, with many others, was stopped. Mr. Martin, not being considered as a prisoner of war, was put on board of a Hamburgh trader, and his wife and children soon came to him; but he was obliged to put up with the loss of his effects, which had been embezzled by the inquisition.

His case was published by the desire of Secretary Craggs, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Norwich, Sarum, Chichester, St. Asaph, Lincoln, Bristol, Peterborough, Bangor, &c.

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#### SECTION IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND SUFFERINGS OF MR. WILLIAM LITHGOW,  
A NATIVE OF SCOTLAND.

William Lithgow was descended from a good family, and having a natural propensity to travelling, he rambled, when very young, over the Northern and Western Islands; after which he visited France, Germany, Switzerland, and Spain. He set out on his travels in March, 1609, and went to Paris, where he stayed for some time. He then prosecuted his travels through Germany and other parts, and at length arrived at Malaga, in Spain.

While he resided here, he contracted with the master of a French ship for his passage to Alexandria, but was prevented from going by the following circumstances: on the evening of the 17th of October, 1620, the English fleet, at that time on a cruise against the Algerine rovers, came to anchor before Malaga, which threw the people of the

town into the greatest consternation, as they imagined them to be Turks. The morning, however, discovered the mistake; and the governor of Malaga perceiving that they bore the English flag, went on board the admiral's ship, and on his return, banished the fears of the people.

Many persons from on board the fleet came ashore the next day. Among these were several friends of Mr. Lithgow, who invited him on board, which invitation he accepted, and was kindly received by the admiral. The fleet sailing for Algiers the next day, he returned on shore, and proceeded towards his lodgings by a private way (being to embark the same night for Alexandria,) when, in passing through a narrow uninhabited street, he found himself suddenly surrounded by nine sergeants, or officers, who threw a black cloak over him, and forcibly conducted him to the governor's house. After some little time the governor appeared, when Mr. Lithgow earnestly begged he might be informed of the cause of such violent treatment. The governor only shook his head, and gave orders that the prisoner should be strictly watched till he returned from his devotions; directing, at the same time, that the captain of the town, the alcaid major, and town notary, should be summoned to appear at his examination, and that all this should be done with the greatest secrecy, to prevent its reaching the ears of the English merchants who resided in the town.

These orders were strictly fulfilled; and on the governor's return, Mr. Lithgow was brought before him for examination. The governor began by asking several questions, as to what country he was native of, whither he was going, how long he had been in Spain, &c. The prisoner, after answering these questions, was conducted to a closet, where he was again examined by the town-captain, who inquired whether he had lately come from Seville: and, pretending great friendship, conjured him to tell the truth; finding himself, however, unable to extort any thing from Mr. Lithgow, he left him.

The governor then proceeded to enquire the quality of the English commander, and the prisoner's opinion of the motives that prevented his accepting an invitation from him to come on shore. He demanded, likewise, the names of the English captains in the squadron, and what knowledge he had of the embarkation, or preparation for it before its departure from England. His answers were set down in writing by the notary; but the junto, particularly the governor, seemed surprised at his denying any knowledge of the fitting out of the fleet, and declared that he was a traitor and a spy, and came directly from England to favour and assist in the designs of that country against Spain; and that he had been for that purpose nine months in Seville, in order to procure intelligence of the time the Spanish navy was expected from the Indies. They exclaimed against his familiarity with the officers of the fleet, and many other English gentlemen, between whom, they said, unusual civilities had passed, but all these transactions had been noticed with peculiar attention. In short, they said, he came from a council of war held that morning on board the admiral's ship, in order to put in execution the orders assigned him. They upbraided him with being accessory to the burning of the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies; "Wherefore," said they, "these Lutherans, and sons of the devil, ought to have no credit given to what they say or swear."

Mr. Lithgow in vain endeavoured to obviate every accusation laid against him, and, in order to prove his innocence, begged that his papers might be examined; this request was complied with; but although they consisted of passports and letters of recommendation from persons of quality, the prejudiced judges refused all belief to them, and their suspicions appeared to be confirmed rather than weakened by the perusal. A consultation was then held as to where the prisoner should be confined. The alcaid, or chief judge, was for putting him in the town prison; but this was objected to particularly by the corregidore, who said, "In order to prevent the knowledge of his confinement from reaching his countrymen, I will take the matter on myself, and be answerable for the consequences;" upon which it was agreed, that he should be confined in the governor's house, and the greatest secrecy observed.

He was then stripped, searched, and robbed of a large sum which he had about him, by a sergeant, and confined in an apartment of the governor's house. At midnight the sergeant and two Turkish slaves released him from his confinement, but it was to introduce him to one much more horrible. They conducted him through several passages to a chamber in a remote part of the palace, towards the garden, where they loaded him with irons, and extended his legs by means of an iron bar above a yard long, the weight of which was so great that he could neither stand nor sit, but was obliged to lie down continually on his back. They left him in this condition for some time, when they returned, bringing him a pound of boiled mutton and a loaf, with a small quantity of wine; after delivering which they again left him.

He received a visit from the governor the next day, who promised him his liberty, with many other advantages if he would confess being a spy; but on his protesting that he was entirely innocent, the governor left him in a rage, saying, he should see him no more till further torments constrained him to confess; commanding the keeper, to whose care he was committed, not to allow his sustenance to exceed three ounces of musty bread, and a pint of water every second day; and that he should be allowed neither bed, pillow, nor coverlet. "Close up," said he, "this window in his room with lime and stone; stop up the holes of the door with double mats; let him have nothing that bears any likeness to comfort." The unfortunate Lithgow continued in this melancholy state, without seeing any person, for several days, in which time the governor received an answer to a letter he had written, relative to the prisoner, from Madrid; and pursuant to the instructions given him, began to put in practice the cruelties devised, which they hastened, because Christmas approached, it being then the 47th day since his confinement.

About three o'clock in the morning, he heard the noise of a coach in the street, and some time after heard the opening of the prison doors, not having had any sleep for two nights. Immediately after the prison doors were opened, the nine sergeants, who had at first seized him, with the notary, entered the place where he lay, and without uttering a word conducted him in his irons into the street, where a coach waited, in which they laid him at the bottom on his back, being unable to sit. Two of the sergeants rode with him, and the rest walked by the coach side, but all observed the most profound silence.



They drove him to a vine-press house, about a league from the town, to which place a rack had been privately conveyed before; and here they shut him up for that night.

About day-break the next morning, the governor and the alcaid arrived, into whose presence Mr. Lithgow was immediately brought, to undergo another examination. The prisoner desired he might have an interpreter, but was refused; nor would they permit him to appeal to the superior court of judicature, at Madrid. After a long examination, which lasted the whole day, there appeared in all his answers so exact a conformity with what he had before said, that they declared he had learned them by heart. They, however, pressed him again to make a full discovery; that is, to accuse himself of crimes never committed; the governor adding, "You are still in my power; I can set you free if you comply: if not, I must deliver you to the alcaid." Mr. Lithgow still persisting in his innocence, the governor ordered him to be tortured immediately.

He was then conducted to the end of a stone gallery, where the rack was placed. The executioner immediately struck off his irons, which put him to very great pain, the bolts being so closely rivetted that the sledge hammer tore away about half an inch of his heel in forcing off the bolt; the anguish of which, together with his weak condition (not having had the least sustenance for three days) occasioned him to groan bitterly; upon which the merciless alcaid said, "Villain! traitor! This is but the beginning of what you shall endure."

As soon as his irons were off, he fell on his knees, uttering a short prayer, that God would be pleased to enable him to be steadfast, and undergo courageously the trial he had to encounter: he was then stripped naked and fixed upon the rack.

It is impossible to describe the various tortures inflicted upon him. He lay on the rack for above five hours, during which time he received above sixty different tortures of the most infernal nature; and had they continued them longer, he must have expired.

On being taken from the rack, and his irons again put on, he was conducted to his former dungeon, having received no other nourishment than a little warm wine, which was given him rather to reserve him for future punishments, than from any principle of pity.

In this horrid situation he continued, almost starved, till Christmas-day, when he received some relief from Marianne, waiting-woman to the governor's lady. This woman having obtained leave to visit him, carried with her some refreshments, consisting of honey, sugar, raisins, and other articles.

Mr. Lithgow was kept in this loathsome dungeon till he was almost devoured with vermin. They crawled about his beard, lips, eyebrows, &c. so that he could scarce open his eyes; and his distress was increased by not having the use of his hands or legs to defend himself.

Mr. Lithgow at length received information which gave little hopes of being released. The substance of this information was, that an English seminary priest, and a Scotch cooper, had been for some time employed by the governor to translate from the English into the Spanish language, all his books and observations; and that it was commonly said in the governor's house, that he was an arch and dan-

gerous heretic. About two days after he had received the above information, the governor, an inquisitor, and a canonical priest, accompanied by two Jesuits, entered his dungeon, and, after several idle questions, the inquisitor asked Mr. Lithgow if he was a Roman Catholic, and acknowledged the pope's supremacy? He answered, that he neither was the one, nor did the other. In the bitterness of his soul he made use of some warm expressions. "As you have almost murdered me," said he, "for pretended treason, so now you intend to martyr me for my religion."

After some time, the inquisitor addressed Mr. Lithgow in the following words: "You have been taken up as a spy, accused of treachery, and tortured, as we acknowledge, innocently; (which appears by the account lately received from Madrid of the intentions of the English;) yet it was the divine power that brought those judgments upon you, for presumptuously treating the blessed miracle of Loretto with ridicule, and expressing yourself in your writings irreverently of his holiness, Christ's vicar upon earth; therefore you are justly fallen into our hands by their special appointment: your books and papers are miraculously translated by the assistance of Providence influencing your own countrymen."

When this harangue was ended, they gave the prisoner eight days to consider and resolve whether he would become a convert to their religion; during which time the inquisitor told him, he, with other religious persons, would attend to give him assistance. One of the Jesuits said, first making the sign of the cross upon his breast, "My son, behold, you deserve to be burnt alive; but by the grace of our Lady Loretto, whom you have blasphemed, we will save both your soul and your body."

The inquisitor, with the three ecclesiastics, returned the next morning, when the former asked the prisoner what difficulties he had on his conscience that retarded his conversion; to which he answered, "He had not any doubts in his mind, being confident in the promises of Christ, and assuredly believing his revealed will signified in the gospels, as professed in the reformed church, being confirmed by grace, and having infallible assurance thereby of the true Christian faith." To these words the inquisitor replied, "Thou art no Christian, but an absurd heretic, and without conversion, a member of perdition." The prisoner they told him, it was not consistent with the nature of religion and charity, to convince by opprobrious speeches, racks, and torments, but by arguments deduced from the scriptures; and that all other methods would with him be totally fruitless.

So enraged was the inquisitor at the replies made by the prisoner, that he struck him on the face, used many abusive speeches, and attempted to stab him, which he had certainly done had he not been prevented by the Jesuits: and from this time he never visited the prisoner again. The two Jesuits returned the next day, and the superior asked him, what resolution he had taken. To which Mr. Lithgow replied, that he was already resolved, unless he could show substantial reasons to make him alter his opinion. The superior, after a pedantic display of their seven sacraments, the intercession of saints, transubstantiation, &c. boasted greatly of their church, her antiquity, universality, and uniformity; all which Mr. Lithgow denied: "For," said he, "the profession of the faith I hold hath been ever since the

first days of the apostles, and Christ had ever his own church, however obscure, in the greatest time of your darkness."

The Jesuits finding their arguments had not the desired effect, and that torments could not shake his constancy, after severe menaces, left him. On the eighth day after, being the last of their inquisition, when sentence is pronounced, they returned again, but quite altered, both in their words and behaviour. After repeating much the same kind of arguments as before, they, with seeming grief, pretended they were sorry from their hearts he must be obliged to undergo a terrible death; but, above all, for the loss of his most precious soul; and falling on their knees, cried out, "Convert, convert, O dear brother, for our blessed lady's sake, convert!" To which he answered, "I fear neither death nor fire, being prepared for both."

Lithgow received a sentence that night of eleven different tortures, and if he did not die in the execution of them, he was, after Easter holidays, to be carried to Grenada, and there burnt to ashes. The first part of the sentence was executed with great barbarity that night; and it pleased God to give him strength both of body and mind, to adhere to the truth, and to survive the horrid punishments.

After these cruelties, they again put irons on, and conveyed him to his dungeon. The next morning he received some little comfort from a Turkish slave, who secretly brought him in his shirt sleeve some raisins and figs, which he licked up in the best manner his strength would permit with his tongue. It was to this slave Mr. Lithgow attributed his surviving so long in such a wretched situation; for he found means to convey some of these fruits to him twice every week. It is very extraordinary, and worthy of note, that this poor slave, bred up from his infancy, according to the maxims of his prophet, in the greatest detestation of the followers of Christ, should be so affected at the situation of Mr. Lithgow, while those who called themselves Christians, not only beheld his sufferings with indifference, but even inflicted the most horrible tortures upon him. During this period, he was attended by a negro slave, who found means to furnish him with refreshments still more amply than the Turk, being conversant in the house and family. She brought him some victuals, and with it some wine in a bottle, every day.

He now waited with anxious expectation for the day, which, by putting an end to his life, would also end his torments. But his melancholy expectations were, by the interposition of Providence, rendered abortive, and his deliverance obtained, from the following circumstances.

A Spanish gentleman of quality came from Grenada to Malaga; who, being invited to an entertainment by the governor, he informed him of what had befallen Mr. Lithgow, from the time of his being apprehended as a spy, and described the various sufferings he had endured. He likewise told him, that after it was known the prisoner was innocent, it gave him great concern. That on this account he would gladly have released him, restored his money and papers, and made some atonement for the injuries he had received; but that, upon an inspection into his writings, several were found of a blasphemous nature. That on his refusing to abjure these heretical opinions, he was turned over to the inquisition, who finally condemned him.

While the governor was relating this tale, a Flemish youth, servant

to the Spanish gentleman, who waited at table, was struck with amazement and pity at the description of the sufferings of the stranger. On his return to his master's lodging he began to revolve in his mind what he had heard, which made such an impression on him that he could not rest in his bed; and when the morning came, without disclosing his intentions to any person, he went into the town, and inquired for an English factor. He was directed to the house of one Mr. Wild, to whom he related the whole of what he had heard the preceding evening, between his master and the governor; but could not tell Mr. Lithgow's name. Mr. Wild, however, conjectured it was he, by the servant remembering the circumstance of his being a traveller.

Mr. Wild, therefore, on the departure of the servant, immediately sent for the other English factors, to whom he related all the particulars relative to their unfortunate countryman. After a short consultation, it was agreed, that information of the whole affair should be sent by express to Sir Walter Aston, the English ambassador at Madrid. This was accordingly done, and the ambassador having presented a memorial to the king and council of Spain, obtained an order for Mr. Lithgow's enlargement, and his delivery to the English factory. This order was directed to the governor of Malaga; and was received by the whole assembly of the bloody inquisition with the greatest surprise.

Mr. Lithgow was released from his confinement on the eve of Easter-Sunday, when he was carried from his dungeon on the back of the slave that had attended him, to the house of one Mr. Busbich, where all comforts were given him. It fortunately happened, that there was at this time a squadron of English ships in the road, commanded by Sir Richard Hawkins, who being informed of the past sufferings and present situation of Mr. Lithgow, came the next day ashore, with a proper guard, and received him from the merchants. He was instantly carried in blankets on board the *Vanguard*, and three days after was removed to another ship, by direction of the general, Sir Robert Mansel. The factory presented him with clothes, and all necessary provisions, besides which they gave him 200 reals in silver; and Sir Richard Hawkins sent him two double pistoles. Sir Richard also demanded the delivery of his papers, money, books, &c. before his departure from the Spanish coast, but could not obtain any satisfactory answer on that head. By such secondary means does Providence frequently interfere in behalf of the virtuous and oppressed.

Having lain twelve days in the road, the ship weighed anchor, and in about two months arrived safe at Deptford. The next morning Mr. Lithgow was carried on a feather bed to Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, where, at that time, were the king and royal family. Mr. Lithgow was presented to him, and related the particulars of his sufferings, and his happy delivery; which the king was so affected at, that he expressed the deepest concern, and gave orders that he should be sent to Bath. By these means, under God, after some time, Mr. Lithgow was restored, from the most wretched spectacle, to a great share of health and strength; but he lost the use of his left arm, several of the smaller bones being so crushed and broken, as to be rendered ever after unserviceable.

Notwithstanding every effort, Mr. Lithgow could never obtain any part of his money or effects, though his majesty, and the ministers, in-

terested themselves in his behalf. Gondamore, the Spanish ambassador, indeed promised that all his effects should be restored, with the addition of 1000*l.* English money, as some atonement for the tortures he had undergone, which last was to be paid him by the governor of Malaga. These engagements, however, were never kept; and though the king was a kind of guarantee for the performance of them, the cunning Spaniard found means to elude the order.

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## BOOK VI.

### BRIEF RELATION OF THE HORRIBLE MASSACRE IN FRANCE, A. D. 1572.

AFTER a long series of troubles in France, the papists seeing nothing could be done against the protestants by open force, began to devise how they should entrap them by subtlety, and that by two ways; first, by pretending that an army was to be sent into the lower country, under the command of the admiral, prince of Navarre and Conde; not that the king had any intention of so doing, but only with a view to ascertain what force the admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The second was, a marriage suborned between the prince of Navarre and the sister of the king of France; to which were to be invited all the chief protestants. Accordingly, they first began with the queen of Navarre; she consented to come to Paris, where she was at length won over to the king's mind. Shortly after, she fell sick, and died within five days, not without suspicion of poison; but her body being opened, no sign thereof appeared. A certain apothecary, however, made his boast, that he had killed the queen with venomous odours and smells, prepared by himself.

Notwithstanding this, the marriage still proceeded. The admiral, prince of Navarre and Conde, with divers other chief states of the protestants, induced by the king's letters and many fair promises, came to Paris, and were received with great solemnity. The marriage at length took place on the 18th of August, 1572, and was solemnized by the cardinal of Bourbon, upon a high stage set up on purpose without the church walls: the prince of Navarre and Conde came down, waiting for the king's sister, who was then at mass. This done, the company all went to the bishop's palace to dinner. In the evening they were conducted to the king's palace to supper. Four days after this, the admiral, coming from the council table, on his way was shot at with a pistol, charged with three bullets, and wounded in both his arms. Notwithstanding which, he still remained in Paris, although the Vidam advised him to flee.

Soldiers were appointed in various parts of the city to be ready at a watch-word, upon which they rushed out to the slaughter of the protestants, beginning with the admiral, who being dreadfully wounded, was cast out of the window into the street, where his head being struck off, was embalmed with spices to be sent to the pope. The savage people then cut off his arms and privy members, and drew him in that state through the streets of Paris, after which, they took him

to the place of execution, out of the city, and there hanged him up by the heels, exposing his mutilated body to the scorn of the populace.

The martyrdom of this virtuous man had no sooner taken place, than the armed soldiers ran about slaying all the protestants they could find within the city. This continued many days, but the greatest slaughter was in the three first days, in which were said to be murdered 10,000 men and women, old and young, of all sorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts and thrown into the river, which was all stained therewith; also whole streams in various parts of the city ran with the blood of the slain. In the number that were slain of the more learned sort, were Petrus Ramus, Lambinus, Plateanus, Lomenius, Clapesius, and others.

These brutal deeds were not confined within the walls of Paris, but extended into other cities and quarters of the realm, especially to Lyons, Orleans, Toulouse, and Rouen, where the cruelties were unparalleled. Within the space of one month, thirty thousand protestants, at least, are said to have been slain, as is credibly reported by them who testify of the matter.

When intelligence of the massacre was received at Rome, the greatest rejoicings were made. The pope and cardinals went in solemn procession to the church of St. Mark, to give thanks to God. A jubilee was also published, and the ordnance fired from the castle of St. Angelo. To the person who brought the news, the cardinal of Lorraine gave 1000 crowns. Like rejoicings were also made all over France for this imagined overthrow of the faithful.

The following are among the particulars recorded of the above enormities :

The admiral, on being wounded in both his arms, said to Maure, preacher to the queen of Navarre, "O my brother, I now perceive that I am beloved of my God, seeing that for his most holy name's sake I do suffer these wounds." He was slain by Bemjus, who afterwards reported that he never saw man so constantly and confidently suffer death.

Many honourable men, and great personages, were, at the same time, murdered, namely, Count Rochefoucault, Telinius, the admiral's son-in-law, Antonius Claromontus, marquis of Ravelly, Lewis Busius, Bandineus, Pleuvialius, Bernius, &c.

Francis Nompar Caumontius, being in bed with his two sons, was slain with one of them: the other was strangely preserved, and afterwards came to great dignity. Stephen Cevaleric Prime, chief treasurer to the king in Poitiers, a very good man, and careful of the commonwealth, after he had paid for his life a large sum of money, was cruelly and perfidiously murdered.

Magdalen Brissonet, an excellent woman, and learned, the widow of Ivermus, master of requests to the king, flying out of the city in poor apparel, was taken, cruelly murdered, and cast into the river.

Two thousand were murdered in one day; and the same liberty of killing and spoiling continued several days after.

At Meldis two hundred were cast into prison, and being brought out as sheep to the slaughter, were cruelly murdered. There also were twenty-five women slain.

At Orleans, a thousand men, women, and children were murdered.

The citizens of Augustobona, hearing of the massacre at Paris.

shut the gates of their town that no protestants might escape, and cast all they suspected into prison, who were afterwards brought forth and murdered.

At Lyons there were 800 men, women, and children, most miserably and cruelly murdered. Three hundred were slain in the archbishop's house. The monks would not suffer their bodies to be buried.

At Toulouse 200 were murdered.

At Rouen 500 were put to death; and as Thuanus writes, "This example passed unto other cities, and from cities to towns and villages, so that it is by many published, that in all the kingdoms above 30,000 were in these tumults divers ways destroyed."

A little before this massacre, a man, nurse, and infant carried to be baptized, were all three murdered.

Bricamotius, a man of seventy years, and Cavagnius, were laid upon hurdles and drawn to execution; and after being in the way reviled and defiled with dirt cast upon them, they were hanged. The first might have been pardoned, if he would publicly confess that the admiral had conspired against the king, which he refused to do.

At Bourdeaux, by the instigation of a monk, named Enimund Angerius, 264 persons were cruelly murdered, of whom some were senators. This monk continually provoked the people in his sermons to this slaughter.

At Agendicum, in Maine, a cruel slaughter of the protestants was committed by the instigation of Æmarus, inquisitor of criminal causes. A rumour being spread abroad, that the protestants had taken secret counsel to invade and spoil the churches, above a hundred of every estate and sex were by the enraged people killed or drowned in the river Igomua, which runs by the city.

On entering Blois, the duke of Guise, (to whom the city had opened its gates) gave it up to rapine and slaughter; houses were spoiled, many protestants who had remained were slain, or drowned in the river; neither were women spared, of whom some were ravished, and more murdered. From thence he went to Mere, a town two leagues from Blois, where the protestants frequently assembled at sermons; which for many days together was spoiled, many of its inhabitants killed, and Cassebonius, the pastor, drowned in the next river.

At Anjou, Albiacus, the pastor, was murdered, certain women slain, and some ravished.

John Bergeolus, president of Turin, an old man, being suspected to be a protestant, having bought with a great sum of money his life and safety, was, notwithstanding, taken and beaten cruelly with clubs and staves, and being stripped of his clothes, was brought to the bank of the river Liger, and hanged with his head downward in the water up to his breast; then his entrails were torn out, while he was yet alive, and thrown into the river, and his heart put upon a spear, and carried about the city.

The town of Barre, being taken by the papists, all kinds of cruelty were there used, children were cut to pieces, and their bowels and hearts being torn out, some of the barbarians, in their blind rage, gnawed them with their teeth.

At Albia of Cahors, upon the Lord's day, the 16th of December,

the papists, at the ringing of a bell, broke open the houses in which the protestants were assembled, and killed all they could find: among whom was one Guacerius, a rich merchant, whom they drew into his house, and then murdered him, with his wife and children.

In a town called Penna, 300 persons (notwithstanding their lives had been promised them) were murdered by Spaniards, who were newly come to serve the French king.

The town of Nonne having capitulated to the papists, upon condition that the foreign soldiers should depart safe with horse and armour, leaving their ensigns, that the enemy's soldiers should not enter the town, and that no harm should be done to the inhabitants, who (if they chose) might go into the castle: after the yielding of it, the gates were set open, when, without any regard to these conditions, the soldiers rushed in, and began murdering and spoiling all around them. Men and women without distinction were killed; the streets resounded with cries and groans, and flowed with blood. Many were thrown down headlong from on high. Among others, the following monstrous act of cruelty was reported: a certain woman being drawn out of a private place, into which to avoid the rage of the soldiers she had fled with her husband, was in his sight shamefully defiled: and then being commanded to draw a sword, not knowing to what end, was forced by others, who guided her hand, to give her husband a wound, whereof he died.

Bordis, a captain under the prince of Conde, at Mirabellum, was killed, and his naked body cast into the street, that, being unburied, the dogs might eat it.

The prince of Conde being taken prisoner, and his life promised him, was shot in the neck by Montisquis, captain of the duke of Anjou's guard. Thuanus thus speaks of him: "This was the end of Lewis Bourbon, prince of Conde, of the king's blood, a man above the honour of his birth, most honourable in courage and virtue: who in valour, constancy, wit, wisdom, experience, courtesy, eloquence, and liberality, all which virtues excelled in him, had few equals, and none, even by the confession of his enemies, superior to him."

At Orleans 100 men and women being committed to prison, were, by the furious people, most cruelly murdered.

The enemies of truth now glutted with slaughter, began every where to triumph in the fallacious opinion, that they were the sole lords of men's consciences; and, truly, it might appear to human reason, that by the destruction of his people, God had abandoned the earth to the ravages of his enemy. But he had otherwise decreed, and thousands yet, who had not *bowed the knee to Baal*, were called forth to *glory and virtue*. The inhabitants of Rochelle, hearing of the cruelties committed on their brethren, resolved to defend themselves against the power of the king; and their example was followed by various other towns, with which they entered into a confederacy, exhorting and inspiring one another in the common cause. To crush this, the king shortly after summoned the whole power of France, and the greatest of his nobility, among whom were his royal brothers; he then invested Rochelle by sea and land, and commenced a furious siege, which, but for the immediate hand of God, must have ended in its destruction.

Seven assaults were made against the town, none of which suc-



ceeded. At one time a breach was made by the tremendous cannonade; but, through the undaunted valour of the citizens, assisted even by their wives and daughters, the soldiers were driven back with great slaughter.

The siege lasted seven months, when the duke of Anjou being proclaimed king of Poland, he, in concert with the king of France, entered into a treaty with the people of Rochelle, which ended in a peace; conditions containing 25 articles, having been drawn up by the latter, embracing many immunities both for themselves and other Protestants in France, were confirmed by the king, and proclaimed with great rejoicings at Rochelle and other cities.

The year following died Charles IX. of France, the tyrant who had been so instrumental in the calamities above recorded. He was only in the 25th year of his age, and his death was remarkable and dreadful. When lying on his bed the blood gushed from various parts of his body, and, after lingering in horrible torments during many months, he at length expired.

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## BOOK VII.

FARTHER ACCOUNTS OF THE PERSECUTIONS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

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### SECTION I.

PERSECUTIONS IN BOHEMIA AND GERMANY.

THE severity exercised by the Roman Catholics over the reformed Bohemians, induced the latter to send two ministers and four laymen to Rome, in the year 977, to seek redress from the pope. After some delay their request was granted, and their grievances redressed. Two things in particular were permitted to them, viz. to have divine service in their own language, and to give the cup in the sacrament to the laity. The disputes, however, soon broke out again, the succeeding popes exerting all their power to resume their tyranny over the minds of the Bohemians; and the latter, with great spirit, aiming to preserve their religious liberties.

Some zealous friends of the gospel applied to Charles, king of Bohemia, A. D. 1375, to call a council for an inquiry into the abuses that had crept into the church, and to make a thorough reformation. Charles, at a loss how to proceed, sent to the pope for advice; the latter, incensed at the affair, only replied, "Punish severely those presumptuous and profane heretics." The king, accordingly, banished every one who had been concerned in the application; and, to show his zeal for the pope, laid many additional restraints upon the reformed Christians of the country.

The martyrdom of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague,\* greatly increased the indignation of the believers, and gave animation to their cause. These two great and pious men were condemned by order of the council of Constance, when fifty-eight of the principal Bohemian nobility interposed in their favour. Nevertheless, they were burnt; and the pope, in conjunction with the council of Constance, ordered the Romish clergy, every where, to excommunicate all who adopted their opinions, or murmured at their fate. In consequence of these orders, great contentions arose between the papists and reformed Bohemians, which produced a violent persecution against the latter. At Prague it was extremely severe, till, at length, the reformed, driven to desperation, armed themselves, attacked the senate house, and cast twelve of its members, with the speaker, out of the windows. The pope, hearing of this, went to Florence, and publicly excommunicated the reformed Bohemians, exciting the emperor of Germany, and all other kings, princes, dukes, &c. to take up arms, in order to extirpate the whole race: promising, by way of encouragement, full remission of all sins to the most wicked person who should kill one Bohemian Protestant. The result of this was a bloody war: for several popish princes undertook the extirpation, or at least expulsion, of the proscribed people; while the Bohemians, arming themselves, prepared to repel them in the most vigorous manner. The popish army prevailing against the Protestant forces at the battle of Cuttenburgh, they conveyed their prisoners to three deep mines near that town, and threw several hundreds into each, where they perished in a miserable manner.

A bigoted popish magistrate, named Pichel, seized twenty-four protestants, among whom was his daughter's husband. On their all confessing themselves of the reformed religion, he sentenced them to be drowned in the river Abbis. On the day of the execution, a great concourse of people attended; and Pichel's daughter threw herself at her father's feet, bedewed them with tears, and implored him to pardon her husband. The obdurate magistrate sternly replied, "Intercede not for him, child: he is a heretic, a vile heretic." To which she nobly answered, "Whatever his faults may be, or however his opinions may differ from yours, he is still my husband, a thought which, at a time like this, should alone employ my whole consideration." Pichel flew into a violent passion, and said, "You are mad! cannot you, after his death, have a much worthier husband?"—"No, sir," replied she, "my affections are fixed upon him, and death itself shall not dissolve my marriage vow." Pichel, however, continued inflexible, and ordered the prisoners to be tied with their hands and feet behind them, and in that manner thrown into the river. This being put into execution, the young lady watched her opportunity, leaped into the waves, and, embracing the body of her husband, both sunk together.

#### *Persecution by the Emperor Ferdinand.*

The Emperor Ferdinand, whose hatred to the protestants was unlimited, not thinking he had sufficiently oppressed them, instituted a high

\* These two great men were first brought to the light of truth by reading the doctrines of our countryman, John Wickliffe, who, like the morning star of reformation, first burst from the dark night of popish error, and illuminated the surrounding world.

court of reformers, upon the plan of the inquisition, with this difference, that the reformers were to remove from place to place. The greater part of this court consisted of Jesuits, and from its decisions there was no appeal. Attended by a body of troops, it made the tour of Bohemia, and seldom examined or saw a prisoner; but suffered the soldiers to murder the protestants as they pleased, and then to make report of the matter afterwards.

The first who fell a victim to their barbarity was an aged minister, whom they killed, as he lay sick in bed. Next day they robbed and murdered another, and soon after shot a third, while preaching in his pulpit.

They ravished the daughter of a protestant before his face, and then tortured her father to death. They tied a minister and his wife back to back, and burnt them. Another minister they hung upon a cross beam, and making a fire under him, broiled him to death. A gentleman they hacked into small pieces; and they filled a young man's mouth with gunpowder, and setting fire to it, blew his head to pieces.

But their principal rage being directed against the clergy, they seized a pious protestant minister, whom they tormented daily for a month in the following manner: they placed him amidst them, and derided and mocked him; they spit in his face, and pinched him in various parts of his body; they hunted him like a wild beast, till ready to expire with fatigue; they made him run the gauntlet, each striking him with a twig, their fists, or ropes; they scourged him with wires; they tied him up by the heels with his head downwards, till the blood started out of his nose, mouth, &c.; they hung him up by the arms till they were dislocated, and then had them set again; burning papers dipped in oil, were placed between his fingers and toes; his flesh was torn with red-hot pincers; he was put to the rack; they pulled off the nails of his fingers and toes; he was bastinadoed on his feet; a slit was made in his ears and nose; they set him upon an ass, and whipped him through the town; his teeth were pulled out; boiling lead was poured upon his fingers and toes; and, lastly, a knotted cord was twisted about his forehead in such a manner as to force out his eyes. In the midst of these enormities, particular care was taken lest his wounds should mortify, and his sufferings be thus shortened, till the last day, when the forcing out of his eyes caused his death.

The other acts of these monsters were various and diabolical. At length, the winter being far advanced, the high court of reformers, with their military ruffians, thought proper to return to Prague; but on their way meeting with a protestant pastor, they could not resist the temptation of feasting their barbarous eyes with a new kind of cruelty. This was to strip him naked, and to cover him alternately with ice and burning coals. This novel mode of torture was immediately put in practice, and the unhappy victim expired beneath the torments, which delighted his inhuman persecutors.

Some time after, a secret order was issued by the emperor, for apprehending all noblemen and gentlemen who had been principally concerned in supporting the protestant cause, and in nominating Frederick, elector palatine of the Rhine, to be the king of Bohemia. Fifty of these were suddenly seized in one night, and brought to the castle of Prague; while the estates of those who were absent were confis-

ated, themselves made outlaws, and their names fixed upon a gallows as a mark of public ignominy.

The high court of reformers afterwards proceeded to try those who had been apprehended, and two apostate protestants were appointed to examine them. Their examiners asked many unnecessary and impertinent questions, which so exasperated one of the noblemen, that he exclaimed, opening his breast at the same time, "Cut here: search my heart; you shall find nothing but the love of religion and liberty: those were the motives for which I drew my sword, and for those I am willing to die."

As none of the prisoners would renounce their faith, or acknowledge themselves in error, they were all pronounced guilty; the sentence was, however, referred to the emperor. When that monarch had read their names, and the accusations against them, he passed judgment on all, but in a different manner; his sentences being of four kinds, viz. death, banishment, imprisonment for life, and imprisonment during pleasure. Twenty of them being ordered for execution, were informed they might send for Jesuits, monks, or friars, to prepare for their awful change, but that no communication with protestants would be permitted them. This proposal they rejected, and strove all they could to comfort and cheer each other upon the solemn occasion. The morning of the execution being arrived, a cannon was fired as a signal to bring the prisoners from the castle to the principal market-place, in which scaffolds were erected, and a body of troops drawn up to attend. The prisoners left the castle, and passed with dignity, composure, and cheerfulness, through soldiers, Jesuits, priests, executioners, attendants, and a prodigious concourse of people assembled to see the exit of these devoted martyrs.

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## SECTION II.

### LIFE, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HUSS.

John Huss was born in the village of Hussenitz, in Bohemia, about the year 1380. His parents gave him the best education they could bestow, and having acquired a tolerable knowledge of the classics, at a private school, he was sent to the university of Prague, where the powers of his mind, and his diligence in study, soon rendered him conspicuous.

In 1408, he commenced bachelor of divinity, and was successively chosen pastor of the church of Bethlehem, in Prague, and dean and rector of the university. The duties of these stations he discharged with great fidelity, and became at length so conspicuous for the boldness and truth of his preaching, that he attracted the notice, and raised the malignity of the pope and his creatures.

His influence in the university was very great, not only on account of his learning, eloquence, and exemplary life, but also on account of some valuable privileges he had obtained from the king in behalf of that seminary.

The English reformer, Wickliffe, had so kindled the light of reformation, that it began to illumine the darkest corners of popery and ig-

norance. His doctrines were received in Bohemia with avidity and zeal, by great numbers of people, but by none so particularly as John Huss, and his friend and fellow martyr, Jerome of Prague.

The reformists daily increasing, the archbishop of Prague issued a decree to prevent the farther spreading of Wickliffe's writings. This, however, had an effect quite the reverse to what he expected, for it stimulated the converts to greater zeal, and, at length, almost the whole university united in promoting them.

Strongly attached to the doctrines of Wickliffe, Huss strenuously opposed the decree of the archbishop, who, notwithstanding, obtained a bull from the pope, authorizing him to prevent the publishing of Wickliffe's writings in his province. By virtue of this bull, he proceeded against four doctors, who had not delivered up some copies, and prohibited them to preach. Against these proceedings, Huss, with some other members of the university, protested, and entered an appeal from the sentences of the archbishop. The pope no sooner heard of this, than he granted a commission to Cardinal Colonna, to cite John Huss to appear at the court of Rome, to answer accusations laid against him, of preaching heresies. From this appearance Huss desired to be excused, and so greatly was he favoured in Bohemia, that King Winceslaus, the queen, the nobility, and the university, desired the pope to dispense with such an appearance; as also that he would not suffer the kingdom of Bohemia to lie under the accusation of heresy, but permit them to preach the gospel with freedom in their places of worship.

Three proctors appeared for Huss before Cardinal Colonna. They made an excuse for his absence, and said, they were ready to answer in his behalf. But the cardinal declared him contumacious, and accordingly excommunicated him. On this the proctors appealed to the pope, who appointed four cardinals to examine the process: these commissioners confirmed the sentence of the cardinal, and extended the excommunication, not only to Huss, but to all his friends and followers. Huss then appealed from this unjust sentence to a future council, but without success; and, notwithstanding so severe a decree, and an expulsion from his church in Prague, he retired to Husenitz, his native place, where he continued to promulgate the truth, both from the pulpit, and with the pen.

He here compiled a treatise, in which he maintained, that reading the books of protestants could not be absolutely forbidden. He wrote in defence of Wickliffe's book on the trinity, and boldly declared against the vices of the pope, and cardinals, and the clergy of those corrupt times. Besides these, he wrote many other books, all of which were penned with such strength of argument, as greatly facilitated the spreading of his doctrines.

In England, the persecutions against the protestants had been carried on for some time with relentless cruelty. They now extended to Germany and Bohemia, where Huss, and Jerome of Prague, were particularly singled out to suffer in the cause of religion.

In the month of November, 1414, a general council was assembled at Constance, in Germany, for the purpose of determining a dispute then existing between three persons who contended for the papal throne.\*

\* These were, John, proposed and set up by the Italians; Gregory, by the

John Huss was summoned to appear at this council; and to dispel any apprehensions of danger, the emperor sent him a safe conduct, giving him permission freely to come to, and return from the council. On receiving this information, he told the persons who delivered it, "That he desired nothing more than to purge himself publicly of the imputation of heresy: and that he esteemed himself happy in having so fair an opportunity of it, as at the council to which he was summoned to attend."

In the latter end of November, he set out to Constance, accompanied by two Bohemian noblemen, who were among the most eminent of his disciples, and who followed him merely through respect and affection. He caused some placards to be fixed upon the gates of the churches of Prague, in which he declared, that he went to the council to answer all allegations that might be made against him. He also declared, in all the cities through which he passed, that he was going to vindicate himself at Constance, and invited all his adversaries to be present.

On his way he met with every mark of affection and reverence from people of all descriptions. The streets, and even the roads, were thronged with people, whom respect, rather than curiosity, had brought together. He was ushered into the towns with great acclamations, and he passed through Germany in a kind of triumph. "I thought," said he, "I had been an outcast. I now see my worst friends are in Bohemia."

On his arrival at Constance, he immediately took lodgings in a remote part of the city. Soon after came one Stephen Paletz, who was engaged by the clergy of Prague to manage the intended prosecution against him. Paletz was afterwards joined by Michael de Cassis, on the part of the court of Rome. These two declared themselves his accusers, and drew up articles against him, which they presented to the pope, and the prelates of the council.

Notwithstanding the promise of the emperor to give him a safe conduct to and from Constance, he regarded not his word: but, according to the maxim of the council, that "Faith is not to be kept with heretics," when it was known he was in the city, he was immediately arrested, and committed prisoner to a chamber in the palace. This breach was particularly noticed by one of Huss's friends, who urged the imperial safe conduct; but the pope replied, *he never granted any such thing, nor was he bound by that of the emperor.*

While Huss was under confinement, the council acted the part of inquisitors. They condemned the doctrines of Wickliffe, and, in their impotent malice, ordered his remains to be dug up, and burnt to ashes; which orders were obeyed.

In the mean time, the nobility of Bohemia and Poland used all their interest for Huss; and so far prevailed as to prevent his being condemned unheard, which had been resolved on by the commissioners appointed to try him.

French; and Benedict, by the Spaniards. The council continued four years, in which the severest laws were enacted to crush the protestants. Pope John was deposed, and obliged to fly, the most heinous crimes being proved against him; among which were, his attempt to poison his predecessor, his being a gamester, a liar, a murderer, an adulterer, and guilty of unnatural offences.

Before his trial took place, his enemies employed a Franciscan friar who might entangle him in his words, and then appear against him. This man, of great ingenuity and subtlety, came to him in the character of an idiot, and with seeming security and zeal, requested to be taught his doctrines. But Huss soon discovered him, and told him that his manners were a great semblance of simplicity; but that his questions discovered a depth and design beyond the reach of an idiot. He afterwards found this pretended fool to be Didace, one of the deepest logicians in Lombardy.

At length, he was brought before the council, when the articles exhibited against him were read: they were upwards of forty in number, and chiefly extracted from his writings.\*

On his examination being finished, he was taken from the court, and a resolution was formed by the council, to burn him as a heretic, unless he recanted. He was then committed to a filthy prison, where, in the day-time he was so laden with fetters on his legs, that he could hardly move; and every night he was fastened by his hands to a ring against the walls of the prison.

He continued some days in this situation, in which time many noblemen of Bohemia interceded in his behalf. They drew up a petition for his release, which was presented to the council by several of the most illustrious nobles of Bohemia; notwithstanding which, so many enemies had Huss in that court, that no attention was paid to it, and the persecuted reformer was compelled to bear with the punishment inflicted on him by that merciless tribunal.

Shortly after the petition was presented, four bishops, and two lords, were sent by the emperor to the prison, in order to prevail on Huss to make a recantation. But he called God to witness, that he was not conscious of having preached, or written any thing against his truth, or the faith of his orthodox church. The deputies then represented the great wisdom and authority of the council: to which Huss replied, "Let them send the meanest person of that council, who can convince me by argument from the word of God, and I will submit my judgment to him." This pious answer had no effect, because he would not take the authority of the council upon trust, without the least shadow of an argument offered. The deputies, therefore, finding they could make no impression on him, departed, greatly astonished at the strength of his resolution.

On the 4th of July, he was, for the last time, brought before the council. After a long examination he was desired to abjure, which he refused, without the least hesitation. The bishop of Lodi then preached a sermon, the text of which was, "Let the body of sin be destroyed," (concerning the destruction of heretics,) the prologue to his intended punishment. After the close of the sermon his fate was determined, his vindication rejected, and judgment pronounced. The council censured him for being obstinate and incorrigible, and ordained, "That he should be degraded from the priesthood, his books publicly burnt, and himself delivered to the secular power."

He received the sentence without the least emotion: and at the close of it he kneeled down with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and,

\* That the reader may form a judgment of his writings, we here give one of the articles for which he was condemned: "An evil and a wicked pope is not the successor of Peter, but of Judas."

with all the magnanimity of a primitive martyr, thus exclaimed: "May thy infinite mercy, O my God! pardon this injustice of mine enemies. Thou knowest the injustice of my accusations: how deformed with crimes I have been represented: how I have been oppressed with worthless witnesses, and a false condemnation: yet, O my God! let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can express, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs." These excellent sentences were received as so many expressions of heresy, and only tended to inflame his adversaries. Accordingly, the bishops appointed by the council stripped him of his priestly garments, degraded him, and put a paper mitre on his head, on which were painted devils, with this inscription: "A ringleader of heretics."

This mockery was received by the heroic martyr with an air of unconcern, which appeared to give him dignity rather than disgrace. A serenity appeared in his looks, which indicated that his soul had cut off many stages of a tedious journey in her way to the realms of everlasting happiness.

The ceremony of degradation being over, the bishops delivered him to the emperor, who committed him to the care of the duke of Bavaria. His books were burnt at the gate of the church; and on the 6th of July he was led to the suburbs of Constance, to be burnt alive.

When he had reached the place of execution, he fell on his knees, sung several portions of the Psalms, looked steadfastly towards heaven, and repeated, "Into thy hands, O Lord! do I commit my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O most good and faithful God."

As soon as the chain was put about him at the stake, he said, with a smiling countenance, "My Lord Jesus Christ was bound with a harder chain than this, for my sake; why then should I be ashamed of this old rusty one?"

When the faggots were piled around him, the duke of Bavaria desired him to abjure. "No," said he, "I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips, I now seal with my blood." He then said to the executioner, "You are now going to burn a *goose*, (*Huss* signifying *goose* in the Bohemian language,) but in a century you will have a *swan* whom you can neither roast or boil." If this were spoken in prophecy, he must have meant Martin Luther, who flourished about a century after, and who had a *swan* for his arms.

As soon as the faggots were lighted, the heroic martyr sung a hymn, with so loud and cheerful a voice, that he was heard through all the cracklings of the combustibles, and the noise of the multitude. At length his voice was interrupted by the flames, which soon put a period to his life.

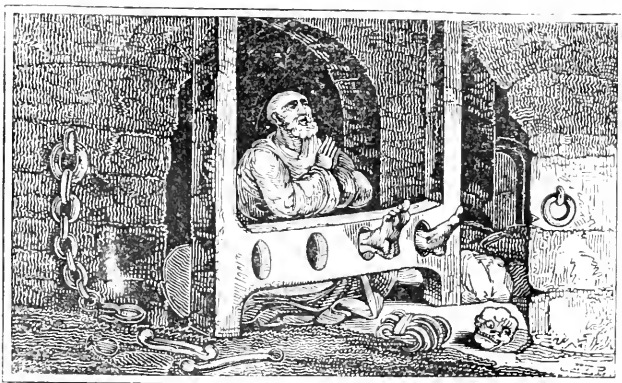
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### SECTION III.

#### LIFE, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOM OF JEROME OF PRAGUE.

This hero in the cause of truth, was born at Prague, and educated in its university, where he soon became distinguished for his learning and eloquence. Having completed his studies, he travelled over





*Jerome of Prague in the prison. Page 137.*



*Assassination of the Prince of Orange by Baltazar Gerard. Page 143.*



*Constantine XV. defending Constantinople. Page 147.*

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great part of Europe, and visited many of the seats of learning, particularly the universities of Paris, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Oxford. At the latter he became acquainted with the works of Wickliffe, and translated many of them into his own language.

On his return to Prague he openly professed the doctrines of Wickliffe, and finding that they had made a considerable progress in Bohemia, from the industry and zeal of Huss, he became an assistant to him in the great work of reformation.

On the 4th of April, 1415, Jerome went to Constance. This was about three months before the death of Huss. He entered the town privately, and consulting with some of the leaders of his party, was easily convinced that he could render his friend no service.

Finding that his arrival at Constance was publicly known, and that the council intended to seize him, he retired, and went to Iberling, an imperial town, a short distance from Constance. While here, he wrote to the Emperor, and declared his readiness to appear before the council, if a safe-conduct were granted to him; this, however, was refused.

After this, he caused papers to be put up in all the public places in Constance, particularly on the doors of the cardinal's houses. In these he professed his willingness to appear at Constance in the defence of his character and doctrine, both which, he said, had been greatly falsified. He farther declared, that if any error should be proved against him, he would retract it; desiring only that the faith of the council might be given for his security.

Receiving no answer to these papers, he set out on his return to Bohemia, taking the precaution to carry with him a certificate, signed by several of the Bohemian nobility then at Constance, testifying that he had used every prudent means, in his power, to procure an audience.

He was, however, notwithstanding this, seized on his way, without any authority, at Hirsaw, by an officer belonging to the Duke of Sultzbach, who hoped thereby to receive commendations from the council for so acceptable a service.

The duke of Sultzbach immediately wrote to the council, informing them what he had done, and asking directions how to proceed with Jerome. The council, after expressing their obligations to the duke, desired him to send the prisoner immediately to Constance. He was, accordingly, conveyed thither in irons, and, on his way, was met by the elector palatine, who caused a long chain to be fastened to him, by which he was dragged, like a wild beast, to the cloister, whence, after an examination, he was conveyed to a tower, and fastened to a block, with his legs in stocks. In this manner he remained eleven days and nights, till becoming dangerously ill in consequence, his persecutors, in order to gratify their malice still farther, relieved him from that painful state.

He remained confined till the martyrdom of his friend Huss; after which, he was brought forth, and threatened with immediate torments and death if he remained obstinate. Terrified at the preparations which he beheld, he, in a moment of weakness, forgot his resolution, abjured his doctrines, and confessed that Huss merited his fate, and that both he and Wickliffe were heretics. In consequence of this, his chains were taken off, and he was treated more kindly; he was, how-

ever, still confined, but in hopes of liberation. But his enemies, suspecting his sincerity, proposed another form of recantation to be drawn up and proposed to him. To this, however he refused to answer, except in public, and was, accordingly, brought before the council, when, to the astonishment of his auditors, and to the glory of truth, he renounced his recantation, and requested permission to plead his own cause, which was refused; and the charges against him were read, in which he was accused of being a derider of the papal dignity, an opposer of the pope, an enemy to the cardinals, a persecutor of the prelates, and a hater of the Christian religion.

To these charges Jerome answered with an amazing force of elocution, and strength of argument. After which he was remanded to his prison.

The third day from this, his trial was brought on, and witnesses were examined. He was prepared for his defence, although he had been nearly a year shut up in loathsome prisons, deprived of the light of day, and almost starved for want of common necessaries. But his spirit soared above these disadvantages.

The most bigoted of the assembly were unwilling he should be heard, dreading the effect of eloquence in the cause of truth, on the minds of the most prejudiced. At length, however, it was carried by the majority, that he should have liberty to proceed in his defence; which he began in such an exalted strain, and continued in such a torrent of elocution, that the most obdurate heart was melted, and the mind of superstition seemed to admit a ray of conviction.

Bigotry, however, prevailed, and his trial being ended, he received the same sentence as had been passed upon his martyred countryman, and was, in the usual style of popish duplicity, delivered over to the civil power; but, being a layman, he had not to undergo the ceremony of degradation.

Two days his execution was delayed, in hopes that he would recant; in which time the cardinal of Florence used his utmost endeavours to bring him over. But they all proved ineffectual: Jerome was resolved to seal his doctrine with his blood.

On his way to the place of execution he sung several hymns; and on arriving there, he knelt down, and prayed fervently. He embraced the stake with great cheerfulness and resolution; and when the executioner went behind him to set fire to the faggots, he said, "Come here and kindle it before my eyes; for had I been afraid of it, I had not come here, having had so many opportunities to escape."

When the flames enveloped him, he sung a hymn; and the last words he was heard to say, were,

This soul in flames I offer, Christ, to thee!\*

\* Jerome was of a fine and manly form, and possessed a strong and healthy constitution, which rendered his death extremely lingering and painful. He, however, sung till his aspiring soul took its flight from its mortal habitation.

## SECTION IV.

## GENERAL PERSECUTIONS IN GERMANY.

**MARTIN LUTHER**, by unmasking popery, and by the vigour with which he prosecuted his doctrines, caused the papal throne to shake to its foundation. So terrified was the pope at his rapid success, that he determined, in order to stop his career, to engage the emperor, Charles V., in his scheme of utterly extirpating all who had embraced the reformation. To accomplish which, he gave the emperor 200,000 crowns; promised to maintain 12,000 foot, and 5000 horse, for six months, or during a campaign; allowed the emperor to receive one half of the revenues of the clergy in Germany during the war; and permitted him to pledge the abbey lands for 500,000 crowns, to assist in carrying on hostilities. Thus prompted and supported, the emperor, with a heart eager, both from interest and prejudice, for the cause, undertook the extirpation of the protestants; and, for this purpose, raised a formidable army in Germany, Spain, and Italy.

The protestant princes, in the mean time, were not idle; but formed a powerful confederacy, in order to repel the impending blow. A great army was raised, and the command given to the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse. The imperial forces were commanded by the emperor in person, and all Europe waited in anxious suspense the event of the war.

At length the armies met, and a desperate engagement ensued, in which the protestants were defeated, and the elector of Saxony, and landgrave of Hesse, both taken prisoners. This calamitous stroke was succeeded by a persecution, in which the most horrible cruelties were inflicted on the protestants, and suffered by them with a fortitude which only religion can impart.

The persecutions in Germany having been suspended many years, again broke out in 1630. on account of a war between the emperor and the king of Sweden; the latter being a protestant prince, the protestants of Germany, in consequence, espoused his cause, which greatly exasperated the emperor against them.

The imperial army having laid siege to the town of Passewalk, (then defended by the Swedes,) took it by storm, and committed the most monstrous outrages on the occasion. They pulled down the churches, pillaged and burnt the houses, massacred the ministers, put the garrison to the sword, hanged the townsmen, ravished the women, smothered the children, &c. &c.

In 1631, a most bloody scene took place at the protestant city of Magdeburg. The generals Tilly and Pappenheim, having taken it by storm, upwards of 20,000 persons, without distinction of rank, sex, or age, were slain during the carnage, and 6000 drowned in attempting to escape over the river Elbe. After which, the remaining inhabitants were stripped naked, severely scourged, had their ears cropped, and being yoked together like oxen, were turned adrift.

On the popish army's taking the town of Hoxter, all the inhabitants, with the garrison, were put to the sword.

When the imperial forces prevailed at Griphenburgh, they shut up

the senators in the senate chamber. and, surrounding it by lighted straw, suffocated them.

Frankendal, notwithstanding it surrendered upon articles of capitulation, suffered as cruelly as other places: and at Heidelberg, many were shut up in prison and starved.

To enumerate the various species of cruelty practised by the imperial troops, under Count Tilly, would excite disgust and horror. That sanguinary monster, in his progress through Saxony, not only permitted every excess in his soldiers, but actually commanded them to put all their enormities in practice. Some of these are so unparalleled, that we feel ourselves obliged to mention them.

In Hesse Cassel some of the troops entered an hospital, in which were principally mad women, when stripping all the poor wretches naked, they made them run about the streets for their diversion, and then put them to death.

In Pomerania, some of the imperial troops entering a small town, seized upon all the young women, and girls upwards of ten years, and then placing their parents in a circle, they ordered them to sing psalms, while they ravished their children, or else they swore they would cut them to pieces afterwards. They then took all the married women who had young children, and threatened, if they did not consent to the gratification of their lusts, to burn their children before their faces, in a large fire which they had kindled for that purpose.

A band of Tilly's soldiers met with a company of merchants belonging to Basil, who were returning from the great market of Strasbourg, and attempted to surround them; all escaped, however, but ten, leaving their property behind. The ten who were taken begged hard for their lives; but the soldiers murdered them, saying, "You must die because you are heretics, and have got no money."

Wherever Tilly came, the most horrid barbarities and cruel depredations ensued: famine and conflagration marked his progress. He destroyed all the provisions he could not take with him, and burnt all the towns before he left them; so that murder, poverty, and desolation, followed him.

Peace, at length, chiefly through the mediation of England, was restored to Germany, and the protestants, for several years, enjoyed the free exercise of their religion.

Even as late as 1732, above 30,000 protestants were, contrary to the treaty of Westphalia, driven from the archbishopric of Saltzburg, in the depth of winter, with scarce clothes to cover them, and without provisions. These poor people emigrated to various protestant countries, and settled in places where they could enjoy the free exercise of their religion, free from popish superstition, and papal despotism.

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## SECTION V.

### PERSECUTION IN THE NETHERLANDS.

The glorious light of the gospel spreading over every part of the continent, and chasing thence the dark night of ignorance, increased

the alarm of the pope, who urged the emperor to commence a persecution against the protestants; when many thousands fell martyrs to superstitious malice and barbarous bigotry: among whom were the following.

A pious protestant widow, named Wendelinuta, was apprehended on account of her religion, when several monks unsuccessfully endeavoured to persuade her to recant. Their attempts, however proving ineffectual, a Roman Catholic lady of her acquaintance desired to be admitted to the dungeon in which she was confined, promising to exert herself towards inducing the prisoner to abjure her religion. On being admitted to the dungeon, she did her utmost to perform the task she had undertaken; but finding her endeavours fruitless, she said, "Dear Windelinuta, if you will not embrace our faith, at least keep the things which you profess secret within your own bosom, and strive to prolong your life." To which the widow replied, "Madam, you know not what you say; for with the heart we believe to righteousness, but with the tongue confession is made unto salvation." Still holding her faith against every effort of the powers of darkness, her goods were confiscated, and she was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution a monk presented a cross to her, and bade her kiss and worship God. To which she answered, "I worship no wooden god, but the eternal God, who is in heaven." She was then executed, but at the intercession of the before mentioned lady, it was granted, that she should be strangled before the faggots were kindled.

At Colen, two protestant clergymen were burnt: a tradesman of Antwerp, named Nicholas, was tied up in a sack, thrown into the river, and drowned: and Pistorius, an accomplished scholar and student, was carried to the market of a Dutch village, and burnt.

A minister of the reformed church was ordered to attend the execution of sixteen protestants who were to be beheaded. This gentleman performed the melancholy office with great propriety, exhorted them to repentance, and gave them comfort in the mercies of their Redeemer. As soon as they were beheaded, the magistrate cried out to the executioner, "There is another remaining; you must behead the minister: he can never die at a better time than with such excellent precepts in his mouth, and such laudable examples before him." He was accordingly beheaded, though many of the Roman Catholics themselves reprobated this piece of treacherous and unnecessary barbarity.

George Scherter, a minister of Saltzburg, was committed to prison for instructing his flock in the truth of the gospel. While in confinement he wrote a confession of his faith; soon after which he was condemned, first to be beheaded, and afterwards to be burnt to ashes, which sentence was accordingly put in execution.

Percival, a learned man of Louvinia, was murdered in prison; and Justus Insrag was beheaded, for having Luther's sermons in his possession.

Giles Tolleman, a cutler of Brussels, was a man of singular humanity and piety. He was apprehended as a protestant, and many attempts were made by monks to persuade him to recant. Once, by accident, a fair opportunity of escaping from prison offered itself to him, but of which he did not avail himself. Being asked the reason,

he replied, "I would not do the keepers so much injury; as they must have answered for my absence had I got away." When he was sentenced to be burnt, he fervently thanked God for allowing him, by martyrdom, to glorify his name. Observing at the place of execution a great quantity of faggots, he desired the principal part of them might be given to the poor, saying, "A small quantity will suffice to consume me." The executioner offered to strangle him before the fire was lighted, but he would not consent, telling him that he defied the flames; and, indeed, he gave up the ghost with such composure amidst them, that he hardly seemed sensible of pain.

In Flanders, about 1543 and 1544, the persecution raged with great violence. Many were doomed to perpetual imprisonment, others to perpetual banishment: but the greater number were put to death, either by hanging, drowning, burning, the rack, or burying alive.

John de Boscane, a zealous protestant, was apprehended in the city of Antwerp. On his trial he undauntedly professed himself to be of the reformed religion, on which he was immediately condemned. The magistrate, however, was afraid to execute the sentence publicly, as he was popular through his great generosity, and almost universally revered for his inoffensive life and exemplary piety. A private execution was, therefore, determined on, for which an order was given to drown him in prison. The executioner, accordingly, forced him into a large tub; but Boscane struggling, and getting his head above the water, the executioner stabbed him in several places with a dagger till he expired.

John de Buisons, on account of his religion, was, about the same time, secretly apprehended. In this city the number of protestants being great, and the prisoner much respected, the magistrates, fearful of an insurrection, ordered him to be beheaded in prison.

In 1568 were apprehended at Antwerp, Scoblant, Hues, and Coomans. The first who was brought to trial was Scoblant, who, persisting in his faith, received sentence of death. On his return to prison, he requested the gaoler not to permit any friar to come near him; saying, "They can do me no good, but may greatly disturb me. I hope my salvation is already sealed in heaven, and that the blood of Christ, in which I firmly put my trust, hath washed me from my iniquities. I am now going to throw off this mantle of clay, to be clad in robes of eternal glory. I hope I may be the last martyr of papal tyranny, and that the blood already spilt will be sufficient to quench its thirst of cruelty; that the church of Christ may have rest here, as his servants will hereafter." On the day of execution he took a pathetic leave of his fellow-prisoners. At the stake he uttered with great fervency the Lord's prayer, and sung the fortieth psalm; then commending his soul to God, the flames soon terminated his mortal existence.

A short time after, Hues died in prison: upon which occasion Coomans thus vents his mind to his friends: "I am now deprived of my friends and companions; Scoblant is martyred, and Hues dead by the visitation of the Lord; yet I am not alone: I have with me the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; he is my comfort, and shall be my reward." When brought to trial, Coomans freely confessed himself of the reformed religion, and answered with a manly firmness to every charge brought against him, proving his doctrine



from the gospel. "But," said the judge, "will you die for the faith you profess?" "I am not only willing to die," replied Coomans, "but also to suffer the utmost stretch of inventive cruelty for it; after which my soul shall receive its confirmation from God himself, in the midst of eternal glory." Being condemned, he went cheerfully to the place of execution, and died with Christian fortitude and resignation.

*Assassination of the Prince of Orange.*

Baltazar Gerard, a native of Franche Compte, a bigoted and furious Roman Catholic, thinking to advance his own fortune and the popish cause by one desperate act, resolved upon the assassination of the prince of Orange. Having provided himself with fire-arms, he watched the prince as he passed through the great hall of his palace to dinner, and demanded a passport. The princess of Orange, observing in his tone of voice and manner something confused and singular, asked who he was, saying, she did not like his countenance. The prince answered, it was one that demanded a passport, which he should have presently. Nothing further transpired until after dinner, when on the return of the prince and princess through the same hall, the assassin, from behind one of the pillars, fired at the prince; the balls entering at the left side, and passing through the right, wounded in their passage the stomach and vital parts. The prince had only power to say, "Lord have mercy upon my soul, and upon this poor people," and immediately expired.

The death of this virtuous prince, who was considered as the father of his people, spread universal sorrow throughout the United Provinces. The assassin was immediately taken, and received sentence to be put to death in the most exemplary manner; yet such was his enthusiasm and blindness for his crime, that while suffering for it, he coolly said, "Were I at liberty, I would repeat the same."

In different parts of Flanders, numbers fell victims to popish jealousy and cruelty. In the city of Valence, in particular, fifty-seven of the principal inhabitants were butchered in one day, for refusing to embrace the Romish superstition; besides whom, great numbers suffered in confinement, till they perished.

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## SECTION VI.

### PERSECUTIONS IN LITHUANIA.

The persecutions in Lithuania began in 1648, and were carried on with great severity by the Cossacks and Tartars. The cruelty of the former was such, that even the Tartars, at last, revolted from it, and rescued some of the intended victims from their hands.

The Russians perceiving the devastations which had been made in the country, and its incapability of defence, entered it with a considerable army, and carried ruin wherever they went. Every thing they met with was devoted to destruction. The ministers of the gospel were peculiarly singled out as the objects of their hatred, while every Christian was liable to their barbarity.

Lithuania no sooner recovered itself from one persecution, than succeeding enemies again reduced it. The Swedes, the Prussians, and the Courlanders, carried fire and sword through it, and continual calamities, for some years, attended that unhappy district. It was afterwards attacked by the prince of Transylvania, at the head of an army of barbarians, who wasted the country, destroyed the churches, burnt the houses, plundered the inhabitants, murdered the infirm, and enslaved the healthy.

In no part of the world have the followers of Christ been exempt from the rage and bitterness of their enemies; and well have they experienced the force of those scripture truths, that they who will live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution, and those who are born after the flesh have always been enemies to such as are born after the spirit; accordingly, the protestants of Poland suffered in a dreadful manner. The ministers, in particular, were treated with the most unexampled barbarity; some having their tongues cut out, because they had preached the gospel truths; others being deprived of their sight on account of having read the Bible; and great numbers were cut to pieces for not recanting. Several private persons were put to death by the most cruel means. Women were murdered without the least regard to their sex; and the persecutors even went so far as to cut off the heads of sucking babes, and fasten them to the breasts of their unfortunate mothers.

Even the silent habitations of the dead escaped not the malice of these savages; for they dug up the bodies of many eminent persons, and either cut them to pieces and exposed them to be devoured by birds and beasts, or hung them up in the most conspicuous places. The city of Lesna, in this persecution, particularly suffered; for being taken, the inhabitants were totally extirpated.

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## SECTION VII.

### PERSECUTIONS IN CHINA AND JAPAN.

#### *Persecutions in China.*

At the commencement of the 16th century, three Italian missionaries, namely, Roger the Neapolitan, Pasis of Bologna, and Matthew Ricci of Mazerata, entered China with a view of establishing Christianity there. In order to succeed in this important commission, they had previously made the Chinese language their constant study.

The zeal displayed by these missionaries in the discharge of their duty was very great; but Roger and Pasis in a few years returning to Europe, the whole labour devolved upon Ricci. The perseverance of Ricci was proportioned to the arduous task he had undertaken. Though disposed to indulge his converts as far as possible, he disliked many of their ceremonies which seemed idolatrous. At length, after eighteen years labour and reflection, he thought it most advisable to tolerate all those customs which were ordained by the laws of the empire, but strictly enjoined his converts to omit the rest; and thus, by not resisting too much the external ceremonies of the country, he suc-

ceeded in bringing over many to the truth. In 1630, however, this tranquillity was disturbed by the arrival of some new missionaries; who, being unacquainted with the Chinese customs, manners, and language, and with the principles of Ricci's toleration, were astonished when they saw Christian converts fall prostrate before Confucius, and the tables of their ancestors, and loudly censured the proceeding as idolatrous. This occasioned a warm controversy; and not coming to any agreement, the new missionaries wrote an account of the affair to the pope, and the society for the propagation of the Christian faith. The society soon pronounced, that the ceremonies were idolatrous and intolerable, which sentence was confirmed by the pope. In this they were excusable, the matter having been misrepresented to them: for the enemies of Ricci had declared the halls, in which the ceremonies were performed, to be temples, and the ceremonies themselves the sacrifices to idols.

The sentence was sent over to China, where it was received with great contempt, and matters remained in the same state for some time. At length a true representation was sent over, explaining that the Chinese customs and ceremonies alluded to, were entirely free from idolatry, but merely political, and tending only to the peace and welfare of the empire. The pope, finding that he had not weighed the affair with due consideration, sought to extricate himself from the difficulty in which he had been so precipitately entangled, and therefore referred the representation to the inquisition, which reversed the sentence immediately.

The Christian church, notwithstanding these divisions, flourished in China till the death of the first Tartar emperor, whose successor, Canghai, was a minor. During his minority, the regents and nobles conspired to crush the Christian religion. The execution of this design was accordingly begun with expedition, and carried on with severity, so that every Christian teacher in China, as well as those who professed the faith, was surprised at the suddenness of the event. John Adam Schall, a German ecclesiastic, and one of the principals of the mission, was thrown into a dungeon, and narrowly escaped with his life, being then in the 74th year of his age.

In 1655, the ensuing year, the ministers of state published the following decree: 1. That the Christian doctrines were false. 2. That they were dangerous to the interests of the empire. 3. That they should not be practised under pain of death.

The result of this was a most furious persecution, in which some were put to death, many ruined, and all in some measure oppressed. Previous to this, the Christians had suffered partially; but the decree being general, the persecution now spread its ravages over the whole empire, wherever its objects were scattered.

Four years after, the young emperor was declared of age; and one of the first acts of his reign was to stop this persecution.

#### *Persecutions in Japan.*

The first introduction of Christianity into the empire of Japan took place in 1552, when some Portuguese missionaries commenced their endeavours to make converts to the light of the gospel, and met with such success as amply compensated their labours. They continued to augment the number of their converts till 1616, when being accused

of having meddled in politics, and formed a plan to subvert the government, and dethrone the emperor, great jealousies arose, and subsisted till 1622, when the court commenced a dreadful persecution against both foreign and native Christians. Such was the rage of this persecution, that, during the first four years, 20,570 Christians were massacred. Death was the consequence of a public avowal of their faith, and their churches were shut up by order of government. Many, on a discovery of their religion by spies and informers, suffered martyrdom with great heroism. The persecution continued many years, when the remnant of the innumerable Christians with which Japan abounded, to the number of 37,000 souls, retired to the town and castle of Siniabara, in the island of Xinio, where they determined to make a stand, to continue in their faith, and to defend themselves to the very last extremity. To this place the Japanese army followed them, and laid siege to the place. The Christians defended themselves with great bravery, and held out against the besiegers three months, but were at length compelled to surrender, when men, women, and children, were indiscriminately murdered; and Christianity from that time ceased in Japan.

This event took place on the 12th of April, 1638, since which time no Christians but the Dutch have been allowed to land in the empire, and even they are obliged to conduct themselves with the greatest precaution, to submit to the most rigorous treatment, and to carry on their commerce with the utmost circumspection.

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## BOOK VIII.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE PROTESTANTS, IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES NOT BEFORE DESCRIBED.

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### SECTION I.

PERSECUTIONS IN ABYSSINIA.

ABOUT the end of the fifteenth century, some Portuguese missionaries made a voyage to Abyssinia, and began to propagate the Roman Catholic doctrines among the Abyssinians, who professed Christianity before the arrival of the missionaries.

The priests gained such an influence at court, that the emperor consented to abolish the established rights of the Ethiopian church, and to admit those of Rome; and soon after, consented to receive a patriarch from the pope, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the latter. This innovation, however, did not take place without great opposition. Several of the most powerful lords, and a majority of the people, who professed the primitive Christianity established in Abyssinia, took up arms, in their defence, against the emperor. Thus, by the artifices of the court of Rome and its emissaries, the whole empire was thrown into

commotion, and a war commenced, which was carried on through the reigns of many emperors, and which ceased not for above a century. All this time the Roman Catholics were strengthened by the power of the court, by means of which conjunction, the primitive Christians of Abyssinia were severely persecuted, and multitudes perished by the hands of their inhuman enemies.

*Persecutions in Turkey.—Account of Mahomet.*

Mahomet was born at Mecca, in Arabia, A. D. 571. His parents were poor, and his education mean; but, by the force of his genius, and an uncommon subtlety, he raised himself to be the founder of a widely spread religion, and the sovereign of kingdoms. His Alcoran is a jumble of paganism, judaism, and Christianity. In composing it, he is said to have been assisted by a Jew, and a Roman Catholic priest. It is adapted entirely to the sensual appetites and passions; and the chief promises held out by it to its believers, are the joys of a paradise of women and wine. Mahomet established his doctrine by the power of the sword. "The sword," says he, "is the key of heaven and of hell. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven him: his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk; the loss of his limbs shall be supplied with the wings of angels." He allowed that Christ was a great prophet, and a holy man; that he was born of a virgin, received up into glory, and shall come again to destroy Antichrist.

He, therefore, in his early career, affected to respect the Christians. But no sooner was his power established, than he displayed himself in his true colours, as their determined and sanguinary enemy. This he proved by his persecutions of them in his lifetime, and by commanding those persecutions to be continued by his deluded followers, in his Alcoran, particularly in that part entitled, "The Chapter of the Sword." From him the Turks received their religion, which they still maintain. Mahomet and his descendants, in the space of thirty years, subdued Arabia, Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia. They soon, however, broke into divisions and wars amongst themselves. But the princes of the Saracens, assuming the title of Sultan, continued their rule over Syria, Egypt, and Africa, for the space of about 400 years, when the Saracen king of Persia, commencing war against the Saracen sultan of Babylon, the latter brought to his aid the Turks. These Turks, feeling their own strength, in time turned their arms against their masters, and by the valour of Othman, from whom the family who now fill the Turkish throne are descended, they soon subdued them, and established their empire.

Constantinople, after having been for many ages an imperial Christian city, was invested, in 1453, by the Turks, under Mahomet the Second,\* whose army consisted of 300,000 men, and, after a siege of six weeks, it fell into the hands of the infidels, and the Turks have, to this day, retained possession of it.† They no sooner found them-

\* He was the ninth of the Ottoman race, and subdued all Greece.

† About fifteen years before this fatal event took place, the city had yielded the liberties of its church to the pope of Rome. A manifest want of patriotism was evidenced in the inhabitants, who, instead of bringing forth their treasures to the public service and defence of the place, buried them in vast heaps; insomuch, that

selves masters of it, than they began to exercise on the inhabitants the most unremitting barbarities, destroying them by every method of ingenious cruelty. Some they roasted alive on spits, others they starved, some they flayed alive, and let them in that horrid manner to perish: many were sawn in two, and others torn to pieces by horses. Three days and eight was the city given to spoil, in which time the soldiers were licensed to commit every enormity. The body of the emperor being found among the slain, Mahomet commanded his head to be stuck on a spear, and carried round the town for the mockery of the soldiers.

*Attack on Rhodes.*

About the year 1521, Solyman the First took Belgrade from the Christians. Two years after, he, with a fleet of 150 ships, and an army of 300,000 men, attacked Rhodes, then defended by the knights of Jerusalem. These heroes resisted the infidels till all their fortifications were levelled with the ground, their provisions exhausted, and their ammunition spent; when, finding no succours from the Christian princes, they surrendered, the siege having lasted about six months, in which the Turks suffered prodigiously, no less than 30,000 of them having died by the bloody flux. After this, Solyman retook Buda from the Christians, and treated those who were found there with great cruelty. Some had their eyes put out, others their hands, noses, and ears cut off. Pregnant women were ripped open, and their fruit cast into the flames, while many children were buried up to their necks in the earth, and left to perish.

*Siege of Vienna.*

Mad with conquest, Solyman now proceeded westward to Vienna, glutting himself with slaughter on his march, and vainly hoping, in a short time, to lay all Europe at his feet, and to banish Christianity from the earth.

Having pitched his tent before the walls of Vienna, he sent three Christian prisoners into the town, to terrify the citizens with an account of the strength of his army, while a great many more, whom he had taken in his march, were torn asunder by horses. Happily for the Germans, three days only before the arrival of the Turks, the earl palatine Frederic, to whom was assigned the defence of Vienna, had entered the town with 11,000 chosen veterans, besides a body of horse. Solyman sent a summons for the city to surrender; but the Germans defying him, he instantly commenced the siege. It has before been observed, that the religion of Mahomet promises to all soldiers who die in battle, whatever be their crimes, immediate admission to the joys of paradise. Hence arises that fury and temerity which they usually display in fighting. They began with a most tremendous cannonade, and made many attempts to take the city by

when Mahomet, suspecting the case, commanded the earth to be dug up, and found immense hoards, he exclaimed, "How was it that this place lacked ammunition and fortification, amidst such abundance of riches?" The Turks found a crucifix in the great church of St. Sophia, on the head of which they wrote, "This is the God of the Christians," and then carried it with a trumpet around the city, and exposed it to the contempt of the soldiers, who were commanded to spit upon it. Thus did the superstition of Rome afford a triumph to the enemies of the cross.

assault. But the steady valour of the Germans was superior to the enthusiasm of their enemies. Solyman, filled with indignation at this unusual check to his fortune, determined to exert every power to carry his project; to this end he planted his ordnance before the king's gate, and battered it with such violence, that a breach was soon made; whereupon the Turks, under cover of the smoke, poured in torrents into the city, and the soldiers began to give up all for lost. But the officers, with admirable presence of mind, causing a great shouting to be made in the city, as if fresh troops had just arrived, their own soldiers were inspired with fresh courage, while the Turks, being seized with a panic, fled precipitously, and overthrew each other, by which means the city was freed from destruction.

*Victory of the Christians.*

Grown more desperate by resistance, Solyman resolved upon another attempt, and this was by undermining the Cerinthian gate. Accordingly he set his Illyrians to work, who were expert at this mode of warfare. They succeeded in coming under ground to the foundations of the tower; but being discovered by the wary citizens, they, with amazing activity and diligence, countermined them: and having prepared a train of gunpowder, even to the trenches of the enemy, they set fire to it, and by that means rendered abortive their attempts, and blew up about 8,000 of them. Foiled in every attempt, the courage of the Turkish chief degenerated into madness; he ordered his men to scale the walls, in which attempt they were destroyed by thousands, their very numbers serving to their own defeat, till, at length, the valour of his troops relaxed: and, dreading the hardihood of their European adversaries, they began to refuse obedience. Sickness also seized their camp, and numbers perished from famine; for the Germans, by their vigilance, had found means to cut off their supplies. Foiled in every attempt, Solyman, at length, after having lost above 80,000 men, resolved to abandon his enterprise. He accordingly put this resolve in execution, and, sending his baggage before him, proceeded homewards with the utmost expedition, thus freeing Europe from the impending terror of universal Mahometanism.

*Persecutions in Georgia and Mingrelia.*

The Georgians are Christians, and being remarkable for their beauty, the Turks and Persians persecute them by the most cruel method. Instead of taking money for their taxes, they compel them to deliver up their children, the females for concubines in the seraglios, maids of honour to sultanas, &c. or to be sold to merchants of different nations, who proportion their price to the beauty of the devoted fair. The boys are taken for mutes and eunuchs in the seraglio, clerks in the offices of state, and soldiers in the army.

Westward of Georgia is Mingrelia, a country likewise inhabited by Christians, who undergo the same persecutions and rigours as the Georgians by the Turks and Persians, their children being torn from them, or they murdered for refusing to consent to the sale.

*Persecutions in the States of Barbary.*

In no part of the globe are Christians so hated, or treated with such severity, as at Algiers. The conduct of the Algerines towards

them is marked with perfidy and cruelty. By paying a most exorbitant fine, some Christians are allowed the title of Free Christians; these are permitted to dress in the fashion of their respective countries, but the Christian slaves are obliged to wear a coarse gray suit, and a seaman's cap.

The following are the various punishments exercised towards them: 1. If they join any of the natives in open rebellion, they are strangled with a bow-string, or hanged on an iron hook. 2. If they speak against Mahomet, they must become Mahometans, or be impaled alive. 3. If they profess Christianity again, after having changed to the Mahometan persuasion, they are roasted alive, or thrown from the city walls, and caught upon large sharp hooks, on which they hang till they expire. 4. If they kill a Turk they are burnt. 5. If they attempt to escape, and are retaken, they suffer death in the following manner: they are hung naked on a high gallows by two hooks, the one fastened quite through the palm of one hand, and the other through the sole of the opposite foot, where they are left till death relieves them. Other punishments for crimes committed by Christians are left to the discretion of the judges, who usually decree the most barbarous tortures.

At Tunis, if a Christian is caught in attempting to escape, his limbs are all broken; and if he slay his master, he is fastened to the tail of a horse, and dragged about the streets till he expires.

Fez and Morocco conjointly form an empire, and are the most considerable of the Barbary states. The Christian slaves are treated with the greatest rigour; the rich have exorbitant ransoms fixed upon them; the poor are hard worked and half starved, and sometimes, by the emperor, or their brutal masters, they are murdered.

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## SECTION II.

### PERSECUTIONS IN CALABRIA.

About the fourteenth century, a great many Waldenses of Pragela and Dauphiny emigrated to Calabria, where, having received permission to settle in some waste lands, they soon, by the most industrious cultivation, converted those wild and barren spots into regions of beauty and fertility.

The nobles of Calabria were highly pleased with their new subjects and tenants, finding them honest, quiet, and industrious; but the priests, filled with jealousy, soon exhibited complaints against them, charging them with not being Roman Catholics, not making any of their boys priests, nor making any of their girls nuns, not going to mass, not giving wax tapers to their priests, as offerings, not going on pilgrimages, and not bowing to images.

To these the Calabrian lords replied, that these people were extremely harmless, giving no offence to the Roman Catholics, but cheerfully paying the tithes to the priests, whose revenues were considerably increased by their coming into the country, and who, consequently, ought to be the last persons to make a complaint.

Those enemies to truth being thus silenced, things went on in



peace for a few years, during which the Waldenses formed themselves into two corporate towns, annexing several villages to their jurisdiction. At length they sent to Geneva for two clergymen, one to preach in each town. This being known, intelligence was conveyed to Pope Pius the Fourth, who determined to exterminate them from Calabria without further delay. To this end Cardinal Alexandrino, a man of violent temper, and a furious bigot, was sent, together with two monks, to Calabria, where they were to act as inquisitors. These authorized persons came to St. Xist, one of the towns built by the Waldenses, where, having assembled the people, they told them that they should receive no injury if they would accept of preachers appointed by the pope; but if they refused, they should be deprived both of their properties and lives; and that to prove them, mass should be publicly said that afternoon, at which they must attend.

But the people of St. Xist, instead of observing this, fled with their families into the woods, and thus disappointed the cardinal and his coadjutors. Then they proceeded to La Garde, the other town belonging to the Waldenses, where, to avoid the like disappointment, they ordered the gates to be locked, and all avenues guarded. The same proposals were then made to the inhabitants as had been made to those of St. Xist, but with this artifice: the cardinal assured them that the inhabitants of St. Xist had immediately come into his proposals, and agreed that the pope should appoint them preachers. This falsehood succeeded: for the people of La Garde, thinking what the cardinal had told them to be truth, said they would exactly follow the example of their brethren of St. Xist.

Having thus gained his point by a lie, he sent for two troops of soldiers with a view to massacre the people of St. Xist. He accordingly commanded them into the woods, to hunt them down like wild beasts, and gave them strict orders to spare neither age nor sex, but to kill all they came near. The troops accordingly entered the woods, and many fell a prey to their ferocity, before the Waldenses were apprized of their design. At length, however, they determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, when several conflicts happened, in which the half-armed Waldenses performed prodigies of valour, and many were slain on both sides. At length, the greater part of the troops being killed in the different rencounters, the remainder were compelled to retreat; which so enraged the cardinal, that he wrote to the viceroy of Naples for reinforcements.

The viceroy, in obedience to this, proclaimed throughout the Neapolitan territories, that all outlaws, deserters, and other proscribed persons, should be freely pardoned for their several offences, on condition of making a campaign against the inhabitants of St. Xist, and of continuing under arms till those people were destroyed. On this several persons of desperate fortunes came in, and being formed into light companies, were sent to scour the woods, and put to death all they could meet with of the reformed religion. The viceroy himself also joined the cardinal at the head of a body of regular forces; and, in conjunction, they strove to accomplish their bloody purpose. Some they caught, and, suspending them upon trees, cut down boughs and burnt them, or ripped them open, and left their bodies to be devoured by wild beasts or birds of prey. Many they shot at a distance; but the greatest number they hunted down by way of *sport*.

A few escaped into caves; but famine destroyed them in their retreat; and the inhuman chase was continued till all these poor people perished.

The inhabitants of St. Nist being exterminated, those of La Garde engaged the attention of the cardinal and viceroy. The fullest protection was offered to themselves, their families, and their children, if they would embrace the Roman Catholic persuasion; but, on the contrary, if they refused this mercy, as it was insolently termed, the most cruel deaths would be the certain consequence. In spite of the promises on one side, and menaces on the other, the Waldenses unanimously refused to renounce their religion, or embrace the errors of popery. The cardinal and viceroy were so enraged at this, that they ordered thirty of them to be put immediately to the rack, as a terror to the others. Several of these died under the torture; one Charlin, in particular, was so cruelly used, that his belly burst, his bowels came out, and he expired in the greatest agonies. These barbarities, however, did not answer the end for which they were intended; for those who survived the torments of the rack, and those who had not felt it, remained equally constant in their faith, and boldly declared, that nothing, either of pain or fear, should ever induce them to renounce their God, or bow down to idols. The inhuman cardinal then ordered several of them to be stripped naked, and whipped to death with iron rods: some were hacked to pieces with large knives; others were thrown from the top of a high tower; and many were cased over with pitch and burnt alive.

One of the monks who attended the cardinal, discovered a most inhuman and diabolical nature. He requested that he might shed some of the blood of these poor people with his own hands; his request being granted, the monster took a large sharp knife, and cut the throats of fourscore men, women, and children. Their bodies were then quartered, the quarters placed upon stakes, and fixed in different parts of the country.

The four principal men of La Garde were hanged, and the clergyman was thrown from the top of his church steeple. He was dreadfully crushed, but not quite killed by the fall. The viceroy being present, said, "Is the dog yet living? Take him up, and cast him to the hogs;" which brutal sentence was actually put in execution.

The monsters, in their hellish thirst of cruelty, racked sixty of the women with such severity, that the cords pierced their limbs quite to the bone. They were after this remanded to prison, where their wounds mortified, and they died in the most miserable manner. Many others were put to death by various means; and so jealous and arbitrary were those monsters, that if any Roman Catholics, more compassionate than the rest, interceded for any of the reformed, he was immediately apprehended, and sacrificed as a favourer of heretics.

The viceroy being obliged to return to Naples, and the cardinal having been recalled to Rome, the marquis of Butiane was commissioned to complete what they had begun; which he at length effected by acting with such barbarous rigour, that there was not a single person of the reformed religion left in all Calabria. Thus were a great number of inoffensive and harmless people deprived of their possessions, robbed of their property, driven from their homes, and, at length, murdered, only because they would not sacrifice their consciences to

the superstitions of others, embrace doctrines which they abhorred, and attend to teachers whom they could not believe.

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### SECTION III.

#### PERSECUTIONS IN THE VALLEYS OF PIEDMONT.

THE Waldenses, in consequence of the continued persecutions they met with in France, fled for refuge to various parts of the world; among other places, many of them sought an asylum in the valleys of Piedmont, where they increased and flourished exceedingly for a considerable time.

Notwithstanding their harmless behaviour, inoffensive conversation, and their paying tithes to the Romish clergy, the latter could not be contented, but sought to give them disturbance, and accordingly complained to the archbishop of Turin, that the Waldenses were heretics; upon which he ordered a persecution to be commenced, in consequence of which many fell martyrs to the superstitious rage of the monks and priests.

At Turin, one of the reformed had his bowels torn out and put into a bason before his face, where they remained, in his view, till he expired. At Revel, Catelin Girard being at the stake, desired the executioner to give him up a stone, which he refused, thinking that he meant to throw it at somebody; but Girard assuring him that he had no such design, the executioner complied; when Girard, looking earnestly at the stone, said, "When it is in the power of a man to eat and digest this stone, the religion for which I am about to suffer shall have an end, and not before." He then threw the stone on the ground, and submitted cheerfully to the flames. A great many more were oppressed, or put to death, till, wearied with their sufferings, the Waldenses flew to arms in their defence, and formed themselves into regular bodies. Full of revenge at this, the archbishop of Turin sent troops against them; but in most of the skirmishes the Waldenses were victorious; for they knew, if they were taken, they should not be considered as prisoners of war, but be tortured to death as heretics.

#### *Noble Conduct of the Duke of Savoy.*

Philip the Seventh, who was at this time duke of Savoy, and supreme lord of Piedmont, determined to interpose his authority, and stop these bloody wars, which so disturbed his dominions. Nevertheless, unwilling to offend the pope, or the archbishop of Turin, he sent them both messages, importing, that he could not any longer tamely see his dominions overrun with troops, who were commanded by prelates in the place of generals; nor would he suffer his country to be depopulated, while he himself had not been even consulted upon the occasion.

The priests, perceiving the determination of the duke, had recourse to the usual artifices, and endeavoured to prejudice his mind against the Waldenses; but he told them, that although he was unacquainted with the religious tenets of these people, yet he had always

found them quiet, faithful, and obedient, and was, therefore, determined they should be persecuted no longer. The priests then vented the most palpable and absurd falsehoods; they assured the duke that he was mistaken in the Waldenses, for they were a wicked set of people, and highly addicted to intemperance, uncleanness, blasphemy, adultery, incest, and many other abominable crimes; and that they were even monsters in nature, for their children were born with black throats, with four rows of teeth, and bodies covered with hair. But the duke was not so to be imposed upon, notwithstanding the solemn affirmations of the priests. In order to come at the truth, he sent twelve gentlemen into the Piedmontese valleys, to examine into the real character of the people.

These gentlemen, after travelling through all the towns and villages, and conversing with the Waldenses of every rank, returned to the duke, and gave him the most favourable account of them; affirming, in contradiction to the priests, that they were harmless, inoffensive, loyal, friendly, industrious, and pious; that they abhorred the crimes of which they were accused; and that, should an individual, through his depravity, fall into any of those crimes, he would, by their laws, be punished in the most exemplary manner. With respect to the children, of whom the priests had told the most gross and ridiculous falsehoods, they were neither born with black throats, teeth in their mouth, nor hair on their bodies, but were as fine children as could be seen. "And to convince your highness of what we have said," continued one of the gentlemen, "we have brought twelve of the principal male inhabitants, who are come to ask pardon, in the name of the rest, for having taken up arms without your leave, though even in their own defence, and to preserve their lives from their merciless enemies. We have likewise brought several women, with children of various ages, that your highness may have an opportunity of judging for yourself." His highness then accepted the apology of the twelve delegates, conversed with the women, examined the children, and afterwards graciously dismissed them. He then commanded the priests, who had attempted to mislead him, immediately to leave the court; and gave strict orders, that the persecution should cease throughout his dominions.

During the remainder of the reign of this virtuous prince, the Waldenses enjoyed repose in their retreats; but, on his death, this happy scene changed, for his successor was a bigoted papist. About the same time, some of the principal Waldenses proposed, that their clergy should preach in public, that every one might know the purity of their doctrines; for hitherto they had preached only in private, and to such congregations as they well knew to consist of none but persons of the reformed religion.

When this reached the ears of the new duke, he was greatly exasperated, and sent a considerable body of troops into the valleys, swearing, that if the people would not conform to the Romish faith, he would have them flayed alive. The commander of the troops soon found the impracticability of conquering them with the number of men then under him; he, therefore, sent word to the duke, that the idea of subjugating the Waldenses with so small a force was ridiculous; that they were better acquainted with the country than any that were with him; that they had secured all the passes, were well armed, and

determined to defend themselves. Alarmed at this, the duke commanded his troops to return, determining to act by stratagem. He, therefore, ordered rewards for taking any of the Waldenses, who might be found straying from their places of security; and these, when taken, were either flayed alive or burnt.

Pope Paul the Third, a furious bigot, ascending the pontifical chair, immediately solicited the parliament of Turin to persecute the Waldenses, as the most pernicious of all heretics. To this the parliament readily assented, when several were suddenly seized and burnt by their order. Among these was Bartholomew Hector, a bookseller of Turin. He had been brought up a Roman Catholic, but some treatises written by the reformed clergy having fallen into his hands, he was fully convinced of their truth, and of the errors of the church of Rome; yet his mind was, for some time, wavering between fear and duty, when, after serious consideration, he fully embraced the reformed religion, and was apprehended, as we have already mentioned, and burnt.

A consultation was again held by the parliament of Turin, in which it was agreed that deputies should be sent to the valleys of Piedmont with the following propositions:—1. That if the Waldenses would return to the bosom of the church of Rome, they should enjoy their houses, properties, and lands, and live with their families, without the least molestation. 2. That to prove their obedience, they should send twelve of their principal persons, with all their ministers and schoolmasters, to Turin, to be dealt with at discretion. 3. That the pope, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, approved of, and authorized the proceedings of the parliament of Turin, upon this occasion. 4. That if the Waldenses of Piedmont rejected these propositions, persecution and death should be their reward.

In answer to these hostile articles, the Waldenses made the following noble replies:—1. That no consideration whatever should make them renounce their religion. 2. That they would never consent to intrust their best friends to the custody and discretion of their worst enemies. 3. That they valued the approbation of the King of kings, who reigns in heaven, more than any temporal authority. 4. That their souls were more precious than their bodies.

As may be conjectured, these spirited and pointed answers greatly exasperated the parliament of Turin; in consequence of which, they continued, with more avidity than ever, to seize such Waldenses as unfortunately had strayed from their hiding-places, and put them to the most cruel deaths.

They soon after solicited from the king of France a considerable body of troops, in order to exterminate the reformed from Piedmont; but just as the troops were about to march, the protestant princes of Germany interposed, and threatened to send troops to assist the Waldenses. On this, the king of France, not wishing to enter into a war, demanded the troops. This greatly disappointed the sanguinary members of the parliament, and for want of power the persecution gradually ceased, and they could only put to death such as they caught by chance, which, owing to the caution of the Waldenses, were very few.

After a few years tranquillity, they were again disturbed in the following manner: The pope's nuncio, coming to Turin, told the duke

he was astonished that he had not yet either rooted out the Waldenses from Piedmont entirely, or compelled them to return to the church of Rome. That such conduct in him awakened suspicion, and that he really thought him a favourer of those heretics, and should accordingly report the affair to the pope. Reused by this reflection, and fearful of being misrepresented to the pope, the duke determined to banish those suspicions: and, to prove his zeal, resolved to persecute the offending Waldenses. He, accordingly, issued express orders for all to attend mass regularly, on pain of death. This they absolutely refused to do, on which he entered Piedmont with a great body of troops, and began a most furious persecution, in which great numbers were hanged, drowned, ripped open, tied to trees, pierced with prongs, thrown from precipices, burnt, stabbed, racked to death, worried by dogs, and crucified with their heads downwards. Those who fled had their goods plundered and their houses burnt. When they caught a minister or a schoolmaster, they put him to such exquisite tortures, as are scarcely credible. If any whom they took seemed wavering in their faith, they did not put them to death, but sent them to the galleys, to be made converts by dint of hardships.

In this expedition, the duke was accompanied by three men who resembled devils, viz. 1. Thomas Incomel, an apostate, brought up in the reformed religion, but who had renounced his faith, embraced the errors of popery, and turned monk. He was a great libertine, given to unnatural crimes, and most particularly solicitous for the plunder of the Waldenses. 2. Corbis, a man of a very ferocious and cruel nature, whose business was to examine the prisoners. 3. The provost of justice, an avaricious wretch, anxious for the execution of the Waldenses, as every execution added to his hoards.

These three monsters were unmerciful to the last degree: wherever they came, the blood of the innocent was shed. But, besides the cruelties exercised by the duke with these three persons and the army in their different marches, many local barbarities took place. At Pignerol was a monastery, the monks of which finding they might injure the reformed with impunity, began to plunder their houses, and pull down their churches; and not meeting with opposition, they next seized upon the persons of those unhappy people, murdering the men, confining the women, and putting the children to Roman Catholic nurses.

In the same manner the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the valley of St. Martin did all they could to torment the neighbouring Waldenses; they destroyed their churches, burnt their houses, seized their property, carried away their cattle, converted their lands to their own use, committed their ministers to the flames, and drove the people to the woods, where they had nothing to subsist on but wild fruits, the bark of trees, roots, &c. &c.

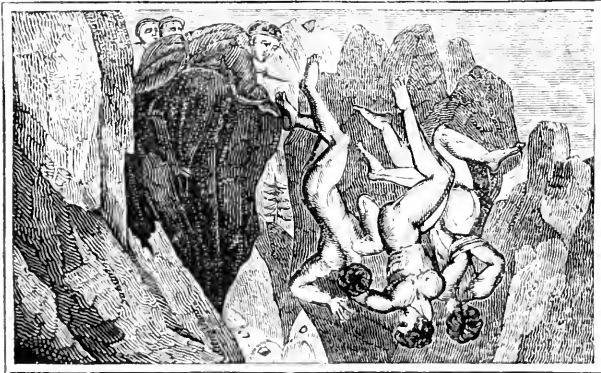
Some Roman Catholic ruffians having seized a minister, as he was going to preach, determined to take him to a convenient place, and burn him. His parishioners hearing of this, armed themselves, pursued and attacked the villains; who, finding they could not execute their first intent, stabbed the poor gentleman, and, leaving him weltering in his blood, made a precipitate retreat. His parishioners did all they could to recover him, but in vain; for he expired as they were carrying him home.

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*Barberies exercised by the Popish Persecutors on the Wablers of Calabria. Page 151.*



*Persecution of the Wablers. Page 156*



*Scene of Persecution at Calicut. Page 161.*



The monks of Pignerol having a great desire to get into their possession a minister of the town of St. Germain, hired a band of ruffians for the purpose of seizing him. These fellows were conducted by a treacherous servant to the clergyman, who knew a secret way to the house, by which he could lead them without alarming the neighbourhood. The guide knocked at the door, and being asked who was there, answered in his own name. The clergyman, expecting no injury from a person on whom he had heaped favours, immediately opened the door: perceiving the ruffians, he fled, but they rushed in and seized him. They then murdered all his family; after which they proceeded with their captive towards Pignerol, goading him all the way. He was confined a considerable time in prison, and then burnt.

The murderers continuing their assaults about the town of St. Germain, murdering and plundering many of the inhabitants, the reformed of Lucerne and Angrogne sent some armed men to the assistance of their brethren. These men frequently attacked and routed the ruffians, which so alarmed the monks, that they left their monastery of Pignerol, till they could procure regular troops for their protection.

The duke of Savoy, not finding himself so successful as he at first imagined he should be, augmented his forces, joined to them the ruffians, and commanded that a general delivery should take place in the prisons, provided the persons released would bear arms, and assist in the extermination of the Waldenses.

No sooner were the Waldenses informed of these proceedings, than they secured as much of their property as they could, and, quitting the valleys, retired to the rocks and caves among the Alps.

The army no sooner reached their destination than they began to plunder and burn the towns and villages; but they could not force the passes of the Alps, gallantly defended by the Waldenses, who, in those attempts, always repulsed their enemies; but if any fell into the hands of the troops, they were treated in the most barbarous manner. A soldier having caught one of them, bit his right ear off, saying, "I will carry this member of that wicked heretic with me into my own country, and preserve it as a rarity." He then stabbed the man, and threw him into a ditch.

At one time, a party of troops found a venerable man, upwards of an hundred years of age, accompanied by his grand-daughter, a maiden, of about eighteen, in a cave. They murdered the poor old man in a most inhuman manner, and then attempted to ravish the girl, when she started away, and being pursued, threw herself from a precipice and was dashed to pieces.

Determined, if possible, to expel their invaders, the Waldenses entered into a league with the protestant powers in Germany, and with the reformed of Dauphny and Pragela. These were respectively to furnish bodies of troops; and the Waldenses resolved, when thus reinforced, to quit the mountains of the Alps, where they soon must have perished, as the winter was coming on, and to force the duke's army to evacuate their native valleys.

But the duke of Savoy himself was tired of the war, it having cost him great fatigue and anxiety of mind, a vast number of men, and very considerable sums of money. It had been much more tedious and bloody than he expected, as well as more expensive than he at

first imagined, for he thought the plunder would have discharged the expenses of the expedition: in this, however, he was mistaken; for the pope's nuncio, the bishops, monks, and other ecclesiastics, who attended the army, and encouraged the war, sunk the greatest part of the wealth that was taken, under various pretences. For these reasons, and the death of his dutchess, of which he had just received intelligence, and fearing that the Waldenses, by the treaties they had entered into, would become too powerful for him, he determined to return to Turin with his army, and to make peace with them.

This resolution he put in practice, greatly against the wish of the ecclesiastics, who, by the war, gratified both their avarice and revenge. Before the articles of peace could be ratified, the duke himself died; but, on his death bed, he strictly enjoined his son to perform what he had intended, and to be as favourable as possible to the Waldenses.

Charles Emanuel, the duke's son, succeeded to the dominions of Savoy, and fully ratified the peace with the Waldenses, according to the last injunctions of his father, though the priests used all their arts to dissuade him from his purpose.

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## SECTION IV.

### PERSECUTIONS IN VENICE.

Before the terrors of the inquisition were known at Venice, a great number of protestants fixed their residence there, and many converts were made by the purity of their doctrines, and the inoffensiveness of their conversation.

The pope no sooner learned the great increase of protestantism, than he, in the year 1542, sent inquisitors to Venice, to apprehend such as they might deem obnoxious. Hence a severe persecution began, and many persons were martyred for serving God with sincerity, and scorning the trappings of superstition.

Various were the modes by which the protestants were deprived of life; but one in particular, being both new and singular, we shall describe: as soon as sentence was passed, the prisoner had an iron chain, to which was suspended a great stone, fastened to his body; he was then laid flat upon a plank, with his face upwards, and rowed between two boats to a certain distance at sea, when the boats separated, and, by the weight of the stone, he was sunk to the bottom.

If any dared to deny the jurisdiction of the inquisitors at Venice, they were conveyed to Rome, where, being committed to damp and nauseous dungeons, their flesh mortified, and a most miserable death ensued.

A citizen of Venice, named Anthony Ricetti, being apprehended as a protestant, was sentenced to be drowned in the manner above described. A few days previous to his execution, his son went to him, and entreated him to recant, that his life might be saved, and himself not left an orphan. To this the father replied, "A good Christian is bound to relinquish not only goods and children, but life itself, for the glory of his Redeemer." The nobles of Venice likewise sent him word, that if he would embrace the Roman Catholic religion, they

would not only grant him life, but redeem a considerable estate which he had mortgaged, and freely present him with it. This, however, he absolutely refused to comply with, saying that he valued his soul beyond all other considerations. Finding all endeavours to persuade him ineffectual, they ordered the execution of his sentence, which took place accordingly, and he died recommending his soul fervently to his Redeemer.

Francis Sega, another Venetian, steadfastly persisting in his faith, was executed, a few days after Ricetti, in the same manner.

Francis Spinola, a protestant gentleman of great learning, was apprehended by order of the inquisitors, and carried before their tribunal. A treatise on the Lord's Supper was then put into his hands, and he was asked if he knew the author of it. To which he replied, "I confess myself its author; and solemnly affirm, that there is not a line in it but what is authorized by, and consonant to, the Holy Scriptures." On this confession he was committed close prisoner to a dungeon. After remaining there several days, he was brought to a second examination, when he charged the pope's legate, and the inquisitors, with being merciless barbarians, and represented the superstition and idolatry of the church of Rome in so strong a light, that, unable to refute his arguments, they recommitted him to his dungeon. Being brought up a third time, they asked him if he would recant his errors, to which he answered, that the doctrines he maintained were not erroneous, being purely the same as those which Christ and his apostles had taught, and which were handed down to us in the sacred scriptures. The inquisitors then sentenced him to be drowned, which was executed in the manner already described. He went to death with joy, thinking it a happiness to be so soon ushered into the world of glory, to dwell with God and the spirits of just men made perfect.

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## SECTION V.

### MARTYRDOMS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF ITALY.

John Mollius was born at Rome, of a respectable family. At twelve years old his parents placed him in a monastery of gray friars, where he made so rapid a progress in his studies, that he was admitted to priest's orders at the early age of eighteen years. He was then sent to Ferrara, where, after six years further study, he was appointed theological reader in the university of that city. Here he began to exercise his great talents to disguise the gospel truths, and to varnish over the errors of the church of Rome. Having passed some years here, he removed to the university of Benonia, where he became a professor. At length, happily reading some treatises written by ministers of the reformed religion, he was suddenly struck with the errors of popery, and became in his heart a zealous protestant. He now determined to expound, in truth and simplicity, St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, in a regular course of sermons; at each of which he was attended by a vast concourse of people. But when the priests learned his doctrines, they despatched an account thereof to Rome; upon which the pope sent Cornelius, a monk, to Benonia, to expound the same epistle, ac-

ording to his own tenets, and to controvert the doctrine of Mollius. The people, however, found such a disparity between the two preachers, that the audience of Mollius increased, while Cornelius preached to empty benches. The latter, on this, wrote of his bad success to the pope, who immediately ordered Mollius to be apprehended. He was seized accordingly, and kept in close confinement. The bishop of Benonia sent him word that he must recant or be burnt; but he appealed to Rome, and was in consequence removed thither. Here he begged to have a public trial; but this the pope absolutely denied him, and commanded him to explain his opinions in writing, which accordingly he did on scripture authority. The pope, for reasons of policy, spared him for the present; but, in 1553, had him hanged, and his body afterwards burnt to ashes.

Francis Gamba, a Lombard, and a protestant, was apprehended, and condemned to death by the senate of Milan, in the year 1554. At the place of execution, he was presented by a monk with a cross. "My mind," said Gamba, "is so full of the real merits and goodness of Christ, that I want not a piece of senseless stick to put me in mind of him." For this expression his tongue was bored through, after which he was committed to the flames.

About the same period Algerius, a learned and accomplished student in the university of Padua, embraced the reformed religion, and was zealous in the conversion of others. For these proceedings he was accused of heresy to the pope, and being apprehended, was committed to the prison at Venice, whence he wrote to his converts at Padua the following celebrated and beautiful epistle.

"DEAR FRIENDS,

"I CANNOT omit this opportunity of letting you know the sincere pleasure I feel in my confinement: to suffer for Christ is delectable indeed; to undergo a little transitory pain in this world, for his sake, is cheaply purchasing a reversion of eternal glory, in a life that is everlasting. Hence I have found honey in the entrails of a lion; a paradise in a prison; tranquillity in the house of sorrow: where others weep, I rejoice; where others tremble and faint, I find strength and courage. The Almighty alone confers these favours on me; be his the glory and the praise.

"How different do I find myself from what I was before I embraced the truth in its purity! I was then dark, doubtful, and in dread; I am now enlightened, certain, and full of joy. He that was far from me, is present with me; he comforts my spirit, heals my grief, strengthens my mind, refreshes my heart, and fortifies my soul. Learn, therefore, how merciful and amiable the Lord is, who supports his servants under temptations, expels their sorrows, lightens their afflictions, and even visits them with his glorious presence in the gloom of a dismal dungeon.

"Your sincere friend,

"ALGERIUS."

The pope being informed of Algerius's great learning and abilities, sent for him to Rome, and tried, by every means, to win him to his purpose. But finding his endeavours hopeless, he ordered him to be burnt.

In 1559, John Aloisius, a protestant teacher, having come from Geneva to preach in Calabria, was there apprehended, carried to Rome, and burnt, by order of the pope; and at Messina, James Bovellus was burnt for the same offence.

In the year 1560, Pope Pius the Fourth commenced a general persecution of the protestants throughout the Italian states, when great numbers of every age, sex, and condition, suffered martyrdom. Concerning the cruelties practised upon this occasion, a learned and humane Roman Catholic thus speaks in a letter to a nobleman:

“ I cannot, my lord, forbear disclosing my sentiments with respect to the persecution now carrying on. I think it cruel and unnecessary; I tremble at the manner of putting to death, as it resembles more the slaughter of calves and sheep, than the execution of human beings. I will relate to your lordship a dreadful scene, of which I was myself an eye witness: seventy protestants were cooped up in one filthy dungeon together: the executioner went in among them, picked out one from among the rest, blindfolded him, led him out to an open place before the prison, and cut his throat with the greatest composure. He then calmly walked into the prison again, bloody as he was, and, with the knife in his hand, selected another, and dispatched him in the same manner; and this, my lord, he repeated, till the whole number were put to death. I leave it to your lordship’s feelings to judge of my sensations upon the occasion: my tears now wash the paper upon which I give you the recital. Another thing I must mention, the patience with which they met death; they seemed all resignation and piety, fervently praying to God, and cheerfully encountering their fate. I cannot reflect without shuddering, how the executioner held the bloody knife between his teeth; what a dreadful figure he appeared, all covered with blood, and with what unconcern he executed his barbarous office!”

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## SECTION VI.

### PERSECUTIONS IN THE MARQUISATE OF SALUCES.

The marquisate of Saluces, or Saluzzo, is situated on the south side of the valleys of Piedmont, and, in the year 1561, was principally inhabited by protestants, when the marquis began a persecution against them at the instigation of the pope. He commenced by banishing the ministers; if any of whom refused to leave their flocks, they were imprisoned, and severely tortured; he did not, however, put any to death.

A little time after, the marquisate fell into the possession of the duke of Savoy, who sent circular letters to all the towns and villages, that he expected the people should all go to mass. Upon this the inhabitants of Saluces returned a submissive, yet manly answer, entreating permission to continue in the practice of the religion of their forefathers.

This letter, for a time, seemed to pacify the duke, but, at length, he sent them word, that they must either conform to his former commands, or leave his dominions in fifteen days. The protestants, upon this

unexpected edict, sent a deputy to the duke to obtain his revocation, or at least to have it moderated. Their petitions, however, were vain, and they were given to understand that the edict was peremptory.

Some, under the impulse of fear, or worldly interest, were weak enough to go to mass, in order to avoid banishment, and preserve their property; others removed, with all their effects, to different countries; many neglected the time so long, that they were obliged to abandon all they were worth, and leave the marquisate in haste; while some, who unhappily staid behind, were seized, plundered, and put to death

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## SECTION VII.

### PERSECUTIONS IN PIEDMONT, IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Pope Clement the Eighth sent missionaries into the valleys of Piedmont, with a view to induce the protestants to renounce their religion. These missionaries erected monasteries in several parts of the valleys, and soon became very troublesome to the reformed, to whom the monasteries appeared not only as fortresses to curb, but as sanctuaries for all such to fly to as had injured them in any degree.

The insolence and tyranny of these missionaries increasing, the protestants petitioned the duke of Savoy for protection. But instead of granting any redress, the duke published a decree, in which he declared, that one witness should be sufficient in a court of law against a protestant; and that any witness who convicted a protestant of any crime whatever, should be entitled to a hundred crowns as a reward.

In consequence of this, as may be imagined, many protestants fell martyrs to the perjury and avarice of the papists, who would swear any thing against them for the sake of the reward, and then fly to their own priests for absolution from their false oaths.

These missionaries endeavoured to get the books of the protestants into their power, in order to burn them; and on the owners concealing them, wrote to the duke of Savoy, who, for the heinous crime of not surrendering their bibles, prayer books, and religious treatises, sent a number of troops to be quartered on them, which occasioned the ruin of many families.

To encourage, as much as possible, the apostacy of the protestants, the duke published a proclamation, granting an exemption for five years from all taxes to every protestant who should become a catholic. He likewise established a court called the council for extirpating the heretics; the object and nature of which are sufficiently evident from its name.

After this the duke published several edicts, prohibiting the protestants from acting as schoolmasters or tutors; from teaching any art, science, or language; from holding any places of profit, trust, or honour: and, finally, commanding them to attend mass. This last was the signal for a persecution, which, of course, soon followed.

Before the persecution commenced, the missionaries employed kidnapers to steal away the children of the protestants, that they might privately be brought up Roman Catholics; but now they took away

the children by open force, and if the wretched parents resisted, they were immediately murdered.

The duke of Savoy, in order to give force to the persecution, called a general assembly of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, whence issued a solemn edict against the reformed, containing many heads, and including several reasons for extirpating them, among which the following were the principal: the preservation of the papal authority, that the church livings might be all under one mode of government, to make an union among all parties, in honour of all the saints and of the ceremonies of the church of Rome.

This was followed by a most cruel order, published on January 25, 1655, which decreed, that every family of the reformed religion, of whatever rank, residing in Lucerne, St. Giovanni, Bibiana, Campiglione, St. Secondo, Lucernetta, La Torre, Fenile, or Bricherassio, should, within three days after the publication thereof, depart from their habitations to such places as were appointed by the duke, on pain of death and confiscation.

This order produced the greatest distress among the unhappy objects of it, as it was enforced with the greatest severity, in the depth of a very severe winter, and the people were driven from their habitations at the time appointed, without even sufficient clothes to cover them; by which many perished in the mountains, through the severity of the weather, or for want of food. Those who remained behind after the publication of the decree, were murdered by the popish inhabitants, or shot by the troops, and the most horrible barbarities were perpetrated by these ruffians, encouraged by the Roman Catholic priests and monks, of which the following may serve as a specimen.

Martha Constantine, a beautiful young woman, was first ravished, and then killed, by cutting off her breasts. These some of the soldiers fried, and set before their comrades, who eat them without knowing what they were. When they had done eating, the others told them what they had made a meal of, in consequence of which, a quarrel ensued, and a battle took place. Several were killed in the fray, the greater part of whom were those concerned in the horrid massacre of the woman, and the inhuman deception on their comrades.

Peter Simonds, a protestant of about eighty years of age, was tied neck and heels, and then thrown down a precipice. In his fall the branch of a tree caught hold of the ropes that fastened him, and suspended him in the mid-way, so that he languished for several days, till he perished of hunger.

Several men, women, and children were flung from the rocks, and dashed to pieces. Among others, Magdalen Bertino, a protestant woman of La Torre, was stripped naked, her head tied between her legs, and she was then thrown down a precipice. Mary Raymondet, of the same town, had her flesh sliced from her bones till she expired; Magdalen Pilot, of Villaro, was cut to pieces in the cave of Castolus: Ann Charboniere had one end of a stake thrust up her body, and the other end being fixed in the ground, she was left in that manner to perish, and Jacob Perrin, the elder, of the church of Villaro, with David, his brother, was flayed alive.

Giovanni Andrea Michialin, an inhabitant of La Torre, with four of his children, was apprehended; three of them were hacked to pieces before him, the soldiers asking him at the death of every child, if he

would recant, which he constantly refused. One of the soldiers then took up the last and youngest by the legs, and putting the same question to the father, he replied as before, when the inhuman brute dashed out the child's brains. The father, however, at the same moment started from them, and fled: the soldiers fired after him, but missed him; and he escaped to the Alps, and there remained concealed.

Giovanni Pelanchion, on refusing to abjure his faith, was tied by one leg to the tail of a mule, and dragged through the streets of Lucerne, amidst the acclamations of an inhuman mob, who kept stoning him, and crying out, "He is possessed of the devil." They then took him to the river side, chopped off his head, and left that and his body unburied, upon the bank of the river.

A beautiful child, ten years of age, named Magdalene Fontaine, was ravished and murdered by the soldiers. Another girl, of about the same age, they roasted alive at Villa Nova; and a poor woman, hearing the soldiers were coming towards her house, snatched up the cradle in which her infant son was asleep, and fled towards the woods. The soldiers, however, saw and pursued her, when she lightened herself by putting down the cradle and child, which the soldiers no sooner came to, than they murdered the infant, and continuing the pursuit, found the mother in a cave, where they first ravished, and then cut her to atoms.

Jacobo Michelino, chief elder of the church of Bobbio, and several other protestants, were hung up by hooks fixed in their flesh, and left so to expire. Giovanni Rostagnal, a venerable protestant, upwards of fourscore years of age, had his nose and ears cut off, and the flesh cut from his body, till he bled to death.

Jacob Birone, a schoolmaster of Rorata, was striped naked; and after having been so exposed, had the nails of his toes and fingers torn off with red-hot pincers, and holes bored through his hands with the point of a dagger. He next had a cord tied round his middle, and was led through the streets with a soldier on each side of him. At every turning, the soldier on his right-hand side cut a gash in his flesh, and the soldier on his left-hand side struck him with a bludgeon, both saying, at the same instant, "Will you go to mass? Will you go to mass?" He still replied in the negative, and being at length taken to the bridge, they cut off his head on the balustrades, and threw both that and his body into the river.

Paul Garnier, a protestant, beloved for his piety, had his eyes put out, was then flayed alive, and being divided into four parts, his quarters were placed on four of the principal houses of Lucerne. He bore all his sufferings with the most exemplary patience, praised God as long as he could speak, and plainly evinced the courage arising from a confidence in God.

Some of the Irish troops having taken eleven men of Gareigliani prisoners, they heated a furnace red hot, and forced them to push each other in, till they came to the last man, whom they themselves pushed in.

Michael Gonet, a man about 90 years old, was burned to death; Baptista Oudri, another old man, was stabbed; and Bartholomew Franche had his heels pierced, through which ropes being put, he was dragged by them to the gaol, where, in consequence of his wounds mortifying, he soon died.



Magdalene de la Peire, being pursued by some of the soldiers, and taken, was cast down a precipice, and dashed to pieces. Margaret Revella and Mary Pravillerin, two very old women, were burnt alive; Michael Bellino, with Bocharno, were beheaded; Joseph Chairret, and Paul Carniero, were flayed alive.

Cipriana Bustia being asked if he would renounce his religion, and turn Roman Catholic, replied, "I would rather renounce life, and turn dog:" to which a priest answered, "For that expression you shall both renounce life and be given to the dogs." They, accordingly, dragged him to prison, where they confined him till he perished of hunger, after which they threw his corpse into the street before the prison, and it was devoured by dogs.

Lucy, the wife of Peter Desson, being in an advanced state of pregnancy, determined, if possible, to escape from such dreadful scenes as every where surrounded her: she accordingly took two young children, one in each hand, and set off towards the Alps. But on the third day of the journey she was taken in labour among the mountains, and delivered of an infant, who perished through the inclemency of the weather, as did the other two children; for all three were found dead by her side, and herself just expiring, by the person to whom she related the above circumstances.

Francis Gross had his flesh slowly cut from his body into small pieces, and put into a dish before him; two of his children were minced before his sight, while his wife was fastened to post, to behold these cruelties practised on her husband and offspring. The tormentors, at length, tired of exercising their cruelties, decapitated both husband and wife.

The Sieur Thomas Margher fled to a cave, where being discovered, the soldiers shut up the mouth, and he perished with famine. Judith Revelin, with seven children, were barbarously murdered in their beds.

Jacob Roseno was commanded to pray to the saints, which he refusing, the soldiers beat him violently with bludgeons to make him comply, but he continuing steady to his faith, they fired at him. While in the agonies of death, they cried to him, "Will you pray to the saints?" To which he answered, "No!" when one of the soldiers, with a broad sword, clove his head asunder, and put an end to his sufferings.

A young woman, named Susanna Ciacquin, being attempted to be ravished by a soldier, made a stout resistance, and in the struggle, pushed him over a precipice, when he was dashed to pieces by the fall. His comrades immediately fell upon her with their swords, and cut her to atoms.

Giovanni Pullius, being apprehended as a protestant by the soldiers, was ordered, by the Marquis Pianessa, to be executed in a place near the convent. When brought to the gallows, several monks attended, to persuade him to renounce his religion. But finding him inflexible, they commanded the executioner to perform his office, which he did, and so launched the martyr into the world of glory.

Paul Clement, an elder of the church of Rossana, being apprehended by the monks of a neighbouring monastery, was carried to the market-place of that town, where some protestants had just been executed. On beholding the dead bodies, he said calmly, "You may kill the body, but you cannot prejudice the soul of a true believer: with respect to the dreadful spectacles which you have here shown me, you may rest

assured, that God's vengeance will overtake the murderers of those poor people, and punish them for the innocent blood they have spilt." The monks were so exasperated at this reply, that they ordered him to be hung up directly: and while he was hanging, the soldiers amused themselves by shooting at the body.

Daniel Rainbaut, of Villaro, the father of a numerous family, was seized, and, with several others, committed to the gaol of Paysana. Here he was visited by several priests, who, with continual importunities, strove to persuade him to turn papist; but this he peremptorily refused, and the priests finding his resolution, and enraged at his answers, determined to put him to the most horrible tortures, in the hope of overcoming his faith; they therefore ordered one joint of his fingers to be cut off every day, till all his fingers were gone: they then proceeded in the same manner with his toes; afterwards they alternately cut off, daily, a hand and a foot; but finding that he bore his sufferings with the most unconquerable fortitude, and maintained his faith with steadfast resolution, they stabbed him to the heart, and then gave his body to be devoured by dogs.

Peter Gabriola, a protestant gentleman, of considerable eminence being seized by a troop of soldiers, and refusing to renounce his religion, they hung several bags of gunpowder about his body, and then setting fire to them, blew him up.

Anthony, the son of Samuel Catieris, a poor dumb lad, and extremely inoffensive, was cut to pieces by a party of the troops; and soon after the same ruffians entered the house of Peter Moniriat, and cut off the legs of the whole family, leaving them to bleed to death, they being unable to assist each other in that melancholy plight.

Daniel Benech, being apprehended, had his nose slit, and his ears cut off; after which he was divided into quarters, and each quarter hung upon a tree. Mary Monino had her jaw-bones broken, and was then left to languish till she was starved to death.

A protestant lady, named Constantia Bellione, was apprehended on account of her faith, and asked by a priest if she would renounce the devil, and go to mass; to which she replied, "I was brought up in a religion by which I was always taught to renounce the devil; but should I comply with your desire, and go to mass, I should be sure to meet him there, in a variety of shapes." The priest was highly incensed at this, and told her to recant, or she should suffer cruelly. She, however, boldly answered, "That she valued not any sufferings he could inflict, and in spite of all the torments he could invent, she would keep her faith inviolate." The priest then ordered slices of her flesh to be cut off from several parts of her body. This she bore with the most singular patience, only saying to the priest, "What horrid and lasting torments you will suffer in hell, for the trifling and temporary pains which I now endure!" Exasperated at this expression, the priest ordered a file of musketeers to draw up and fire upon her, by which she was soon despatched.

Judith Mandon was fastened to a stake, and sticks thrown at her from a distance. By this inhuman treatment, her limbs were beat and mangled in a most terrible manner. At last one of the bludgeons striking her head, she was at once freed from her pains and her life.

Paul Genre and David Paglia, each with his son, attempting to escape to the Alps, were pursued, and overtaken by the soldiers in a

large plain. Here they hunted them for their diversion, goading them with their swords, and making them run about till they dropped down with fatigue. When they found that their spirits were quite exhausted, the soldiers hacked them to pieces, and left their mangled bodies on the spot.

Michael Greve, a young man of Bobbio, was apprehended in the town of La Torre, and being led to the bridge, was thrown over into the river. Being an expert swimmer, he swam down the stream, thinking to escape, but the soldiers and mob followed on both sides, and kept stoning him, till receiving a blow on one of his temples, he sunk and was drowned.

David Armand was forced to lay his head down on a block, when a soldier, with a large hammer, beat out his brains. David Baridona was apprehended at Villaro, and carried to La Torre, where, refusing to renounce his religion, he was tormented by brimstone matches being tied between his fingers and toes, and set fire to, and afterwards, by having his flesh plucked off with red hot pincers, till he expired. Giovanni Barolina, with his wife, were thrown into a pool of stagnant water, and compelled, by means of pitchforks and stones, to duck down their heads till they were suffocated with the stench.

A number of soldiers assaulted the house of Joseph Garniero, and before they entered, fired in at the window, and shot Mrs. Garniero, who was at that instant suckling her child. She begged them to spare the life of the infant, which they promised to do, and sent it immediately to a Roman Catholic nurse. They then seized the husband, and hanged him up at his own door, and having shot the wife through the head, left her body weltering in its blood.

Isaiah Mondon, an aged and pious protestant, fled from the merciless persecutors to a cleft in a rock, where he suffered the most dreadful hardships; for, in the midst of the winter, he was forced to lie on the bare stone without any covering; his food was the roots he could scratch up near his miserable habitation; and the only way by which he could procure drink, was to put snow in his mouth till it melted. Here, however, some of the soldiers found him, and after beating him unmercifully, they drove him towards Lucerne, goading him all the way with the points of their swords. Being exceedingly weakened by his manner of living, and exhausted by the blows he had received, he fell down in the road. They again beat him to make him proceed; till, on his knees, he implored them to put him out of his misery. This they at last agreed to do; and one of them shot him through the head, saying, "There, heretic, take thy request."

To screen themselves from danger, a number of men, women, and children, fled to a large cave, where they continued for some weeks in safety, two of the men going by stealth to procure provisions. These were, however, one day watched, by which the cave was discovered, and, soon after, a troop of Roman Catholics appeared before it. Many of these were neighbours, and intimate acquaintances, and some even relations to those in the cave. The protestants, therefore, came out, and implored them, by the ties of hospitality, and of blood, not to murder them. But the bigoted wretches told them, they could not show any mercy to heretics, and, therefore, bade them all prepare to die. Hearing this, and knowing the obduracy of their enemies, the protestants fell on their knees, lifted their hearts to heaven, and patiently

awaited their fate ; which the papists soon decided, by cutting them to pieces.

*Heroic Defence of the Protestants of Roras.*

The blood of the faithful being almost exhausted in all the towns and villages of Piedmont, there remained but one place that had been exempted from the general slaughter. This was the little community of Roras, which stood upon an eminence. Of this, one of the duke of Savoy's officers determined, if possible, to make himself master ; with that view, he detached three hundred men to surprise it.

The inhabitants, however, had intelligence of the approach of these troops, and Captain Joshua Gianavel, a brave protestant officer, put himself at the head of a small body of the citizens, and waited in ambuscade, to attack the enemy in a narrow passage, the only place by which the town could be approached.

As soon as the troops appeared, and had entered the passage, the protestants commenced a well directed fire against them, and kept themselves concealed behind bushes. A great number of the soldiers were killed, and the rest, receiving a continual fire, and not seeing any to whom they might return it, made a precipitate retreat.

The members of this little community immediately sent a memorial to the marquis of Pianessa, a general officer of the duke, stating, " That they were sorry to be under the necessity of taking up arms ; but that the secret approach of a body of troops, without any previous notice sent of the purpose of their coming, had greatly alarmed them ; that as it was their custom never to suffer any of the military to enter their little community, they had repelled force by force, and should do so again : but, in all other respects, they professed themselves dutiful, obedient, and loyal subjects, to their sovereign the duke of Savoy."

The marquis, in order to delude and surprise them, answered, " That he was perfectly satisfied with their behaviour, for they had done right, and even rendered a service to their country, as the men who had attempted to pass the defile were not his troops, but a band of desperate robbers, who had, for some time, infested those parts, and been a terror to the neighbouring country." To give a greater colour to his treachery, he published a proclamation to the same purpose, expressive of thanks to the citizens of Roras.

The very day after, however, he sent 500 men to take possession of the town, while the people, as he thought, were lulled into security by his artifice.

Captain Gianavel, however, was not thus to be deceived ; he, therefore, laid a second ambuscade for these troops, and compelled them to retire with great loss.

Foiled in these two attempts, the sanguinary marquis determined on a third, still more formidable ; but, with his usual duplicity, he published another proclamation, disowning any knowledge of the second attempt.

He soon after sent 700 chosen men upon the expedition, who, in spite of the fire from the protestants, forced the defile, entered Roras, and began to murder every person they met with, without distinction of sex or age. Captain Gianavel, at the head of his friends, though he had lost the defile, determined to dispute the passage through a for-

tified pass, that led to the richest and best part of the town. Here he succeeded, by keeping up a continual fire, which did great execution, his men being all good marksmen. The Roman Catholic commander was astonished and dismayed at this opposition, as he imagined that he had surmounted all difficulties. He, however, strove to force the pass, but being unable to bring up only twelve men in front at a time, and the protestants being secured by a breast-work, he saw all his hopes frustrated.

Enraged at the loss of so many of his troops, and fearful of disgrace if he persisted in attempting what appeared so impracticable, he thought it wiser to retreat. Unwilling, however, to withdraw his men by the defile at which he had entered, on account of the danger, he designed to retreat towards Villaro, by another pass, called Piampra, which, though hard of access, was easy of descent. Here, however, he again felt the determined bravery of Captain Gianavel, who having posted his little band here, greatly annoyed the troops as they passed, and even pursued their rear till they entered the open country.

The marquis of Pianessa, finding all his attempts baffled, and all his artifices discovered, resolved to throw off the mask; and therefore proclaimed, that ample rewards should be given to any who would bear arms against the obdurate heretics of Roras, and that any officer who would exterminate them, should be honoured accordingly.

Captain Mario, a bigoted Roman Catholic, and a desperate ruffian, stimulated by this, resolved to undertake the enterprise. He, therefore levied a regiment of 1000 men, and with these he resolved to attempt gaining the summit of a rock which commanded the town. But the protestants, aware of his design, suffered his troops to proceed without molestation, till they had nearly reached the summit of the rock, when they made a most furious attack upon them; one party keeping up a well directed and constant fire, and others rolling down large stones. Thus were they suddenly stopped in their career. Many were killed by the musketry, and more by the stones, which beat them down the precipices. Several fell sacrifices to their own fears, for by attempting a precipitate retreat, they fell down and were dashed to pieces; and Captain Mario himself, having fallen from a craggy place into a river at the foot of the rock, was taken up senseless, and after lingering some time, expired.

After this, another body of troops from the camp at Villaro, made an attempt upon Roras; but were likewise defeated, and compelled to retreat to their camp.

Captain Gianavel, for each of these signal victories, made a suitable discourse to his men, kneeling down with them to return thanks to the Almighty, for his providential protection; and concluding with the 11th Psalm.

The marquis of Pianessa, now enraged to the highest degree at being thus foiled by a handful of peasants, determined on their expulsion or destruction.

To this end he ordered all the Roman Catholic militia of Piedmont to be called out and disciplined. To these he joined eight thousand regular troops, and dividing the whole into three distinct bodies, he planned three formidable attacks to be made at once, unless the people of Roras, to whom he sent an account of his great preparations, would comply with the following conditions:

To ask pardon for taking up arms. To pay the expenses of all the expeditions sent against them. To acknowledge the infallibility of the pope. To go to mass. To pray to the saints. To deliver up their ministers and schoolmasters. To go to confession. To pay loans for the delivery of souls from purgatory; and to give up Captain Gianavel and the elders of their church at discretion.

The brave inhabitants, indignant at these proposals, answered, "That sooner than comply with them, they would suffer their estates to be seized, their houses to be burnt, and themselves to be murdered."

Enraged at this, the marquis sent them the following laconic letter.

*To the obstinate Heretics of Roras.*

"You shall have your request, for the troops sent against you have strict injunctions to plunder, burn and kill.

"PIANESSA."

The three armies were accordingly put in motion, and the first attack ordered to be made by the rocks of Villaro; the second by the pass of Bagnol; and the third by the defile of Lucerne.

As might be expected from the superiority of numbers, the troops gained the rocks, pass, and defile, entered the town, and commenced the most horrid depredations. Men they hanged, burnt, racked to death, or cut to pieces; women they ripped open, crucified, drowned, or threw from the precipices; and children they tossed upon spears, minced, cut their throats, or dashed out their brains. On the first day of their gaining the town, one hundred and twenty-six suffered in this manner.

Agreeably to the orders of the marquis, they likewise plundered the estates, and burnt the houses of the people. Several protestants, however, made their escape, under the conduct of the brave Gianavel, whose wife and children were unfortunately made prisoners, and sent to Turin under a strong guard.

The marquis, thinking to conquer at least the mind of Gianavel, wrote him a letter, and released a protestant prisoner, that he might carry it to him. The contents were, that if the captain would embrace the Roman Catholic religion, he should be indemnified for all his losses since the commencement of the war, his wife and children should be immediately released, and himself honourably promoted in the duke of Savoy's army; but if he refused to accede to the proposals made to him, his wife and children should be put to death; and so large a reward should be given to take him, dead or alive, that even some of his own confidential friends should, from the greatness of the sum, be tempted to betray him.

To this, Gianavel returned the following answer:

"MY LORD MARQUIS,

"There is no torment so great, or death so cruel, that I would not prefer to the abjuration of my religion: so that promises lose their effects, and menaces do but strengthen me in my faith.

"With respect to my wife and children, my lord, nothing can be more afflicting to me than the thoughts of their confinement, or more

dreadful to my imagination, than their suffering a violent death. I keenly feel all the tender sensations of a husband and parent; I would suffer any torment to rescue them; I would die to preserve them.

“But having said thus much, my lord, I assure you that the purchase of their lives must not be the price of my salvation. You have them in your power it is true; but my consolation is, that your power is only a temporary authority over their bodies: you may destroy the mortal part, but their immortal souls are out of your reach, and will live hereafter, to bear testimony against you for your cruelties. I therefore recommend them and myself to God, and pray for a reformation in your heart.

“JOSHUA GIANAVEL.”

He then, with his followers, retired to the Alps, where, being afterwards joined by several protestant officers, with a considerable number of fugitive protestants, they conjointly defended themselves, and made several successful attacks upon the Roman Catholic towns and forces; carrying terror by the valour of their exploits, and the boldness of their enterprises.

Nevertheless, the disproportion between their forces and those of their enemies was so great, that no reasonable expectations could be entertained of their ultimate success; which induced many protestant princes and states, in various parts of Europe, to interest themselves in favour of these courageous sufferers for religious and civil liberty.

Among these intercessors, the protestant cantons of Switzerland early distinguished themselves; and as their mediation was rejected by the duke of Savoy, they raised considerable sums of money, by private subscriptions, for the relief of the fugitives, and the assistance of the brave defenders of their native valleys. Nor did they limit their kindness to pecuniary relief; they despatched a messenger to the United Provinces, for the purpose of procuring subscriptions, and the interference of the Dutch government in favour of the Piedmontese, both of which they at length obtained. They then made another attempt to prevail on the duke of Savoy to grant his protestant subjects liberty of conscience, and to restore them to their ancient privileges; but this, after much evasion on the part of the duke, also failed.

But that God, whom they worshipped in purity of spirit, now raised them up a more powerful champion in the person of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England. This extraordinary man, however criminal in the means by which he obtained power, certainly deserves the praise of having exercised it with dignity and firmness; and if his usurpation be censured, it must be acknowledged that he raised England to a station among the neighbouring powers, to which it had never before attained. From the throne which he had just seized, he dictated to the most potent monarchs of Europe; and never was his influence more justly exercised, than in behalf of the persecuted protestants of Piedmont. He caused subscriptions to be set on foot throughout England in their favour;\* he sent an envoy to the court of

\* They amounted in England and Wales to forty thousand pounds; a very large sum in those days, when the nation was exhausted and impoverished by a long civil war.

France, and wrote to all the protestant powers of Europe, to interest them in the same good cause. He despatched an ambassador to the court of Turin, who was received with great respect by the duke, who pretended to justify his treatment of the Piedmontese, under the pretence of their being rebellious.

But Cromwell would not suffer himself to be trifled with; his ambassador gave the duke to understand, that if negotiation failed, arms would be had recourse to; and as the kings of Denmark and Sweden, the Dutch government, and many of the German states, encouraged by the example of the Protector, now came forward in the same cause, the duke found himself under the necessity of dismissing the English ambassador, with a very respectful message to his master, assuring him that "the persecutions had been much misrepresented and exaggerated; and that they had been occasioned by his rebellious subjects themselves: nevertheless, to show his great respect for his highness, he would pardon them, and restore them to their former privileges."

This was accordingly done; and the protestants returned to their homes, grateful for the kindness which had been shown to them, and praising the name of the Lord, who is as a tower of strength to those who put their trust in him.

During the lifetime of Cromwell, they lived in peace and security; but no sooner had his death relieved the papists from the terror of his vengeance, than they began anew to exercise that cruel and bigoted spirit which is inherent in popery: and although the persecutions were not avowedly countenanced by the court, they were connived at, and unpunished; insomuch that whatever injury had been inflicted on a protestant, he could obtain no redress from the corrupted judges to whom he applied for that protection which the laws nominally granted to him.

At length, in the year 1686, all the treaties in favour of the protestants were openly violated, by the publication of an edict, prohibiting the exercise of any religion but the Roman Catholic, on pain of death.

The protestants petitioned for a repeal of this cruel edict: and their petitions were backed by their ancient friends, the protestant cantons of Switzerland. But the cries of his subjects, and the intercession of their allies were equally unavailing; the duke replied that "his engagements with France obliged him to extirpate the *heretics* from Piedmont."

Finding applications useless, the protestants flew to arms; and being attacked by the duke's army, and some French troops, on the 22d of April, 1686, they, after an obstinate engagement of several hours, obtained a complete victory, killing great numbers of the French and Savoyards.

Exasperated by this defeat, the duke immediately collected a large army, which he augmented with a reinforcement of French and Swiss troops; and was so successful in several engagements against the protestants, that the latter, despairing of success, consented to lay down their arms and quit the country, on his solemn promise of safety for themselves, their families, and property.

No sooner were they disarmed, than the treacherous papists, acting upon their maxim, that no faith is to be kept with heretics, massacred a large body of them in cold blood, without distinction of age or sex; and burnt and ravaged the country in every direction.



The horrors perpetrated by these faithless and bigoted monsters, almost exceed belief. We will not weary and disgust our readers with the recital; suffice it to say, that every variety of rapine, lust, and cruelty, were exhausted by these demons in human shape. Those protestants who were fortunate enough to escape, found an asylum in the Swiss cantons, and in Germany, where they were treated kindly, and lands granted to them for their residence.

The natural consequence of these horrible proceedings was, that the fruitful valleys of Piedmont were depopulated and desolate; and the barbarous monster, who had caused this devastation, now feeling its ill effects, tried, by all means in his power, to draw Roman Catholic families from all parts of Europe, to re-people the valleys, and to cultivate the fields which had been blasted by the malignant breath of bigotry.

Some of the exiles, in the meanwhile, animated by that *love of country* which glows with peculiar warmth in their breasts, determined to make an attempt to regain a part of their native valleys, or to perish in the attempt. Accordingly, nine hundred of them, who had resided, during their exile, near the lake of Geneva, crossing it in the night, entered Savoy without resistance, and, seizing two villages, obtained provisions, for which they paid, and immediately passed the river Arve, before the duke had notice of their arrival in the country.

When he became acquainted with this, he was astonished at the boldness of the enterprise, and despatched troops to guard the defiles and passes; which, however, were all forced by the protestants, and great numbers of the Savoyard troops defeated.

Alarmed by this intelligence, and still more by a report that a great body of the exiles were advancing from Brandenburg to support those already in Savoy, and that many protestant states meant to assist them in their attempts to regain a footing in their native country, the duke published an edict, by which he restored them to all their former privileges.

This just and humane conduct was, however, so displeasing to that bigoted and ferocious tyrant, Louis XIV. of France, that he sent an order to the duke of Savoy to extirpate every protestant in his dominions; and to assist him in the execution of this horrible project, or to punish him if he were unwilling to engage in it, M. Catinat was despatched at the head of an army of 16,000 men. This insolent dictation irritated the duke; he determined no longer to be the slave of the French king, and solicited the aid of the emperor of Germany, and the king of Spain, who sent large bodies of troops to his assistance. Being also joined, at his own request, by the protestant army, he hesitated no longer to declare war against France; and in the campaign which followed, his protestant subjects were of infinite service by their valour and resolution. The French troops were at length driven from Piedmont, and the heroic protestants were reinstated in their former possessions, their ancient privileges confirmed, and many new ones granted to them. The exiles now returned from Germany and Switzerland; and were accompanied by many French refugees, whom the cruel persecutions of Louis had driven from their native land, in search of the toleration denied to them at home. But this infuriated bigot, not yet glutted with revenge, insisted on their being expelled from Piedmont; and the Duke of Savoy, anxious for peace, was com-

pelled to comply with this merciless demand, before the French king would sign the treaty. The wanderers, thus driven from the south of Europe, sought and found an asylum from the hospitality of the elector of Brandenburg, and consoled themselves for the loss of a genial climate, and a delightful country, in the enjoyment of the more substantial blessings of liberty of conscience, and security of property.

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### SECTION VIII.

#### PERSECUTIONS OF MICHAEL DE MOLINOS, A NATIVE OF SPAIN.

Michael de Molinos, a Spaniard, of a rich and noble family, entered, at an early age, into priest's orders, but would accept of no preferment in the church. His talents were of a superior class, and he dedicated them to the service of his fellow creatures. His life was uniformly pious; but he did not assume those austerities so common among the religious orders of the Romish church.

Being of a contemplative turn, he pursued the track of the mystical divines, and having acquired great reputation in Spain, he became desirous of propagating his mode of devotion, and, accordingly, left his own country, and settled in Rome. Here he soon connected himself with some of the most distinguished among the literati, who, approving of his religious maxims, assisted him in propagating them. His followers soon augmented to a considerable number, and, from the peculiarity of their doctrine, were distinguished by the name of Quietists.

In 1675, he published a book, entitled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, which soon became known, and was read, with great avidity, both in Italy and Spain. His fame was now blazed abroad, and friends flowed in upon him. Many letters were written to him, and a correspondence was settled between him and those who approved of his tenets, in different parts of Europe. Some secular priests, both at Rome and Naples, declared themselves openly in his favour, and consulted him as a sort of oracle; but those who attached themselves to him with the greatest sincerity, were some of the fathers of the Oratory, the most eminent of whom were, Coloredi, Ciceri, and Petrucci. Many of the cardinals also courted his friendship. Among others, was the Cardinal d'Estrees, a man of great learning, to whom Molinos opened his mind without reserve.

His reputation now began to alarm the Jesuits and Dominicans; they, therefore, exclaimed against him and his followers as heretics, and published several treatises in defence of their charge, which Molinos answered with becoming spirit.

These disputes occasioned such a disturbance in Rome, that the affair was noticed by the inquisition. Molinos and his book, and father Petrucci, who had written some treatises and letters on the same subject, were brought under a severe examination; and the Jesuits were considered as the accusers. In the course of the examination, both Molinos and Petrucci acquitted themselves so ably, that their books were again approved, and the answers which the Jesuits had written, were censured as scandalous and unbecoming.

Petrucchi, on this occasion, was so highly applauded, that he was soon after made bishop of Jesis. Their books were now esteemed more than ever, and their method was more followed.

Thus the great reputation acquired by Molinos and Petrucci, occasioned a daily increase of the Quietists. All who were thought sincerely devout, or at least affected to be so, were reckoned among the number. These persons, in proportion as their zeal increased in their mental devotions, appeared less careful as to the exterior parts of the church ceremonies. They were not so assiduous at masses, nor so earnest to procure them to be said for their friends; nor were they so frequently either in processions or at confession.

Notwithstanding the approbation expressed for Molinos' book by the inquisition had checked the open hostility of his enemies, they were still inveterate against him in their hearts, and determined, if possible, to ruin him. They therefore secretly insinuated that he had ill designs, and was an enemy to Christianity: that under pretence of raising men to a sublime strain of devotion, he intended to erase from their minds a sense of the mysteries of religion. And because he was a Spaniard, they gave out that he was a descendant from a Jewish or Mahometan race, and that he might carry in his blood, or in his first education, some seeds of those doctrines he had since cultivated with no less art than zeal.

Molinos finding himself attacked with such unrelenting malice, took every necessary precaution to prevent its effect upon the public mind. He wrote a treatise entitled "Frequent and Daily Communion," which was likewise approved of by some of the most learned of the Romish clergy. This, with his *Spiritual Guide*, was printed in the year 1675; and in the preface to it, he declared, that he had not written it with any design to engage in matters of controversy, but by the earnest solicitations of many pious people.

The Jesuits having again failed in their attempts to crush his influence at Rome, applied to the court of France, when they so far succeeded, that an order was sent to Cardinal d'Estrees, commanding him to prosecute Molinos with all possible rigour. The cardinal, notwithstanding his attachment to Molinos, resolved to sacrifice friendship to interest. Finding, however, there was not sufficient matter for an accusation against him, he determined to supply that defect himself. He therefore went to the inquisitors, and informed them of several particulars relative to Molinos and Petrucci, both of whom, with several of their friends, were put into the inquisition.

On being brought before the inquisitors, (which was in the beginning of the year 1684,) Petrucci answered the questions put to him with so much judgment and temper, that he was soon dismissed; but with regard to Molinos, though the inquisition had not any just accusation against him, yet they strained every nerve to find him guilty of heresy. They first objected to his holding a correspondence in different parts of Europe; but of this he was acquitted, as the matter of that correspondence could not be considered as criminal. They then directed their attention to some suspicious papers found in his chamber; but he so clearly explained their meaning, that nothing could be wrested from them to his prejudice. At length, cardinal d'Estrees, after producing the order sent him by the king of France, for prosecuting Molinos, said, he could convince the court of his heresy. He

then proceeded to pervert the meaning of some passages in Molinos's books and papers, and related many false and aggravating circumstances relative to the prisoner. He acknowledged he had lived with him under the appearance of friendship, but that it was only to discover his principles and intentions; that he found them to be of a bad nature, and that dangerous consequences were likely to ensue; but in order to make a full discovery, he had assented to several things, which, in his heart, he detested; and that, by these means, he became master of all his secrets.

In consequence of this evidence, Molinos was closely confined in the inquisition, where he continued for some time, during which period all was quiet, and his followers continued their mode of worship without interruption. But, at the instigation of the Jesuits, a storm suddenly broke out upon them with the most inveterate fury.

#### *Persecution of the Quietists.*

Count Vespianiani and his lady, Don Paulo Rocchi, and nearly seventy other persons, among whom were many highly esteemed both for their learning and piety, were put into the inquisition. The accusation laid against the clergy was, their neglecting to say the breviary; the rest were accused of going to communion without first attending confession, and neglecting all the exterior parts of religion.

The Countess Vespianiani, on her examination before the inquisitors, said, that she had never revealed her method of devotion to any mortal but her confessor, without whose treachery it was impossible they should know it. That, therefore, it was time to give over going to confession, if priests thus abused it, betraying the most secret thoughts intrusted to them; and that, for the future, she would only make her confession to God.

From that spirited speech, and the great noise made in consequence of the countess's situation, the inquisitors thought it most prudent to dismiss both her and her husband, lest the people might be incensed, and what she said might lessen the credit of confession. They were, therefore, both discharged; but bound to appear whenever they should be called upon.

Such was the inveteracy of the Jesuits against the Quietists, that within the space of a month upwards of 200 persons, besides those already mentioned, were put into the inquisition; and that method of devotion, which had passed into Italy as the most elevated to which mortals could aspire, was deemed heretical, and the chief promoters of it confined in dungeons.

A circular letter, urging the extirpation of the Quietists, was sent, by the inquisitors, through Cardinal Cibo, the pope's chief minister, to the Italian bishops, but without much effect, as the greater number of them were inclined to Molinos's method. It was intended that this, as well as all other orders from the inquisitors, should be kept secret; but not withstanding all their care, copies of it were printed, and dispersed in most of the principal towns in Italy. This gave great uneasiness to the inquisitors, who use every method they can to conceal their proceedings from the knowledge of the world. They blamed the cardinal, and accused him of being the cause of it; but he retorted on them, and his secretary laid the fault on both.

*Sentence against Molinos.*

In the mean time, Molinos suffered greatly from the officers of the inquisition: and the only comfort he received was, being sometimes visited by father Petrucci. Yet although he had lived in the highest reputation in Rome for some years, he was now as much despised as he had been admired. Most of his followers, who had been placed in the inquisition, having abjured his mode, were dismissed; but a harder fate awaited their leader. When he had laid a considerable time in prison, he was brought again before the inquisitors, to answer to a number of articles exhibited against him from his writings. As soon as he appeared in court, a chain was put around his body, and a wax-light in his hand, when two friars read aloud the articles of accusation. Molinos answered each with great steadiness and resolution; and notwithstanding his arguments totally defeated the force of all, yet he was found guilty of heresy, and was condemned to imprisonment for life.

Having left the court, he was attended by a priest, who had borne him the greatest respect. On his arrival at the prison, he entered the cell with great tranquillity; and on taking leave of the priest, thus addressed him: "Adieu, father; we shall meet again at the day of judgment and then it will appear on which side the truth is, whether on my side or on yours."

While in confinement, he was several times tortured in the most cruel manner, till, at length, the severity of the punishments overpowered his strength, and death released him from his cruel persecutors.

The followers of Molinos were so terrified by the sufferings of their leader, that the greater part of them soon abjured his mode; and by the assiduity of the Jesuits, Quietism was totally extirpated.

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## SECTION IX.

### PERSECUTIONS OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE, DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

In our sixth chapter we gave a brief account of the horrible massacre in France, in 1572, in the reign of Charles IX. who has been well entitled, "The bloody." This inhuman tyrant dying, was succeeded in 1574 by Henry III. who, from political rather than religious motives, favoured the protestants, which so greatly displeased the catholics, that he felt himself obliged to recal the privileges which he had granted them. Hence arose civil dissensions, which nearly ruined the kingdom. In 1589 Henry was assassinated by one James Clement, a fanatical priest, and was succeeded by the king of Navarre, under the title of Henry IV.

This prince, after struggling with his numerous enemies during several years, found it expedient to declare himself a Roman Catholic, and thus to obtain the suffrages of the majority of his subjects. This apostacy was a severe affliction to the faithful: but although he abandoned his religion, and sacrificed an heavenly for an earthly crown, he did not, like many apostates, persecute the members of the church

which he had quitted. He was, in all other respects, truly worthy of the appellation of *Great*; a title so frequently and so unjustly bestowed on men who sacrifice the lives and happiness of their fellow-creatures at the shrine of their own vanity and cruelty, and deserve rather to be execrated than admired, and regarded as demons than as demi-gods.

Upon the restoration of tranquillity in his dominions, Henry applied himself to the cultivation of the arts of peace, and by encouraging agriculture, manufactures, and trade, laboured successfully to recover France from the desolation and misery which thirty years of civil war and religious persecution had brought upon her. Nor was he unmindful of his ancient friends the protestants. By the edict of Nantes, issued in 1598, he granted them a full toleration and protection in the exercise of their religious opinions. In consequence of this, the true church of Christ abode in peace during many years, and flourished exceedingly.

Henry was at length assassinated, in 1610, by Ravaillac, a jesuit, filled with that frantic bigotry which the Roman Catholic religion has so peculiar a tendency to inspire and to cherish.

Louis XIII. being a minor at the death of his father, the kingdom was nominally governed by the queen-mother, but really by her minion, Cardinal Richelieu, a man of great abilities, which were unhappily perverted to the worst purposes. He was cruel, bigoted, tyrannical, rapacious, and sensual; he trampled on the civil and religious liberties of France; and hesitated not to accomplish his intentions by the most barbarous and infamous methods.

The protestants at length, unable longer to endure the injuries daily heaped upon them, resolved to take arms in defence of their religion and their liberty. But the vigour of the cardinal defeated all their enterprises, and Rochelle, the last fortress which remained in their possession, was, in 1628, after a long siege, in which the defenders were reduced to the most horrible extremities of famine and suffering, surrendered to his victorious arms. He immediately caused the walls and fortifications to be destroyed; and those of the garrison who survived, were either put to death by the infuriated soldiery, or condemned to the galleys for life.

After this unhappy event, although the power of the protestants was too much broken to permit them to assert their rights in the field, and they therefore appeared to their enemies as if crushed and extinguished, there yet remained many thousands who "refused to bow the knee to Baal;" their God upheld them by his gracious promises; they knew that He without whose orders "not even a sparrow shall perish," would not allow his faithful servants to fall unregarded; and they consoled themselves with the reflection, that however they might be despised, contemned, and persecuted on earth, they would in the end arrive at those heavenly mansions prepared for them by their Father, where "all tears shall be wiped from all faces;" and where an eternity of glorious and celestial happiness shall infinitely outweigh the temporary and trival sufferings of mortality.

During the fifty years which succeeded the reduction of Rochelle, the protestants suffered every indignity, injustice, and cruelty, which their barbarous persecutors could devise. They were at the mercy of every petty despot, who, "drest in a little brief authority," wished to gratify his malice, or signalize the season of his power by punish-

ing the *heretics*, and evincing his attachment to the *infallible church*. The consequences of this may easily be imagined; every petty vexation which can render private life miserable, every species of plunder and extortion, and every wanton exertion of arbitrary power, were employed to harass and molest the protestants of all ranks, sexes, and ages.

At length, in 1684, the impious and blasphemous tyrant, Louis XIV., who, in imitation of the worst Roman emperors, wished to receive divine honours, and was flattered by his abject courtiers into the belief that he was more than human, determined to establish his claim to the title of *le grand*, which their fulsome adulation had bestowed on him, by the extirpation of the *heretics* from his dominions. Pretending, however, to wish for their conversion to the *true faith*, he gave them the alternative of voluntarily becoming papists, or being compelled to it.

On their refusal to apostatize, they were *dragooned*; that is, the dragoons, the most ruffianly and barbarous of his *Christian* majesty's troops, were quartered upon them, with orders to *live at discretion*. Their ideas of *discretion* may easily be conceived, and accordingly the unhappy protestants were exposed to every species of suffering, which lust, avarice, cruelty, bigotry, and brutality, can engender in the breasts of an ignorant, depraved, and infuriated soldiery, absolved from all restraint, and left to the diabolical promptings of their worst passions, whose flames were fanned by the assurances of the bishops, priests, and friars, that they were fulfilling a sacred duty, by punishing the enemies of God and religion!

An order was issued by the king, for the demolition of the protestant churches, and the banishment of the protestant ministers. Many other reformers were also ordered to leave the kingdom in a few days: and we are told by Monsieur Claude, the celebrated author of "*Les Plaintes des Protestans*," who was himself banished at this time, that the most frivolous pretexts were employed to detain those who were about to quit France, so that by remaining in that country beyond the time allowed by the edict, they might be sent to the galleys as a punishment for infringing an order which they were thus prevented from complying with.

On the whole, more than five hundred thousand persons escaped or were banished. And these industrious citizens, whom the blind bigotry of a besotted tyrant had driven from their native land, found shelter and protection in England, Germany, and other countries, which they amply repaid by the introduction of many useful arts and processes; in particular, it is to them that the people of Great Britain are indebted for the commencement of the silk manufacture in that country.

In the meanwhile, those who either were purposely detained, or were unable to escape, were condemned to the galleys: and after being imprisoned in the most horrible dungeons, and fed only on bread and water, and that very scantily, were marched off, in large bodies, handcuffed, and chained together, from one extremity of the kingdom to another. Their sufferings during this dreadful journey were indescribable. They were exposed to every vicissitude of weather, almost without covering; and frequently, in the midst of winter, were obliged to pass the night on the bare earth, fainting from hunger and thirst, agonized by disease, and writhing from the lash of their merciless con-

ductors. The consequence was, that scarcely half the original number reached the place of their destination; those who did, were immediately exposed to new sufferings and additional calamities.

They were put on board the galleys, where they were subjected to the absolute control of the most inhuman and barbarous wretches who ever disgraced the human form. The labour of rowing, as performed in the galleys, is described as being the most excessive that can be imagined; and the sufferings of the poor slaves were increased many fold by the scourgings inflicted on them by their savage taskmasters. The recital of their miseries is too horrible to be dwelt upon: we shall therefore pass to that period when the Lord, of his infinite mercy, gave ear to the cries of his afflicted servants, and graciously raised them up a deliverer in Anne, queen of England, who, filled with compassion for the unhappy fate of so many of her fellow protestants, ordered her ambassador at the court of France, to make a spirited remonstrance in their favour, which Louis, whose affairs were then in a very critical situation, was under the necessity of complying with; and he accordingly dispatched orders to all the seaports for the immediate release of every galley slave condemned for his religion.

When this order was received at Marseilles, where the majority of the protestants were detained, the priests, and most particularly the Jesuits, were much chagrined at the prospect of thus losing their victims, and determined to use all means in their power to prevent the order from being carried into effect. They prevailed on the intendant, a violent and cruel bigot, to delay its execution for eight days, till they could receive an answer to an address which they immediately dispatched to the king, exhorting him to abandon his intention of releasing the *heretics*, and representing the dreadful judgments which, they asserted, might be expected to fall on himself and his kingdom, as the punishment of so great a dereliction from his duty as the *eldest-son of the church*. At least, they desired, if his majesty were determined to release the protestants, that he would not allow them to remain in, or even pass through, France; but would compel them to leave the ports by sea, and never again to enter his dominions, on pain of revisiting the galleys.

Although Louis could not comply with the first part of the petition of these truly papistical bigots, the latter part was too congenial to his own inclinations, to be rejected. The protestants were ordered to sail from the ports at which they had been confined; and the difficulty of obtaining vessels for their conveyance, which the malignant priests used all their arts to augment, occasioned a long delay, during which the poor prisoners were suffering all the agonies of uncertainty—that “hope deferred, which maketh the heart sick,”—and which led them to fear that something might still intervene to prevent their so much desired emancipation. But their heavenly Father, ever mindful of those who suffer for his sake, at length removed every obstacle which bigotry and malice could interpose, and delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. They went forth rejoicing, praising and blessing His holy name, who had wrought for them this great deliverance.

A deputation of those who had been released by the interposition of Queen Anne, waited upon her majesty in London, to return their most grateful thanks, on behalf of themselves and their brethren, for her Christian interference in their favour. She received them very gra-



ciously, and assured them that she derived more pleasure from the consciousness of having lessened the miseries of her fellow protestants, than from the most brilliant events of her reign.

These exiles also established themselves in England, which by their industry and ingenuity acquired new riches every day, while France, by expelling them, received a blow, from which her commercial and trading interests never recovered. Thus, even on earth, did the Almighty punish the bigoted and cruel, and reward the pious and beneficent. But how fearful shall be the judgment of the persecutors in that great day when every action shall be weighed in the balance of Eternal Justice! How awful the denunciation—"Depart from me, ye cursed! I know you not!" Will the plea of *religious zeal* be then allowed? Will not the true motives of their barbarity be exposed to Him "from whom no secret is hid?" Undoubtedly they will: and lamentably ignorant are they of the genuine spirit of Christianity, who imagine that cruelty and persecution form any part of it. Let them look to the conduct of its Divine Founder: to his meekness, his charity, his universal benevolence; let them consider these, and blush to call themselves his followers; and tremble at the doom which his justice will award to those who have perverted his maxims of mercy and of peace into denunciations of hostility and extirpation.



## SECTION X.

### MARTYRDOM OF JOHN CALAS, OF TOULOUSE.

By this interesting story, the truth of which is certified in historical records, we have ample proof, if any were requisite, that the spirit of persecution will always prevail where popery has the ascendancy. This shocking act took place in a polished age, and proves, that neither experience nor improvement, can root out the inveterate prejudices of the Roman Catholics; or render them less cruel or inexorable to the protestants.

John Calas was a merchant of the city of Toulouse, where he had settled, and lived in good repute; and had married an English woman of French extraction.

Calas and his wife were both protestants, and had five sons, whom they educated in the same religion; but Lewis, one of the sons, became a Roman Catholic, having been converted by a maid-servant, who had lived in the family above thirty years. The father, however, did not express any resentment or ill-will upon the occasion, but kept the maid in the family, and settled an annuity upon the son. In October, 1761, the family consisted of John Calas and his wife, one woman servant, Mark Anthony Calas, the eldest son, and Peter Calas, the second son. Mark Anthony was bred to the law, but could not be admitted to practice, on account of his being a protestant: hence he grew melancholy, read all the books which he could procure relative to suicide, and seemed determined to destroy himself. To this may be added, that he led a very dissipated life, and was greatly addicted to gaming. On this account his father frequently reprehended him,

and sometimes in terms of severity, which considerably added to the gloom that oppressed him.

M. Gober La Vaisse, a young gentleman about nineteen years of age, the son of a celebrated advocate of Toulouse, having been some time at Bourdeaux, came back to Toulouse to see his father, on the 13th of October, 1761; but finding that he was gone to his country-house, at some distance from the city, he went to several places, endeavouring to hire a horse to carry him thither. No horse, however, was to be obtained; and about five o'clock in the evening, he was met by John Calas the father, and the eldest son Mark Anthony, who was his friend. Calas, the father, invited him to supper, as he could not set out for his father's that night, and La Vaisse consented. All three, therefore, proceeded to Calas's house together, and when they came thither, finding that Mrs. Calas was still in her own room, which she had not quitted that day, La Vaisse went up to see her. After the first compliments, he told her he was to sup with her, by her husband's invitation, at which she expressed her satisfaction, and a few minutes after left him, to give some orders to her maid. When that was done, she went to look for her son Anthony, whom she found sitting alone in the shop, very pensive: she gave him some money, and desired him to go and buy some Roquefort cheese, as he was a better judge of the quality of cheese than any other person in the family. She then returned to her guest La Vaisse, who very soon after went again to the livery-stable, to see if any horse was come in, that he might secure it for the next morning.

In a short time Anthony returned, having bought the cheese, and La Vaisse also coming back about the same time, the family and their guest sat down to supper, the whole company consisting of Calas and his wife, Anthony and Peter Calas, the sons, and La Vaisse, no other person being in the house, except the maid-servant, who has been mentioned already. This was about seven o'clock: the supper was not long; but before it was over, Anthony left the table, and went into the kitchen, (which was on the same floor) as he was accustomed to do. The maid asked him if he was cold? He answered, "Quite the contrary, I burn!" and then left her. In the mean time his friend and family left the room they had supped in, and went into a bed-chamber; the father and La Vaisse sat down together on a sofa; the younger son Peter in an elbow chair; and the mother in another chair; and without making any inquiry after Anthony, continued in conversation together, till between nine and ten o'clock, when La Vaisse took his leave, and Peter, who had fallen asleep, was awakened to attend him with a light.

There was on the ground-floor of Calas's house, a shop and a ware-house; the latter of which was divided from the shop by a pair of folding-doors. When Peter Calas and La Vaisse came down stairs into the shop, they were extremely shocked to see Anthony hanging in his shirt, from a bar which he had laid across the top of the two folding-doors, having half opened them for that purpose. On discovering this horrid spectacle, they shrieked out, which brought down Calas the father, the mother being seized with such a terror as kept her trembling in the passage above. The unhappy old man rushed forward, and taking the body in his arms, the bar to which the rope was fastened, slipped off from the folding door of the ware house, and fell

down. Having placed the body on the ground, he loosed and took off the cord in an agony of grief and anguish not to be expressed, weeping, trembling, and deploring his loss. The two young men, who had not presence of mind to attempt taking down the body, were standing by, stupid with amazement and horror. In the mean time, the mother, hearing the confused cries and complaints of her husband, and finding no one come to her, found means to get down stairs. At the bottom she saw La Vaisse, and hastily demanded what was the matter. This question roused Calas in a moment, and instead of answering her, he urged her to go again up stairs, to which, with much reluctance, she consented; but the conflict of her mind being such as could not be long borne, she sent down the maid to know what was the matter. When the maid discovered what had happened, she continued below, either because she feared to carry an account of it to her mistress, or because she busied herself in doing some good office to her master, who was still embracing the body of his son, and bathing it in his tears. The mother, therefore, being thus left alone, went down, and mixed in the scene that has been already described, with such emotions as it must naturally produce. In the mean time, Peter had been sent for La Moire, a surgeon in the neighbourhood. La Moire was not at home, but his apprentice, named Grosse, came instantly. Upon examination, he found the body quite dead; and upon taking off the neckcloth, which was of black taffeta, he saw the mark of the cord, and immediately pronounced that the deceased had been strangled. This particular had not been told, for the poor old man, when Peter was going for La Moire, cried out, "Save at least the honour of my family; do not go and spread a report that your brother has made away with himself."

A crowd of people, by this time, were gathered about the house, and one Casing, with another friend or two of the family, had come in. Some of those who were in the street had heard the cries and exclamations within, but knew not the occasion; and having, by some means, heard, that Anthony Calas was suddenly dead, and that the surgeon, who had examined the body, declared he had been strangled, they took it into their heads he had been murdered; and as the family were protestants, they presently supposed that the young man was about to change his religion, and had been put to death for that reason. The cries they had heard they fancied were those of the deceased, while he was resisting the violence done to him. The tumult in the street increased every moment; some said that Anthony Calas was to have abjured the next day; others, that protestants are bound, by their religion, to strangle, or cut the throats of their children, when they are inclined to become catholics. Others, who had found out that La Vaisse was in the house when the accident happened, very confidently affirmed, that the protestants, at their last assembly, appointed a person to be their common executioner upon these occasions, and that La Vaisse was the man, who, in consequence of the office to which he had been appointed, had come to Calas's house to hang his son.

Now, the poor father, who was overwhelmed with grief for the loss of his child, was advised by his friends to send for the officers of justice, to prevent his being torn to pieces by the ignorant and bigoted mob. A messenger was accordingly despatched to the capitoul, or

first magistrate of the place ; and another to an inferior officer, called an assessor. The capitoul had already set out, having been alarmed by the rumour of a murder. He entered Calas's house with forty soldiers, took the father, Peter the son, the mother, La Vaisse, and the maid, all into custody, and set a guard over them. He sent for M. de la Tour, a physician, and M. la Marque and Perronet, surgeons, who examined the body for marks of violence, but found none except the mark of the ligature on the neck : they found also the hair of the deceased done up in the usual manner, perfectly smooth, and without the least disorder ; his clothes were also regularly folded up, and laid upon the counter, nor was his shirt either unbuttoned or torn.

The capitoul, notwithstanding these appearances, thought proper to agree with the opinion of the mob, and took it into his head that old Calas had sent for La Vaisse, telling him he had a son to be hanged ; that La Vaisse had come to perform the office of executioner ; and that he had received assistance from the father and brother.

On account of these notions the capitoul ordered the body of the deceased to be carried to the town-house, with the clothes. The father and son were thrown into a dark dungeon ; and the mother, La Vaisse, the maid, and Casing, were imprisoned in one that admitted the light. The next day, what is called the verbal process was taken at the town-house instead of the spot where the body was found, as the law directs, and was dated at Calas's house, to conceal the irregularity. This verbal process is somewhat like the coroner's inquest in England ; witnesses are examined, and the magistrate makes his report similar to the verdict of a coroner's jury in England. The witnesses examined by the capitoul were, the physician and surgeon, who proved Anthony Calas to have been strangled. The surgeon having been ordered to examine the stomach of the deceased, deposed also, that the food which was found there had been taken four hours before his death. Finding that no proof of the murder could be procured, the capitoul had recourse to a monitory, or general information, in which the crime was taken for granted, and all persons were required to give such testimony against it as they were able, particularizing the points to which they were to speak. This recites, that La Vaisse was commissioned by the protestants to be their executioner in ordinary, when any of their children were to be hanged for changing their religion ; it recites also, that when the protestants thus hang their children, they compel them to kneel, and one of the interrogatories was, whether any person had seen Anthony Calas kneel before his father when he strangled him ; it recites likewise, that Anthony died a Roman Catholic, and requires evidence of his catholicism.

These ridiculous opinions being adopted and published by the principal magistrate of a considerable city, the church of Geneva thought itself obliged to send an attestation of its abhorrence of opinions so abominable and absurd, and of its astonishment that they should be suspected of such opinions by persons whose rank and office required them to have more knowledge, and better judgment.

However, before this monitory was published, the mob had got a notion, that Anthony Calas was the next day to have entered into the fraternity of the White Penitents. The capitoul immediately adopted this opinion also, without the least examination, and ordered An-

thony's body to be buried in the middle of St. Stephen's church, which was accordingly done; forty priests, and all the white penitents, assisting in the funeral procession.

A short time after the interment of the deceased, the white penitents performed a solemn service for him in their chapel; the church was hung with white, and a tomb was raised in the middle of it, on the top of which was placed a human skeleton, holding in one hand a paper, on which was written, "Abjuration of heresy," and in the other a palm, the emblem of martyrdom.

The Franciscans performed a service of the same kind for him the next day; and it is easy to imagine how much the minds of the people were inflamed by this strange folly of their magistrates and priests.

Still the capitoul continued the prosecution with unrelenting severity; and though the grief and distraction of the family, when he first came to the house, were alone sufficient to have convinced any reasonable being that they were not the authors of the event which they deplored, yet having publicly attested that they were guilty, in his monitory, without proof, and no proof coming in, he thought fit to condemn the unhappy father, mother, brother, friend, and servant, to the torture, and put them all into irons, on the 18th of November. Casing was released, upon proof that he was not in Calas's house till after Anthony was dead.

From these dreadful proceedings the sufferers appealed to the parliament, which immediately took cognizance of the affair, and annulled the sentence of the capitoul as irregular; but the prosecution still continued.

As soon as the trial came on, the hangman, who had been taken to Calas's house, and shown the folding doors, and the bar, deposed, that it was impossible Anthony should hang himself, as was pretended. Another witness swore, that he looked through the key-hole of Calas's door into a room, where he saw men running hastily to and fro. A third swore, that his wife had told him, a woman named Mandrill had told her, that a certain woman unknown had declared, she heard the cries of Anthony Calas at the further end of the city.

From this absurd evidence the majority of the parliament were of opinion, that the prisoners were guilty, and, therefore, ordered them to be tried by the criminal court of Toulouse.

There was among those who presided at the trial, one La Borde, who had zealously espoused the popular prejudices; and though it was manifest to demonstration, that the prisoners were either all innocent, or all guilty, he voted that the father should first suffer the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, to discover his accomplices, and be then broken alive upon the wheel; to receive the last stroke when he had lain two hours, and then to be burnt to ashes. In this opinion he had the concurrence of six others; three were for the torture alone; two were of opinion, that they should endeavour to ascertain on the spot whether Anthony could hang himself or not; and one voted to acquit the prisoner. After long debates the majority was for the torture and wheel, and probably condemned the father by way of experiment, whether he was guilty or not, hoping he would, in the agony, confess the crime, and accuse the other prisoners, whose fate, therefore, they suspended. It is, however, certain, that

if they had evidence against the father that would have justified the sentence they pronounced against him, that very evidence would have justified the same sentence against the rest; and that they could not justly condemn him alone, they being all in the house together when Anthony died.

However, poor Calas, who was 68 years of age, was condemned to this dreadful punishment. He suffered the torture with great constancy, and was led to execution in a frame of mind which excited respect and admiration.

Father Bourges, and Father Coldagues, the two Dominicans, who attended him in his last moments, wished their latter end might be like his, and declared that they thought him not only wholly innocent of the crime laid to his charge, but an exemplary instance of true Christian patience, charity, and fortitude.

He gave but one shriek when he received the first stroke; after which he uttered no complaint. Being at length placed on the wheel to wait for the moment which was to end his life and his misery together, he declared himself full of an humble hope of a glorious immortality, and a compassionate regard for the judges who had condemned him. When he saw the executioner prepared to give him the last stroke, he made a fresh declaration of his innocence to Father Bourges; but while the words were yet in his mouth, the capitoul, the author of the catastrophe, and who came upon the scaffold merely to gratify his desire of being a witness of his punishment and death, ran up to him, and bawled out, "Wretch, there are the fagots which are to reduce your body to ashes; speak the truth." M. Calas made no reply, but turned his head a little aside, and that moment the executioner did his office.

Donat Calas, a boy of fifteen years of age, the youngest son of the unfortunate victim, was apprentice to a merchant at Nismes, when he heard of the dreadful punishment by which seven prejudiced judges of Toulouse had put his worthy father to death.

So violent was the popular outcry against the family in Languedoc, that every body expected to see the children of Calas broke upon the wheel, and the mother burnt alive. So weak had been the defence made by this innocent family, oppressed by misfortunes, and terrified at the sight of lighted piles, racks, and wheels. Young Donat Calas, dreading to share the fate of the rest of his family, was advised to fly into Switzerland. He did so, and there found a gentleman, who, at first, could only pity and relieve him, without daring to judge of the rigour exercised against his father, mother, and brothers. Shortly after, one of the brothers, who was only banished, likewise threw himself into the arms of the same person, who, for more than a month, took all possible means to be assured of the innocence of this family. But when he was once convinced, he thought himself obliged, in conscience, to employ his friends, his purse, his pen, and his credit, to repair the fatal mistake of the seven judges of Toulouse, and to have the proceedings revised by the king's council. This revision lasted three years, and, at the end of that time, fifty masters of the Court of Requests unanimously declared the whole family of Calas innocent, and recommended them to the benevolent justice of his majesty. The Duke de Choiseul, who never let slip an opportunity of signaling the greatness of his character, not only assisted this

unfortunate family with money from his own purse, but obtained for them a gratuity of 36,000 livres from the king.

The arret which justified the family of Calas, and changed their fate, was signed on the 9th of March, 1765. The 9th of March, 1762, was the very day on which the innocent and virtuous father of the family had been executed. All Paris ran in crowds to see them come out of the prison, and clapped their hands for joy, while the tears streamed down their cheeks.

## BOOK VIII.

CONTAINING A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, AND THE REMARKABLE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH PRECEDED IT, FROM THE TIME OF WICKLIFFE TO THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

### SECTION I.

PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE GREAT ASCENDANCY OF THE POPES THROUGHOUT CHRISTENDOM, IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE year 606 marks the date of the supremacy of the Roman Pontiffs. From this period till the tenth century, the power and influence of the Roman hierarchy continued gradually to increase and extend; but from this latter date, till the reformation which was attempted by Wickliffe, about the year A. D. 1350, that power and influence extended with more rapid strides, till at length all the sovereigns of Europe were compelled to do homage to the lordly sway of his "Holiness."

To relate the tyrannical innovations upon the religion of Christ from the tenth to the middle of the thirteenth century, would be incompatible with our limits.

Suffice it to say, that scarcely a foreign war or civil broil convulsed Europe during that period, which did not originate in the artifices of popes, monks, and friars. They frequently fell victims to their own machinations; for, from the year 1004, many popes died violent deaths: several were poisoned; Sylvester was cut to pieces by his own people; and the reigns of his successors were but short. Benedict, who succeeded John XXI. thought proper to resist the Emperor Henry III. and place in his room Peter, king of Hungary; but afterwards, being alarmed by the success of Henry, he sold his seat to Gratianus, called Gregory VI. At this time there were three popes in Rome, all striving against each other for the supreme power, viz. Benedict IX. Sylvester III. and Gregory VI. But the Emperor Henry coming to Rome, displaced these three monsters at once, and appointed Clement the Second, enacting that henceforth no bishop of Rome should be chosen but by the consent of the emperor. Though this law was necessary for public tranquillity, yet it interfered too

much with the ambitious views of the cardinals, who accordingly exerted themselves to get it repealed; and failing in this, on the departure of the emperor for Germany, they poisoned Clement, and at once violated the law by choosing another pope, without the imperial sanction.

This was Damasus II. who being also poisoned, within a few days from his appointment, much contention took place. Whereupon the Romans sent to the emperor, desiring him to give them a bishop; upon which he selected Bruno, a German, called Leo IX. This pope was also poisoned, in the first year of his popedom.

After his death, Theophylactus made an effort to be pope, but Hildebrand, to defeat him, went to the emperor, and persuaded him to assign another bishop, a German, who ascended the papal chair under the title of Victor II.

The second year of his papacy, this pope also followed his predecessors, like them being poisoned.

On the death of Victor, the cardinals elected Stephen IX. for pope, contrary to their oath, and the emperor's assignment. From this period, indeed, their ascendancy was so great, that the most powerful sovereigns of Europe were obliged to do them homage: and Nicholas, who succeeded Stephen, established the council of the Lateran.

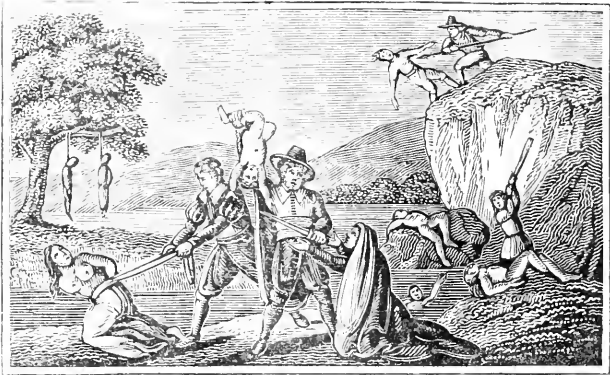
In this council first was promulgated the terrible sentence of excommunication against all such as "do creep into the seat of Peter, by money or favour, without the full consent of the cardinals;" cursing them and their children with the anger of Almighty God; and giving authority and power to cardinals, with the clergy and laity, to depose all such persons, and call a council general, wheresoever they will, against them.

Pope Nicholas only reigned three years and a half, and then, like his predecessors, was poisoned.

*Submission of the Emperor Henry IV. to the Pope.*

To such a height had papal insolence now attained, that, on the Emperor Henry IV. refusing to submit to some decrees of Pope Gregory VII. the latter excommunicated him, and absolved all his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him; on this he was deserted by his nobility, and dreading the consequences, though a brave man, he found it necessary to make his submission. He accordingly repaired to the city of Canusium, where the pope then was, (A. D. 1077,) and went barefooted with his wife and child to the gate; where he remained from morning to night, fasting, humbly desiring absolution, and craving to be let in. But no ingress being given him, he continued thus three days together; at length, answer came that his holiness had yet no leisure to talk with him. The emperor patiently waited without the walls, although in the depth of winter. At length his request was granted, through the entreaties of Matilda, the pope's paramour. On the fourth day, being let in, for a token of his true repentance, he yielded to the pope's hands his crown, and confessed himself unworthy of the empire, if he ever again offended against the pope, desiring for that time to be absolved and forgiven. The pope answered, he would neither forgive him, nor release the bond of his excommunication, but upon condition that he would abide by his arbitrament in the council, and undergo such penance as he should en-





*Persecutions in Piedmont. Page 170.*



*Henry IV. waiting for admission to Pope Gregory. Page 188.*



*Pope Alexander treading on the neck of the Emperor Frederick. Page 189.*

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join him; that he should answer to all objections and accusations laid against him, and that he should never seek revenge: that it should be at the pope's pleasure, whether his kingdom should be restored or not. Finally, that before the trial of his cause, he should neither use his kingly ornaments, nor usurp the authority to govern, nor exact any oath of allegiance from his subjects, &c. These things being promised to the pope by an oath, the emperor only was released from excommunication.

*King John surrenders his Crown to the Pope.*

The ascendancy of the popes was never more fully evinced than by a remarkable fact in the history of England. King John, having incurred the hatred of his barons and people by his cruel and tyrannical measures, they took arms against him, and offered the crown to Louis, son of the French king. By seizing the possessions of the clergy, John had also fallen under the displeasure of the pope, who accordingly laid the kingdom under an interdict, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. Alarmed at this, the tyrant earnestly sued for peace with his holiness, hoping, by his mediation, to obtain favourable terms from the barons, or, by his thunders, to terrify them into submission. He made the most abject supplications, and the pope, ever willing to increase the power of the church, sent cardinal Pandulf as legate to the king at Canterbury: to whom John resigned his crown and dominions; and the cardinal, after retaining the crown five days, in token of possession, returned it to the king, on condition of his making a yearly payment of 1000 marks to the court of Rome, and holding the dominions of England and Ireland *in farm* from the pope.

But if John expected any benefit from this most disgraceful transaction, he was disappointed; and instead of enjoying the crown which he had so basely surrendered and received again, the short remainder of his life was disturbed by continual insurrections, and he at last died, either of grief or by poison, administered to him by a monk of Swinhead in Lincolnshire. The latter cause is assigned by many historians, and we are told that the king, suspecting some fruit which was presented to him at the above convent, to be poisoned, ordered the monk who brought it, to eat of it; which he did, and died in a few hours after.

*An Emperor trodden on by the Pope.*

The papal usurpations were extended to every part of Europe. In Germany, the Emperor Frederic was compelled to submit to be trodden under the feet of Pope Alexander, and dared not make any resistance. In England, however, a spirit of resentment broke out in various reigns, in consequence of the oppressions and horrible conduct of those anti-christian blasphemers, which continued with more or less violence till the time of the great Wickliffe, of whom we shall speak more fully in the following pages.

## SECTION II.

ACCOUNT OF WICKLIFFE, AND OF THE MARTYRS WHO SUFFERED IN  
DEFENCE OF HIS DOCTRINES.

The first attempts made in England towards the reformation of the church, took place in the reign of Edward III. about A. D. 1350, when John Wickliffe appeared. This early star of the English church was public reader of divinity in the university of Oxford, and, by the learned of his day, was accounted deeply versed in theology, and all kinds of philosophy. At the time of his appearance, the greatest darkness pervaded the church. Scarcely any thing but the name of Christ remained; his true doctrine being as far unknown to the most part, as his name was common to all. As to faith, consolation, the end and use of the law, the office of Christ, our impotency and weakness, the greatness and strength of sin, of true works, grace, and free justification by faith, wherein Christianity consists, they were either unknown or disregarded. Scripture learning, and divinity, were known but to a few, and that in the schools only, where they were turned and converted into sophistry. Instead of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinas and Scotus; and, forsaking the lively power of God's spiritual word and doctrine, were altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and human traditions, insomuch that scarcely any other thing was seen in the churches, taught or spoken of in sermons, or intended or sought after in their whole lives, but the heaping up of ceremonies upon ceremonies; and the people were taught to worship no other thing but that which they saw, and almost all they saw they worshipped. But Wickliffe was inspired with a purer sense of religion; and knowing it to be his duty to impart the gracious blessing to others, he published his belief with regard to the several articles of religion, in which he differed from the common doctrine. Pope Gregory XI. hearing this, condemned some of his tenets, and commanded the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, to oblige him to subscribe the condemnation of them; and in case of refusal, to summon him to Rome. This commission could not easily be executed, Wickliffe having powerful friends, the chief of whom was John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III. The archbishop holding a synod at St. Paul's, Wickliffe appeared, accompanied by the duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy, marshal of England, when a dispute arising whether Wickliffe should answer sitting or standing, the duke of Lancaster proceeded to threats, and treated the bishop with very little ceremony. The people present, thinking the bishop in danger, sided with him, so that the duke and the earl marshal thought it prudent to retire, and to take Wickliffe with them. After this an insurrection ensued, the clergy and their emissaries spreading a report that the duke of Lancaster had persuaded the king to take away the privileges of the city of London, &c. which fired the people to such a degree, that they broke open the Marshalsea, and freed all the prisoners; and not contented with this, a vast number of them went to the duke's palace in the Savoy, when, missing his person, they plundered his house. For this outrage the duke of Lancaster caused the lord mayor and aldermen

to be removed from their offices, imagining they had not used their authority to quell the mutineers. After this, the bishops meeting a second time, Wickliffe explained to them his sentiments with regard to the sacrament of the eucharist, in opposition to the belief of the papists; for which the bishops only enjoined him silence, not daring, at that time, to proceed to greater extremities against him.

*Great Schism in the Church of Rome.*

A circumstance occurred at this period, by the providence of God, which greatly tended to facilitate the progress of truth. This was a great schism in the church of Rome, which originated as follows: After the death of Gregory XI. who expired in the midst of his anxiety to crush Wickliffe and his doctrines, Urban the Sixth succeeded to the papal chair. This pope was so proud and insolent, and so intent on the advancement of his nephews and kindred, which he frequently accomplished by injuring other princes, that the greatest number of his cardinals and courtiers deserted him, and set up another pope against him, named Clement, who reigned eleven years. After him Benedict the Thirteenth, who reigned twenty-six years. Again, on the contrary side, after Urban the Sixth, succeeded Boniface the Ninth, Innocent the Eighth, Gregory the Twelfth, Alexander the Fifth, and John the Thirteenth. To relate all the particulars of this miserable schism, would require volumes; we shall merely take notice of a few of the principal occurrences, from which the reader may form an idea of the bloodshed and misery brought on the Christian world by the ambition and wickedness of these pretended representatives of our blessed Saviour; and may judge how widely they departed from his blessed maxims of peace and good will to all men. Otho, duke of Brunswick and prince of Tarentum, was taken and murdered. Joan, his wife, queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, who had sent to pope Urban, besides other gifts, 40,000 ducats in gold, was afterwards, by his order, committed to prison, and there strangled. Many cardinals were racked, and toriured to death; battles were fought between the rival popes, in which great multitudes were slain. Five cardinals were beheaded together, after long torments. The bishop of Aquilonensis, being suspected by Pope Urban, for not riding faster when in his company, was slain on the spot by the pope's order. Thus did these demons in human form torment each other for the space of thirty-nine years, until the council of Constance.

*Wickliffe translates the Bible.*

Wickliffe, paying less regard to the injunctions of the bishops than to his duty to God, continued to promulgate his doctrines, and gradually to unveil the truth to the eyes of men. He wrote several books, which, as may be supposed, gave great alarm and offence to the clergy. But God raising him up a protector in the duke of Lancaster, he was secure from their malice. He translated the Bible into English, which, amidst the ignorance of the times, may be compared to the sun breaking forth in a dark night. To this Bible he prefixed a bold preface, wherein he reflected on the immoralities of the clergy, and condemned the worship of saints, images, and the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament; but what gave the greatest offence to the priests, was his exhorting all people to read the scriptures, in which the testimonies against all those corruptions appeared so strongly.

About the same time the common people, goaded to desperation by the oppressions of the nobility and clergy, rose in arms, and committed great devastations: and, among other persons of distinction, they put to death Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury. He was succeeded by William Courtney, who was no less diligent than his predecessor had been, in attempting to root out *heretics*. Notwithstanding all opposition, however, Wickliffe's sect increased, and daily grew to greater force, until the time that William Barton, vice-chancellor of Oxford, who had the whole rule of that university, assisted by some monastic doctors, issued an edict, prohibiting all persons, under a heavy penalty, from associating themselves with any of Wickliffe's favourers: and threatening Wickliffe himself with excommunication and imprisonment, unless he, after three days canonical admonition or warning, did repent and amend. Upon this, Wickliffe wished to appeal to the king; but the duke of Lancaster forbade him; whereupon he was forced again to make confession of his doctrine; in which confession, by qualifying his assertions, he mitigated the rigour of his enemies.

Still his followers greatly multiplied. Many of them, indeed, were not men of learning; but being wrought upon by the conviction of plain reason, they were the more steadfast in their persuasion. In a short time his doctrines made a great progress, being not only espoused by vast numbers of the students of Oxford, but also by many of the nobility, particularly by the duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy, earl marshal, as before mentioned.

Wickliffe may thus be considered as the great founder of the reformation in England. He was of Merton College in Oxford, where he took his doctor's degree, and became so eminent for his fine genius and great learning, that Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, having founded Canterbury College, now Christ Church, in Oxford, appointed him rector; which employment he filled with universal approbation, till the death of the archbishop. Langholm, successor to Islip, being desirous of favouring the monks, and introducing them into the college, attempted to remove Wickliffe, and put Woodhall, a monk, in his place. But the fellows of the college, being attached to Wickliffe, would not consent to this. Nevertheless, the affair being carried to Rome, Wickliffe was deprived in favour of Woodhall. This did not at all lessen the reputation of the former, every one perceiving it was a general affair, and that the monks did not so much strike at Wickliffe's person, as at all the secular priests who were members of the college. And, indeed, they were all turned out, to make room for the monks. Shortly after, Wickliffe was presented to the living of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester, where he remained unmolested till his death, which happened December 31, 1385. But after the body of this good man had lain in the grave forty-one years, his bones were taken up by the decree of the synod of Constance, publicly burnt, and his ashes thrown into a river. The condemnation of his doctrine did not prevent its spreading all over the kingdom, and with such success, that, according to Spelman, "two men could not be found together, and one not a Lollard, or Wickliffite."

#### *Burning of the Wickliffites.*

In the council of Lateran, a decree was made with regard to here-

ties, which required all magistrates to extirpate them upon pain of forfeiture and deposition. The canons of this council being received in England, the prosecution of the heretics became a part of the common law; and a writ (styled *de heretico comburendo*) was issued under King Henry IV. for burning them upon their conviction; and it was enacted, that all who presumed to preach without the license of the bishops, should be imprisoned, and brought to trial within three months. If, upon conviction, they offered to abjure, and were not relapses, they were to be imprisoned, and fined at pleasure; but if they refused to abjure, or were relapses, they were to be delivered over to the secular arm, and the magistrates were to burn them in some public place. About this time, William Sautre, parish priest of St. Osith, in London, being condemned as a relapse, and degraded by Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, a writ was issued, wherein burning is called the common punishment, and referring to the customs of other nations. This was the first example of that sort in England.

The clergy, alarmed lest the doctrines of Wickliffe should ultimately become established, used every exertion in their power to check them. In the reign of Richard II. the bishops had obtained a general license to imprison heretics, without being obliged to procure a special order from court, which, however, the house of commons caused to be revoked. But as the fear of imprisonment could not check the pretended evil dreaded by the bishops, Henry IV. whose particular object was to secure the affection of the clergy, earnestly recommended to the parliament the concerns of the church. How reluctant soever the house of commons might be to prosecute the Lollards, the credit of the court, and the cabals of the clergy, at last obtained a most detestable act for the burning of obstinate heretics; which bloody statute was not repealed till the year 1677. It was immediately after the passing of this statute, that the ecclesiastical court condemned William Sautre, abovementioned

#### *Increase of Wickliffe's Doctrine.*

Notwithstanding the opposition of the popish clergy, Wickliffe's doctrine continued to spread greatly in Henry the IVth's reign, even to such a degree, that the majority of the house of commons were inclined to it: whence they presented two petitions to the king, one against the clergy, the other in favour of the Lollards. The first set forth, that the clergy made ill use of their wealth, and consumed their income in a manner quite different from the intent of the donors. That their revenues were excessive, and, consequently, that it would be necessary to lessen them; that so many estates might easily be seized as would provide for 150 earls at the rate of 3000 marks a year each, 1500 barons at 100 marks each, 6200 knights at 40 marks, and 100 hospitals; that by this means the safety of the kingdom might be better provided for, the poor better maintained, and the clergy more devoted to their duty. In the second petition the commons prayed, that the statute passed against the Lollards, in the second year of this reign, might be repealed, or qualified with some restrictions. As it was the king's interest to please the clergy, he answered the commons very sharply, that he neither could nor would consent to their petitions. And with regard to the Lollards, he declared he wished

the heretics were extirpated out of the land. To prove the truth of this, he signed a warrant for burning Thomas Badby.

*Martyrdom of Thomas Badby.*

Thomas Badby was a layman, and by trade a tailor. He was arraigned in the year 1409 before the bishop of Worcester, and convicted of heresy. On his examination he said, that it was impossible any priest could make the body of Christ sacramentally, nor would he believe it, unless he saw, manifestly, the corporeal body of the Lord to be handled by the priest at the altar; that it was ridiculous to imagine that at the supper Christ held in his own hand his own body, and divided it among his disciples, and yet remained whole. "I believe," said he, "the omnipotent God in trinity; but if every consecrated host at the altars be Christ's body, there must then be in England no less than 20,000 gods." After this he was brought before the archbishop of Canterbury at St. Paul's church, and again examined in presence of a great number of bishops, the duke of York, and several of the first nobility. Great pains were used to make him recant; but he courageously answered, that he would still abide by his former opinions, which no power should force him to forego. On this the archbishop of Canterbury ratified the sentence given by the bishop of Worcester. When the king had signed the warrant for his death, he was brought to Smithfield, and there being put in an empty tun, was bound with iron chains fastened to a stake, and had dry wood piled around him. As he was thus standing in the tun, it happened that the prince of Wales, the king's eldest son, was there present; who, being moved with compassion, endeavoured to save the life of him whom the hypocritical Levites and Pharisees sought to put to death. He admonished and counselled him, that having respect unto himself, he should speedily withdraw himself out of these dangerous labyrinths of opinions, adding oftentimes threatenings, which might have daunted any man not supported by the true faith. Also Courtney, at that time chancellor of Oxford, preached unto him, and informed him of the faith of the holy church.

In the mean time, the prior of St. Bartholomew's, in Smithfield, brought with all solemnity the sacrament of God's body, with twelve torches borne before, and showed the sacrament to the poor man at the stake. And then they demanded of him how he believed in it: he answered, that he knew well it was hallowed bread, and not God's body. And then was the tun put over him, and fire put unto him. And when he felt the fire, he cried, "Mercy!" (calling upon the Lord,) when the prince immediately commanded to take away the tun, and quench the fire. He then asked him if he would forsake heresy, and take the faith of holy church, which, if he would do, he should have goods enough, promising him also a yearly pension out of the king's treasury. But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the prince's fair words, as also contemning all men's devices, refused the offer of worldly promises, being more inflamed by the spirit of God, than by any earthly desire. Wherefore, as he continued immoveable in his former mind, the prince commanded him straight to be put again into the tun, and that he should not afterwards look for any grace or favour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, he was not at all abashed at their torments, but, as a valiant soldier of Christ, persevered



invincibly till his body was reduced to ashes, and his soul rose triumphant unto him who gave it.

*Martyrdom of Sir John Oldcastle.*

The persecutions of the Lollards in the reign of Henry V. were owing to the cruel instigations of the clergy, who thought that the most effectual way to check the progress of Wickliffe's doctrine, would be to attack the then chief protector of it, viz. Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham; and to persuade the king that the Lollards were engaged in conspiracies to overturn the state. It was even reported, that they intended to murder the king, together with the princes, his brothers, and most of the lords spiritual and temporal, in hopes that the confusion which must necessarily arise in the kingdom, after such a massacre, would prove favourable to their religion. Upon this a false rumour was spread, that Sir John Oldcastle had got together 20,000 men in St. Giles's in the Fields, a place then overgrown with bushes. The king himself went thither at midnight, and finding no more than fourscore or a hundred persons, who were privately met upon a religious account, he fell upon them and killed many. Some of them being afterwards examined, were prevailed upon, by promises or threats, to confess whatever their enemies desired; and these accused Sir John Oldcastle.

The king hereupon thought him guilty; and in that belief set a thousand marks upon his head, with a promise of perpetual exemption from taxes to any town which should secure him. Sir John was apprehended and imprisoned in the Tower: but escaping from thence, he fled into Wales, where he long concealed himself. But being afterwards seized in Powisland, in North Wales, by Lord Powis, he was brought to London, to the great joy of the clergy, who were highly incensed against him, and resolved to sacrifice him, to strike a terror into the rest of the Lollards. Sir John was of a very good family, had been sheriff of Hertfordshire under Henry IV. and summoned to parliament among the barons of the realm in that reign. He had been sent beyond the sea, with the earl of Arundel, to assist the duke of Burgundy against the French. In a word, he was a man of extraordinary merit, notwithstanding which he was condemned to be hanged up by the waist with a chain, and burnt alive. This most barbarous sentence was executed amidst the curses and imprecations of the priests and monks, who used their utmost endeavours to prevent the people from praying for him. Such was the tragical end of Sir John Oldcastle, who left the world with a resolution and constancy, that answered perfectly to the brave spirit with which he had ever maintained the cause of truth and of his God.

Not satisfied with his single death, the clergy induced the parliament to make fresh statutes against the Lollards. It was enacted, among other things, that whosoever read the scriptures in English, should forfeit lands, chattels, goods, and life, and be condemned as heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and traitors to the kingdom; that they should not have the benefit of any sanctuary; and that, if they continued obstinate, or relapsed after being pardoned, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then burned for heresy against God. This act was no sooner passed, but a violent persecution was raised against the Lollards; several of them were burnt

alive, some fled the kingdom, and others were weak enough to abjure their religion, to escape the torments prepared for them.

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### SECTION III.

#### PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

The reader will doubtless attend to the transactions recorded in this reign with peculiar interest. It was in this period that God, through the instrumentality of the king, liberated England from the papal yoke, and made this country, as it were, a religious world dependant on itself.

The wars between the two houses of York and Lancaster, had produced such fatal revolutions, and thrown England into such frequent convulsions, that the nation, with great joy, hailed the accession of Henry the Seventh to the throne, who being himself descended from the house of Lancaster, by his marriage with the heiress of the house of York, freed them from the fear of any farther civil wars. But the covetousness of his temper, the severity of his ministers, and his jealousy of the house of York, made him so generally odious to his people, that his death was little lamented.

Henry the Eighth succeeded, A. D. 1509, with all the advantages he could have desired; and his disgracing Empson and Dudley, the cruel ministers of his father's avaricious designs, his appointing restitution to be made of the sums that had been unjustly exacted of the people, and his ordering justice to be done on those rapacious ministers, gave all people hopes of happy times; and when ministers by the king's orders, were condemned and executed for invading the liberties of the people, under the covert of the king's prerogative, it made the nation conclude, that they should hereafter live secure, under the protection of such a prince, and that the violent remedies of parliamentary judgments should be no more necessary, except as in this case, to confirm what had been done before in the ordinary courts of justice.

The king also, either from the munificence of his own temper, or the observation he had made of the ill effects of his father's parsimony, distributed his rewards and largesses with an unmeasured bounty: so that he quickly expended those treasures which his father had left; but till the ill effects of this appeared, it raised in his court and subjects the greatest hopes possible of a prince, whose first actions showed an equal mixture of justice and generosity.

#### *Character of Cardinal Wolsey.*

One of the most remarkable men of this, or perhaps of any other age, was Cardinal Wolsey. He was of mean extraction, but possessed great abilities, and had a wonderful dexterity in insinuating himself into men's favour. He had but a little time been introduced to the king before he obtained an entire ascendancy over him, and the direction of all his affairs, and for fifteen years continued to be the most absolute favourite ever known in England. He saw the king was much set on his pleasures, and had a great aversion to business, and the other counsellors being unwilling to bear the load of affairs, were trouble-

some to him, by pressing him to govern by his own counsels; but Wolsey knew the methods of favourites better, and so was not only easy, but assistant to the king in his pleasures, and undertook to free him from the trouble of government, and to give him leisure to follow his appetites.

He was master of all the offices at home, and treaties abroad, so that all affairs went as he directed them. He soon became obnoxious to parliaments, and therefore tried but one during his ministry, where the supply was granted so scantily, that afterwards he chose rather to raise money by loans and benevolences, than by the free gift of the people in parliament. He in time became so scandalous for his ill life, that he grew to be a disgrace to his profession; for he not only served the king, but also shared with him in his pleasures. He was first made bishop of Tournay in Flanders, then of Lincoln, after that he was promoted to the see of York, and had both the abbey of St. Albans, and the bishopric of Bath and Wells in commendam; the last he afterwards exchanged for Duresm, and upon Fox's death, he quitted Duresm, that he might take Winchester; and besides all this, the king, by a special grant, gave him power to dispose of all the ecclesiastical preferments in England; so that in effect he was the pope of the British world, and no doubt but he copied skilfully enough after those patterns that were set him at Rome. Being made a cardinal, and setting up a legatine court, he found it fit for his ambition to have the great seal likewise, that there might be no clashing between those two jurisdictions. He had, in one word, all the qualities necessary for a great minister, and all the vices usual in a great favourite.

#### *Persecution of the Lollards.*

In the beginning of this reign, several persons were brought into the bishops' courts for heresy, or Lollardism. Forty-eight were accused; but of these, forty-three abjured, twenty-seven men, and sixteen women, most of them being of Tenterden; and five of them, four men and one woman, were condemned; some as obstinate heretics, and others as relapses; and, against the common laws of nature, the woman's husband, and her two sons, were brought as witnesses against her. Upon their conviction, a certificate was made by the archbishop to the chancery; upon which, since there is no pardon upon record, the writs for burning them must have been issued in course, and the execution of them is little to be doubted. The articles objected to them were, that they believed, that in the eucharist there was nothing but material bread; that the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, confession, matrimony, and extreme unction, were neither necessary nor profitable; that priests had no more power than laymen; that pilgrimages were not meritorious, and that the money and labour spent in them were spent in vain; that images ought not to be worshipped, and that they were only stocks and stones; that prayers ought not to be made to saints, but only to God; that there was no virtue in holy water, or holy bread. By this it will appear, that many in this nation were prepared to receive those doctrines, which were afterwards preached by the reformers, even before Luther began first to oppose indulgences.

#### *Progress of Luther's Doctrine.*

The rise and progress of the doctrines of Luther are well known; the scandalous sale of indulgences gave the first occasion to all that

followed between him and the church of Rome : in which, had not the corruptions and cruelties of the clergy been so visible and scandalous, so small a cause could never have produced so great a revolution.

The bishops were grossly ignorant : they seldom resided in their dioceses, except on great festivals ; and all the effect their residence at such times could have, was to corrupt others by their ill example. They attached themselves to princes, and aspired to the greatest offices. The abbots and monks were wholly given up to luxury and idleness ; and their unmarried state gave infinite scandal to the world ; for it appeared, that the restraining them from having wives of their own, made them conclude, that they had a right to all other men's. The inferior clergy were no better ; and not having places of retreat to conceal their vices in, as the monks had, they became more public. In short, all ranks of churchmen were so universally despised and hated, that the world was very easily possessed with prejudice against the doctrines of men whom they knew to be capable of every vice ; and the worship of God was so defiled with gross superstition, that all men were easily convinced, that the church stood in great need of a reformation. This was much increased when the books of the fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and latter ages of the church, did very evidently appear. It was found that a blind superstition came first in the room of true piety : and when, by its means, the wealth and interest of the clergy were highly advanced, the popes had upon that established their tyranny ; under which all classes of people had long groaned. All these things concurred to make way for the advancement of the reformation ; and, the books of the German reformers being brought into England, and translated, many were prevailed on by them. Upon this, a furious persecution was set on foot, to such a degree, that six men and women were burnt in Coventry in passion week, only for teaching their children the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, in English. Great numbers were every where brought into the bishops' courts ; of whom some were burnt, but the greater part abjured.

The king laid hold, on this occasion, to become the champion of the church, and wrote against Luther. His book, besides the title of "Defender of the Faith," drew upon him all that flattery could invent to extol it ; yet Luther, not daunted by such an antagonist, answered it, and treated him as much below the respect that was due to a king, as his flatterers had raised him above it. Tindal's translation of the New Testament, with notes, drew a severe condemnation from the clergy, there being nothing in which they were more concerned, than to keep the people unacquainted with that book. Thus much may serve to show the condition of affairs in England both in church and state, when the process of the king's divorce was first set on foot.

#### *History of Henry's Marriage with Catherine.*

As this incident is so replete with consequences, a particular relation of its cause will not, it is presumed, be unacceptable to the reader.

Henry the Seventh had entered into a firm alliance with Ferdinand of Spain, and agreed on a match between his son, Prince Arthur, and Catherine, the infanta of Spain. She came into England, and was

married in November: but on the second of April after, the prince died. They were not only bedded in ceremony the night of the marriage, but continued still to lodge together; and the prince gave occasion to believe that the marriage was consummated.

The king being unwilling to restore so great a portion as 200,000 ducats, which the princess brought as her dowry, proposed a second match for her with his younger son Henry. Warham objected against the lawfulness of it: but Fox, bishop of Winchester, was for it, and the opinion of the pope's authority was then so well established, that it was thought a dispensation from Rome was sufficient to remove all objections. Accordingly, one was obtained, grounded upon the desire of the two young persons to marry together, for the preservation of peace between the crowns of England and Spain.

The pope was then at war with Louis the Twelfth of France, and so would refuse nothing to the king of England, being, perhaps, not unwilling that princes should contract such marriages, by which the legitimation of their issue, depending on the pope's dispensation, they would be thereby obliged in interest to support that authority. Upon this a marriage followed, the prince being yet under age; but the same day in which he came to be of age, he did, by his father's orders, make a protestation that he retracted and annulled his marriage.

Henry the Seventh, on his death-bed, charged his son to break it off entirely, being perhaps apprehensive of such a return of confusion upon a controverted succession to the crown, as had been during the wars of the houses of York and Lancaster; but after his father's death, Henry the Eighth, being then eighteen years of age, married her: she bore him two sons, who died soon after they were born; and a daughter, Mary, afterwards queen of England. After this the queen contracted some diseases that made her unacceptable to the king: who, at the same time beginning to have some scruples of conscience with regard to the lawfulness of his marriage, determined to have the affair investigated.

#### *The King's Scruples concerning his Marriage.*

He seemed to lay the greatest weight on the prohibition in the leitical law, of marrying the brother's wife, and being conversant in Thomas Aquinas's writings, he found, that he and the other schoolmen looked on those laws as moral, and forever binding; and consequently the pope's dispensation was of no force, since his authority went not so far as to dispense with the laws of God. All the bishops of England, Fisher of Rochester only excepted, declared under their hands and seals, that they judged the marriage unlawful. The ill consequence of wars that might follow upon a doubtful title to the crown, were also much considered. It is not certain that Henry's affection for any other lady was the origin of these proceedings; but whatever be the determination of this point, it is certain that about this time he gave free scope to his affections towards Anne Boleyn.

This lady was born in the year 1507, and at seven years of age was sent to France, where she remained twelve years, and then returned to England. She was much admired in both courts, was more beautiful than graceful, and more cheerful than discreet. She wanted none of the charms of wit or person, and must have had extraordinary

attractions, since she could so long retain her place in such a king's affection.

Knight, then secretary of state, was sent to Rome to prepare the pope to grant a dispensation from the former marriage. Knight made application in the most secret manner he could, and had a very favourable answer; for the pope promised frankly to dissolve the marriage: but another promise being exacted of him by the emperor Charles V. nephew of Catherine, not to proceed in that affair, he was reduced to great straits, being then at his mercy, and yet unwilling to offend the king of England: he therefore studied to gain time, and promised that if the king would have a little patience, he should not only have that which he asked, but every thing that was in his power to grant.

Some scruples were made concerning the bull that was demanded, till, by great presents, it was at length obtained, and then the pope signed a commission for Wolsey to try the cause, and judge in it, and also a dispensation, and put them in Knight's hands; but with tears prayed him that there might be no proceedings upon them, till the emperor was put out of a capacity of executing his revenge upon him, and whenever that was done, he would own this act of justice, which he did in the king's favour.

The pope was at this time offended with Cardinal Wolsey; for he understood, that during his captivity, Wolsey had been in an intrigue to get himself chosen vicar of the papacy, and was to have sat at Avignon, which might have produced a new schism. Staphileus, dean of the Rota, being then in England, was prevailed on by the promise of a bishopric, and a recommendation to a cardinal's hat, to promote the king's affair; and by him the cardinal wrote to the pope, in a most earnest strain, for a despatch of this business; and he desired, that an indifferent and tractable cardinal might be sent over, with a full commission to join with him, and to judge the matter; proposing to the king's ambassadors, Campegio, who was the fittest man.

The cardinal, in his letters to Cassuli, who was in great favour with the pontiff, offered to take the blame on his own soul, if the pope would grant this bull; and with an earnestness, as hearty and warm as can be expressed in words, he pressed the thing, and added, that if the pope continued inexorable, he perceived the king would proceed another way.

These entreaties had such an effect, that Campegio was declared legate, and ordered to go to England, and join in commission with Wolsey for judging this matter. He accordingly set out from Rome, and carried with him a decretal bull, for annulling the marriage, which he was authorized to show to the king and Wolsey; but was required not to give it out of his hands to either of them.

#### *Campegio comes into England.*

In October, he arrived in England, and advised the king to relinquish the prosecution of his suit; and then counselled the queen, in the pope's name, to enter into a religious community; but both were in vain; and he, by affecting an impartiality, almost lost both sides. But he in great measure pacified the king, when he showed him the bull he had brought over for annulling the marriage; yet he would not part with it out of his hands, neither to the king, nor the cardinal;

upon which, great solicitation was employed at Rome, that Campegio might be ordered to show it to some of the king's counsellors, and to go on and end the business, otherwise Wolsey would be ruined, and England lost; yet all this did not prevail on the pope, who knew that the king intended to get the bull out of Campegio's hands, and then to leave the pontiff to the emperor's indignation; but though he positively refused to grant that, yet, he said, he left the legates in England free to judge as they saw cause, and promised that he would confirm their sentence.

The affair proceeding very slowly, ambassadors were dispatched to Rome with new propositions, for a speedy termination. On this, the pope gave new assurances, that though he would not grant a bull, by which the divorce should be immediately his own act, yet he would confirm the legates' sentence.

About this time the pope was taken suddenly ill, upon which the imperialists began to prepare for a conclave; but Farnese, and the cardinal of Mantua, opposed them, and seemed to favour Wolsey; whom, as his correspondents wrote to him, "they revered as a deity." Upon this he dispatched a courier to Gardiner, then on his way to Rome, with large directions how to manage the election; it was reckoned, that on the king of France joining heartily with Henry, of which he seemed confident, there were only six cardinals wanting to make the election sure, and besides sums of money, and other rewards, that were to be distributed among them, he was to give them assurance, that the cardinal's preferments should be divided among them. These were the secret methods of obtaining that chair; and, indeed, it would puzzle a man of an ordinary degree of credulity, to think, that one chosen by such means could presume to be Christ's vicar, and the infallible judge of controversies. The recovery, however, of the pope, put an end to those intrigues.

#### *The Queen Appeals to the Pope.*

At length the legates began the process, when the queen protested against them as incompetent judges. They, however, proceeded according to the forms of law, although the queen had appealed from them to the pope, and objected both to the place, to the judges, and her lawyers; yet they pronounced her contumacious, and went on to examine witnesses, chiefly as to the consummation of her marriage with Prince Arthur. But now, since the process was thus going on, the emperor's agents pressed the pope vehemently for an avocation; and all possible endeavours were used by the king's agents to hinder it; it was told him, that there was a treaty on foot between the king and the Lutheran princes of Germany; and that upon declaring himself so partial as to grant the avocation, this would certainly be concluded. But the pope thought the king so far engaged in honour in the points of religion, that he would not be prevailed with to unite with Luther's followers; he did not, therefore, imagine, that the effects of his granting the avocation would be so fatal as was represented. In conclusion, therefore, after the emperor had engaged to him to restore his family to the government of Florence, the pope resolved to publish his treaty with him; he told the English ambassadors, that he was forced to it; both because all the lawyers told him it could not be denied, and that he could not resist the emperor's forces, which

surrounded him on all hands. Their endeavours to gain a little time by delays were as fruitless as their other arts had been, for, on the 15th of July, the pope signed it, and, on the 19th, sent it by an express messenger to England.

The legates, and among them Campegio in particular, drew out the matter, by all the delays they could contrive, and gained much time. At last, sentence being to be pronounced, Campegio, instead of pronouncing it, adjourned the court till October, and said, that they being a part of the consistory, must observe their times of vacation. This gave the king and his court great offence, when they saw what was like to be the issue of a process, on which his majesty was so much bent, and in which he was so far engaged, both in honour and interest. The king governed himself upon this occasion with more temper than was expected; he dismissed Campegio civilly, only his officers searched his coffers when he went beyond sea, with design, as was thought, to see if the decretal bull could be found. Wolsey was now upon the point of being disgraced, though the king seemed to treat him with all his former confidence.

#### *Account of Cranmer.*

At this period, Dr. Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus' College in Cambridge, meeting accidentally with Gardiner and Fox at Waltham, and entering into discourse upon the royal marriage, suggested, that the king should engage the chief universities and divines of Europe, to examine the lawfulness of his marriage; and if they gave their resolutions against it, then it being certain that the pope's dispensation could not derogate from the law of God, the marriage must be declared null. This novel and reasonable scheme they proposed to the king, who was much pleased with it, as he saw this way was better in itself, and would mortify the pope. Cranmer was accordingly sent for, and on conversing with him, the king conceived an high opinion both of his learning and prudence, as well as of his probity and sincerity, which took such root in his mind, that no artifices, nor calumnies, were ever able to remove it.

#### *Wolsey is Disgraced.*

From this moment began the decline of Wolsey. The great seal was taken from him, and given to Sir Thomas More; and he was sued in a præmunire, for having held the legitimate courts by a foreign authority, contrary to the laws of England: he confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance, and submitted himself to the king's mercy; so judgment passed on him: then was his rich palace and royal furniture seized on for the royal use; yet the king received him again into his protection, and restored to him the temporalities of the sees of York and Winchester, and above 6000*l.* in plate, and other goods. Articles were, however, preferred against him in the house of lords, where he had but few friends; but Cromwell, who had been his secretary, did so manage the matter in the house of commons, that it came to nothing. This failing, his enemies procured an order to be sent to him, to go into Yorkshire; thither he went in great state, with 160 horses in his train, and 72 carts following him. There he lived some time: but the king being informed that he was practising with the pope and the emperor, sent the earl of Northumberland to arrest



him for high treason, and bring him up to London. On the way he sickened, and died at Leicester, making great protestations of his constant fidelity to the king, particularly in the matter of his divorce: and "wishing he had served God as faithfully as he had done the king: for then he would not have cast him off in his gray hairs, as the king had done:" words that declining favourites are apt to reflect on, but seldom remember in the height of their fortune.

*The Universities declare against the King's Marriage.*

The king now intending to proceed in the method proposed by Cranmer, sent to Oxford and Cambridge, to procure their conclusions. At Oxford, it was referred by the major part of the convocation to thirty-three doctors and bachelors of divinity, whom that faculty was to name: they were empowered to determine the question, and put the seal of the university to their conclusion. And they gave their opinions, that the marriage of the brother's wife was contrary both to the laws of God and nature. At Cambridge the convocation referred the question to twenty-nine; of which number, two thirds agreeing, they were empowered to put the seal of the university to their determination. These agreed in opinion with those of Oxford. The jealousy of Dr. Cranmer's favouring Lutheranism, caused the fierce popish party to oppose every thing in which he was engaged. They were also afraid of Anne Boleyn's advancement, who was believed to be tinctured with these opinions. Crook, a learned man, was employed in Italy, to procure the resolution of divines there; in which he was so successful, that besides the great discoveries he made in searching the manuscripts of the Greek fathers concerning their opinions in this point, he engaged several persons to write for the king's cause: and also got the Jews to give their opinions of the laws in Leviticus, that they were moral and obligatory; yet, when a brother died without issue, his brother might marry his widow within Judea, for preserving their families and succession; but they thought that might not be done out of Judea. The state of Venice would not declare themselves, but said they would be neutral, and it was not easy to persuade the divines of the republic to give their opinions, till a brief was obtained of the pope, permitting all divines and canonists to deliver their opinions according to their consciences. The pope abhorred this way of proceeding, though he could not decently oppose it: but he said, in great scorn, that no friar should set limits to his power. Crook was ordered to give no money, nor make promises to any, till they had freely delivered their opinion; which he is said to have faithfully observed.

He sent over to England a hundred several books, and papers, with many subscriptions; all condemning the king's marriage as unlawful in itself. At Paris, the Sorbonne made their determination with great solemnity; after mass, all the doctors took an oath to study the question, and to give their judgment according to their consciences; and after three weeks study the greater part agreed on this: "that the king's marriage was lawful, and that the pope could not dispense with it." At Orleans, Angiers, and Toulouse, they determined to the same purpose.

Calvin thought the marriage null, and all agreed that the pope's dispensation was of no force. Osiander was employed to engage the

Lutheran divines, but they were afraid of giving the emperor new grounds of displeasure.

Melauethon thought the law in Leviticus was dispensable, and that the marriage might be lawful: and that, in those matters, states and princes might make what laws they pleased: and though the divines of Leipsic, after much disputing about it, did agree, that those laws were moral, yet they could never be brought to justify the divorce, with the subsequent marriage: but the pope was more compliant, for he offered to Cassali, to grant the king dispensation for having another wife, with which the imperialists seemed not dissatisfied.

The king's cause being thus fortified, by so many resolutions in his favour, he made many members of the parliament, in a prorogation time, sign a letter to the pope, complaining, that notwithstanding the great merits of the king, the justice of his cause, and the importance of it to the safety of the kingdom, yet the pope made still new delays: they therefore pressed him to despatch it speedily, otherwise they would be forced to seek other remedies, though they were not willing to drive things to extremities, till it was unavoidable. The letter was signed by the cardinal, the archbishop of Canterbury, four bishops, twenty-two abbots, forty-two peers, and eleven commoners.

To this the pope wrote an answer: he took notice of the vehemence of their style: he freed himself from the imputations of ingratitude and injustice: he acknowledged the king's great merits; and said, he had done all he could in his favour; he had granted a commission, but could not refuse to receive the queen's appeal; all the cardinals with one consent judged, that an avocation was necessary. Since that time, the delays lay not with him, but with the king; that he was ready to proceed, and would bring it to as speedy an issue as the importance of it would admit of; and for their threatenings, they were neither agreeable to their wisdom, nor their religion.

The king, now disgusted at his dependance on the pope, issued a proclamation against any that should purchase, bring over, or publish any bull from Rome, contrary to his authority: and after that he made an abstract of all the reasons and authorities of the fathers, or modern writers, against his marriage, to be published both in Latin and English.

Both sides having produced the strength of their cause, it evidently appeared, that, according to the authority given to the tradition in the church of Rome, the king had clearly the right on his side.

Amidst these disputes, the queen continued firm to her resolution of leaving the matter in the pope's hands, and would not listen to any propositions for referring the matter to the arbitration of a number chosen on both sides.

#### *The King leaves the Queen.*

After the prorogation of parliament, new applications were made to the queen to persuade her to depart from her appeal; but she remained fixed in her resolution, and said she was the king's lawful wife, and would abide by it, till the court of Rome should declare to the contrary. Upon that, the king desired her to choose any of his houses in the country to live in, and resolved never to see her more

*The Pope writes to the King, and is answered.*

In January, 1532, the pope, upon the motion of the imperialists, wrote to the king, complaining, that notwithstanding a suit was depending concerning his marriage, yet he had put away his queen, and kept one Anne as his wife, contrary to a prohibition served on him; he therefore exhorted him to live with his queen again, and to put away Anne. Upon this the king sent Dr. Bennet to Rome with a large despatch, in which he complained that the pope proceeded in that matter upon the suggestion of others, who were ignorant and rash men, and had carried himself inconstantly and deceitfully into it, and not as became Christ's vicar; he had granted a commission, had promised never to recal it, and had sent over a decretal bull defining the cause. Either these were unjustly granted, or unjustly recalled. It was plain that he acted more with regard to his interests than according to conscience; and that, as the pope had often confessed his own ignorance in these matters, so he was not furnished with learned men to advise him, otherwise he would not defend a marriage which almost all the learned men and universities in England, France, and Italy, had condemned as unlawful. He would not question his authority unless he were compelled to it, and would do nothing but reduce it to its first and ancient limits.

This haughty letter made the pope resolve to proceed and end this matter, either by a sentence or a treaty. The king was cited to answer the queen's appeal at Rome in person, or by proxy; accordingly, Sir Edward Carne was sent thither in the new character of the king's excusator, to excuse the king's appearance, upon such grounds as could be founded on the common law, and upon the privileges of the crown of England. The imperialists pressed the pope to give sentence, but the wiser cardinals, who observed that the nation would adhere to the king, if he should be provoked to shake off the pope's yoke, suggested milder counsels.

In conclusion, the pope seemed to favour the king's excusatory plea, upon which the imperialists made great complaints. But this amounted to no more, than that the king was not bound to appear in person; therefore, the cardinals, who were in his interest, advised the king to send over a proxy for answering to the merits of the cause. Bonner was also sent to England to assure the king that the pope was now so much in the French interest, that he might confidently refer his matter to him.

At that time the king sent for the speaker of the house of commons, and told him he found the prelates were but half subjects: for they swore at their consecration an oath to the pope, inconsistent with their allegiance and oath to him. By their oath to the pope, they swore to be in no council against him, nor to disclose his secrets; but to maintain the papacy, and the rights and authorities of the church of Rome, against all men. In their oath to the king, they renounced all clauses in their bulls contrary to the king's royal dignity, and swore to be faithful to him, and to live and die with him against all others, and to keep his counsel; acknowledging that they held their bishoprics only of him. It was evident they could not keep both these oaths, in case of a breach between the king and the pope. But the plague broke off the consultations of parliament at this time.

Soon after, Sir Thomas More, seeing a rupture with Rome coming on so fast, desired leave to lay down his office, which was, upon that, conferred on Sir Thomas Audley. More was satisfied with the king's keeping up the laws formerly made in opposition to the papal encroachments, and so had concurred in a suit of the præmunire which had been issued against the clergy; but now the matter went farther, and not being able to keep pace with the king's measures, he returned to a private life.

*Interview of the Kings of England and France.*

An interview soon followed between the kings of France and England; in which Francis promised Henry to second him in his suit; encouraged him to proceed to a second marriage without delay, and assured him of his assistance and support; meantime, the pope offered to the king to send a legate to any indifferent place out of England, to form the process, reserving only the giving sentence to himself, and proposed to him, and all princes, a general truce, to be followed by a general council.

The king answered, that such was the present state of the affairs of Europe, that it was not seasonable to call a general council; and that it was contrary to his prerogative to send a proxy to appear at Rome; that by the decrees of general councils, all causes ought to be judged on the place, and by a provincial council; and that it was fitter to judge it in England, than any where else; and that by his coronation oath he was bound to maintain the dignities of his crown, and the rights of his subjects; and not to appear before any foreign court. Sir Thomas Elliot was, therefore, sent over with instructions, to move that the cause might be judged in England.

*The King marries Anne Boleyn.*

Soon after this, the king married Anne Boleyn; Rowland Lee (afterwards bishop of Coventry and Litchfield) officiated, none being present but the duke of Norfolk, and her father, mother, brother, and Cranmer. It was thought that the former marriage being null, the king might proceed to another; and perhaps they hoped, that as the pope had formerly proposed this method, so he would now approve of it. But though the pope had joined himself to France, yet he was still so much in fear of the emperor, that he dared not provoke him. A new citation was, therefore, issued out, for the king to answer to the queen's complaints; but Henry's agents protested, that their master was a sovereign prince, and England a free church, over which the pope had no just authority; and that the king could expect no justice at Rome, where the emperor's power was so great.

*The Parliament condemns Appeals to Rome.*

At this time, the parliament met again, and passed an act, condemning all appeals to Rome; and enacting, that thenceforth all causes should be judged within the kingdom, and that sentences given in England were to have full effect; and all that executed any censures from Rome, were to incur the pain of præmunire.

*Cranmer made Archbishop of Canterbury*

Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, having died the preceding year, was succeeded by Cranmer, who was then in Germany, disputing in the king's cause with some of the emperor's divines. The king re-

solved to advance him to that dignity, and sent him word of it, that so he might make haste over: but a promotion so far above his thoughts, had not its common effects on him; he had a true and primitive sense of so great a charge; and instead of aspiring to it, feared it; and, returning very slowly to England, used all his endeavours to be excused from that advancement. Bulls were sent for to Rome, in order to his consecration, which the pope granted, and on the 30th of March, Cranmer was consecrated by the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph. The oath to the pope was of hard digestion to him. He therefore made a protestation, before he took it, that he conceived himself not bound by it in any thing that was contrary to his duty to God, to his king, or to his country; and this he repeated when he took it.

*The King's Marriage condemned by the Convocation.*

The convocation had then two questions before them: the first was, concerning the lawfulness of the king's marriage, and the validity of the pope's dispensation; the other was, of a matter of fact, whether Prince Arthur had consummated the marriage. For the first, the judgments of nineteen universities were read; and, after a long debate, there being twenty-three only in the lower house, fourteen were against the marriage, seven for it, and two voted dubiously. In the upper house, Stokesly, bishop of London, and Fisher, maintained the debate long; the one for the affirmative, and the other the negative: at last it was carried *nemine contradicente*, (the few that were of the other side it seems withdrawing) against the marriage, 216 being present. The other question was referred to the canonists; and they all, except five or six, reported that the presumptions were violent; and these, in a matter not capable of plain proof, were always received in law.

The convocation having thus judged in the matter, the ceremony of pronouncing the divorce judicially was now only wanting. The new queen being pregnant, was a great evidence of her having preserved her chastity previously to her marriage. On Easter eve she was declared queen of England; and soon after, Cranmer, with Gardiner, who had been made, upon Wolsey's death, bishop of Winchester, and the bishops of London, Lincoln, Bath, and Wells, with many divines and canonists, went to Dunstable; Queen Catherine living then near it, at Anapthill. The king and queen were cited: he appeared by proxy, but the queen refused to take any notice of the court: so after three citations she was declared contumacious, and the merits of the cause were examined. At last, on the 23d of May, sentence was given, declaring the marriage to have been null from the beginning.

*Coronation of Anne Boleyn.*

Some days after this, another judgment was given, confirming the king's marriage with Queen Anne, and on the first of June she was crowned. All people admired her conduct, who, during so many years, managed the spirit of so violent a king in such a manner, as neither to surfeit him with too many favours, nor to provoke him with too much rigour. They that loved the reformation, looked for better days under her protection; but many priests and friars, both in sermons and discourses, condemned the king's proceedings. Henry sent ambassadors to the various courts of Europe, to justify what he had done: he sent also to Queen Catherine, charging her to assume no other title than that of princess dowager; but to this she refused

obedience, saying, she would not take that infamy on herself; and so resolved that none should serve about her who did not treat her as queen.

At Rome the cardinals of the imperial faction complained much of the attempt made on the pope's power, and urged him to proceed to censures. But there was only sentence given, annulling all that the archbishop of Canterbury had done; and the king was required, under pain of excommunication, to place things again in the state in which they formerly were; and this notification was affixed at Dunkirk. The king sent an embassy to the French monarch, who was then setting out to Marseilles, to meet the pope; their errand was to dissuade him from the journey, unless the pope promised Henry satisfaction: Francis said, he was engaged in honour to go on; but assured them, he would mind the king's concerns with as much zeal as if they were his own.

#### *Birth of the Princess Elizabeth.*

In September the queen brought forth a daughter, afterwards the renowned Queen Elizabeth; and the king having before declared Lady Mary princess of Wales, did now the same for her: though, since a son might exclude her from it, she could not be heir apparent, but only heir presumptive to the crown.

The eventful moment was now at hand, when the incident should take place that would cause the separation of England from the church of Rome. There was a secret agreement between the pope and Francis, that if King Henry would refer his cause to the consistory, excepting only the cardinals of the imperial faction, as partial, and would in all other things return to his obedience to the see of Rome, the sentence should be given in his favour. When Francis returned to Paris, he sent over the bishop of that city to the king, to tell what he had obtained of the pope in his favour, and the terms on which it was promised; this wrought so much on the king, that he presently consented to them; upon which, the bishop of Paris, though it was now in the middle of winter, went to Rome in consequence. Upon his arrival there, the matter seemed agreed: for it was promised, that upon the king's sending a promise under his hand, to place things in their former state, and his ordering a proxy to appear for him, judges should be sent to Cambrai for making the process, and then sentence should be given. Upon the notice given of this, and of a day fixed for the return of the courier, the king dispatched him with all possible haste: and now the business seemed at an end. But the courier had the sea and the Alps to pass, and in winter it was not easy to observe a limited day so exactly. The appointed day came, and no courier arrived; upon which the imperialists gave out, that the king was abusing the pope's casiness; and pressed him vehemently to proceed to a sentence: the bishop of Paris requested only a delay of six days. But the design of the imperialists was to hinder a reconciliation; for if the king had been set right with the pope, there would have been so powerful a league formed against the emperor, as would have frustrated all his measures: and therefore it was necessary for his politics to embroil them. Seduced by the artifice of this intriguing prince, the pope, contrary to his ordinary prudence, brought the matter before the consistory; and there the imperialists having the majority, it was driven

on with so much precipitation, that they did, in one day, that which, according to form, should have occupied three.

They gave the final sentence, declared the king's marriage with Queen Catherine good, and required him to live with her as his wife, otherwise they would proceed to censures. Two days after this, the courier came with the king's submission in due form; he also brought earnest letters from Francis in the king's favour. This wrought on all the indifferent cardinals, as well as those of the French faction, so much that they prayed the pope to recal what was done. A new consistory was called; but the imperialists urged, with greater vehemence than ever, that they would not give such scandal to the world as to recal a definitive sentence passed on the validity of a marriage, and give the heretics such advantages by their unsteadiness in matters of that nature; it was, therefore, carried, that the former sentence should take place, and the execution of it committed to the emperor. When this was known in England, it determined the king in his resolution of shaking off the papal yoke, in which he had made so great a progress, that the parliament had passed all the acts concerning it, before he received the news from Rome; for he judged, that the best way to secure his cause was to let Rome see his power, and with what vigour he could make war.

*Arguments for rejecting the Pope's Power.*

In England, the foundations on which the papal authority was built, had been examined with extraordinary care of late years; and several books were written on that subject. It was demonstrated that all the apostles were made equal in the powers that Christ gave them, and he often condemned their contests about superiority, but never declared in Peter's favour. Paul withstood him to his face, and reckoned himself not inferior to him. If the dignity of a person left any authority with the city in which he sat, then Antioch must carry it as well as Rome; and Jerusalem, where Christ suffered, was to be preferred to all the world, for it was truly the mother church. The other privileges ascribed to Peter, were either only a precedence of order, or were occasioned by his fall, as that injunction, "Feed my sheep," it being a restoring him to the apostolical function. Peter had also a limited province, the circumcision, as Paul had the uncircumcision, of far greater extent; which showed that Peter was not considered as the universal pastor.

Several sees, as Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia, pretended exemption from the papal authority. Many English bishops had asserted, that the popes had no authority against the canons, and to that day no canon the pope made was binding till it was received; which showed the pope's authority was not believed to be founded on a divine authority; and the contests which the kings of England had had with the popes concerning investitures, bishops doing homage, appeals to Rome, and the authority of papal bulls and provisions, showed that the pope's power was believed to be subject to laws and custom, and so not derived from Christ and Peter; and as laws had given them some power, and princes had been forced, in ignorant ages, to submit to their usurpations, so they might, as they saw cause, change those laws, and resume their rights.

The next point inquired into was, the authority that kings had in

matters of religion and the church. In the New Testament, Christ was himself subject to the civil powers, and charged his disciples not to affect temporal dominion. They also wrote to the churches to be subject to the higher powers, and call them supreme, and charge every soul to be subject to them; so, in scripture, the king is called head and supreme, and every soul is said to be under him, which, joined together, makes up his conclusion, that he is the supreme head over all persons. In the primitive church the bishops only made rules or canons, but pretended to no compulsive authority but what came from the civil magistrate. Upon the whole matter, they concluded, that the pope had no power in England, and that the king had an entire dominion over all his subjects, which extended even to the regulation of ecclesiastical matters.

These questions being fully discussed in many disputes, and published in several books, all the bishops, abbots, and friars, of England, Fisher only excepted, were so far satisfied with them, that they resolved to comply with the changes the king was resolved to make.

#### *The Pope's Power rejected by Parliament.*

At the next meeting of parliament, there were but seven bishops and twelve abbots present, the rest being unwilling to concur in making this change, though they complied with it when it was made. Every Sunday during the session a bishop preached at St. Paul's, and declared that the pope had no authority in England; before this, they had only said that a general council was above them, and that the exactions of his court, and appeals to it, were unlawful; but now they went a strain higher, to prepare the people for receiving the acts then in agitation. On the ninth of March, the commons began the bill for taking away the pope's power, and sent it to the lords on the 14th, who passed it on the 20th without any dissent. In it they set forth the exactions of the court of Rome, grounded on the pope's power of dispensing; and that as none could dispense with the laws of God, so the king and parliament only had the authority of dispensing with the laws of the land; and that, therefore, such licenses or dispensations as were formerly in use, should be for the future granted by the two archbishops; some of these were to be confirmed under the great seal; and they appointed, that thereafter all intercourse with Rome, on those subjects, should cease. They also declared, that they did not intend to alter any article of the catholic faith of Christendom, or of that which was declared in the scripture necessary to salvation. They confirmed all the exemptions granted to monasteries by the popes, but subjected them to the king's visitation, and gave the king and his council power to examine and reform all indulgences and privileges granted by the pope. This act subjected the monasteries entirely to the king's authority, and put them in no small confusion. Those who loved the reformation rejoiced both to see the pope's power rooted out, and to find the scripture made the standard of religion.

After this act, another passed in both houses in six days time without any opposition, settling the succession of the crown, confirming the sentence of divorce, and the king's marriage with Queen Anne, and declaring all marriages within the degrees prohibited by Moses to be unlawful; all that had married within them were appointed to be divorced,



and their issue illegitimated; and the succession to the crown was settled upon the king's issue by the present queen, or, in default of that, to the king's right heirs forever. All were required to swear to maintain the contents of this act; and if any refused to swear to it, or should say any thing to the slander of the king's marriage, he was to be judged guilty of misprision of treason, and to be punished accordingly.

About this time one Phillips complained to the house of commons of the bishop of London for using him cruelly in prison upon suspicion of heresy; the commons sent up his petition to the lords, but received no answer; they therefore sent some of their members to the bishop, desiring him to answer the complaints put in against him; but he acquainted the house of lords with it; and they with one consent voted that none of their house ought to appear or answer to any complaint at the bar of the house of commons. On which the commons let this particular case fall, and sent up a bill, to which the lords agreed, regulating the proceedings against heretics; repealing the statute of Henry IV.; and declaring that none were to be committed for heresy but upon a presentment made by two witnesses; none were to be accused for speaking against things that were grounded only upon the pope's canons; bail was to be taken for heretics, and they were to be brought to trial in open court; and if upon conviction they did not abjure, or were relapses, they were to be burnt; the king's writ being first obtained. This was a great check to the bishops' tyranny and gave great satisfaction to the friends of the reformation.

The convocation sent in a submission at the same time, by which they acknowledged, that all the convocations ought to be assembled by the king's writ; and promised never to make nor execute any canons without the king's assent. They also desired, that since many of the received canons were found to be contrary to the king's prerogative and the laws of the land there might be a committee named by the king, of thirty-two, the one half out of both houses of parliament, and the other of the clergy, empowered to abrogate or regulate them, as they should see cause. This was confirmed in parliament; the act against appeals was renewed; and an appeal was allowed from the archbishop to the king, upon which the lord chancellor was to grant a commission for a court of delegates.

Another act passed for regulating the elections and consecrations of bishops, condemning all bulls from Rome, and appointing that upon a vacancy the king should grant a license for an election, and should by a missive letter signify the person's name whom he would have chosen; and within twelve days after these were delivered, the dean and chapter, or prior and convent, were required to return an election of the person named by the king, under their seals. The bishop elect was upon that to swear fealty, and a writ was to be issued out for his consecration in the usual manner; after that he was to do homage to the king, upon which both the temporalities and spiritualities were to be restored, and bishops were to exercise their jurisdictions as they had done before. All who transgressed this act were made guilty of a *præmunire*.

A private act passed, depriving cardinal Campegio and Jerome de Gianuccii of the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester; the reasons given for it were, because they did not reside in their dioceses, for

preaching the laws of God, and keeping hospitality, while they lived at the court of Rome, and drew £3000 a year out of the kingdom.

The last act of a public nature, though relating only to private persons, was concerning the nun of Kent and her accomplices. It was the first occasion of shedding any blood in this quarrel, and the imposture was much cherished by all the superstitious clergy who adhered to the interests of the queen and the pope. The nun, and many of her accomplices, were brought to the bar of the house of lords, where they confessed the whole matter.

Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher were charged with having concealed their knowledge of the affair; the former wrote a long letter upon the subject to Cromwell, giving him a particular account of all the conversations he had had with the nun: he acknowledged that he had esteemed her highly, not so much out of any regard to her prophecies, as for the opinion he conceived of her holiness and humility. But he added, that "he was then convinced that she was the most false dissembling hypocrite that ever had been known, and guilty of the most detestable hypocrisy and devilish dissembled falsehood:" he also believed that she had communication with an evil spirit. More's justification of his conduct prevailed so far, that his name was struck out of the bill.

#### *Story of the Nun of Kent.*

Elizabeth Barton, of Kent, fell into hysterical fits, and spake such things as made those about her think she was inspired by God. The parson of the parish, named Master, hoping to draw advantages from this, informed Archbishop Warham of it, who ordered him to watch her carefully, and bring him an account of what he should observe. But it seems that she forgot all she said in her fits when they were over. But the artful priest would not suffer his hopes thus to pass away, but persuaded her she was inspired, and taught her so to counterfeit those trances, that she became very expert at it, and could assume them at her pleasure. The matter was soon noised about; and the priest intended to raise the credit of an image of the blessed virgin, which stood in his church, so that pilgrimages and offerings might be made to it by her means. He accordingly associated to himself one Bocking, a monk of Canterbury, and they taught the nun to say, in her fits, that the blessed virgin appeared to her, and told her, she could not be well till she visited that image. She spake many good words against ill life, and also against heresy, and the king's suit of divorce then depending; and by many strange motions of her body, she seemed, to the ignorant multitude of that age, to be inwardly possessed.

Soon after this, a day was appointed for her cure: and before an assemblage of two thousand people, she was carried to the image; and after she had acted over her fits, she seemed suddenly to recover, which was ascribed to the intercession of the virgin, and the virtue of her image. She then took the veil, and Bocking was her confessor.

Her popularity increased daily, and many thought her a prophetess, among whom was Archbishop Warham himself. A book was also written of her revelations, and a letter was shewn, all in letters of gold, pretended to be written to her from heaven by Mary Magdalen! She said, that when the king was last at Calais, she was carried invisibly beyond sea, and brought back again; and that an angel gave her the

sacrament; and that God revealed to her, that if the king went on in his divorce, and married another wife, he should fall from his crown, and not live a month longer, but should die a villain's death.

Several monks of the Charter-house, and the observant friars, with many nuns, and Bishop Fisher, gave credit to this, set a great value on her, and grew very insolent upon it; for Friar Peyto preaching in the king's chapel at Greenwich, denounced the judgments of God upon him; and said, though others as lying prophets deceived him, yet he, in the name of God, told him, that dogs should lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's. The king bore this patiently, contenting himself with ordering Dr. Corren to preach next Sunday, and to answer all that he had said; who railed against Peyto as a dog and a traitor. Peyto had gone to Canterbury: but Elston, a Franciscan of the same house, interrupted him, and called him one of the lying prophets that went about to establish the succession of the crown by adultery; and spoke with so much vehemence, that the king himself was forced to command silence. So unwilling was the king to go to extremities, that all that was done upon so high a provocation, was, that they were summoned before the council, and rebuked for their insolence. But the nun's confederates proceeding to publish her revelations in all parts of the kingdom, she and nine of her accomplices were apprehended, when they all, without any rack or torture, discovered the whole conspiracy. Upon this confession they were appointed to go to St. Paul's, where, after a sermon preached by the bishop of Bangor, they repeated their confession in the hearing of the people, and were sent as prisoners to the Tower. But it was given out that all was extorted from them by violence, and messages were sent to the nun, desiring her to deny all that she had confessed. The king, on this, judged it necessary to proceed to further extremities: accordingly, she and six of her chief accomplices were attainted of treason, and the bishop of Rochester and five more were attainted of misprision of treason. But at the intercession of Queen Anne, (as is expressed in the act,) all others that had been concerned with her were pardoned.

After this, the nun and her coadjutors were executed at Tyburn.— There she voluntarily confessed herself to be an impostor, and acknowledged the justice of her sentence, laying the blame on those who suffered with her, by whom she had been seduced into the crime; adding, that they had exalted her for no other cause than for her having been of great profit to them, and that they had presumed to say, that all she had done was through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, when they were sensible the whole was a trick. She then begged pardon of God and the king, and resigned herself to her fate.

Had this fallen out in a darker age, the king might have lost his crown by it. But at the present era, the discovery of it disposed men to look on older stories of trances, &c. as contrivances to serve base ends, and made way for the ruin of the monastic order in England; but all that followed at present upon it was, that the observants were put out of their houses, and mixed with the other Franciscans, and the Austin friars were put in their room.

Upon the discovery of the above imposture, Cromwell sent Fisher's brother to him to reprove him for his carriage in that business, and to advise him to ask the king's pardon for the encouragement he had given to the nun, which he was confident the king would grant him.

But Fisher excused himself, and said, he had only tried whether her revelations were true or not. He confessed, that upon the reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high opinion of her, and that he had never discovered any falsehood in her. It was true she had said some things to him concerning the king's death which he had not revealed, but he thought it was not necessary to do it, because he knew she had told them to the king herself; she had named no person that should kill the king, but had only denounced it as a judgment of God upon him; and he had reason to think that the king would have been offended with him, if he had spoken of it to him; he therefore desired to be no more troubled with the matter. But, upon that, Cromwell wrote him a sharp letter, wherein he showed him that he had proceeded rashly in that affair; being so partial in the matter of the king's divorce, that he easily believed every thing that seemed to make against it; he showed him how necessary it was to use great caution before extraordinary things should be received, or spread about as revelations, since otherwise the peace of the world would be in the hands of every bold or crafty impostor; yet, in conclusion, he advised him again to ask the king's pardon for his rashness, and assured him that the king was ready to forgive him. But Fisher would make no submission, and was in consequence included in the act; yet it was not executed till a new provocation drew him into farther trouble. The secular and regular clergy did every where swear the oath of succession, which none more zealously promoted than Gardiner, who before the 6th of May prevailed on all his clergy to swear it; and the religious orders being apprehensive of the king's jealousies of them, took care to remove them by sending in declarations, under the seals of their houses, that in their opinion the king's present marriage was lawful, and that they would always acknowledge him head of the church of England.

The council met at Lambeth, to which many were cited for the purpose of taking the oath, among whom was Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher. More was first called on to take it: he answered, that he neither blamed those that made the acts, nor those that swore the oath; and that he was willing to swear to maintain the succession to the crown, but could not take the oath as it was conceived. Fisher made the same answer, but all the rest that were cited before them took it. More was pressed to give his reasons against it; but he refused, for it might be called disputing against law, yet he would put them into writing if the king would command him to do it. Craumer said, if he did not blame those that took it, it seems he was not persuaded it was a sin, and so was only doubtful of it; but he was sure he ought to obey the law, if it was not sinful; so there was a certainty on the one hand, and only a doubt on the other, and therefore the former ought to determine him: this he confessed did slake him a little, but he said he thought in his conscience that it would be a sin to comply. In conclusion, both he and Fisher declared that they thought it was in the power of the parliament to settle the succession to the crown, and so were ready to swear to that; but they could not take the oath that was tendered to them, for by it they must swear that the king's former marriage was unlawful, to which they could not assent; so they were both committed to the tower, and denied the use of pen, ink, and paper. The old bishop was also hardly used both in

his clothes and diet ; he had only rags to cover him, and fire was often denied him ; a cruelty not capable of excuse, and as barbarous as it was undeserved.

In the winter, parliament met again, and the first act that passed declared the king to be the supreme head on earth of the church of England, which was ordered to be prefixed to his other titles ; and it was enacted, that he and his successors should have full authority to reform all heresies and abuses in the spiritual jurisdiction. By another act the parliament confirmed the oath of succession, which had not been specified in the former act, though agreed to by the lords. They also gave the king the first fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical benefices, as being the supreme head of the church. Another act passed, declaring some things treason ; one of these was the denying the king any of his titles, or the calling him heretic, schismatic, or usurper of the crown. By another act, provision was made for setting up twenty-six suffragan bishops over England, for the more speedy administration of the sacraments, and the better service of God. The bishop of the diocese was to present two to the king, and upon the king's declaring his choice, the archbishop was to consecrate the person, and then the bishop was to delegate such parts of his charge to his care as he thought fitting, during his pleasure. The great extent of the dioceses in England, made it hard for one bishop to govern them with that exactness that was necessary ; these were therefore appointed to assist in the discharge of the pastoral functions.

Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, by two special acts, were attainted of misprision of treason ; five other clerks were in like manner condemned, all for refusing to swear the oath of succession. The see of Rochester was declared void ; and continued vacant two years.

But now a new scene commenced ; before we enter upon which, it will be necessary to state the progress that the new opinions had made in England during the king's suit of divorce. Under Wolsey's ministry, the reformed preachers were gently used ; and it is probable the king ordered the bishops to cease inquiring after them, when the pope began to use him ill ; for the progress of heresy was always reckoned at Rome among the mischiefs that would follow upon the pope's rejecting the king's suit. But Sir Thomas More, coming into favour, offered new counsels, and thought the king's proceeding severely against heretics would be so meritorious at Rome, that it would work more effectually than all his threatenings had done. Upon this, a severe proclamation was issued out, both against their books and persons, ordering all the laws against them to be put in execution.

*Translation of the New Testament into English.*

Tindal and others at Antwerp were every year either translating or writing books against some of the received errors, and sending them over to England. But the translation of the New Testament, by Tindal, gave the greatest offence, and was much complained of by the clergy, as full of errors. Tonstall, then bishop of London, returning from Cambray, to which place More and he had been sent by the king, as he came through Antwerp, bargained with an English merchant, who was secretly a friend of Tindal, to procure him as many of his New Testaments as could be had for money. Tindal gladly received this ; for being about a more correct edition, he

found he would be better enabled to proceed, if the copies of the old were sold off; he therefore gave the merchant all he had, and Tonsall, paying for them, brought them over to England, and burnt them publicly in Cheapside. This was called a burning of the word of God; and it was said the clergy had reason to revenge themselves on it, for it had done them more mischief than all other books whatsoever. But a year after this, the second edition being finished, great numbers were sent over to England, when Constantine, one of Tindal's partners, happened to be taken: believing that some of the London merchants furnished them with money, he was promised his liberty if he would discover who they were; upon this he said the bishop of London did more than all the world besides, for he bought up the greatest part of a faulty impression. The clergy, on their condemning Tindal's translation, promised a new one: but a year after, they said, that it was not necessary to publish the scriptures in English, and that the king did well not to set about it.

About this time, a book, written by Fish, of Gray's Inn, was published. It was entitled, "The Supplication of the Beggars," and had a vast sale. In it, the beggars were made to complain, that the alms of the people were intercepted by mendicant friars, who were a useless burden to the government; and to tax the pope with cruelty for taking no pity on the poor, since none but those who could pay for it, were delivered out of purgatory. The king was so pleased with this, that he would not suffer any thing to be done against the author. Sir Thomas More answered it by another supplication in behalf of the souls in purgatory, setting forth the miseries they were in, and the relief which they received by the masses that were said for them; and therefore they called upon their friends to support the religious orders, which had now so many enemies.

Frith published a serious answer to the last mentioned work, in which he showed that there was no mention made of purgatory in scripture; that it was inconsistent with the merits of Christ, by which, upon sincere repentance, all sins were pardoned; for if they were pardoned, they could not be punished; and though temporary judgments, either as medicinal corrections, or a warning to others, do sometimes fall even on true penitents, yet terrible punishments in another state cannot consist with a free pardon, and the remembering of our sins no more. In expounding many passages of the New Testament, he appealed to More's great friend Erasmus, and showed, that the fire which was spoken of by St. Paul, as that which would consume the wood, hay, and stubble, could only be meant of the fiery trial of persecution. He showed that the primitive church received it not; Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin, did not believe it; the last had plainly said, that no mention was made of it in scripture. The monks alone brought it in; and by many wonderful stories, persuaded their ignorant followers of the truth of it, and so made a very profitable trade. This book so provoked the clergy, that they resolved to make the author feel a real fire, for endeavouring to extinguish their imaginary one. Sir Thomas More objected poverty and want of learning to the new preachers; but it was answered, the same was made use of to reproach Christ and his apostles; but a plain simplicity of mind, without artificial improvements, was rather thought a good disposition for men that were to bear a cross, and the

glory of God appeared more eminently when the instruments seemed contemptible.

But the pen being thought too feeble and gentle, the clergy betook themselves to persecution. Many were vexed with imprisonments for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English, for harbouring the reformed preachers, and for speaking against the corruptions and vices of the clergy.

Hinton, formerly a curate, who had gone over to Tindal, was seized on his way back, with some books he was conveying to England, and was condemned by Archbishop Warham. He was kept long in prison; but remaining firm in the truth, he was, at length, burned at Maidstone.

### *Story and Martyrdom of Thomas Bilney.*

Thomas Bilney was brought up at Cambridge from a child. On leaving the university, he preached in several places: and in his sermons spoke with great boldness against the pride and insolence of the clergy. This was during the ministry of Cardinal Wolsey, who, hearing of his attacks, caused him to be seized and imprisoned. Overcome with fear, Bilney abjured, was pardoned, and returned to Cambridge, in the year 1530. Here he fell into great horror of mind, in consequence of his instability and denial of the truth. He became ashamed of himself, bitterly repented of his sin, and, growing strong in faith, resolved to make some atonement by a public avowal of his apostacy, and confession of his sentiments. To prepare himself for his task, he studied the scriptures with deep attention for two years; at the expiration of which he again quitted the university, went into Norfolk, where he was born, and preached up and down that county against idolatry and superstition; exhorting the people to a good life, to give alms, to believe in Christ, and to offer up their souls to him in the sacrament. He openly confessed his own sin of denying the faith; and using no precaution as he went about, was soon taken by the bishop's officers, condemned as a relapse, and degraded. Sir Thomas More sent down the writ to burn him. Parker, afterwards archbishop, was an eye witness of his sufferings, and affirms, that he bore all his hardships with great fortitude and resignation, and continued very cheerful after his sentence. He eat up the poor provision that was brought him heartily, saying, he must keep up a ruinous cottage till it fell. He had these words of Isaiah often in his mouth, "When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt;" and by burning his finger in the candle, he prepared himself for the stake; saying, the fire would only consume the stubble of his body, and would purify his soul.

On the 10th of November he was brought to the stake, where he repeated the creed, prayed earnestly, and with the deepest sense repeated these words, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, oh Lord!" Dr. Warner, who attended, embraced him, shedding many tears, and wishing he might die in as good a frame of mind as Bilney then was. The friars requested him to inform the people, that they were not instrumental to his death, which he did; so that the last act of his life was one of charity and forgiveness.

The officers then put the reeds and faggots about his body, and set fire to the first, which made a great flame, and disfigured his face; he

held up his hands, and struck his breast, crying sometimes "Jesus;" sometimes "Credo!" but the flame was blown away from him several times, the wind being very high, till at length the wood taking fire, the flame was stronger, and so he yielded up the ghost.

His body being shrunk up, leaned down on the chain, till one of the officers, with his halbert, struck out the staple of the chain behind him, on which it fell down into the bottom of the fire, when it was covered with wood, and consumed.

The sufferings, the confession, and the heroic death of this martyr, inspired and animated others to imitate his conduct.

*Byfield and others burnt.*

Byfield, who had formerly abjured, was taken dispersing Tindal's books; and he, with one Tewkesbury, was condemned by Stokesley, and burnt. Two men and a woman also suffered the same fate at York. Upon these proceedings, the parliament complained to the king; but this did not check the sanguinary proceedings of the clergy. One Bainham, a counsellor of the temple, was taken on suspicion of heresy, whipped in the presence of Sir T. More, and afterwards racked in the tower, yet he could not be wrought on to accuse any, but through fear he abjured. After this, however, being discharged, he was in great trouble of mind, and could find no quiet till he went publicly to church, where he openly confessed his sins, and declared the torments he felt in his conscience for what he had done. Upon this he was again seized on, and condemned for having said that Thomas Becket was a murderer, and was damned if he did not repent; and that in the sacrament, Christ's body was received by faith, and not chewed with the teeth. Sentence was passed upon him, and he was burnt. Soon after this, More delivered up the great seal, in consequence of which the reformed preachers had a short respite.

But the persecution was soon revived, and its rage stopped not at the living, but vented itself even on the dead. Lord Tracy made a will, by which he left his soul to God, in hopes of mercy through Christ, without the help of any saint; and, therefore, he declared, that he would leave nothing for soul-masses. This will being brought to the bishop of London's court to be proved, after his death, provoked the clergy so much,\* that he was condemned as a heretic, and an order was sent to the chancellor of Worcester to raise his body; but he went beyond his instructions, and burnt it, which could not be justified, since the deceased was not a relapse. Tracy's heir sued him for it, and he was turned out of his place, and fined 400*l*.

The clergy proclaimed an indulgence of forty days pardon, to any that carried a faggot to the burning of a heretic, that so cruelty might seem the more meritorious.

The reformed now enjoyed a respite of two years, when the crafty Gardiner represented to the king, that it would tend much to his advantage, if he would take some occasion to show his hatred of heresy.

\* We shall not be surprised at their anger, if we consider, that they foresaw, in the event of Lord Tracy's example being followed, the abolition of the most profitable part of their traffic. They railed against him on the same grounds as Demetrius the silversmith did against Paul at Ephesus—they feared that "*their craft was in danger*"



Accordingly a young man named Frith was chosen as a sacrifice to this affected zeal for religion.

*Story and Martyrdom of Frith.*

He was a young man much famed for his learning, and was the first who wrote in England against the corporeal presence in the sacrament. He followed the doctrine of Zuinglius.

For his opinions he was seized in May, 1533, and brought before Stokesly, Gardiner, and Longland. They charged him with not believing in purgatory and transubstantiation. He gave the reasons that determined him to look on neither of these as articles of faith: but thought that neither the affirming nor denying them ought to be determined positively. The bishops seemed unwilling to proceed to sentence; but he continuing resolute, Stokesly pronounced it, and so delivered him to the secular arm, desiring that his punishment might be moderated. This request was thought a mockery, when all the world knew that it was intended to burn him. One Hewit, an apprentice of London, was also condemned with him on the same account.

They were brought to the stake at Smithfield <sup>“</sup>on the 5th of July, 1533. On arriving there, Frith expressed great joy, and hugged the faggots with transport: a priest named Cook, who stood by, called to the people not to pray for them more than they would do for a dog; at this Frith smiled, and prayed God to forgive him: after which the fire was kindled, which consumed them to ashes.

This was the last instance of the cruelty of the clergy at that time; for the act, formerly mentioned, regulating their proceedings, followed soon after. Phillips, at whose complaint that bill was begun, was committed on suspicion of heresy, a copy of Tracy's will being found about him; but he being required to abjure, appealed to the king as supreme head, and upon that was set at liberty; but whether he was tried by the king or not, is not upon record.

The act gave the new preachers and their followers some respite. The king was also empowered to reform all heresies and idolatries: and his affairs obliged him to unite himself to the princes of Germany, that, by their means, he might so embroil the emperor's affairs, as not to give him leisure to turn his arms against England; and this produced a slackening of all severities against them: for those princes, in the first fervour of the reformation, made it an article in all their treaties, that none should be persecuted for favouring their doctrine. The queen also openly protected the reformers; she took Latimer and Shaxton to be her chaplains, and promoted them to the bishoprics of Worcester and Salisbury.

Cranmer was fully convinced of the necessity of a reformation, and that he might carry it on with true judgment, and justify it by good authorities, he made a good collection of the opinions of the ancient fathers, and later doctors, in all the points of religion, comprising six folio volumes. He was a man of great candour, and much patience and industry; and so was on all accounts well prepared for that work, to which the providence of God now called him; and though he was in some things too much subject to the king's imperious temper, yet in the matter of the six articles, he showed that he wanted not the courage that became a bishop in so critical an

affair. Cromwell was his great and constant friend; a man of mean birth, but of excellent qualities, as appeared in his adhering to his master Wolsey, after his fall: a rare demonstration of gratitude in a courtier to a disgraced favourite.

As Cranmer and Cromwell set themselves to carry on a reformation, another party was formed who as vigorously opposed it. This was headed by the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner; and almost all the clergy lent their strength to it. They persuaded the king that nothing would give the pope or the emperor so much advantage, as his making any changes in religion; and it would reflect much on him, if he, who had written so learnedly for the faith, should from spite to the pope, make any changes in it. Nothing would encourage other princes so much to follow his example, or keep his subjects so faithful to him, as his continuing steadfast in the ancient religion.

These reasonings made great impressions on him. But, on the other hand, Cranmer represented to him that, if he rejected the pope's authority, it was very absurd to let such opinions or practices continue in the church, as had no other foundation but papal decrees: he exhorted the king to depend on God, and hope for good success if he proceeded in this latter according to the duty of a Christian prince. England, he said, was a complete body within itself; and though in the Roman empire, when united under one prince, general councils were easily assembled, yet now many difficulties were in the way, for it was evident, that though both the emperor and the princes of Germany had for twenty years desired a general council, it could not be obtained of the pope; he had indeed offered one at Mantua, but that was only an illusion. Every prince ought, therefore, to reform the church in his dominions by a national synod.

Upon this, the king desired some of the bishops to give their opinion concerning the emperor's power of calling councils: so Cranmer, Tonstal, Clark, and Goodrick, made answer, that though, anciently, councils were called by the Roman emperors, yet that was done by reason of the extent of their monarchy, which had now ceased, and other princes had an entire monarchy within their own dominions.

#### *The Reformers favoured by the Court.*

The nobility and gentry were generally well satisfied with the change in ecclesiastical affairs: but the body of the people, being more under the power of the priests, were filled with great fears on the subject. It was said, among them, that the king now joined himself to heretics; that the queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell, favoured them. It was left free to dispute what were articles of faith, and what were only the decrees of popes; and the most important changes might be made, under the pretence, that they only rejected those opinions which were supported by the papal authority.

The monks and friars saw themselves left at the king's mercy. Their bulls could be no longer useful to them. The trade of new saints, or indulgences, was now at an end; they had also some intimations that Cromwell was forming a project for suppressing them. as they thought it necessary for their own preservation to embroil the king's affairs as much as it was possible; therefore, both in confessions and discourses, they laboured to infuse into the people a dislike of his

proceedings: but these practices at home, and the intrigues of Cardinal Pole abroad, the libels that were published, and the rebellions that were raised in England, wrought so much on the king's temper, naturally imperious and boisterous, that he became too prone to acts of severity, and his new title of *head of the church* seemed to have increased his former vanity, and made him fancy that all his subjects were bound to regulate their belief by the measures he set them. The bishops and abbots did what they could to free the king of any jealousies he might have of them; and of their own accord, before any law was made about it, swore to maintain his supremacy.

*Cromwell made Vicar-General.*

The first act of his new power was the making Cromwell vicar-general, and visiter of all the monasteries and churches of England, with a delegation of the king's supremacy to him; he was also empowered to give commissions subaltern to himself; and all wills, where the estate was in value above £200, were to be proved in his court. This was afterwards enlarged: he was made the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, had the precedence of all persons except the royal family; and his authority was in all points the same as had been formerly exercised by the pope's legates.

Pains were taken to engage all the clergy to declare for the supremacy. At Oxford a public determination was made, to which every member assented, that the pope had no more authority in England than any other foreign bishop. The Franciscans at Richmond made some opposition; they said, by the rule of St. Francis, they were bound to obey the holy see. The bishop of Litchfield told them that all the bishops in England, all the heads of houses, and the most learned divines, had signed that proposition. St. Francis made his rule in Italy, where the bishop of Rome was metropolitan, but that ought not to extend to England: and it was shown that the chapter cited by them, was not written by him, but added since; yet they continued positive in their refusal to sign it.

*General Visitation of the Monasteries.*

It was well known that the monks and friars, though they complied with the times, yet hated this new power of the king's; the people were also startled at it: so one Dr. Leighton, who had been in Wolsey's service with Cromwell, proposed a general visitation of all the religious houses in England; and thought that nothing would reconcile the nation so much to the king's supremacy, as to see some good effects flow from it. Others deemed this was too bold a step, and feared it would provoke the religious orders too much. Yet it was known that they were guilty of such disorders, as nothing could so effectually check as inquiry. Cranmer led the way to this by a metropolitan visitation, for which he obtained the king's license; he took care to see that the pope's name was struck out of all the offices of the church, and that the king's supremacy was generally acknowledged.

In October the general visitation of the monasteries was begun; and the visiters were instructed to inquire, whether the houses had the full number according to their foundation? If they performed divine worship at the appointed hours? What exemptions they had? What were their statutes? How their superiors were chosen? Whether they lived according to the severities of their orders? How their lands and reve-

nuns were managed? What hospitality was kept? What care was taken of the novices? What benefices were in their gift, and how they disposed of them? How the inclosures of the nunneries were kept? Whether the nuns went abroad, or if men were admitted to come to them? How they employed their time, and what priests they had as their confessors?

The visitors were also ordered to deliver some injunctions in the king's name, as to his supremacy, and the act of succession; and were authorized to absolve every one from any rules or oaths of obedience to the pope.

They were also ordered to take care that the abbots should not have choice dishes, but plain tables for hospitality; and that the scriptures should be read at meals; that they should have daily lectures of divinity; and maintain some of every house at the university, and to require that the abbot of each monastery should instruct the monks in true religion, and show them that it did not consist in outward ceremonies, but in clearness of heart, purity of life, and the worshipping of God in spirit and truth. Rules were given about their revenues, and against admitting any under twenty years of age; and the visitors were empowered to punish offenders, or to bring them to answer before the visiter-general.

The visitors went over England, and found in many places monstrous disorders. The most horrible and disgusting crimes were found to be practised in many of their houses; and vice and cruelty were more frequently the inmates of these pretended *sanctuaries* than religion and piety. The report contained many abominable things, not fit to be mentioned: some of these were printed, but the greatest part was lost.

The first house that was surrendered to the king was Langden, in Kent; the abbot of which was found in bed with a woman, who went in the habit of a lay brother. To prevent greater evil to himself, he and ten of his monks signed a resignation of their house to the king. Two other monasteries in the same county, Folkstone and Dover, followed their example. And in the following year, four others made the like surrenders.

#### *Death of Queen Catherine.*

On January 8, 1536, Queen Catherine died. She had been resolute in maintaining her title and state, saying, that since the pope had judged her marriage was good, she would die rather than do any thing to prejudice it. She desired to be buried among the Observant friars, who had most strongly supported her, and suffered for her cause. She ordered 500 masses to be said for her soul; and that one of her women should go a pilgrimage to our lady of Walsingham, and give two hundred nobles on her way to the poor. When she found death approaching, she wrote to the emperor, recommending her daughter to his care; also to the king, with this inscription, "My dear lord, king, and husband." She forgave him all the injuries he had done her; and wished him to have regard to his soul. She recommended her daughter to his protection, and desired him to be kind to her three maids, and to pay her servants a year's wages; and concluded with, "Mine eyes desire you above all things." She expired at Kimbolton, in the fiftieth year of her age, having been thirty-three years in England. She was devout and exemplary; patient and charitable. Her virtues and

her sufferings created an esteem for her in all ranks of people. The king ordered her to be buried in the abbey of Peterborough, and was somewhat affected at her death; but the natural barbarity of his temper prevented him from feeling much remorse on the reflection that he had embittered the existence of a woman who loved and revered him.

The same year the parliament confirmed the act empowering thirty-two persons to revise the ecclesiastical laws; but no time being limited for finishing it, it had no effect. The chief business of this session, was the suppressing of all monasteries whose revenues did not exceed 200*l.* a year. The act sets forth the great disorders of those houses, and the many unsuccessful attempts made to reform them. The religious that were in them, were ordered to be placed in the greater houses, and the revenues given to the king. The king was also empowered to make new foundations of such of the suppressed houses as he pleased, which were in all three hundred and seventy. This parliament, after six years' continuance, was now dissolved.

*A Translation of the Bible proposed.*

In a convocation which sat at this time, a motion was made for translating the Bible into English, which had been promised when Tindal's translation was condemned, but was afterwards laid aside by the clergy, as neither necessary nor expedient. It was said, that those whose office it was to teach the people the word of God, did all they could to suppress it. Moses, the prophets, and the apostles, wrote in the vulgar tongue; Christ directed the people to search the scriptures; and as soon as any nation was converted to the Christian religion, the Bible was translated into their language; nor was it ever taken out of the hands of the people, till the Christian religion was so corrupted, that it was deemed impolitic to trust them with a book which would so manifestly discover those errors; and the legends, as agreeing better with those abuses, were read instead of the word of God.

Cranmer thought, that putting the Bible into the people's hands, would be the most effectual means for promoting the reformation; and, therefore, moved, that the king might be prayed to order it. But Gardiner, and all the other party, opposed this vehemently. They said, that all the extravagant opinions lately broached in Germany, arose from the indiscreet use of the scriptures. Some of those opinions were at this time disseminated in England, both against the divinity and incarnation of Christ, and the usefulness of the sacraments. They, therefore, argued, that during these distractions, the use of the scriptures would prove a great snare, and proposed that, instead of them, there might be some short exposition of the Christian religion put into people's hands, which might keep them in a certain subjection to the king and the church. But, in spite of their arguments, the question of the translation was carried in the convocation in the affirmative.

The courtiers were much divided on this point; some said, if the king gave way to it, he would never be able after that to govern his people, and that they would break into many divisions. But, on the other hand, it was maintained, that nothing would make the difference between the pope's power, and the king's supremacy, appear more

eminently, than for the one to give the people the free use of the word of God; while the other kept them in darkness, and ruled them by a blind obedience. It would do much also in extinguishing the interest that either the pope or the monks had among the people. The Bible would teach them that they had been long deceived by impostures, which had no foundation in the scriptures. These reasons, strengthened by the queen's representations to the king, prevailed so far with him, that he gave order for setting about this important affair with all possible haste, and within three years the impression of it was finished.

The popish party saw, with disappointment and concern, that the queen was the great obstacle to their designs. She grew not only in the king's esteem, but in the love of the nation. During the last nine months of her life she bestowed above 14,000*l.* in alms to the poor, and seemed to delight in doing good. Soon after Catherine's death, Anne bore a dead son, which was believed to have made an unfavourable impression on the king's mind. It was also considered, that now Queen Catherine was dead, the king might marry another, and regain the friendship of the pope and the emperor, and that the issue by any other marriage would never be questioned. With these reasons of state the king's affections joined; for he was now in love (if so heartless a monster was capable of feeling love) with Jane Seymour, whose disposition was tempered between the gravity of Catherine, and the gayety of Anne. The latter used all possible arts to re-inflame his dying affection; but he was weary of her, and, therefore, determined on her destruction; to effect which he soon found a pretence. Lady Rochford, wife to the brother of Anne, basely accused her husband of a criminal intercourse with his sister; and Norris, Weston, and Brereton, the king's servants, with Smeton, a musician, were accused of the same crime.

She was confined to her chamber, and the five persons before mentioned, were sent to the tower, whither, the next day, she also was carried. On the river some privy counsellors came to examine her, but she made deep protestations of her innocence; and, on landing at the tower, she fell on her knees, and prayed God to assist her, protesting her innocence of the crimes laid to her charge. Those who were imprisoned on her account denied every thing, except Smeton, who, from hopes of favour and acquittal, confessed that he had been criminally connected with her; but denied it when he was afterwards brought to execution.

The queen was of a lively temper, and having resided long in the French court, had imbibed somewhat of the levities of that people. She was also free from pride, and hence, in her exterior, she might have condescended too much to her familiar servants.

Every court sycophant was now her enemy; and Cranmer formed the only, and honourable exception. An order was, therefore, procured, forbidding him to come to court; yet he wrote the king a long letter upon this critical juncture, wherein he acknowledged, that "if the things reported of the queen were true, it was the greatest affliction that ever befel the king, and, therefore, exhorted him to bear it with patience and submission to the will of God; he confessed he never had a better opinion of any woman than of her; and that, next the king, he was more bound to her than to all persons living, and there-

fore he begged the king's leave to pray that she might be found innocent, he loved her not a little, because of the love which she seemed to bear to God and his gospel; but if she was guilty, all that loved the gospel must hate her, as having been the greatest slander possible to the gospel; but he prayed the king not to entertain any prejudice to the gospel on her account, nor give the world to say, that his love to that was founded on the influence she had with him." But the king was inexorable. The prisoners were put on their trial; when Smeaton pleaded guilty, as before; the rest pleaded not guilty; but all were condemned.

*Trial and Execution of the Queen.*

On the 15th of May, the Queen and her brother, Lord Rochford, were tried before the duke of Norfolk, as high steward, and a court of twenty-seven peers. The crime charged on her was, that she had procured her brother and four others to lie with her; and had often said to them, that the king never had her heart; and this was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her, which was treason by the act that confirmed her marriage, so that the act made for her marriage was now turned to her ruin. They would not now acknowledge her the king's lawful wife, and therefore did not found the treason on the statute 25th Edward III. It does not appear what evidence was brought against her: for Smeaton being already condemned, could not be made use of; and his never being brought face to face with her, gave just suspicion that he was persuaded to his confession by base practices. There was no other evidence than a declaration said to have been made by the Lady Wingfield, who died before the trial took place; so that whether this declaration were real or a forgery, must be very doubtful.

The earl of Northumberland was one of the judges. He had formerly been in love with the queen, and, either from a return of his passion, or from some other cause, he became suddenly so ill, that he could not stay out the trial. It was remembered that this earl had said to Cardinal Wolsey, that he had engaged himself so far with her, that he could not go back, which was perhaps done by some promise conceived in words of the future tense; but no promise, unless in the words of the present tense, could annul the subsequent marriage. Perhaps the queen did not understand that difference, or probably the fear of a terrible death wrought so much on her, that she confessed the contract; but the earl denied it positively, and took the sacrament upon it, wishing that it might turn to his damnation, if there was ever either contract or promise of marriage between them. Upon her own confession, however, her marriage with the king was judged null from the beginning, and she was condemned, although nothing could be more contradictory; for if she was never the king's wife, she could not be guilty of adultery, there being no breach of the faith of wedlock, if they were never truly married. But the king was resolved both to be rid of her, and to illegitimatize his daughter by her.

The day before her death, she sent her last message to the king, asserting her innocence, recommended her daughter to his care, and thanking him for his advancing her first to be a marchioness, then a queen, and now, when he could raise her no higher on earth, for sending her to be a saint in heaven. The lieutenant of the tower wrote

to Cromwell, that it was not fit to publish the time of her execution, for the fewer that were present it would be the better, since he believed she would declare her innocence at the hour of her death; for that morning she had made great protestations of it when she received the sacrament, and seemed to long for death with great joy and pleasure. On being told that the executioner, who had been sent for expressly from France, was very skilful, she expressed great happiness; for she said she had a very short neck, at which she laughed.

A little before noon, she was brought to the place of execution; there were present some of the chief officers and great men of the court. She was, it seems, prevailed on, out of regard to her daughter, to make no reflections on the cruel treatment she met with, nor to say any thing touching the grounds on which sentence passed against her. She only desired that all would judge the best: she highly commended the king, and then took her leave of the world. She remained for some time in her private devotions, and concluded, "To Christ I commend my soul;" upon which the executioner struck off her head: and so little respect was paid to her body, that it was with brutal insolence put in a chest of elm-tree, made to send arrows into Ireland, and then buried in the chapel in the tower. Norris then had life promised him if he would accuse her. But this faithful and virtuous servant said he knew she was innocent, and would die a thousand deaths rather than defame her; so he and the three others were beheaded, and all of them continued to the last to vindicate her. The day after Queen Anne's death, the king married Jane Seymour, who gained more upon him than all his wives ever did; but she was fortunate that she did not outlive his love to her.

*The Pope proposes a reconciliation with the King.*

Pope Clement the Seventh was now dead, and Cardinal Farnese succeeded him by the name of Paul the Third, who made an attempt to reconcile himself with the king; but, when that was rejected, thundered out a most terrible sentence of deposition against him. Yet now, since the two queens upon whose account the breach was made were out of the way he thought it a fit time to attempt the recovery of the papal interest, and ordered Cassali to let the king know that he had been driven, very much against his mind, to pass sentence against him, and that now it would be easy for him to recover the favour of the apostolic see.

But the king, instead of hearkening to the proposition, caused two acts to be passed, by one of which it was made a præmunire for any one to acknowledge the authority of the pope, or to persuade others to it; and by the other, all bulls, and all privileges flowing from them, were declared null and void; only marriages and consecrations made by virtue of them were excepted. All who enjoyed privileges by these bulls were required to bring them into the chancery, upon which the archbishop was to make a new grant to them, which, being confirmed under the great seal, was to be of full force in law.

*Debates of the Convocation.*

The convocation sat at the same time, and was much employed. Latimer preached a Latin sermon before them; he was the most celebrated preacher of that time; the simplicity of his matter, and his zeal in expressing it, being preferred to more elaborate compositions.



The convocation first confirmed the sentence of divorce between the king and Queen Anne. Then the lower house made an address to the upper house, complaining of sixty-seven opinions, which they found were very much spread in the kingdom. These were either the tenets of the old Lollards, or of the new Reformers, or of the Anabaptists; and many of them were only indiscreet expressions, which might have flowed from the heat and folly of some rash zealots, who had endeavoured to disgrace both the received doctrines and rites. They also complained of some bishops who were wanting in their duty to suppress such abuses. This was understood as a reflection on Cranmer, Shaxton, and Latimer, the first of whom, it was thought, was now declining, in consequence of the fall of Queen Anne.

But all these projects failed, for Cranmer was now fully established in the king's favour; and Cromwell was sent to the convocation, with a message from his majesty, that they should reform the rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the rules set down in scripture, which ought to be preferred to all glosses or decrees of popes.

There was one Alesse, a Scotchman, whom Cromwell entertained in his house, who being appointed to deliver his opinion, showed that there were no sacraments instituted by Christ, but baptism and the Lord's supper. Stokesly answered him in a long discourse upon the principles of the school-divinity; upon which Cranmer took occasion to show the vanity of that sort of learning, and the uncertainty of tradition; and that religion had been so corrupted in the latter ages, that there was no finding out the truth but by resting on the authority of the scriptures. Fox, bishop of Hereford, seconded him, and told them that the world was now awake, and would be no longer imposed on by the niceties and dark terms of the schools; for the laity now did not only read the scriptures in the vulgar tongues, but searched the originals themselves; therefore they must not think to govern them as they had been governed in the times of ignorance. Among the bishops, Cranmer, Goodrick, Shaxton, Latimer, Fox, Hilsey, and Barlow, pressed the reformation; but Lee, archbishop of York, Stokesly, Tonstall, Gardiner, Longland, and several others, opposed it as much. The contest would have been much sharper, had not the king sent some articles to be considered of by them, when the following mixture of truth and error was agreed upon.

1. That the bishops and preachers ought to instruct the people according to the scriptures, the three creeds, and the first four general councils.

2. That baptism was necessary to salvation, and that children ought to be baptized for the pardon of original sin, and obtaining the Holy Ghost.

3. That penance was necessary to salvation, and that it consisted in confession, contrition, and amendment of life, with the external works of charity, to which a lively faith ought to be joined; and that confession to a priest was necessary where it might be had.

4. That in the eucharist, under the forms of bread and wine, the very flesh and blood of Christ was received.

5. That justification was the remission of sins, and a perfect renovation in Christ; and that not only outward good works, but inward holiness, was absolutely necessary. As for the outward ceremonies,

the people were to be taught, 1. That it was meet to have images in churches, but they ought to avoid all such superstition as had been usual in times past, and not to worship the image, but only God. 2. That they were to honour the saints, but not to expect those things from them which God only gives. 3. That they might pray to them for their intercession, but all superstitious abuses were to cease; and if the king should lessen the number of saint's days, they ought to obey him. 4. That the use of the ceremonies was good, and that they contained many mystical significations that tended to raise the mind towards God; such were vestments in divine worship, holy water, holy bread, the carrying of candles, and palms and ashes, and creeping to the cross, and hallowing the font, with other exorcisms. 5. That it was good to pray for departed souls, and to have masses and exequies said for them; but the scriptures having neither declared in what place they were, nor what torments they suffered, that was uncertain, and to be left to God; therefore all the abuses of the pope's pardons, or saying masses in such and such places, or before such images, were to be put away.

These articles were signed by Cromwell, the two archbishops, sixteen bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty of the lower house. The king afterwards added a preface, declaring the pains that he and the clergy had been at for the removing the differences in religion which existed in the nation, and that he approved of these articles, and required all his subjects to accept them, and he would be thereby encouraged to take further pains in the like matters for the future.

On the publication of these things, the favourers of the reformation, though they did not approve of every particular, yet were well pleased to see things brought under examination: and since some things were at this time changed, they did not doubt but more changes would follow; they were glad that the scriptures and the ancient creeds were made the standards of the faith, without adding tradition, and that the nature of justification and the gospel covenant was rightly stated; that the immediate worship of images and saints was condemned, and that purgatory was left uncertain: but the necessity of auricular confession, and the corporeal presence, the doing reverence to images, and praying to the saints, were of hard digestion to them; yet they rejoiced to see some grosser abuses removed, and a reformation once set on foot. The popish party, on the other hand, were sorry to see four sacraments passed over in silence, and the trade in masses for the dead put down.

At the same time other things were in consultation, though not finished. Cranmer offered a paper to the king, exhorting him to proceed to further reformation, and that nothing should be determined without clear proofs from scripture, the departing from which had been the occasion of all the errors that had been in the church. Many things were now acknowledged to be erroneous, for which some, not long before, had suffered death. He therefore proposed several points to be discussed, as, Whether there were a purgatory? Whether departed saints ought to be invoked, or tradition to be believed? Whether images ought to be considered only as representations in history? and, Whether it was lawful for the clergy to marry? He prayed the king not to give judgment on these points till he heard

them well examined: but all this was carried no further at that period.

At this time visitors were appointed to survey all the lesser monasteries: they were to examine the state of their revenues and goods, and take inventories of them, and to take their seals into their keeping: they were to try how many of the religious would return to a secular course of life; and these were to be sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, or the lord chancellor, and an allowance was to be given them for their journey: but those who intended to continue in that state, were to be removed to some of the great monasteries. A pension was also to be assigned to the abbot or prior during life; and the visitors were particularly to examine what leases had been made during the last year. Ten thousand of the religious were by this means driven to seek for their livings, with forty shillings, and a gown a man. Their goods and plate were estimated at £100,000, and the valued rents of their houses was £32,000; but they were above ten times as much. The churches and cloisters were in most places pulled down, and the materials sold.

This procedure gave great discontent; and the monks were now as much pitied as they were formerly hated. The nobility and gentry, who provided for their younger children or friends by putting them in those sanctuaries, were sensible of their loss. The people, who as they travelled over the country found abbeys to be places of reception to strangers, saw what they were to lose. But the superstitious, who thought their friends must now lie still in purgatory, without relief from the masses, were out of measure offended. But to remove this discontent, Cromwell advised the king to sell these lands at very easy rates to the nobility and gentry, and to oblige them to keep up the wonted hospitality. This would both be grateful to them, and would engage them to assist the crown in the maintenance of the changes that had been made, since their own interests would be interwoven with those of their sovereign. And, a clause in the act empowering the king to found anew such houses as he should think fit, there were fifteen monasteries and sixteen nunneries newly founded. These were bound to obey such rules as the king should send them, and to pay him tenths and first fruits. But all this did not pacify the people, for there was still a great outcry. The clergy studied much to inflame the nation, and urged, that an heretical prince, deposed by the pope, was no more to be acknowledged; and that it was a part of the papal power to depose kings, and give away their dominions.

There were some injunctions given out by Cromwell, which increased this discontent. All churchmen were required, every Sunday for a quarter of a year, and twice every quarter after that, to preach against the pope's power, and to explain the six articles of the convocation. They were forbidden to extol images, relics, or pilgrimages; but to exhort to works of charity. They were also required to teach the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments in English, and to explain these carefully, and instruct the children well in them. They were to perform the divine offices reverently, to study the scriptures much, and be exemplary in their lives. Those who did not reside were to give the fortieth part of their income to the poor, and for every hundred pounds a year they were to maintain a scholar at some grammar-school, or the univer-

sity: and if the parsonage house was in decay, they were ordered to apply a fifth part of their benefice for repairing it.

*Rebellions in Lincolnshire and in Yorkshire.*

The people continued quiet until they had got in their harvest; but in the beginning of October 20,000 rose in Lincolnshire, led by a priest in the disguise of a cobbler. They took an oath to be true to God, the king, and the commonwealth, and sent a statement of their grievances to the king. They complained of some acts of parliament, of suppressing of many religious houses, of mean and ill counsellors, and bad bishops; and prayed the king to redress their grievances by the advice of the nobility. The king sent the duke of Suffolk to raise forces against them, and gave an answer to their petition, in which he treated them with his usual haughtiness, saying, that "it belonged not to the rabble to direct princes what counsellors they should choose. The religious houses had been suppressed by law, and the heads of them had under their hands confessed such horrid scandals, that they were a reproach to the nation; and as they wasted their rents in riotous living, it was much better to apply them to the common good of the nation;" finally, he required the insurgents to submit to his mercy, and to deliver up two hundred of their leaders into the hands of his lieutenants.

At the same time there was a more formidable rising in Yorkshire, which being not far from Scotland, it was feared the rebels would draw assistance from that kingdom: this inclined Henry to make more haste to settle matters in Lincolnshire. He sent them secret assurances of mercy, which wrought on the greatest part, so that they dispersed themselves, while the most obstinate went over to those in Yorkshire. The leader and some others were taken and executed. The distance of those in the North gave them time to rise, and form themselves into some method: one Aske commanded in chief, and performed his part with great dexterity: their march was called "the Pilgrimage of Grace;" they had in their banners and on their sleeves, a representation of the five wounds of Christ; they took an oath that they would restore the church, suppress heretics, preserve the king and his issue, and drive base-born men and ill counsellors from him. They became forty thousand strong in a few days, and forced the archbishop of York and the Lord Darcy to swear to their covenant, and to go along with them. They besieged Skipton, but the earl of Cumberland made it good against them: Sir Ralph Evers held out Scarborough castle, though for twenty days he and his men had no provisions but bread and water.

There was also a rising in all the other northern counties, against whom the earl of Shrewsbury made head; and the king sent several of the nobility to his assistance, and within a few days the duke of Norfolk marched with some troops, and joined them. They possessed themselves of Doncaster, and resolved to keep that pass till the rest of the king's forces should join them: for they were not in a condition to engage with such numbers of desperate men; and it was very likely that if they were beaten, the people who had not yet taken part with the rebels, might have been emboldened by their success to do so. The duke of Norfolk resolved, therefore, to keep close at Doncaster, and let the provisions and courage of his adversa-

ries melt away in inaction. They were now reduced to 10,000, but the king's army was not above 5000. The duke of Norfolk proposed a treaty; the insurgents were persuaded to send their petitions to the court, and the king sent them a general pardon, excepting six persons by name, and reserving four to be afterwards named; but this last demand, instead of satisfying them, made them more desperate. However, they, in their turn, made demands, which were, that a general pardon should be granted them; that a parliament should be held at York, and that courts of justice should be set up there; that the Princess Mary might be restored to her right of succession, and the pope to his wonted jurisdiction; that the monasteries might be again set up; that Audley and Cromwell might be removed from the king, and that some of the visiters might be imprisoned for their bribery and extortion.

These demands being rejected, the rebels resolved to fall upon the royal troops, and drive them from Doncaster; but heavy rains made the river impassable. The king, at length, sent a long answer to their demands; he assured them he would live and die in the defence of the Christian faith; but "the rabble ought not to prescribe to him, and to the convocation, in that matter." He answered that which concerned the monasteries as he had done to the men of Lincolnshire. If they had any just complaints to make of any about him, he was ready to hear them; but he would not suffer them to direct him what counsellors he ought to employ; nor could they judge of the bishops who had been promoted, they not being known to them; he charged them not to believe lies, nor be led away by incendiaries, but to submit to his mercy. On the 9th of December he signed a proclamation of pardon without any restrictions.

As soon as this rebellion was quelled, the king went on more resolutely in his design of suppressing the monasteries; for his success in crushing so formidable a sedition made him less apprehensive of any new commotion.

A new visitation was appointed, and many houses which had not been before dissolved, were now suppressed, and many of the greater abbots were induced to surrender by several motives. Some had been engaged in the late rebellion, and so, to prevent a storm, offered a resignation. Others liked the reformation, and did it on that account; some were found guilty of great disorders in their lives, and to prevent a shameful discovery, offered their houses to the king; while others had made such wastes and dilapidations, that having taken care of themselves, they were less concerned for others.

By these means one hundred and twenty-one houses were this year resigned to the king. In most houses the visiter made the monks sign a confession of their vices and disorders, in which some of them acknowledged their idleness, gluttony, and sensuality; and others, that they were sensible that the manner of their former pretended religion consisted in some dumb ceremonies, by which they were blindly led, having no true knowledge of God's laws. Some resigned in hopes that the king would found them anew; these favoured the reformation, and intended to convert their houses to better uses, for preaching, study, and prayer; and Latimer pressed Cromwell earnestly, that two or three houses might be reserved for such purposes in every county. But it was resolved to suppress all; and although it was

thought that these resignations could not be valid, since the incumbents had not the property, but only the trust for life of those houses, the parliament afterwards declared them good in law.

But some of the clergy escaped not with the surrender of their houses; the abbots of Whalley, Jervaux, Sawley, and Glastonbury, with the priors of Woburn and Burlington, having been deeply implicated in the late commotions, were executed for treason; and many of the Carthusians were put to death for denying the king's supremacy; others, suspected of favouring them, and of receiving books sent from beyond the sea, against the king's proceedings, were imprisoned, and many of them perished in their dungeons.

Great complaints were made of the visitors; and it was said, that they had in many places embezzled much of the plate to their own use, and had been guilty of various enormities under the pretext of discharging their duty. They, on the other hand, published accounts of many of the vile practices which they found in those houses, so that several books were printed upon this occasion. Yet all these accounts had not much weight with the people. They deemed it unreasonable to extinguish noble foundations for the fault of some individuals; therefore another way was taken, which had a better effect.

*Impostures of Images and Relics discovered.*

They disclosed to the world many impostures about pretended relics, and wonderful images, to which pilgrimages had been made. At Reading was preserved the wing of an angel, who, according to the monks, brought over the point of the spear that pierced our Saviour's side; and as many pieces of the *real* cross were found, as, when joined together, would have made half a dozen.

"The Rood of Grace," at Boxley, in Kent, had been much esteemed, and drawn many pilgrims to it, on account of its possessing the wonderful powers of bowing its head, rolling its eyes, smiling, and frowning, to the great astonishment and terror of the credulous multitude, who imputed it to a divine power; but all this was now discovered to be a cheat, and it was brought up to St. Paul's cross; where all the springs were shown by which its motions were governed.

At Hales, in Gloucestershire, some of the blood of Christ was shown in a vial; and it was believed none could see it who were in mortal sin. Those who could bestow liberal presents were, of course, gratified, by being led to believe, that they were in a state of grace. This miracle consisted in the blood of a duck renewed every week, put in a vial very thick on one side, and thin on the other; and either side turned towards the pilgrim, as the priests were satisfied or not with his oblations. Several other similar impostures were discovered, which contributed much to the undeceiving of the people.

The rich shrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury was destroyed, and an immense quantity of gold and precious stones, offered by the deluded victims of superstition in honour of that factious priest, and "saint after the pope's own heart," were confiscated and carried away.

When these proceedings were known at Rome, the pope immediately fulminated against the king all the thunders of his spiritual storehouse; absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and his allies from their treaties with him; and exhorted all Christians to make war

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*John Lambert on his Trial. Page 231.*



*Dr. R. Barnes before Cardinal Wolsey. Page 236.*



*Mrs. Askew on the Rack. Page 245.*



against and extirpate him from the face of the earth. But the age of crusades was past, and this display of impotent malice produced only contempt in the minds of the king and his advisers, who steadily proceeded in the great work of reformation; and, the translation of the Bible into English being now completed, it was printed, and ordered to be read in all churches, with permission for every person to read it, who might be so disposed.

But, notwithstanding the king's disagreement with the pope on many subjects, there was one point on which they were alike—they were both intolerant, furious bigots; and while the former was excommunicated as an *heretic*, he was himself equally zealous in rooting out *heresy*, and burning all who presumed to depart from the standard of faith which he had established.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, strengthened this disposition of the king, and persuaded him, under the pretext of a zeal for religion, to persecute the Sacramentarians, or those who denied the corporeal presence in the sacrament.

#### *Martyrdom of John Lambert.*

In consequence of this determination, John Lambert, a teacher of languages in London, who had drawn up ten arguments against the tenets of Dr. Taylor, on the above subject, as delivered in a sermon at St. Peter's church, and presented them to the Doctor, was brought before the archbishops court to defend his writings: and, having appealed to the king, the royal theologian, who was proud of every occasion of displaying his talents and learning, resolved to hear him in person. He therefore issued a commission, ordering all his nobility and bishops to repair to London, to assist him against heretics.

A day was appointed for the disputation, when a great number of persons of all ranks assembled to witness the proceedings, and Lambert was brought from his prison by a guard, and placed directly opposite to the king.

Henry being seated on his throne, and surrounded by the peers, bishops, and judges, regarded the prisoner with a stern countenance, and then commanded Day, bishop of Chichester, to state the occasion of the present assembly.

The bishop made a long oration, stating that, although the king had abolished the papal authority in England, it was not to be supposed that he would allow heretics with impunity to disturb and trouble the church of which he was the head. He had therefore determined to punish all schismatics: and being willing to have the advice of his bishops and counsellors on so great an occasion, had assembled them to hear the arguments in the present case.

The oration being concluded, the king ordered Lambert to declare his opinion as to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which he did, by denying it to be the body of Christ.

The king then commanded Cranmer to refute his assertion, which the latter attempted; but was interrupted by Gardiner, who vehemently interposed, and, being unable to bring argument to his aid, sought by abuse and virulence to overpower his antagonist, who was not allowed to answer the taunts and insults of the bishop.

Tonsial and Stokesly followed in the same course, and Lambert beginning to answer them, was silenced by the king. The other bishops

then each made a speech in confutation of one of Lambert's arguments, till the whole ten were answered, or rather, railed against: for he was not permitted to defend them, however misrepresented.

At last, when the day was passed, and torches began to be lighted, the king desiring to break up this pretended disputation, said to Lambert, "What sayest thou now, after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men? Art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? What sayest thou? Thou hast yet free choice."

Lambert answered, "I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your majesty." "Then," said the king, "commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine."

Lambert replied, "I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your clemency." To which the king answered, "If you do commit yourself unto my judgment, you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics;" and, turning to Cromwell, he said, "Read the sentence of condemnation against him," which he accordingly did.

Upon the day appointed for this holy martyr to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight o'clock in the morning to the house of Cromwell, and carried into his inner chamber, where, it is said, Cromwell desired his forgiveness for what he had done. Lambert being at last admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, and being brought out of the chamber, into the hall, saluted the gentlemen present, and sat down to breakfast with them, showing neither sadness nor fear. When breakfast was ended, he was carried straight to the place of execution at Smithfield.

The manner of his death was dreadful; for after his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and but a small fire was left under him, two of the inhuman monsters who stood on each side of him, pierced him with their halberts, and lifted him up as far as the chain would reach, while he, raising his half consumed hands, cried unto the people in these words: "None but Christ, none but Christ;" and so being let down again from their halberts, fell into the fire and there ended his life.

The popish party greatly triumphed at this event, and endeavoured to improve it. They persuaded the king of the good effects it would have on his people, who would in this see his zeal for the faith; and they forgot not to magnify all that he had said, as if it had been uttered by an oracle, which proved him to be both "Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church." All this wrought so much on the king, that he resolved to call a parliament for the contradictory purposes of suppressing the still remaining monasteries, and extirpating the "new opinions."

#### *The Act of the Six Articles.*

The parliament accordingly met on the 25th of April, 1538; and after long debates, passed what was called "a bill of religion," containing six articles, by which it was declared, that the elements in the sacrament were the real body and blood of Christ; that communion was necessary only in one kind; that priests ought not to marry; that vows of chastity ought to be observed; that private masses were lawful and useful; and that auricular confession was necessary.

This act gave great satisfaction to the popish party, and induced them to consent more readily to the act for suppressing the monasteries, which immediately followed; by virtue of which, their total dissolution soon after took place. The king founded six new bishoprics from a small portion of their immense revenues, and lavished the remainder on his profligate courtiers and favourites.

In 1540 a bill was passed for the suppression of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, both in England and Ireland.

#### *Fall of Cromwell.*

In this year also, Cromwell, who had so long been a favourite of the king, and had held the highest offices, was suddenly disgraced, and committed to the tower. He had many enemies; the nobility, from jealousy at beholding a man of obscure birth promoted to the peerage, and enjoying great power and influence; and the popish clergy, from the belief that the suppression of the monasteries and the innovations on their religion were principally produced by his counsels. The fickle tyrant whom he had so long and faithfully served, was also displeased with him as the adviser of his marriage with Anne of Cleves, whom he was now anxious to get rid of, in order to obtain the hand of Catherine Howard, niece of the duke of Norfolk. He suspected him, likewise, of secretly encouraging an opposition to the six articles, and hoped, by sacrificing a man who was obnoxious to the catholics, to regain their affections, forfeited by his sanguinary and rapacious proceedings.

Cromwell experienced the common fate of fallen ministers; his pretended friends forsook him, and his enemies pursued their revenge against him without opposition, except from Cranmer, who, with a rare fidelity, dared to avow an attachment to him, even at this time, and wrote a very earnest letter to the king in his favour. But Henry was not easily turned from his purpose, and being resolved on the ruin of Cromwell, was not to be dissuaded from his design.

In the house of lords a bill of attainder was passed with the most indecent haste; but in the commons it met with opposition, and after a delay of ten days, a new bill was framed, and sent up to the lords, in which Cromwell was designated as "the most corrupt traitor ever known;" his treasons, as afterwards specified, consisting in the countenance and favour he had shown to the reformers. On these grounds he was attainted both for treason and heresy.

The king now proceeded with his divorce; and, although there was no reason to dispute the legality of his marriage with Anne of Cleves, still, as she was disagreeable to his royal taste, his sycophants were too well taught to offer the least opposition to his wishes. The convocation unanimously dissolved the marriage, and gave him liberty to marry again; indeed it is probable that if he had desired to have two or more wives at once, the measure would have been sanctioned, so base and servile were the courtiers and priests by whom this monstrous tyrant was surrounded. The queen continued to reside in England, being declared "the adopted sister" of the king, and having a pension of £4000 per annum.

Cromwell was executed on the 28th of July, and his fall gave a great check to the reformation in England; Cranmer being left almost alone to struggle against a host of enemies.

The bishops now published a new "book of religion," in which they settled the standard of the national faith; and although the reformers were justly dissatisfied with many parts of it, yet with other parts they saw more reason to be content: many superstitious practices were condemned in it, and the gospel covenant was rightly stated: every national church was also declared to be a complete body in itself, with power to reform heresies, and do every thing necessary for the preservation of its purity, and the government of its members.

The clergy now, elated by the victory which they had gained by the death of Cromwell, persuaded the king to new severities against the reformers; and several distinguished preachers were called to suffer death in consequence of the violent animosities of the friends to the papal cause.

*Martyrdom of Dr. Robert Barnes.*

Dr. Barnes was educated in the university of Louvain, in Brabant. On his return to England he went to Cambridge, where he was made prior and master of the house of the Augustines. The darkest ignorance pervaded the university, at the time of his arrival there; but he, zealous to promote knowledge and truth, began to instruct the students in the classical languages, and with the assistance of Parnel, his scholar, whom he had brought from Louvain, soon caused learning to flourish, and the university to bear a very different aspect.

These foundations being laid, he began to read openly the epistles of St. Paul, and to teach in greater purity the doctrine of Christ. He preached and disputed with great warmth against the luxuries of the higher clergy, particularly against Cardinal Wolsey, and the lamentable hypocrisy of the times. But still he remained ignorant of the great cause of these evils, namely, the idolatry and superstition of the church; and while he declaimed against the stream, he himself drank at the spring, and bowed down to idols. At length, happily becoming acquainted with Bilney, he was by that martyr wholly converted unto Christ.

The first sermon he preached of this truth was on the Sunday before Christmas-day, at St. Edward's church, in Cambridge. His theme was the epistle of the same Sunday, "*Gaudete in Domino.*" &c. For this sermon he was immediately accused of heresy by two fellows of King's Hall, before the vice-chancellor. Then Dr. Nottoris, a bitter enemy to Christ, moved Barnes to recant; but he refused, as appears in his book, which he wrote to King Henry in English, confuting the judgment of Cardinal Wolsey, and the residue of the papistical bishops.

After preaching some time, Barnes was arrested openly in the convocation-house; brought to London, and the next morning carried to the palace of Cardinal Wolsey, at Westminster, where, after waiting the whole day, he was at night brought before the cardinal in his chamber of state. "Is this," said Wolsey, "Dr. Barnes, who is accused of heresy?"—"Yes, and please your grace," replied the cardinal's secretary, "and I trust you will find him reformatable, for he is learned and wise."

"What, Mr. Doctor," said Wolsey, "had you not a sufficient scope in the scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my poll-axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses, did so sore of-

send you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people, who that day laughed us to scorn? Verily it was a sermon fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit; for at last you said, 'I wear a pair of red gloves, I should say bloody gloves,' quoth you, 'that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies.'"

Dr. Barnes answered, "I spake nothing but the truth, out of the scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors." And then he delivered him six sheets of paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sentiments.

The cardinal received them smiling, saying, "We perceive then that you intend to stand to your articles, and to show your learning."

"Yea," said Barnes, "that I do by God's grace, with your lordship's favour."

He answered, "Such as you bear us little favour, and the catholic church. I will ask you a question; whether do you think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's majesty in all the high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellious treasons, traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth, or to be as simple as you would have us, to sell all these things, and to give them to the poor, who shortly will cast them in the dirt; and to pull away this princely dignity, which is a terror to the wicked, and to follow your counsel?"

"I think it necessary," said Barnes, "to be sold and given to the poor. For this is not becoming your calling, nor is the king's majesty maintained by your pomp and poll-boxes, but by God, who saith, kings and their majesty reign and stand by me."

Then answered the cardinal, "Lo, master doctors, here is the learned wise man that you told me of." Then they kneeled down, and said, "We desire your grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable."

"Then," said he, "stand you up; for your sakes and the university we will be good unto him. How say you, master doctor, do you not know that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the pope may?" He said, "I know it to be so."

"Will you then be ruled by us? and we will do all things for your honesty, and for the honesty of the university."

He answered, "I thank your grace for your good will; I will stick to the holy scriptures, and to God's book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me."

"Well," said he, "thou shalt have thy learning tried at the uttermost, and thou shalt have the law."

He was then committed to the custody of the sergeant at arms who had brought him to London, and by whom he was the next morning brought before the bishops; who, on examining the articles of his faith, which he had delivered to the cardinal, asked him if he would sign them, which he did, and was thereupon committed to the Fleet.

On the Saturday following he was again brought before the bishops, who called upon him to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then greatly agitated, and felt inclined rather to burn than abjure; but was persuaded by some persons to abjure, which he at length consented to do, and the abjuration being put into his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed it with his own

hand; yet his judges would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church, as they termed it. Then they put him to an oath, and charged him to do all that they commanded him, which he accordingly promised.

He was then again committed to the Fleet, and the next morning was brought to St. Paul's church, with five others who had abjured. Here the cardinal, bishops, and clergy, being assembled in great pomp, the bishop of Rochester preached a sermon against the doctrines of Luther and Barnes, during which the latter was commanded to kneel down and ask forgiveness of God, and the catholic church, and the cardinal's grace; after which he was ordered, at the end of the sermon, to declare that he was used more charitably than he deserved, his heresies being so horrible, and so detestable; once more he knelt, desiring of the people forgiveness, and to pray for him. This farce being ended, the cardinal departed under a canopy, with the bishops and mitred abbots, who accompanied him to the outer gate of the church, when they returned. Then Barnes, and the others who had abjured, were carried thrice about the fire, after which they were brought to the bishops, and knelt down for absolution. The bishop of Rochester standing up, declared that Dr. Barnes, with the others, were received into the church again. After which they were recommitted to the Fleet during the cardinal's pleasure.

Dr. Barnes having remained in the Fleet half a year, was placed in the custody of the Austin Friars in London; from whence he was removed to the Austin Friars of Northampton, there to be burned; of which intention, however, he was perfectly ignorant. Being informed of the base design of his enemies, however, he, by a stratagem, escaped, and reached Antwerp, where he dwelt in safety, and was honoured with the friendship of the best, and most eminent reformers of the time, as Luther, Melanethon, the duke of Saxony, and others. Indeed, so great was his reputation, that the king of Denmark sent him as one of his ambassadors to England; when Sir Thomas More, at that time lord chancellor, wished to have him apprehended on the former charge. Henry, however, would not allow of this, considering it as a breach of the most sacred laws, to offer violence to the person of an ambassador, under any pretence. Barnes, therefore, remained in England unmolested, and departed again without restraint. He returned to Wittenberg, where he remained to forward his works in print which he had begun, after which he returned again to England, and continued a faithful preacher in London, being well entertained and promoted during the ascendancy of Anne Boleyn. He was afterwards sent ambassador by Henry to the duke of Cleves, upon the business of the marriage between Anne of Cleves and the king; and gave great satisfaction in every duty which was intrusted to him.

Not long after the arrival of Gardiner from France, Dr. Barnes, and other reformed preachers, were apprehended, and carried before the king at Hampton Court, where Barnes was examined. The king being desirous to bring about an agreement between him and Gardiner, granted him leave to go home with the bishop to confer with him. But they not agreeing, Gardiner and his party sought to entangle and entrap Barnes and his friends in further danger, which, not long after, was brought to pass. For, by certain complaints made

to the king of them, they were enjoined to preach three sermons the following Easter at the Spittle; at which sermons, besides other reporters which were sent thither, Stephen Gardiner also was there present, sitting with the mayor, either to bear record of their recantation, or else, as the Pharisees came to Christ, to ensnare them in their talk, if they should speak any thing amiss. Barnes preached first; and at the conclusion of his sermon, requested Gardiner, if he thought he had said nothing contradictory to truth, to hold up his hand in the face of all present; upon which Gardiner immediately held up his finger. Notwithstanding this, they were all three sent for to Hampton Court, whence they were conducted to the tower, where they remained till they were brought out to death.

#### *Execution of Queen Catherine Howard.*

The king was greatly delighted with the charms of Catherine Howard, his fifth wife, and even gave public thanks to God for the excellent choice he had made. But his opinion was soon altered, and not without reason; for she was convicted on the clearest evidence, and by her own confession, of gross lewdness and debauchery, with several persons; and was beheaded, with Lady Rochford, her principal accomplice and confidant, February 14th, 1541. The latter, it will be recollected, was the chief instrument in the destruction of Anne Boleyn, and her fate was considered as a divine judgment on her baseness and falsehood to that injured queen.

The king, exasperated by the disappointment of his hopes, procured an attainder against the parents and relatives of Catherine, for not informing him of what they, perhaps, were themselves ignorant of; and it was made treason to conceal any matter of the kind from the king in future, as well on the part of relatives and other persons, as by the lady herself, whom he might intend to honour with his hand. The barbarous severity and injustice of these acts was felt, but durst not be murmured against, so absolute a tyranny had Henry established in his kingdom. After remaining a widower about two years, he contracted a sixth marriage with Catherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer, who was in secret a friend to the reformation, but, dreading the fate of her predecessors, dissembled her partiality for the true faith.

#### *Attempts to Suppress the Bible.*

Great pains had been taken by the bishops to suppress the English Bible. The king refused to call it in, and they therefore complained much of the translation, which they wished to have condemned, and a new one promised, which might have been delayed during several years. Cranmer, perceiving that the Bible was the great eye-sore of the Popish party, and that they were resolved to oppose it by all the means they could think of, procured an order from the king, referring the correction of the translation to the two universities. The bishops took this very ill, and all of them, except those of Ely and St. David's, protested against it.

#### *Method of Preaching*

In former times there had been few or no sermons, except in Lent; for on holy days the sermons were panegyrics on the saints, and on the virtues of their pretended relics. But in Lent there was a more

solemn way of preaching; and the friars maintained their credit much by the pathetic sermons they preached in that time, and by which they wrought much on the passions of the people: yet even these for the most part tended to extol fasting, confession, and other austerities, with very little of the true simplicity of Christianity, or the Scriptures; and were designed rather to raise a sudden heat, than to work a real change in their auditors. They had also mixed so much out of the legends with their sermons, that the people at length disbelieved all they said, on account of those fabulous things with which their sermons were debased.

The reformers, on the other hand, took great care to instruct their hearers in the fundamentals of religion, of which they had known little formerly: this made the nation follow those teachers with a wonderful zeal; but some of them mixed more sharpness against the friars in their sermons, than was consistent with the mild spirit of Christianity, although the hypocrisy and cheats of their antagonists did in a great measure excuse those heats; and it was observed that our Saviour had exposed the Pharisees in so plain a manner, that it justified the treating them with some roughness. This made it seem necessary to suffer none to preach, at least out of their own parishes, without license, and many were licensed to preach as itinerants. There was also a book of homilies on all the epistles and gospels in the year, published, which contained a plain paraphrase of those parts of scripture, together with some practical exhortations founded on them. Many complaints were made of those who were licensed to preach, and that they might be able to justify themselves, they began generally to write and read their sermons; and thus did this custom begin.

#### *An Act concerning Religion.*

In 1543, a bill was proposed by Cranmer, for the advancement of true religion, which was much opposed, and those who at first joined him afterwards forsook him; so that it was much altered for the worse in its progress. By it Tindal's translation of the Bible was condemned, and also all other books contrary to the doctrine set forth by the bishops. Bibles, of another translation, were still allowed to be kept, but all prefaces or annotations to them, were to be expunged; all the king's injunctions were confirmed; no books of religion were to be printed without license; there was to be no exposition of scripture in plays or interludes;\* none of the laity might read the scripture, or explain it in any public assembly; but a proviso was made for public speeches, which then began generally with a text of scrip-

\* It had been, during several centuries, a custom to dramatize certain portions of scripture, which were represented by the monks themselves, as well as by other persons, under the title of *Mysteries*; and many of these performances were highly profane and indecorous. But the "plays and interludes" alluded to in the above mentioned act, appear to have been burlesque representations of the mummeries of the church of Rome, ridiculous enough in themselves, but rendered more palpably so, by this method of treating them. As, however, the ridicule which was pointed at the abuses of religion, might, by malice or ignorance, be transferred to what is really sacred, these representations were properly condemned, both by Catholics and Protestants, and the Reformers trusted to the growing intellect of the age for the condemnation of what was blameable, and the preservation of what was praiseworthy, in the ritual of the church.



ture, and were like sermons. Noblemen, gentlemen, and their wives, or merchants, might have Bibles; but no ordinary woman, tradesman, apprentice, or husbandman, was allowed to retain any.\* Every person might have the book published by the bishops, the psalter, and other rudiments of religion, in English. All churchmen, who preached contrary to that book, for the first offence, were required to recant; for the second, to abjure and carry a fagot; but, for the third, they were to be burnt. The laity, for the third offence, were to forfeit their goods and chattels, and to be liable to perpetual imprisonment. The parties accused were not allowed witnesses for their purgation. The act of the six articles was confirmed, and it was left free to the king, to change this act, or any proviso in it. There was also a new act passed, giving authority to the king's proclamations, and any nine privy counsellors were empowered to proceed against offenders. Against this the Lord Mountjoy dissented, and is the only instance of any nobleman having the courage to protest against the innumerable legislative iniquities of this reign.

#### *Attempts to ruin Cranmer*

The chief thing now aimed at, by the whole popish party, was Cranmer's ruin. Gardiner employed many to infuse the belief into the king, that he gave the chief encouragement to heresy in England, and that it was in vain to lop off the branches, and leave the root still growing. The king, before this, would never hear the complaints that were made of him: but now, to be informed of the depth of this design, he was willing to make himself acquainted with all that was to be said against him.

Gardiner reckoned, that this point being gained, all the rest would follow, and judging that the king was now alienated from him, more instruments and artifices than ever were made use of. A long paper, containing many particulars against both Cranmer and his chaplains, was put into the king's hands. Upon this the king sent for him; and after he had complained much of the heresy in England, he said, he resolved to find out the chief promoter of it, and to make him an example.

Cranmer advised him first to consider well what heresy was, that so he might not condemn those as heretics, who maintained the true word of God against human inventions. Then the king told him frankly, that he was the man complained of, as most guilty; and showed him all the informations that he had received against him.

Cranmer avowed that he was still of the same mind as when he opposed the six articles, and submitted himself to a trial; he confessed

\* By this proviso, it would appear that these bigots wished religion to be confined to the "nobility, gentry, and merchants," to the exclusion of the poor and humble mechanic and labourer. Did they imagine that the kingdom of heaven was the exclusive property of those favoured beings; and that, because they dwelt in earthly palaces, they must of necessity be received into heavenly mansions? Did they not know that our blessed Saviour selected his most eminent apostles and disciples from among those despised classes, whom they considered unworthy even to hear his gracious word? Let us, of the present generation, praise our heavenly Father, who has cast our lot in a period when the knowledge of his promises, and the possession of his scriptures, are not confined to the "mighty of this earth," but form the treasure of every cottage, and the solace and support of the lowliest of mankind.

many things to the king; in particular, that he had a wife; but he said he had sent her out of England, when the act of the six articles was passed; and expressed so great a sincerity, and put so entire a confidence in the king, that instead of being ruined, he was now better established with him than ever.

The king commanded him to appoint some persons to examine the contrivance that had been laid to destroy him; he answered, that it was not decent for him to nominate any to judge in a cause in which himself was concerned; but the king being positive, he named some to go about it, and the whole secret was discovered. It appeared that Gardiner and Dr. London had been the chief instruments, and had encouraged informers to appear against him. Cranmer did not press the king for any reparation; for he was so noted for his readiness to forgive injuries, and to return good for evil, that it was commonly said, the best way to obtain his favour, was to do him an injury; of this he gave signal instances at this time, both in relation to the clergy and laity; by which it appeared that he was actuated by that meek and lowly spirit, which becomes all the followers of Christ, but more particularly one who was so great an instrument in reforming the Christian religion; and did, by such eminent acts of charity, show that he himself practised that which he taught others to do.

A parliament was now called, in which an act providing for the succession of the crown was passed. By it Prince Edward and his heirs, or the heirs of the king's present marriage, were to succeed on the decease of the king; after them, the Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth; and in case they had no issue, or did not observe such limitations or conditions as the king should appoint, then it was to fall to any other whom the king should name, either by his letters patent, or by his last will signed with his hand. An oath was appointed both against the pope's supremacy, and for the maintaining the succession according to this act, which all are required to take, under the pains of treason. It was made treason to say or write any thing contrary to this act, or to the slander of any of the king's heirs named in it.

Another bill was passed, qualifying the severity of the six articles; by which it was enacted, that none should be imprisoned but upon a legal presentment, except upon the king's warrant. None was to be challenged for words spoken, except the accusation were brought within a year after the commission of the offence; nor for a sermon, but within forty days. This was made to prevent such conspiracies as had been discovered during the former year.

Another act was passed, renewing the authority given to thirty-two commissioners to reform the ecclesiastical law, which Cranmer promoted much; and to advance so good a purpose, he drew out of the canon law a collection of many things against the regal and for the papal authority, with several other very extravagant propositions, to show how improper it was, to let a book, in which such things were, continue still in any credit in England: but he could not bring this to any good issue. A general pardon was also granted, out of which heresy was excepted.

Audley, the chancellor, dying at this time, Wriothesly, who was of the popish party, was put in his place; and Dr. Petre, Cranmer's friend, was made secretary of state: so equally did the king keep the balance between both parties. He gave orders also to translate the

prayers, and litanies, into the English tongue, which gave the reformers some hopes that he had not quite cast off his design of reforming such abuses as had crept into the worship of God. And they hoped that the reasons which prevailed with the king to order this, would also induce him to order a translation of all the other offices into the English tongue.

Lee, archbishop of York, died about this time, and was succeeded by Holgate, bishop of Landaff, who, in his heart, favoured the reformation. Kitchin, who turned with every change, was made bishop of Landaff; Heath was removed from Rochester to Worcester; Holbeck was promoted to the see of Rochester; and Day to that of Chichester. All these were moderate men, and well disposed to a reformation, or at least to comply with it.

*Story and Martyrdom of Anne Askew.*

This lady was descended from a good family, and had received an accomplished education; she had embraced the doctrines of the reformers with zeal, and was taken into custody for her opinions, in March, 1545. She underwent several examinations touching the points of difference between the papists and the protestants; in which she answered the insidious questions of her examiners with boldness and discretion. After remaining some time in prison, application was made by her relatives for her enlargement, and nothing being satisfactorily proved against her, she was for a time set at liberty; but during the following year she was again apprehended, and was at length brought to her trial at Guildhall. We transcribe her own account of what took place on this interesting occasion:

*“ The sum of my Condemnation at Guildhall.*

“ They said to me there, ‘ that I was a heretic, and condemned by the law, if I would stand in my opinion.’ I answered, ‘ That I was no heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. But as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not deny it, because I knew it true.’ Then would they needs know if I would deny the sacrament to be Christ’s body and blood. I said, ‘ Yea; for the same Son of God, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day like as he went up—Acts i. And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of bread. For a more proof thereof, mark it when you list, let it but lie in the box three months, and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded that it cannot be God.’

“ After that they willed me to have a priest; at this I smiled. Then they asked me if it were not good; I said, ‘ I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure he would hear me with favour.’ And so we were condemned.

“ My belief, which I wrote to the council, was this, that the sacramental bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christ’s death, the only remedy of our souls’ recovery; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion. Then would they know whether the bread in the box were God or no; I said, ‘ God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and in truth.’ John iv. Then they demanded, ‘ Will you plainly deny Christ to be in the sacrament?’ I answered,

‘ that I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there ;’ in witness whereof I recited the 19th chapter of Daniel, the 7th and 17th of the Acts, and the 24th of Matthew, concluding thus—‘ I neither wish death, nor yet fear his might ; God have the praise thereof with thanks.’

“ *My faith briefly written to the king’s grace, and sent by the hands of the Chancellor.*

“ I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although God hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins hath deserved, desire this to be known unto your grace, that forasmuch as I am by the law condemned for an evil doer, here I take heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocency ; and according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And as concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood ; I believe so much as he willed me to follow ; and believe so much as the catholic church of him doth teach. For I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look what God hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end, for lack of learning. ANNE ASKEW.

“ *My Examination and Treatment after my departure from Newgate.*

“ On Tuesday I was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where Mr. Rich, and the bishop of London, with all their power, and flattering words, went about to persuade me from God ; but I did not esteem their glossing pretences.

“ Then came to me Nicholas Shaxton, and counselled me to recant, as he had done. I said to him, ‘ That it had been good for him never to have been born,’ with many other like words.

“ Then Mr. Rich sent me to the tower, where I remained till three o’clock, when Rich came, and one of the council, charging me upon my obedience to show unto them if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was, ‘ That I knew none.’ Then they asked me of Lady Suffolk, Lady Sussex, Lady Hertford, Lady Denny, and Lady Fitzwilliams. To whom I answered, ‘ If I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it.’ Then said they unto me, ‘ That the king was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my sect.’ I answered, ‘ That the king was as well deceived in that behalf, as he was dissembled with by them in other matters.’

“ Then they commanded me to show how I was maintained in the Compter, and who willed me to stick to my opinion. I said, ‘ that there was no creature that therein did strengthen me. And as for the help that I had in the Compter, it was by the means of my maid. For as she went abroad in the streets, she told my case to the apprentices, and they, by her, did send me money ; but who they were I never knew.

“ Then they said, ‘ That there were several ladies that had sent me money.’ I answered, ‘ That there was a man in a blue coat who delivered me ten shillings, and said that my lady of Hertford sent it me ; and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my Lady Denny sent it me. Whether it were true or no I cannot tell ; for I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did say.’

Then they said, 'There were some of the council who maintained me.' I said, 'No.'

"Then did they put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time, and because I lay still and did not cry, my lord chancellor and Mr. Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was nigh dead.

"The lieutenant then caused me to be loosed from the rack, when I immediately swooned, and they recovered me again. After that I sat two hours reasoning with my lord chancellor upon the bare floor, where he with many flattering words persuaded me to leave my opinions; but my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

"Then was I brought to an house and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job, I thank my Lord God therefore. Then my lord chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinion I should want for nothing; if I would not, I should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him again word, that I would rather die than break my faith.

"Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell, dear friend, and pray, pray, pray."

Her racking in the tower, mentioned above, is thus described. She was led down into a dungeon, where Sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant, commanded his gaoler to pinch her with the rack; which being done, as much as he thought sufficient, he was about to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wriothesley, the chancellor, not contented that she should be loosed so soon, having confessed nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again, which because he denied to do, he was threatened by the chancellor, "That he would signify his disobedience to the king; but remaining unmoved by their threats, Wriothesley and Rich, throwing off their gowns, would needs play the tormentors themselves, first asking her "If she were with child?" to which she answered, "Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your wills upon me;" and so quietly and patiently praying to the Lord, she sustained their cruelty, till her bones and joints were almost torn asunder, so that she was obliged to be carried away in a chair. When the racking was past, the chancellor and Mr. Rich rode off to the court.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good lieutenant, taking boat, hastened to the court to speak with the king before the others, which he did; and desiring his pardon, told him the whole matter respecting the racking of Mrs. Askew, and the threats of the lord chancellor, "because at his commandment, not knowing his highness's pleasure, he refused to rack her, which he for compassion could not find in his heart to do, and therefore desired his highness's pardon;" which when the king had heard, he seemed not much to approve their severity; and granted the lieutenant his pardon.

While Mrs. Askew was confined in Newgate, she made the following confession of her faith. "I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, do confess myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And for so much as I am by

the law unrighteously condemned for an evil doer, concerning opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, which hath made both heaven and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy word; and I trust in my merciful Lord, which is the giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions which are contrary to his blessed verity; for I take him to witness that I have done, and will, unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

“But this is the heresy which they report me to hold, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary article of faith, that after these words be once spoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on Good Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of their's say I, Nay. For then were our common creed false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Lo, this is the heresy that I hold, and for it must suffer the death. But as touching the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ would I should believe.

“Finally, I believe all those scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most precious blood; yea, and as St. Paul saith, those scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us; so that, I believe, we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore, look what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his holy gospel, that I have with God's grace closed up in my heart, and my full trust is, (as David saith,) that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps, Psalm xxviii.

“There be some that say I deny the eucharist, or sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people untruly report of me; for I both say and believe it, that if it were ordered as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning the mass as it is now used in our days, I say and believe it to be the most abominable idol that is in the world. For my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again; and upon these words that I have now spoken, will I suffer death.

“O LORD! I have more enemies now than there be hairs on my head; yet, Lord! let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight thou, Lord! in my stead, for on thee cast I my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord! let me not set by them which are against me, for in thee is my whole delight; and, Lord! I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy most merciful goodness forgive them that violence which they do, and have done unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy verity aright, without all vain fantasy of sinful men. So be it, O Lord! so be it.

“ANNE ASKEW.”

We have thought it advisable to give so much of this lady's own writings, as they afford very strong evidence of her faith, and zeal for the cause of truth. To this sacred cause she was now about to give the last and highest proof of her attachment, by yielding up her life at the stake, as a token of her devotion to the pure religion of Jesus, and her abhorrence of the devices and inventions of the papists.

On the day appointed for her execution, she was brought to Smithfield in a chair, being unable to walk, from the effects of the tortures which she had undergone. When she arrived at the stake, she was fastened to it by a chain round her body. Three other persons were brought to suffer with her, for the same offence. These were, Nicholas Belenian, a priest of Shropshire: John Adams, a tailor; and John Lacels, a gentleman of the king's household.

The martyrs being all chained to the stake, Dr. Shaxton, who was appointed to preach, began his sermon; and as he proceeded, Anne Askew, with undiminished spirit, either confirmed or contradicted him, according to the truth or falsehood of his quotations and inferences.

The sermon being concluded, the martyrs began their prayers. The concourse of spectators was immense, and on a bench near the stake sat the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, and other persons of consideration. The chancellor sent to Anne Askew letters, offering to her the king's pardon if she would recant; but she, refusing even to look upon them, made this answer, "That she came not thither to deny her Lord and Master." Then the letters were likewise offered to the others, who, imitating the constancy of the woman, refused not only to receive them, but also to look upon them, and continued to cheer and exhort each other to be firm to the end of their sufferings, and so to deserve the glory they were about to enter; whereupon the lord mayor, commanding fire to be put to them, cried, with a loud voice, "*fiat justitia.*"

And thus these blessed martyrs were compassed in with flames of fire, and offered up as sacrifices unto God.

#### *Designs against Cranmer.*

These events were so many triumphs to the popish party, who, stimulated by fresh hopes, sought to complete their victory by effecting the ruin of Cranmer and the queen, whom they considered the greatest obstacles to their success. They persuaded the king that Cranmer was the source of all the heresies in England; but Henry's esteem for him was such, that no one would appear to give evidence against him; they therefore desired that he might be committed to the tower, and then it would appear how many would inform against him.

The king seemed to approve this plan, and they resolved to execute it the next day; but in the night Henry sent for Cranmer, and told him what was resolved concerning him. Cranmer thanked the king for giving him notice of it, and submitted to it, only desiring that he might be heard in answer for himself; and that he might have impartial judges, competent to decide. Henry was surprised to see him so little concerned in his own preservation: but told him, since he took so little care of himself, that he must take care of him. He therefore gave him instructions to appear before the council, and to

desire to see his accusers before he should be sent to the tower; and that he might be used by them, as they would desire to be used in a similar case; and if he could not prevail by the force of reason, then he was to appeal to the king in person, and was to show the royal seal ring, which he took from his finger, and gave him, which they would know so well that they would do nothing after they once saw it.

Accordingly, on being summoned next morning, he came over to Whitehall; there he was detained, with great insolence, in the lobby of the council chamber before he was called in; but when that was done, and he had acted as the king had ordered him, and at last showed the ring, his enemies rose in great confusion, and went to the king. He upbraided them severely for what they had done, and expressed his esteem and kindness for Cranmer in such terms, that they were glad to get off, by pretending that they had no other design, but that of having his innocence declared by a public trial. From this vain attempt they were so convinced of the king's unalterable favour to him, that they forbore any further designs against him.

But what they could not effect against Cranmer, they thought might be more safely tried against the queen, who was known to love the "new learning!" as the reformation was then called. She used to have sermons in her privy chamber, which could not be so secretly carried, but that it came to the knowledge of her royal spouse; yet her conduct in all other things was so exact, and she expressed such a tender care of the king's person, that it was observed she had gained much upon him; but his peevishness growing with his distempers, made him sometimes impatient even to her.

He used often to talk with her of matters of religion, and sometimes she sustained the argument for the reformers so strenuously, that he was offended at it; yet as soon as that appeared she let it fall. But once the debate continuing long, the king expressed his displeasure at it to Gardiner, when she went away. The crafty bishop took hold of this opportunity to persuade the king that she was a great cherisher of heretics. Wriothesly joined with him in the same artifice; and filled the angry king's head with suspicions, insomuch that he signed the articles upon which she was to be impeached. But the chancellor carelessly dropping the paper, it happened to be taken up by one of the queen's friends, who carried it to her.

The next night, after supper, she went into the king's bedchamber, where she found him sitting and talking with certain gentlemen. He very courteously welcomed her, and breaking off his talk with the gentlemen, began of himself, contrary to his usual manner, to enter into talk of religion, seeming, as it were, desirous to hear the queen's opinion on certain matters which he mentioned.

The queen, perceiving to what this tended, mildly, and with much apparent deference, answered him as follows:

"Your majesty," says she, "doth right well know, neither am I myself ignorant, what great imperfection and weakness by our first creation is allotted unto us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferior, and subject unto man as our head, from which head all our direction ought to proceed; and that as God made man to his own shape and likeness, whereby he, being endued with more special gifts of perfection, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavour to obey his commandments;



even so also made he woman of man, of whom, and by whom, she is to be governed, commanded, and directed; whose womanly weaknesses and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided, and borne withal, so that by his wisdom such things as be lacking in her ought to be supplied.

“Since thence, therefore, that God hath appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I a silly poor woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature unto you, how then cometh it now to pass that your majesty, in such diffuse causes of religion, will seem to require my judgment? which, when I have uttered and said what I can, yet must I, and will I, refer my judgment in this, and in all other cases, to your majesty’s wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head and governor here on earth, next under God to lean unto.”

“Not so, by Saint Mary,” replied the king; “you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us (as we take it) and not to be instructed or directed by us.”

“If your majesty take it so,” said the queen, “then hath your majesty very much mistaken, who have ever been of the opinion, to think it very unseemly and preposterous for the woman to take upon her the office of an instructor, or teacher to her lord and husband, but rather to learn of her husband, and to be taught by him; and where I have, with your majesty’s leave, heretofore been bold to hold talk with your majesty, wherein sometimes in opinions there hath seemed some difference, I have not done it so much to maintain opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end your majesty might with less grief pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being intentive to your talk, and hoping that your majesty should reap some ease thereby; but also that I, hearing your majesty’s learned discourse, might receive to myself some profit thereby; wherein, I assure your majesty, I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring myself in all such matters unto your majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do.”

“And is it even so, sweetheart?” cried the king; “and tended your arguments to no worse end? Then perfect friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore.” And as he sat in his chair, embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, he added, that “It did him more good at that time to hear those words of her own mouth, than if he had heard present news of an hundred thousand pounds in money fallen unto him;” and with tokens of great joy, and promises and assurances never again to mistake her, he entered into very pleasant discourse with the queen, and the lords and gentlemen standing by; and at last, (the night being far advanced,) he gave her leave to depart. And after she was gone, he greatly commended and praised her.

The time formerly appointed for her being taken into custody, being come, the king, waited upon by two gentlemen only of his bed-chamber, went into the garden, whither the queen also came, (being sent for by the king himself,) with three ladies attending her. Henry immediately entered into pleasant conversation with the queen and attendants; when, suddenly, in the midst of their mirth, the lord chancellor came into the garden with forty of the king’s guards, intending

to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies, to the tower. The king, sternly beholding them, broke off his mirth with the queen, and stepping a little aside, called the chancellor to him, who upon his knees spake to the king, but what he said is not well known: it is, however, certain that the king's reply to him was, "Knave! yea, arrant knave, beast, and fool!" and then he commanded him presently to be gone out of his presence; which words, being vehemently spoken by the king, the queen and her ladies overheard them.

The king, after the departure of the chancellor and his guards, immediately returned to the queen; when she, perceiving him to be very much irritated, endeavoured to pacify him with kind words, in behalf of the lord chancellor, with whom he seemed to be offended, saying, "That albeit, she knew not what just cause his majesty had at that time to be offended with him; yet she thought that ignorance, not wilfulness, was the cause of his error."

"Ah, poor soul," replied the king, "thou little knowest how ill he deserveth this grace at thy hands. On my word, sweetheart, he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let him go." Thus the design against her was frustrated, and Gardiner, who had promoted it, lost the king's favour entirely.

#### *The King's Sickness and Death.*

The king's distemper had been long growing upon him. He was become so corpulent, that he could not go up and down stairs, but was let down and drawn up by an engine, when he intended to walk in his garden. He had an ulceration in his leg, which gave him much pain, the humours of his body discharging themselves that way, till at last a dropsy came on. He had grown so fierce and cruel, that those about him were afraid to let him know that his death seemed near, lest they might have been adjudged guilty of treason, in foretelling his death!

His will was made ready, and signed by him, on the 30th of December. He ordered Gardiner's name to be struck out from the list of his executors. When Sir Anthony Brown endeavoured to persuade him not to put that disgrace on an old servant, he continued positive in it; for he said, "*he* knew his temper, and could govern him; but it would not be in the power of others to do it, if he were put in so high a trust." The most material thing in the will, was the preferring the children of his second sister, by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, to the children of his eldest sister, the queen of Scotland, in the succession to the crown. On his death-bed he finished the foundation of Trinity college in Cambridge, and of Christ's hospital, near Newgate; yet this last was not fully settled, till his son completed what he had begun.

On the 27th of January, 1547, his spirits sunk, and it was evident that he had not long to live. Sir Anthony Denny took the courage to tell him that death was approaching, and desired him to call on God for his mercy. He expressed in general his sorrow for his past sins, and his trust in the mercies of God in Christ Jesus. He ordered Cranmer to be sent for, but was speechless before he arrived; yet he gave a sign that he understood what he said to him, and soon after died, in the 56th year of his age, after he had reigned thirty-seven years and nine months. His death was concealed three days; and

the parliament continued to sit till the 31st of January, when his decease was made public. It is probable the Seymours, uncles to the young king, concealed it so long, till they made a party for securing the government in their own hands.

The severities Henry used against many of his subjects, in matters of religion, made both sides write with great sharpness against him; his temper was imperious and cruel; he was sudden and violent in his passions, and hesitated at nothing by which he could gratify either his lust or his revenge. This was much provoked by the sentence of the pope against him, by the virulent books Cardinal Pole and others published, by the rebellions that were raised in England by the popish clergy, and the apprehensions he was in of the emperor's greatness, together with his knowledge of the fate of those princes, against whom the popes had thundered in former times; all which made him think it necessary to keep his people under the terror of a severe government, and by some public examples to secure the peace of the nation, and thereby to prevent a more profuse effusion of blood, which might have otherwise followed if he had been more gentle; and it was no wonder, if, after the pope deposed him, he proceeded to great severities against all who supported the papal authority.

Almost the last act of his life was one of barbarous ingratitude and monstrous tyranny. This was the execution of the earl of Surry, a brave and accomplished nobleman, who had served him with zeal and fidelity, but was now sacrificed to the groundless suspicions of this gloomy tyrant, on the pretence of his having assumed the arms of Edward the Confessor, which, from his being related to the royal family, he had a right to do, and which he had done, during many years, without offence. Not satisfied with the death of this nobleman, the bloodthirsty despot, now tottering on the brink of the grave, determined to complete his worse than savage barbarity, by bringing to the block the aged duke of Norfolk, father of his former victim, who had spent a long life, and expended a princely fortune, in his service. There being no charge on which to found an impeachment against him, a parliament was summoned to attain him; and so well did these servile wretches fulfil their inhuman master's expectations, that the bill of attainder was passed in both houses in the short space of seven days; and the royal assent being given by commission, January 27, the duke was ordered for execution on the next morning; but in the course of the night the king was himself summoned before the tribunal of the eternal Judge.

*Persecution and Martyrdom of Thomas Benet.*

Thomas Benet was born in Cambridge; became M. A. there; and (as some think) was also a priest; he was a very learned man, and of a godly disposition, being intimately acquainted with Thomas Bilney, the glorious martyr of Christ. The more he grew and increased in the knowledge of God, and his holy work, the more he disliked the corrupt state of religion then prevalent; and, therefore, being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he quitted the university, and went into Devonshire, in the year 1524, and resided in Tarrington, a market town, where, for the maintenance of himself and his wife, he kept a school. But that town not answering his expectation, after remaining there one year, he went to Exeter, and resumed his

teaching. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and giving offence to none. His greatest delight was to attend sermons and preachings, whereof he was a diligent and attentive hearer, and he devoted all his leisure to the study of the scriptures, and the company of such as he found to be favourers of the gospel. Therefore, understanding that Mr. Strowd, of Newnham, was committed to the bishop's prison in Exeter upon suspicion of heresy, although unacquainted with him, yet he sent him letters of consolation; wherein, speaking of himself, he said, "Because I would not be a whoremonger, or an uncleau person, I married a wife, with whom I have hidden myself in Devonshire from the tyranny of the antichristians, these six years."

But although he had hitherto avoided any public expression of his sentiments, yet now, daily seeing the glory of God blasphemed, idolatrous religion embraced and maintained, and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome extolled, he was so grieved in conscience, and troubled in spirit, that he could not rest till he gave utterance to his thoughts on these subjects. Wherefore, speaking privately with his friends, he plainly told them how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonoured, his word contemned, and the people, by blind guides, carried headlong to everlasting damnation; and, therefore, he said, "he could no longer endure, but must needs, and would utter their abominations; and for his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and for the defence of God's true religion, would yield himself most patiently (as near as God would give him grace) to die, and to shed his blood therein; alleging that his death should be more profitable to the church of God, and for the edifying of his people, than his life should be."

To these persuasions his friends at length yielded, and promised to pray to God for him, that he might be made strong in the cause, and continue a faithful soldier to the end. He then gave directions for the distribution of such books as he had; and, shortly after, in the month of October, he wrote his mind on some scrolls of paper, which in the night he affixed upon the doors of the cathedral church of the city; on these papers was written, "The pope is antichrist, and we ought to worship God only, and no saints."

These bills being found, the clergy were all in alarm, and great search was made for the "heretic" who had set them up. Orders were given that sermons should be preached every day to confute this heresy. Nevertheless, Benet, keeping his own secret, went the Sunday following to the cathedral, and by chance sate down by two men who had been the busiest in all the city in seeking and searching for heretics; and they beholding Benet, said one to the other, "Surely this fellow is the heretic that hath set up the bills, and it were good to examine him." Nevertheless, when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behaviour of the man, his attentiveness to the preacher, his godliness in the church, being always occupied in his book, which was a Testament in the Latin tongue, they were astonished, and had no power to speak to him, but departed, and left him reading his book.

The priests being unable to discover the perpetrator of this *horrible deed*, at length determined, to make his damnation sure, to curse him, whoever he might be; which was accordingly performed with

much mummery; and as the whole proceeding affords a just view of the *piety, charity, and mercy*, of the Romish church, we give it here, for the edification of our readers.

One of the priests, apparelled all in white, ascended into the pulpit. The rabble, with some of the two orders of friars and monks, standing round about, and the cross being holden up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, he began his sermon with this text from the book of Joshua: *Est blasphemia in castris*: “there is blasphemy in the camp;” and, after making a long, tedious, and superstitious preaching, concluded, that “that foul and abominable heretic which had put up such blasphemous bills, was for that, his blasphemy, damnably cursed; and besought God, our lady, St. Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up such blasphemous bills.” Then followed the curse, uttered by the priest in these words:

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

away, the staff fell down. And the ignorant people were almost petrified with fear, at hearing this terrible denunciation.

Now this foolish fantasy and mockery being ended, which was to a Christian heart utterly ridiculous, Benet could no longer restrain his laughter; upon which, those who were next to him, in great surprise, asked him, "For what cause he should so laugh?"—"My friends," said, "who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes?" Immediately there was a cry, "Here is the heretic! here is the heretic! hold him fast, hold him fast, hold him fast!" He was accordingly seized; but his enemies, being uncertain of him, released him, and left him to go home to his house.

However, being still more disgusted by the scene he had just witnessed, he renewed his former bills, and caused his boy, early in the following morning, to replace them upon the gates of the churchyard. As the boy was doing this, he was seen by a person going to early mass, who asking him, "whose boy he was," charged him as the heretic who had set up the bills upon the gates; wherefore, pulling down the bill, he brought it, together with the boy, before the mayor; and thereupon Benet being known and taken, was committed to prison.

The next day, the canons of the cathedral and magistrates of the city jointly examined him. To them he confessed what he had done, saying, "It was even I that put up those bills, and if it were to do, I would do it again; for in them I have written nothing but what is very truth."—"Couldst not thou," asked they, "as well have declared thy mind by word of mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy?"—"No," said he; "I put up the bills, that many should read and hear what abominable blasphemers ye are, and that they might know your antichrist, the pope, to be that boar out of the wood, which destroyeth and throweth down the hedges of God's church; for if I had been heard to speak but one word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light; for God will so have it, and no longer will suffer you."

The next day he was sent to the bishop, who committed him to prison, where he was kept in the stocks and strong irons. Then the bishop, with Dr. Brewer, his chancellor, and others of his clergy and friars, began to examine him, and charge him, that, contrary to the catholic faith, he denied praying to saints, and the supremacy of the pope. To whom he answered in so correct a manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he not only confounded and put to silence his adversaries, but also filled them with great admiration of his abilities, and pity and compassion for his situation. The friars took great pains with him to persuade him to recant and acknowledge his fault, concerning the bills; but it was in vain, for God had appointed him to be a witness of his holy name.

His house was then searched for books and papers; and his wife much ill-treated by the officers employed; but she, being like her husband, a member of Christ's true church, bore all their insults patiently, and "when they reviled her, answered them not again."

Benet was now, during eight days, constantly beset by priests and friars, who tried all arts to induce him to be "reconciled" with the church of Rome; but all their efforts were vain; he remained firm in the faith, and would not relinquish the cross which he had taken up.

The principal point between him and his opponents was touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom in his bills he had named, "Antichrist, the thief, the mercenary, and murderer of Christ's flock." They who had some learning persuaded him to believe the church, and showed by what tokens she is known. The unlearned railed, and said, "That the devil tempted him," and spit upon him, calling him heretic. He prayed God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them: "For," said he, "I will rather die, than worship such a beast, the very whore of Babylon, and a false usurper, as manifestly doth appear by his doings." They asked, "What he did, that he had no power and authority to do, being God's vicar?"—"He doth," replied he, "sell the sacraments for money, he selleth remission of sins daily for money, and so do you likewise: for there is no day but ye say divers masses for souls in purgatory: yea, and ye spare not to make lying sermons to the people, to maintain your false traditions, and foul gains. The whole world begins now to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame."—"The shame," cried they, "shall be to thee, and such as thou, foul heretic. Wilt thou allow nothing done in holy church?"—"I am," said he, "no heretic; but a Christian, I thank Christ; and with all my heart will allow all things done and used in the church to the glory of God, and edifying of my soul; but I see nothing in your church, but that maintaineth the devil."—"What is our church?" asked they. "It is not my church," replied Benet, "God give me grace to be of a better church; for verily your church is the church of antichrist, the malignant church, the second church, a den of thieves, and as far wide from the true universal and apostolic church, as heaven is distant from the earth."

"Dost thou not think," said they, "that we pertain to the universal church?"—"Yes," answered he, "but as dead members, unto whom the church is not beneficial: for your works are the devices of man, and your church a weak foundation: for ye say and preach that the pope's word is equal with God's in every degree."—"Why," asked they, "did not Christ say to Peter, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven?"—"He said that," replied he, "to all as well as to Peter, and Peter had no more authority given him than they, or else the churches planted in every kingdom by their preaching are no churches. Doth not St. Paul say, 'Upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets?' Therefore, I say plainly, that the church that is built upon a man, is the devil's church, or congregation, and not God's. And as every church this day is appointed to be ruled by a bishop or pastor, ordained by the word of God in preaching and administration of the sacraments under the prince, the supreme governor under God; so to say, that all the churches, with their princes and governors, be subject to one bishop, is detestable heresy; and the pope, your god, challenging this power to himself, is the greatest schismatic that ever was."

"O thou blind and unlearned fool!" cried they, "is not the confession and consent of all the world as we confess and consent; that the pope's holiness is the supreme head and vicar of Christ?"—"That is," said Benet, "because they are blinded, and know not the scriptures; but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his false supremacy would soon decay."—"We

think," said they, "thou art so malicious, that thou wilt confess no church."—"Look," said he, "where they are that confess the true name of Jesus Christ, where only Christ is the head, and bishops, ministers, and preachers, do their duties in setting forth the glory of God by preaching his word; and where it is preached, that Christ is our only advocate, mediator, and patron before his Father, making intercession for us; and where the true faith and confidence in Christ's death and passion, and his only merits and deservings are extolled, and our own depressed; where the sacrament is duly, without superstition or idolatry, administered in remembrance of his blessed passion, and only sacrifice upon the cross once for all, and where no superstition reigneth; of that church will I be."

"Doth not the pope," asked they, "confess the true gospel? do not we all the same?"—"Yes," said he, "but ye deny the fruits thereof in every point. Ye build upon the sands, not upon the rock."—"And wilt thou not believe indeed," said they, "that the pope is God's vicar?"—"No," said he, "indeed!"—"And why?"—"Because he usurpeth a power not given him of Christ, no more than to other apostles; also, because by force of that usurped supremacy, he blinds the whole world, and doth contrary to all that ever Christ ordained or commanded."—"What," said they, "if he do all things after God's ordinance and commandment, should he then be his vicar?"—"Then," said he, "would I believe him to be a good bishop at Rome, over his own diocese, and to have no further power. And if it pleased God, I would every bishop did this in their diocese: then should we live a peaceable life in the church of Christ, and there should be no seditions therein. If every bishop would seek no further power, it were a goodly thing. But now, because all are subject to one, all must do and consent to all wickedness as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cause of great superstition in every kingdom; and what bishop soever he be that preacheth the gospel, and maintaineth the truth, is a true bishop of the church."—"And doth not," said they, "our holy father, the pope, maintain the gospel?"—"Yea," said he, "I think he doth read it, and peradventure believe it, and so do you also; but neither he nor you do fix the anchor of your salvation therein. Besides that, ye bear such a good will to it, that ye keep it close, that no man may read it but yourselves. And when you preach, God knows how you handle it: insomuch, that the people of Christ know no gospel but the pope's; and so the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the pit."

Then said a black friar to him, "Thou blockhead! do we not preach the gospel daily?"—"Yes," replied Benet, "but what preaching of the gospel is that, when you extol superstitious things, and make us believe that we have redemption through pardons and bulls from Rome, *a pœna et culpa*, as ye term it? and by the merits of your orders ye make many brethren and sisters, ye take yearly money of them, ye bury them in your coats, and in shrift ye beguile them: yea, and do a thousand superstitious things more; a man may be weary to speak of them."—"I see," cried the *liberal* friar, "thou art a damned wretch! I will have no more talk with thee."

After this, another of the same order addressed him, and endeavoured to shake his faith by representing to him the great dangers to which he exposed himself. "I take God to record," said Benet, "my



life is not dear to me; I am content to depart from it: for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of God's flock; and, for my part, I can no longer forbear: I had rather, by death, which I know is not far off, depart this life, that I may no longer be partaker of your idolatries, or be subject to antichrist, your pope."—"Our pope," said the friar, "is the vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God."—"I pray you," cried Benet, "depart from me, and tell not me of your ways. He is only my way which saith, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.' In this way will I walk, his doings shall be my example, not yours, nor your pope's. His truth will I embrace, not your falsehood. His everlasting life will I seek, the true reward of all faithful people. Vex my soul no longer; ye will not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. Ye are more vain than vanity itself. If I should hear and follow you, everlasting death would hang over me, a just reward for all that love the life of this world."

His enemies, at length, finding both their threats and their persuasions equally useless, proceeded to judgment, and condemned him to the flames; which being done, and the writ which they had procured being brought from London, they delivered him, on the 15th of January, 1531, to Sir Thomas Dennis, knight, then sheriff of Devonshire, to be burned.

The holy martyr, rejoicing that his end approached so near, yielded himself, with all humbleness, to abide and suffer the cross of persecution. And being brought to the place of execution, near Exeter, he made his humble confession and prayer unto Almighty God, and requested all the people present to pray for him; exhorting them, at the same time, with such gravity, and sobriety, and with such force of language, to seek the true knowledge and honour of God, and to leave the vain imaginations of man's invention, that all the hearers were astonished, and in great admiration; and most of them confessed that he was God's servant, and a good man.

Nevertheless, two gentlemen, named Thomas Carew and John Barnehouse, standing at the stake by him, first with promises and fair words, but at length with threatenings, urged him to revoke his errors, to call to our lady and the saints, and to say, "*Precor sanctam Mariam, et omnes sanctos Dei,*" &c. To whom he, with all meekness, answered, saying, "No, no; it is God only upon whose name we must call, and we have no other advocate to him but Jesus Christ, who died for us, and now sitteth at the right hand of the Father to be an advocate for us, and by him must we offer and make our prayers to God, if we will have them to take place and be heard." With which answer Barnehouse was so enraged, that he took a furze-bush upon a pike, and setting it on fire, thrust it into his face, saying, "Heretic! pray to our lady, and say, *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis,* or by God's wounds I will make thee do it."

To whom the martyr meekly and patiently answered, "Alas, Sir, trouble me not;" and holding up his hands, he said, "*Pater ignosce illis.*" Whereupon the persecutors caused the wood and furze to be set on fire, and Benet, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, cried out, "*O Domine, recipe spiritum meum.*" And so continued in his prayers until his life was ended.

To the martyrdoms which have already been recorded, many others

might be added; but our limits require us to conclude our account of the persecutions under Henry VIII, which we shall do with the story and martyrdom of William Tindall: who, although he did not suffer in England, deserves a conspicuous notice in these pages, for his great zeal and perseverance in the dissemination of truth.

*Life and Martyrdom of William Tindall.*

William Tindall was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up, from a child, in the University of Oxford, where, by long continuance, he grew up, and increased, as well in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, as in the knowledge of the scriptures, to the study of which he was much addicted; insomuch, that being then in Magdalen hall, he read privately to some of the students and fellows of Magdalen college, in divinity; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the scriptures; and all that knew him reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of unspotted life.

Having remained some time at Oxford, he removed to the university of Cambridge, where, having made great progress in his studies, he quitted that place, and going to Gloucestershire, engaged himself to a knight named Welch, as tutor to his children. To this gentleman's hospitable table used to resort several abbots, deans, and other beneficed clergymen, with whom Tindall used to converse on the subjects which at that time principally occupied the attention of all persons—viz. divinity, and the scriptures.

Tindall, being learned, and well acquainted with the sacred writings, would at first simply avow his opinions, and if those with whom he discoursed objected to his reasonings, he would show them the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest language of the scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus they continued for a time, reasoning and contending together, till at length his opponents became envious, and bore a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that some of these doctors invited Mr. Welch and his wife to a banquet, where they spoke to them without the fear of contradiction, uttering their blindness and ignorance. Then Welch and his wife coming home, and calling for Mr. Tindall, began to reason with him about these matters; when Tindall, as usual, answered by scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the Lady Welch, a worldly-wise woman, "Well, there was such a doctor, which may spend an hundred, another two hundred, and another three hundred pounds; and were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?" Tindall gave no answer to this display of purse-proud ignorance at that time, and after that, as he saw it would not much avail, he talked but little of those matters. At that time he was about the translation of a book called *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, which being finished, he delivered to Mr. Welch and his lady; and after they had well perused the same, they were awakened, in some measure, and the prelates and abbots were not so often invited to their house, neither were they so heartily welcomed when they came, as before; which they perceiving, and concluding that it came by means of Tindall, at last entirely absented themselves from the house.

Upon this, the priests of the country concerting together, began to rail against Tindall, in ale-houses and other places. Tindall himself, in his prologue before the first book of Moses, thus mentions their ill treatment of him. "I suffered much," says he, "in that country by a sort of unlearned priests, being rude and ignorant, God knoweth; which have seen no more Latin than that only which they read in their portesses and missals; which yet many of them can scarcely read, except it be *Albertus de secretis mulierum*, in which yet, though they be never so serrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they say; and also another called Lindwood, a book of constitutions to gather tithes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but God's part, the duty of the holy church, to discharge their consciences withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to holy church."

But these blind priests did not only revile him; but, by perverting what he really said, and adding many false and malicious lies of their own, made out a charge of heresy against him, on which he was accused, and summoned before the bishop's chancellor.

When he appeared before the chancellor, that officer "threatened him grievously, reviling and rating at him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no accuser yet could be brought forth, notwithstanding that the priests of the country were there present." As they were unable to substantiate their charges, Tindall returned home again.

Not long after, Tindall happened to be in company with a certain divine, who was accounted a learned man, and in disputing with him, the doctor, overcome by passion, burst out with these blasphemous words, "We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's." Mr. Tindall, hearing this, full of godly zeal, and shocked by that blasphemous saying, replied, "I defy the pope, and all his laws;" and added, "If God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the scripture than you do."

After this, the grudge of the priests increasing more and more against Tindall, they never ceased railing at him, and laid many things to his charge, saying, "That he was a heretic in sophistry, in logic, and in divinity;" and, "That, although he conducted himself boldly to the gentlemen in that county, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal." To whom Tindall replied, "That he was contented they should bring him into any county in England, giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children and to preach."

In short, being constantly molested and vexed by the priests, he was constrained to leave that part of the country, and to seek another residence; and so coming to Mr. Welch, he requested his permission to depart, saying, "Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth, for the which I should be sorry." He accordingly departed, and came up to London, and there preached awhile. At length, recollecting the great commendations bestowed by Erasmus on Tonstall, then

bishop of London, he thought that it might be very advantageous for him, if he could obtain a situation in his service. He accordingly waited on Sir Henry Gilford, the king's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speak to the bishop for him; which he did; and desired Tindall to write to Tonstall, who accordingly did so, and delivered his epistle to a servant. But God, who secretly disposes all things, saw that was not the best for Tindall's purpose, nor for the profit of his church, and therefore allowed him not to find favour in the bishop's sight, who said, "That his house was full; he had more than he could well maintain; and advised him to seek elsewhere in London; where," he said, "he could lack no service."

Tindall, therefore, remained in London almost a year, during which time he remarked the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted of themselves, and set up their authority and kingdom; also the pomp of the prelates, with many other things which greatly vexed him, and plainly convinced him that England was no place for him to translate the New Testament. Having, therefore, obtained some assistance from his friend, Humphrey Munnouth, and other good men, he departed to Germany; where, being inflamed with zeal for his country, he studied, by all possible means, to bring his countrymen to the same understanding of God's holy word and verity, as he himself, by God's blessing, enjoyed.

He perceived, that the principal cause of the people's blindness, and of the gross errors of the church, with all their evils, was the scriptures being concealed in an unknown tongue, by which the truth was kept out of sight, and the corruptions of the priests remained undetected; and therefore all the labour of these men was to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations, worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom, and by wresting the scripture to their own purpose, contrary to the meaning of the text, would so delude and amaze the unlearned people, that though they were sure that all were false, yet could they not solve those subtle riddles.

By these and such other considerations this good man was moved and stirred up of God, to translate the scripture into his mother tongue, for the utility and profit of the simple people of the country. He began with the New Testament, which he translated about the year 1527. After that he took in hand the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with learned and godly prefaces to every book, as he had also done upon the New Testament.

He also wrote various other works, amongst which was, "The Obedience of a Christian man," wherein with singular dexterity he instructed all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; another treatise was entitled, "The wicked Mammon, the practice of Prelates;" with expositions upon certain parts of scripture, and other books, in answer to Sir Thomas More, and other adversaries of the truth.

His books being published, and sent over to England, it cannot be imagined, what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole nation, which before had been during several centuries shut up in darkness.

At his first departure, he had journeyed into Saxony, where he had a conference with Luther, and other learned men; and after making a short stay there, he went into the Netherlands, and resided mostly in the town of Antwerp.

An unfortunate accident occasioned a considerable delay in the publication of his Old Testament. Having finished the five books of Moses, he set sail to Hamburg, with the intention of printing them there. But on his voyage, he was shipwrecked, and lost all his manuscripts, with almost all he possessed. He, however, in another vessel, pursued his voyage, and arriving at Hamburg, Mr. Coverdale helped him in the re-translating what had been lost, which occupied them from Easter till December, 1529, in the house of a Miss Margaret Van Emmerson. Having despatched his business, he returned to Antwerp.

When the New Testament was ready for publication, Tindall added at the end, a letter wherein he desired the learned to amend whatever they found in it amiss. But the bishops and other clergy, not willing to have that book prosper, cried out against it, asserting that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly suppressed. Some said it was not possible to translate the scripture into English; others, that it was not lawful for the laity to have it in their mother tongue, as it would make them all hereticks. And to induce the temporal rulers to assist them in their purpose, they said that it would make the people rebel, and rise against the king.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus incensed and inflamed in their minds, and conspiring together, how to suppress the cause of their alarm, never rested, till they had brought the king at last to issue a proclamation ordaining that the Testament of Tindall's translation, with his other works, and those of other reformed writers, should be suppressed and burnt. This was about the year 1527. But, not contented with this, the bloodythirsty crew proceeded further, and strove to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life.

Whenever the bishops or Sir Thomas More had any poor man under examination before them, who had been at Antwerp, they most studiously would search and examine into every thing relating to Tindall; as, where and with whom he lodged; what was his stature; in what apparel he went; what company he kept, &c.; and when they had made themselves acquainted with all these things, they then began their work of darkness.

Tindall being in the town of Antwerp, had lodged, about a year, in the house of Thomas Pointz, an Englishman, who kept there a house for English merchants, when Henry Philips, in appearance a gentleman, and having a servant with him, arrived there; but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

Tindall was frequently invited to dinner and supper among merchants, by which means, this Henry Philips became acquainted with him; so that in a short time Tindall conceived a great friendship and confidence for him, brought him to his lodging in the house of Pointz, and had him also once or twice to dinner and supper, and further entered into such friendship with him, that he brought him to lodge in the house of Pointz. He also showed him his books and papers; so little did he then mistrust this traitor.

But Pointz having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Tindall

how he became acquainted with him. Tindall answered, that he was an honest man, tolerably learned, and very agreeable. Then Pointz, perceiving that he was so partial to him, said no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his.

Philips being in the town three or four days, desired Pointz to walk out with him; and in walking together without the town, they conversed on various subjects, and on some of the king's affairs; by which talk Pointz as yet suspected nothing, but, by the sequel, he perceived what had been intended. In the mean time he learned, that he bore no great good will to the reformation, or to the proceedings of the king of England, and perceived about him a deal of mystery and a sort of courting him to make him subservient to his designs, by the hopes of reward, he always appearing very full of money. But Pointz kept at a distance.

Philips, finding that he could not bring him over to his designs, went from Antwerp to the court at Brussels; and, although the king had then no ambassador there, being at variance with the emperor, this traitor contrived to bring from thence with him to Antwerp, the procurator-general, (the emperor's attorney,) with other officers; which was done at great expense.

A short time after, Pointz sitting at his door, Philip's servant came to him, and asking whether Mr. Tindall were there, said, his master would come to him, and so departed. But whether Philips were then in the town or not, was not known; for at that time Pointz saw no more either of the master or of the man.

Within three or four days after, Pointz went on business to the town of Barrow, eighteen English miles from Antwerp, and in the time of his absence, Philips came again to the house of Pointz, and coming in, asked Mrs. Pointz for Mr. Tindall, and whether he would dine there with him, saying, "What good meat shall we have?" She answered, "Such as the market will give." Then he went out again, and set the officers which he brought with him from Brussels, in the street, and about the door. About noon he returned, and went to Mr. Tindall, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; "for," said he, "I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage between this and Mechlin." So Tindall gave him forty shillings, being very easily imposed upon, and entirely unskilled in the wiles and subtleties of this world.

Philips then said, "Mr. Tindall, you shall be my guest here to day." "No," said Tindall, "I am engaged this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner time they went.

At the going out of Pointz's house, was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in front. Tindall would have put Philips before him. But Philips would not go, but insisted on Tindall's going before. So Tindall, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips, a tall, comely person, followed him; and having set officers on each side of the door on coming through, Philips pointed with his finger over Tindall's head down to him, that the officers might see that it was he whom they should take, as they afterwards told Pointz, and said, that when they had laid him in prison, "they pitied his simplicity when they took him." They accordingly seized him, and brought him to the emperor's procurator-general, where he dined.

Then came the procurator-general to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Mr. Tindall's, as well his books as other things, and from thence Tindall was conveyed to the castle of Filford, eighteen miles from Antwerp, where he remained until he was put to death.

Some English merchants hearing of his apprehension, sent letters in his favour to the court of Brussels. Also, not long after, letters were sent from England to the council at Brussels, and to the merchant adventurers at Antwerp, commanding them to see that those for the council were instantly delivered. Then such of the chief of the merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required Pointz to deliver those letters, with letters also from them in favour of Tindall, to the lord of Barrow and others.

The lord of Barrow at that time had departed from Brussels, as the chief conductor of the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, to be married to the palgrave, whose mother was sister to the emperor. Pointz, when he heard of his departure, rode after, and overtook him at Achon, where he delivered to him his letters; to which he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting, said, "There were some of his countrymen who had been burned in England not long before;" as, indeed, there were anabaptists burned in Smithfield, which Pointz acknowledged. "Howbeit," said he, "whatsoever the crime was, if your lordship, or any other nobleman had written, requiring to have them, I think they should not have been denied." "Well," said he, "I have no leisure to write, for the princess is ready to ride."

Then said Pointz, "If it please your lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting place," which was at Maestricht. "If you will," replied he, "I will advise myself by the way what to write." Upon this, Pointz followed him from Achon to Maestricht, fifteen English miles, and there he received letters of him, one to the council at Brussels, another to the company of the merchant adventurers, and a third to the Lord Cromwell in England.

Pointz then rode to Brussels, and there delivered to the council the letters from England, with the lord of Barrow's letters also, and received answers for England, which he brought to Antwerp to the English merchants, who required him to carry them into England. He, very desirous to have Mr. Tindall out of prison, forbore no pains, nor regarded the loss of time in his own business, but immediately sailed with the letters, which he delivered to the council, and was commanded by them to wait until he had answers, which was not till a month after. At length receiving them, he returned again, and delivered them to the emperor's council at Brussels, and there waited for their answer.

When he had remained there three or four days, he was told by a person who belonged to the chancery, that Tindall should have been delivered to him according to the tenor of the letters; but Philips being there, followed the suit against Tindall, and hearing that he was to be delivered to Pointz, and doubting lest he should thus lose his victim, determined to accuse Pointz also, saying, "That he was a dweller in the town of Antwerp, and there had been a succourer of Tindall, and was one of the same opinion: and that all this was only his own labour and suit, to have Tindall at liberty, and no man else."

Thus, upon his information and accusation, Pointz was attached by the procurator-general, delivered to the custody of two serjeants at arms, and the same evening was examined, by a person belonging to the chancery, with the procurator-general, who put him to his oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him. The next day likewise they came again, and further examined him; and so five or six days one after another, upon more than a hundred articles, as well of the king's affairs, as of the messages concerning Tindall, of his aiders, and of his religion. Out of which examinations the procurator-general drew up twenty-three or twenty-four articles against Pointz, the copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer to, and permitted him to have an advocate and proctor; and it was ordered, that eight days after he should deliver to them his answer; also, that he should send no messenger to Antwerp, nor to any other place, but by the post of the town of Brussels: nor send any letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but such as were written in Dutch, and the procurator-general, who was party against him, was to peruse and examine them thoroughly, contrary to all right and equity, before they were sent or delivered; neither was any person suffered to speak or talk with him in any other tongue or language, except the Dutch, so that his keepers, who were Dutchmen, might understand what was said. After this Pointz delivered his answer to the procurator-general, and afterwards, at intervals of eight days each, replications and answers were made by both parties.

When the commissioners came to Pointz, the traitor Philips\* accompanied them to the door, as following the process against him; as he also did against Tindall.

Thus Pointz was exposed to much trouble and suffering on account of his generous exertions in favour of Tindall. He was long kept in prison; but, at length, when he saw no other remedy, by night he made his escape. But the pious Tindall could not so escape, but remained during a year and a half in prison; and then being brought to his trial, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor. But he refused the offer, saying, "That he would answer for himself;" and so he did.

At last, after much reasoning, where all reason was disregarded, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburg, and brought to the place of execution, where he was tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterwards consumed with fire in the town of Filford, A. D. 1536; crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes."

Such was the power of the doctrine, and the sincerity of the life of this amiable man, and glorious martyr, that during his imprisonment he converted the keeper, his daughter, and others of his household. Also all that were conversant with him in the castle acknowledged, that "if he were not a good Christian, they could not tell whom to trust."

\* It is said that Philips, who betrayed Tindall and Pointz, died of a loathsome disease, being consumed by vermin, who preyed upon his living carcass.



Even the procurator-general left this testimony of him, that "he was a learned, an excellent, and a godly man."

To enumerate the virtues and actions of this blessed martyr, would require much time, and many pages. Suffice it to say, that he was one of those who, by his works, shone as a sun of light amidst a dark world, and gave evidence that he was a faithful servant of his master and saviour, Jesus Christ.

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## SECTION IV

### PERSECUTIONS IN SCOTLAND, DURING THE FIFTEENTH AND PART OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Having brought our account of the sufferings and martyrdoms of the English reformers down to the death of Henry the Eighth, we shall now proceed to relate the cruel persecutions of God's faithful servants in Scotland, to the same period; but it will previously be necessary to give a short sketch of the progress of the reformation in that country.

The long alliance between Scotland and France, had rendered the two nations extremely attached to each other; and Paris was the place where the learned of Scotland had their education. Yet early in the fifteenth century, learning was more encouraged in Scotland, and universities were founded in several of the episcopal sees. About the same time, some of Wickliffe's followers began to show themselves in Scotland; and an Englishman, named Resby, was burnt in 1407, for teaching some opinions contrary to the pope's authority.

Some years after that, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, who had been converted by Huss, was burnt for infusing the opinions of that martyr into some persons at St. Andrew's.

About the end of the fifteenth century, Lollardy, as it was then called, spread itself into many parts of the diocese of Glasgow, for which several persons of quality were accused; but they answered the archbishop of that see with so much boldness and truth, that he dismissed them, having admonished them to content themselves with the faith of the church, and to beware of new doctrines.

The same spirit of ignorance, immorality, and superstition, had over-run the church of Scotland that was so much complained of in other parts of Europe. The total neglect of the pastoral care, and the scandalous lives of the clergy, filled the people with such prejudices against them, that they were easily disposed to hearken to new preachers, amongst the most conspicuous of whom was Patrick Hamilton.

#### *Story and Martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton.*

This noble martyr was nephew, by his father, to the earl of Arran, and by his mother, to the duke of Albany. He was educated for the church, and would have been highly preferred, having an abbey given him for prosecuting his studies. But going over to Germany, and studying at the university of Marpurg, he soon distinguished himself by his zeal, assiduity, and great progress, particularly in the scriptures, which were his grand object, and to which he made every thing else subservient. He also became acquainted with Luther and Me-

lancthon; and being convinced, from his own researches, of the truth of their doctrines, he burned to impart the light of the gospel to his own countrymen, and to show them the errors and corruptions of their church. For this great purpose he returned to Scotland.

After preaching some time, and holding up the truth to his deluded countrymen, he was, at length, invited to St. Andrew's to confer upon the points in question. But his enemies could not stand the light, and finding they could not defend themselves by argument, resolved upon revenge. Hamilton was accordingly imprisoned. Articles were exhibited against him, in which he was charged with having denied free-will; advocated justification by faith alone; and declared that faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that one cannot exist in the breast without the other.

Upon his refusing to abjure these doctrines, Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, with the archbishop of Glasgow, three bishops, and five abbots, condemned him as an obstinate heretic, delivered him to the secular power, and ordered his execution to take place that very afternoon; for the king had gone in pilgrimage to Ross, and they were afraid, lest, upon his return, Hamilton's friends might have interceded effectually for him. When he was tied to the stake, he expressed great joy in his sufferings, since by these he was to enter into everlasting life.

A train of powder being fired, it did not kindle the fuel, but only burnt his face, which occasioned a delay till more powder was brought; and in that time the friars continually urged him to recant, and pray to the Virgin, saying the *Salve Regina*. Among the rest, a friar named Campbell, who had been often with him in prison, was very officious. Hamilton answered him, that he knew he was not a heretic, and had confessed it to him in private, and charged him to answer for that at the throne of Almighty God.\* By this time the gunpowder was brought, and the fire being kindled, he died, repeating these words, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! How long, oh Lord; how long shall darkness overwhelm this kingdom? and how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these men?" He suffered death in the year 1527.

The views and doctrines of this glorious martyr were such as could not fail to excite the highest admiration of every real believer; and they were expressed with such brevity, such clearness, and such peculiar vigour and beauty, (forming in themselves a complete summary of the gospel,) that they afforded instruction to all who sought to know more of God.

The force of the truths preached by Hamilton, the firmness of his death, and the singular catastrophe of friar Campbell, made strong impressions on the people; and many received the new opinions. Seaton, a Dominican, the king's confessor, preaching in Lent, set out the nature and method of true repentance, without mixing the directions which the friars commonly gave on that subject; and when another friar attempted to shew the defectiveness of what he had taught, Seaton defended himself in another sermon, and reflected on those bishops who did not preach, calling them dumb-dogs. But the clergy dared not meddle with him, till they had by secret insinuations

\* A short time after this, Campbell became mad, and died within a year.

ruined his credit with the king ; and the freedom he used in reproving him for his vices, quickly alienated James from him ; upon which he withdrew into England, and wrote to the king, taxing the clergy for their cruelty, and praying him to restrain it.

*Martyrdom of six Persons.*

In 1543, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, making a visitation into various parts of his diocese, several persons were accused at Perth of heresy. Among these the six following were condemned to die : William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Finlayson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, and Helen Stark.

The accusations laid against them were to the following effect :

The four first were accused of having hung up the image of St. Francis, nailing rams' horns on his head, and fastening a cow's tail to his rump ; but the principal matter on which they were condemned was, having regaled themselves with a goose on Allhallows eve, a fast day, according to the Romish superstition.

James Raveleson was accused of having ornamented his house with the three crowned diadem of Peter, carved in wood, which the archbishop conceived to be done in mockery to his cardinal's hat.

Helen Stark was accused of not having accustomed herself to pray to the Virgin Mary, more especially during the time she was in child-bed.

On these accusations they were all found guilty, and immediately received sentence of death ; the four men for eating the goose to be hanged ; James Raveleson to be burnt ; and the woman, with her sucking infant, to be put into a sack, and drowned.

The four men, with the woman and child, suffered at the same time ; but James Raveleson was not executed till some days after.

On the day appointed for the execution of the former, they were all conducted, under a proper guard, to the place where they were to suffer, and were attended by a prodigious number of spectators.

As soon as they arrived at the place of execution, they all fervently prayed for some time ; after which Robert Lamb addressed himself to the spectators, exhorting them to fear God, and to quit the practice of papistical abominations.

The four men were all hanged on the same gibbet ; and the woman, with her sucking child, were conducted to a river adjoining, when, being fastened in a large sack, they were thrown into it, and drowned.

They all suffered their fate with becoming fortitude and resignation, committing their departing spirits to that Redeemer who was to be their final judge, and who, they had reason to hope, would usher them into the realms of everlasting bliss.

When we reflect on the sufferings of these unhappy persons, we are naturally induced, both as men and Christians, to lament their fate, and to express our feelings by dropping the tear of commiseration. The putting to death four men, for little other reason than that of satisfying nature with an article sent by Providence for that very purpose, merely because it was on a day prohibited by ridiculous bigotry and superstition, is shocking indeed ; but the fate of the innocent woman, and her still more harmless infant, makes human nature tremble at the contemplation of what mankind may become, when incited by bigotry to the gratification of the most diabolical cruelty.

Besides the above mentioned persons, many others were cruelly persecuted during the archbishop's stay at Perth, some being banished, and others confined in loathsome dungeons. In particular, John Rogers, a pious and learned man, was, by the archbishop's orders, murdered in prison, and his body thrown over the walls into the street; after which the archbishop caused a report to be spread, that he had met with his death in an attempt to make his escape.

Within a few years after the death of Patriek Hamilton, several others suffered for preaching and maintaining the doctrines of that truly pious man; among these, none were more distinguished than Mr. George Wishart.

*Life, Sufferings, and Martyrdom of George Wishart.*

Mr. George Wishart was born in Scotland, and after receiving a grammatical education at a private school, he left that place, and finished his studies at the university at Cambridge.

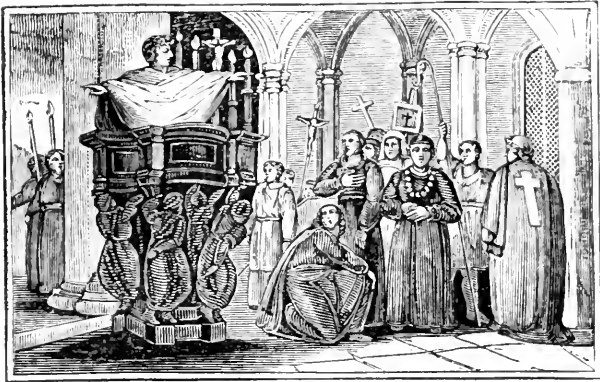
The following character of him, during his residence at that university, was written by one of his scholars, and contains so just a picture of this excellent man, that we give it at length.

"About the year of our Lord 1543, there was in the university of Cambridge one Mr. George Wishart, commonly called Mr. George of Bennet's college, who was a man of tall stature, bald-headed, and on the same wore a round French cap; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled: having on him for his habit of clothing, never but a mantle of frieze down to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and plain black hose, coarse new canvass for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at his hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.

"He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbear one meal in three, one day in four, for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard, upon a puff of straw, and coarse new canvass sheets, which when he changed he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I being very young, being assured, often heard him, and in one light night discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun! for in his religion he was as you see here in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to King Henry the Eighth. His learning was no less sufficient, than his desire; always pressed and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors.

"If I should declare his love to me, and all men, his charity to the

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*Cursing a Heretic.*



*Martyrdom of George Wishart.* Page 269.



*Edward VI, signing Joan Becher's Warrant.*

poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.

“All this I testify with my whole heart, and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed. EMERY TYLNEY.”

In order to improve himself as much as possible in the knowledge of literature, he travelled into various foreign countries, where he distinguished himself for his great learning and abilities, both in philosophy and divinity. His desire to promote true knowledge and science among men, accompanied the profession of it himself. He was very ready to communicate what he knew to others, and frequently read various authors, both in his own chamber, and in the public schools.

After being some time abroad, he returned to England, and took up his residence at Cambridge, where he was admitted a member of Bennet college. Having taken his degrees, he entered into holy orders, and expounded the gospel in so clear and intelligible a manner, as highly to delight his numerous auditors.

Being desirous of propagating the true gospel in his own country, he left Cambridge in 1544, and in his way to Scotland preached in most of the principal towns, to the great satisfaction of his hearers.

On his arrival in his native land, he first preached at Montrose, and afterwards at Dundee. In this last place he made a public exposition of the epistle to the Romans, which he went through with so much grace, eloquence, and freedom, as delighted the reformers, and alarmed the papists.

In consequence of this exposition, one Robert Miln, a principal man of Dundee, went, by command of Cardinal Beaton, to the church, where Wishart preached, and in the midst of his discourse, publicly told him “not to trouble the town any more, for he was determined not to suffer it.”

This treatment greatly surprised Wishart, who, after a short pause, looking sorrowfully on the speaker and audience, said, “God is my witness, that I never intended your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more grievous to me than it is to yourselves; but I am assured, to refuse God’s word, and to chase from you his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but shall bring you into it; for God shall send you ministers that shall neither fear burning nor banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation. With the hazard of my life I have remained among you: now ye yourselves refuse me; and I must leave my innocence to be declared by my God. If it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the spirit of truth; but if unlooked-for trouble come upon you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, who is gracious and merciful. But if you turn not at the first warning, he will visit you with fire and sword.” At the close of this speech he left the pulpit and retired.

After this he went into the west of Scotland, where he preached God’s word, which was gladly received by many; till the archbishop of Glasgow, at the instigation of Cardinal Beaton, came with his train to the town of Ayr, to suppress Wishart, and insisted on having the church to preach in himself. Some opposed this; but Wishart said, “Let him alone, his sermon will not do much hurt; let us go to the

market-cross." This was agreed to, and Wishart preached a sermon that gave universal satisfaction to his hearers, and at the same time confounded his enemies.

He continued to propagate the gospel with the greatest alacrity, preaching sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another; but coming to Maeklene, he was, by force, kept out of the church. Some of his followers would have broken in; upon which he said to one of them, "Brother, Jesus Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the church; and himself often preached in the desert, at the seaside, and other places. The like word of peace God sends by me; the blood of none shall be shed this day for preaching it."

He then went into the fields, where he preached to the people for above three hours; and such an impression did his sermon make on the minds of his hearers, that many of the most wicked men in the country became converts to the truth of the gospel.

A short time after this, Mr. Wishart received intelligence that the plague had broken out in Dundee. It began four days after he was prohibited from preaching there, and raged so extremely, that incredible numbers died in the space of twenty-four hours. This being related to him, he, notwithstanding the persuasions of his friends, determined to go thither, saying, "They are now in trouble, and need comfort. Perhaps this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence the word of God, which before they lightly esteemed."

Here he was with joy received by the godly. He chose the East-gate for the place of his preaching; so that the healthy were within, and the sick without the gate. He took his text from these words, "He sent his word and healed them," &c. In this sermon he chiefly dwelt upon the advantage and comfort of God's word, the judgments that ensue upon the contempt or rejection of it, the freedom of God's grace to all his people, and the happiness of those of his elect, whom he takes to himself out of this miserable world. The hearts of his hearers were so raised by the divine force of this discourse, as not to regard death, but to judge them the more happy who should then be called, not knowing whether they might have such a comforter again with them.

After this the plague abated; though, in the midst of it, Wishart constantly visited those that lay in the greatest extremity, and comforted them by his exhortations.

When he took his leave of the people of Dundee, he said, "That God had almost put an end to that plague, and that he was now called to another place."

He went from thence to Montrose, where he sometimes preached, but spent most of his time in private meditation and prayer.

It is said, that before he left Dundee, and while he was engaged in the labours of love to the bodies, as well as to the souls, of those poor afflicted people, Cardinal Beaton engaged a desperate popish priest, called John Weighton, to kill him; the attempt to execute which was as follows: One day, after Wishart had finished his sermon, and the people departed, the priest stood waiting at the bottom of the stairs, with a naked dagger in his hand under his gown. But Mr. Wishart, having a sharp, piercing eye, and seeing the priest as he came from the pulpit, said to him, "My friend, what would you have?" And immediately clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him.



The priest, being terrified, fell on his knees, confessed his intention, and craved pardon. A noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the ears of those who were sick, they cried, "Deliver the traitor to us, we will take him by force;" and they burst in at the gate. But Wishart, taking the priest in his arms, said, "Whatsoever hurts him, shall hurt me; for he hath done me no mischief, but much good, by teaching me more heedfulness for the time to come." By this conduct he appeased the people, and saved the life of the wicked priest.

Soon after his return to Montrose, the cardinal again conspired his death, causing a letter to be sent to him as if it had been from his familiar friend, the laird of Kinnier, in which he was desired, with all possible speed, to come to him, because he was taken with a sudden sickness. In the mean time, the cardinal had provided sixty armed men, to lie in wait within a mile and a half of Montrose, in order to murder him as he passed that way.

The letter coming to Wishart's hand by a boy, who also brought him a horse for the journey, Wishart, accompanied by some of his friends, set forward; but something particular striking his mind by the way, he returned back, which they wondering at, asked him the cause; to whom he said, "I will not go; I am forbidden of God; I am assured there is treason. Let some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you find." They accordingly went, discovered the assassins, and, hastily returning, they told Mr. Wishart; whereupon he said, "I know I shall end my life by that blood-thirsty man's hands, but it will not be in this manner."

A short time after this he left Montrose, and proceeded to Edinburgh, in order to propagate the gospel in that city. By the way he lodged with a faithful brother, called James Watson, of Inner Goury. In the middle of the night he got up, and went into the yard, which two men hearing, they privately followed him.

While in the yard, he fell on his knees, and prayed for some time with the greatest fervency; after which he arose, and returned to his bed. Those who attended him, appearing as though they were ignorant of all, came and asked him where he had been? But he would not answer them. The next day they importuned him to tell them, saying, "Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and saw your gestures."

On this, he, with a dejected countenance, said, "I had rather you had been in your beds." But they still pressing upon him to know something, he said, "I will tell you; I am assured that my warfare is near at an end, and therefore pray to God with me, that I shrink not when the battle waxeth most hot." When they heard this they wept, saying, "This is small comfort to us." "Then," said he, "God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be built in it; yea, it shall not lack, in despite of all enemies, the top stone; neither will it be long before this be accomplished. Many shall not suffer after me, before the glory of God shall appear, and triumph in despite of Satan. But, alas, if the people afterwards shall prove unthankful, then fearful and terrible will be the plagues that shall follow."

The next day he proceeded on his journey, and when he arrived at Leith, not meeting with those he expected, he kept himself retired for

a day or two. He then grew pensive, and being asked the reason, he answered, "What do I differ from a dead man? Hitherto God hath used my labours for the instruction of others, and to the disclosing of darkness; and now I lurk as a man ashamed to show his face." His friends perceived that his desire was to preach, whereupon they said to him, "It is most comfortable for us to hear you, but because we know the danger wherein you stand, we dare not desire it." He replied, "If you dare hear, let God provide for me as best pleaseth him;" after which it was concluded, that the next day he should preach in Leith. His text was from the parable of the sower, Matt. xiii. The sermon ended, the gentlemen of Lothian, who were earnest professors of Jesus Christ, would not suffer him to stay at Leith, because the governor and cardinal were shortly to come to Edinburgh; but took him along with them; and he preached at Branstone, Longniddry and Ormiston. He also preached at Inveresk, near Muselburg: he had a great concourse of people, and amongst them Sir George Douglas, who after sermon said publicly, "I know that the governor and cardinal will hear that I have been at this sermon; but let them know that I will avow it, and will maintain both the doctrine and the preacher, to the uttermost of my power."

Among others that came to hear him preach, there were two gray-friars, who, standing at the church door, whispered to such as came in; which Wishart observing, said to the people, "I pray you make room for these two men, it may be they come to learn;" and turning to them, he said, "Come near, for I assure you, you shall hear the word of truth, which this day shall seal up to you either your salvation or damnation;" after which he proceeded in his sermon, supposing that they would be quiet; but when he perceived that they still continued to disturb the people who stood near them, he said to them the second time, with an angry countenance, "O ministers of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men, will ye neither hear God's truth yourselves, nor suffer others to hear it? Depart, and take this for your portion; God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within this kingdom; ye shall be abominable to men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate." He spoke this with much vehemency; then turning to the people, said, "These men have provoked the spirit of God to anger;" after which he proceeded in his sermon, highly to the satisfaction of his hearers.

From hence he went and preached at Branstone, Languedine, Ormiston, and Inveresk, where he was followed by a great concourse of people. He preached also in many other places, the people flocking after him; and in all his sermons he foretold the shortness of the time he had to travel, and the near approach of his death. When he came to Haddington, his auditory began much to decrease, which was thought to happen through the influence of the earl of Bothwell, who was moved to oppose him at the instigation of the cardinal. Soon after this, as he was going to church, he received a letter from the west country gentlemen, which having read, he called John Knox, who had diligently waited on him since his arrival at Lothian; to whom he said, "He was weary of the world, because he saw that men began to be weary of God: for," said he, "the gentlemen of the west have sent me word, that they cannot keep their meeting at Edinburgh."

Knox, wondering he should enter into conference about these

things, immediately before his sermon, contrary to his usual custom, said to him, "Sir, sermon time approaches; I will leave you for the present to your meditations."

Wishart's sad countenance declared the grief of his mind. At length he went into the pulpit, and his auditory being very small, he introduced his sermon with the following exclamation: "O Lord! how long shall it be, that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation? I have heard of thee, O Haddington, that in thee there used to be two or three thousand persons at a vain and wicked play; and now, to hear the messenger of the eternal God, of all the parish, can scarce be numbered one hundred present. Sore and fearful shall be the plagues that shall ensue upon this thy contempt. With fire and sword shalt thou be plagued; yea, thou Haddington in special, strangers shall possess thee; and ye, the present inhabitants, shall either in bondage serve your enemies, or else ye shall be chased from your own habitations; and that because ye have not known, nor will know, the time of your visitation."

This prediction was, in a great measure, accomplished not long after, when the English took Haddington, made it a garrison, and forced many of the inhabitants to flee. Soon after this, a dreadful plague broke out in the town, of which such numbers died, that the place became almost depopulated.

Cardinal Beaton, being informed that Wishart was at the house of Mr. Cockburn of Ormiston, in East-Lothian, applied to the regent to cause him to be apprehended; with which, after great persuasion, and much against his will, he complied.

The earl accordingly went, with proper attendants to the house of Mr. Cockburn, which he beset about midnight. The master of the house, being greatly alarmed, put himself in a posture of defence, when the earl told him that it was in vain to resist, for the governor and cardinal were within a mile, with a great power; but if he would deliver Wishart to him, he would promise, upon his honour, that he should be safe, and that the cardinal should not hurt him. Wishart said, "Open the gates, the will of God be done;" and Bothwell coming in, Wishart said to him, "I praise my God, that so honourable a man as you, my lord, receive me this night; for I am persuaded that for your honour's sake you will suffer nothing be done to me but by order of law: I less fear to die openly, than secretly to be murdered." Bothwell replied, "I will not only preserve your body from all violence that shall be intended against you without order of law; but I also promise, in the presence of these gentlemen, that neither the governor nor cardinal shall have their will of you; but I will keep you in my own house, till I either set you free, or restore you to the same place where I receive you." Then said Mr. Cockburn, "My lord, if you make good your promise, which we presume you will, we ourselves will not only serve you, but we will procure all the professors in Lothian to do the same."

This agreement being made, Mr. Wishart was delivered into the hands of the earl, who immediately conducted him to Edinburgh.

As soon as the earl arrived at that place, he was sent for by the queen, who being an inveterate enemy to Wishart, prevailed on the earl (notwithstanding the promises he had made) to commit him a prisoner to the castle.

The cardinal being informed of Wishart's situation, went to Edinburgh, and immediately caused him to be removed from thence to the castle of St. Andrew's.

The inveterate and persecuting prelate, having now got our martyr fully at his own disposal, resolved to proceed immediately to try him as a heretic: for which purpose he assembled the prelates at St. Andrew's church, on the 27th of February, 1546.

At this meeting, the archbishop of Glasgow gave it as his opinion, that application should be made to the regent, to grant a commission to some noblemen to try the prisoner, that all the odium of putting so popular a man to death might not lie on the clergy.

To this the cardinal readily agreed; but upon sending to the regent, he received the following answer: "that he would do well not to precipitate this man's trial, but delay it until his coming; for as to himself, he would not consent to his death before the cause was very well examined: and if the cardinal should do otherwise, he would make protestation, that the blood of this man should be required at his hands."

The cardinal was extremely chagrined at this message from the regent; however, he determined to proceed in the bloody business he had undertaken; and therefore sent the regent word, "That he had not written to him about this matter, as supposing himself to be any way dependant upon his authority, but from a desire that the prosecution and conviction of heretics might have a show of public consent; which, since he could not this way obtain, he would proceed in that way which to him appeared the most proper."

In consequence of this, the cardinal immediately proceeded to the trial of Wishart, against whom no less than eighteen articles were exhibited, which were, in substance, as follows:

"That he had despised the "holy mother-church;" had deceived the people; had ridiculed the mass; had preached against the sacraments, saying that there were not seven, but two only, viz. baptism and the supper of the Lord; had preached against confession to a priest; had denied transubstantiation and the necessity of extreme unction; would not admit the authority of the pope or the councils; allowed the eating of flesh on Friday; condemned prayers to saints; spoke against the vows of monks, &c. saying, that "whoever was bound to such vows, had vowed themselves to the state of damnation, and that it was lawful for priests to marry;" that he had said, "it was in vain to build costly churches to the honour of God, seeing that he remained not in churches made with men's hands; nor yet could God be in so small a space as between the priest's hands;"—and, finally, that he had avowed his disbelief of purgatory, and had said, "the soul of man should sleep till the last day, and should not obtain immortal life till that time."

Mr. Wishart answered these respective articles with great composure of mind, and in so learned and clear a manner, as greatly surprised most of those who were present.

A bigoted priest, named Lauder, at the instigation of the archbishop, not only heaped a load of curses on him, but treated him with the most barbarous contempt, calling him "rumagate, false heretic, traitor, and thief;" and not satisfied with that, spit in his face, and otherwise maltreated him.

On this, Mr. Wishart fell on his knees, and after making a prayer to God, thus addressed his judges :

“Many and horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words abominable to hear, have ye spoken here this day ; which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever thought a great abomination.”

After the examination was finished, the archbishop endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Wishart to recant ; but he was too firmly fixed in his religious principles, and too much enlightend with the truth of the gospel, to be in the least moved.

In consequence of this, the archbishop pronounced on him the dreadful sentence of death, which he ordered should be put into execution on the following day.

As soon as this cruel and melancholy ceremony was finished, our martyr fell on his knees, and thus exclaimed :

“O immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the rage, and great cruelty of the ungodly, to exercise their fury upon thy servants, which do further thy word in this world ? Whereas they, on the contrary, seek to destroy the truth, whereby thou hast revealed thyself to the world. O Lord, we know certainly that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name’s sake, persecutions, afflictions, and troubles, in this present world ; yet we desire, that thou wouldest preserve and defend thy church, which thou hast chosen before the foundation of the world, and give thy people grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life.”

Having said this, he arose, and was immediately conducted by the officers to the prison from whence he had been brought, in the castle.

In the evening he was visited by two friars, who told him he must make his confession to them ; to whom he replied, “I will not make any confession to you ;” on which they immediately departed.

Soon after this came the sub-prior, with whom Wishart conversed in so feeling a manner on religious matters, as to make him weep. When this man left Wishart, he went to the cardinal, and told him, he came not to intercede for the prisoner’s life, but to make known his innocence to all men. At these words, the cardinal expressed great dissatisfaction, and forbid the sub-prior from again visiting Wishart.

Towards the close of the evening, our martyr was visited by the captain of the castle, with several of his friends ; who bringing with them some bread and wine, asked him if he would eat and drink with them. “Yes,” said Wishart, “very willingly, for I know you are honest men.” In the mean time he desired them to hear him a little, when he discoursed with them on the Lord’s Supper, his sufferings, and death for us, exhorting them to love one another, and to lay aside all rancour and malice, as became the members of Jesus Christ, who continually interceded for them with his Father. After this he gave thanks to God, and blessing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, giving some to each, saying, at the same time, “Eat this, remember that Christ died for us, and feed on it spiritually.” Then taking the cup, he drank, and bade them “remember that Christ’s blood was shed for them.” After this he gave thanks, prayed for some time, took leave of his visitors, and retired to his chamber.

On the morning of his execution, there came to him two friars from the cardinal ; one of whom put on him a black linen coat, and the

other brought several bags of gunpowder, which they tied about different parts of his body.

In this dress he was conducted from the room in which he had been confined, to the outer chamber of the governor's apartments, there to stay till the necessary preparations were made for his execution.

The windows and balconies of the castle, opposite the place where he was to suffer, were all hung with tapestry and silk hangings, with cushions for the cardinal and his train, who were from thence to feast their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. There was also a large guard of soldiers, not so much to secure the execution, as to show a vain ostentation of power; besides which, cannon were placed on different parts of the castle.

All the preparations being completed, Wishart, after having his hands tied behind him, was conducted to the fatal spot. In his way thither he was accosted by two friars, who desired him to pray to the Virgin Mary to intercede for him. To whom he meekly said, "cease; tempt me not, I entreat you."

As soon as he arrived at the stake, the executioner put a rope around his neck, and a chain about his middle; upon which he fell on his knees, and thus exclaimed:

"O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands."

After repeating these words three times, he arose, and turning himself to the spectators, addressed them as follows:

"Christian brethren and sisters, I beseech you, be not offended at the word of God for the torments which you see prepared for me; but I exhort you, that ye love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort. I pray you also, show my brethren and sisters, who have often heard me, that they cease not to learn the word of God, which I taught them according to the measure of grace given me, but to hold fast to it with the strictest attention; and show them, that the doctrine was no old wives' fables, but the truth of God; for if I had taught men's doctrine, I should have had greater thanks from men: but for the word of God's sake I now suffer, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake; behold my face, you shall not see me change my countenance; I fear not the fire; and if persecution come to you for the word's sake, I pray you fear not them that can kill the body, and have no power to hurt the soul."

After this, he prayed for his accusers, saying, "I beseech thee, Father of heaven, forgive them that have, from ignorance, or an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them, that have ignorantly condemned me."

Then, again turning himself to the spectators, he said, "I beseech you, brethren, exhort your prelates to learn the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; or there will come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew."

As soon as he had finished this speech, the executioner fell on his knees before him, and said, "Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not the cause of your death."

In return to this, Wishart cordially took the man by the hand, and

kissed him, saying, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee: my heart, do thine office."

He was then fastened to the stake, and the faggots being lighted, immediately set fire to the powder that was tied about him, and which blew into a flame and smoke.

The governor of the castle, who stood so near that he was singed with the flame, exhorted our martyr, in a few words, to be of good cheer, and to ask pardon of God for his offences. To which he replied, "This flame occasions trouble to my body, indeed, but it hath in no wise broken my spirit. But he who now so proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place," pointing to the cardinal, "shall, ere long, be as ignominiously thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his ease."

When he had said this, the executioner pulled the rope which was tied about his neck with great violence, so that he was soon strangled; and the fire getting strength burnt with such rapidity that in less than an hour his body was totally consumed.

Thus died, in confirmation of the gospel of Christ, a sincere believer, whose fortitude and constancy, during his sufferings, can only be imputed to the support of divine aid, in order to fulfil that memorable promise, "As is thy day, so shall thy strength be also."

#### *Cardinal Beaton put to Death.*

The prediction of Mr. Wishart, concerning Cardinal Beaton, is related by Buchanan, and others; but it has been doubted, by some later writers, whether he really made such prediction or not. Be that as it may, it is certain, that the death of Wishart did, in a short time after, prove fatal to the cardinal himself: the particulars of which we subjoin.

Soon after the death of Mr. Wishart, the cardinal went to Finhaven, the seat of the earl of Crawford, to solemnize a marriage between the eldest son of that nobleman, and his own natural daughter, Margaret. While he was thus employed, he received intelligence that an English squadron was upon the coast, and that consequently an invasion was to be feared. Upon this he immediately returned to St. Andrew's, and appointed a day for the nobility and gentry to meet, and consult what was proper to be done on this occasion. But as no farther news was heard of the English fleet, their apprehensions of an invasion soon subsided.

In the mean time Norman Lesley, eldest son of the earl of Rothes, who had been treated by the cardinal with injustice and contempt, formed a design, in conjunction with his uncle John Lesley, who hated Beaton, and others who were inflamed against him on account of his persecution of the protestants, the death of Wishart, and other causes, to assassinate the prelate, though he now resided in the castle of St. Andrews, which he was fortifying at great expense, and had, in the opinion of that age, already rendered almost impregnable.

The cardinal's retinue was numerous, the town was at his devotion, and the neighbouring country full of his dependants. However, the conspirators, who were in number only sixteen, having concerted their plan, met together early in the morning, on Saturday the 20th of May. The first thing they did, was to seize the porter of the castle, from whom they took the keys, and secured the gate. They

then sent four of their party to watch the cardinal's chamber, that he might have no notice given him of what was doing; after which they went and called up the servants and attendants, to whom they were well known, and turned them out of the gate, to the number of fifty, as they did also upwards of a hundred workmen, who were employed in the fortifications and buildings of the castle; but the eldest son of the regent. (whom the cardinal kept with him, under pretence of superintending his education, but in reality as a hostage,) they kept for their own security.

All this was done with so little noise, that the cardinal was not waked till they knocked at his chamber door; upon which he cried out, "Who is there?" John Lesley answered, "My name is Lesley." "Which Lesley?" inquired the cardinal; "is it Norman?" It was answered, that he must open the door to those who were there; but instead of this he barricaded it in the best manner he could. However, finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and they having, as it is said by some, made him a promise of his life, he opened the door. They immediately entered with their swords drawn, and John Lesley smote him twice or thrice, as did also Peter Carmichael; but James Melvil, (as Mr. Knox relates the affair,) perceiving them to be in choler, said, "This work, and judgment of God, although it be secret, ought to be done with greater gravity;" and presenting the point of his sword to the cardinal, said to him, "Repent thee of thy wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr. George Wishart, which albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee; and we from God are sent to revenge it. For here, before my God, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done to me in particular, moved or moveth me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and remainest, an obstinate enemy of Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel." Having said this, he, with his sword, ran the cardinal twice or thrice through the body; who only said, "I am a priest! Fie! fie! all is gone?" and then expired, being about fifty-two years of age.

Thus fell Cardinal Beaton, who had been as great a persecutor against the protestants in Scotland, as Bonner was in England; and whose death was as little regretted by all true professors of Christ's gospel.

The character of this distinguished tyrant is thus given by a celebrated writer:

"Cardinal Beaton had not used his power with a moderation equal to the prudence by which he obtained it. Notwithstanding his great abilities, he had too many of the passions and prejudices of an angry leader of a faction, to govern a divided people with temper. His resentment against one part of the nobility, his insolence towards the rest, his severity to the reformers, and, above all, the barbarous and illegal execution of the famous George Wishart, a man of honourable birth, and of primitive sanctity, wore out the patience of a fierce age, and nothing but a bold hand was wanting, to gratify the public wish by his destruction."

The death of Cardinal Beaton, for a short time, gave new spirits to the reformed in all parts of Scotland; but their pleasing expectations



were damped, when they discovered the disposition of his successor, John Hamilton, who was no less a rigid papist, and violent persecutor of the protestants, than his predecessor.

The history of this man's proceedings, our limits will not allow us to record. Many who favoured the reformed doctrine were imprisoned by him; others were banished, and some suffered death. We have room to notice only the history of Walter Mille.

*Martyrdom of Walter Mille.*

The last person who suffered martyrdom in Scotland, for the cause of Christ, was one Walter Mille, who was burnt at Edinburgh in the year 1558.

This person, in his younger years, had travelled into Germany, and on his return was installed a priest of the church of Lunan in Angus; but, on an information of heresy against him, in the time of Cardinal Beaton, he was forced to abandon his charge, and abscond.

After the death of that prelate he returned, not knowing the persecuting spirit of his successor. Being well known by several bigoted papists in the neighbourhood, they accused him of heresy; in consequence of which he was apprehended, and committed to prison.

A few days, after he was brought before the archbishop and his suffragans, in order to be examined relative to his religious opinions; when Sir Andrew Oliphant, by order of the archbishop, interrogated him as follows:

*Oliphant.* What think you of priest's marriage?

*Mille.* I hold it a blessed band: for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men; but you think it not free to you; ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other men's wives and daughters, and will not keep the band God hath made. Ye vow chastity, and break the same. The Apostle Paul had rather marry than burn; the which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, what state or degree soever he were.

*Oliphant.* Thou sayest there be not seven sacraments.

*Mille.* Give me the Lord's supper, and baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and given yourself to whoredom?

*Oliphant.* Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayest that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry.

*Mille.* A lord or a king sendeth and calleth many to a dinner, and when the dinner is in readiness, he causeth to ring a bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner, but the lord, turning his back unto them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them; so do ye.

*Oliphant.* Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood.

*Mille.* The scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually, and standeth in faith only; and as for the mass, it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifices.

*Oliphant.* Thou deniest the office of a bishop.

*Mille.* I affirm that they, whom ye call bishops, do no bishops' works; nor use the office of bishop, as Paul biddeth, writing to Timo-

thy, but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock; nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured and called my lords.

*Oliphant.* Thou spakest against pilgrimage, and calledst it a pilgrimage to whoredom.

*Mille.* I affirm and say, that it is not commanded in the scripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, than at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels.

*Oliphant.* Thou preachedst secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields.

*Mille.* Yea, man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship.

*Oliphant.* Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous opinions? and if thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee.

*Mille.* I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, *quod facis fac citius*. Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both.

In consequence of this, sentence of condemnation was immediately passed on him, and he was conducted to prison in order for execution the following day.

This steadfast believer in Christ was eighty-two years of age, and very infirm; from whence it was supposed, that he could scarcely be heard. However, when he was led to the place of execution, he expressed his religious sentiments with such courage, and at the same time composure of mind, as astonished even his enemies. As soon as he was fastened to the stake, and the fagots lighted, he addressed the spectators as follows:

“The cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime, (though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner,) but only for the defence of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ: and I praise God who hath called me, by his mercy, to seal the truth with my life; which, as I received it from him, so I willingly offer it up to his glory. Therefore, as you would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies of the seat of antichrist; but depend solely on Jesus Christ, and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation.” He then added, “That he trusted he should be the last who would suffer death in Scotland upon a religious account.”

Thus did this pious Christian cheerfully give up his life, in defence of the truth of Christ’s gospel, not doubting but he should be made a partaker of his heavenly kingdom.

The people were so grieved at the death of this good man, that, as a monument of it to future ages, they raised a pile of stones on the spot where he suffered. This, however, was removed by order of the popish clergy, but replaced again by the people several times, till at length a guard was appointed to apprehend all persons who should carry stones to that place.

It is remarkable that from the universal esteem in which this man was held by the people, a cord could not be found to tie him with after his condemnation; and on that very account his execution was postponed until the next morning, when they were reduced to the necessity of using the cords belonging to the archbishop’s pavilion.

The death of Walter Mille proved the overthrow of popery in Scot-

land. The clergy were so sensible that their affairs were falling to decay, that they, from that time, never dared to proceed to a capital punishment, on account of religion: inso<sup>m</sup>uch, that in the synod held in Edinburgh, in July this year, 1558, some persons who had been impeached of heresy were only condemned, upon their non-appearance, to make a public recantation at the market-cross of that city, on the 1st of September following, being St. Giles's day, the tutelar saint of that place.

It was usual, at the feast of this saint, which now nearly approached, to carry his image in procession through the town, and the queen regent was to honour the solemnity with her presence. But when the time was come, the image was missing: it having been stolen from its station, by some who were too wise to pray to it.

This caused a halt to be made, till another image was borrowed from the Gray-friars, with which they set forward; and after the queen had accompanied them a considerable way, she withdrew into the castle, where she was to dine. But no sooner was she gone, than some persons who had been purposely appointed, tore the picture from off the shoulders of those who carried it, threw it into the dirt, and totally destroyed it.

This gave such universal satisfaction to the people, that a general shout ensued, and a riot continued in the street during some hours; which was at length suppressed by the vigilance of the magistrates.

About the same time a great disturbance happened at Perth, the circumstances attending which were as follows; a celebrated reformist minister having preached to a numerous congregation, after sermon was over, some godly persons remained in the church, when a priest was so imprudent as to open a case, in which was curiously engraved the figures of many saints; after which he made preparations for saying mass. A young man observing this, said aloud, "This is intolerable! As God plainly condemns, in scripture, idolatry, shall we stand and see such an insult?" The priest was so offended at this, that he struck the youth a violent blow on the head, on which he broke one of the figures in the case, when immediately all the people fell on the priest and destroyed every thing in the church that tended to idolatry. This being soon known abroad, the people assembled in large bodies, and proceeded to the monasteries of the Gray and Black Friars, both of which they stripped; and then pulled down the house of the Carthusians; so that in the space of two days nothing remained of those noble buildings but the bare walls. The like kind of outrages were committed in many other towns in the kingdom.

At this time there were many persons who made it their business to solicit subscriptions in order to carry on the work of reformation, and to abolish popery. Among these were several of the nobility, particularly the earl of Argyle, the Lord James Stewart, the earl of Glencarn, &c.

The endeavours of these noble reformists were attended with such success, that they at length effected a complete reformation in the kingdom; though they met with many obstacles from their inveterate enemies the papists.

## BOOK IX.

## PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

EDWARD was the only son of King Henry, by his beloved wife, Jane Seymour, who died the day after his birth, which took place on the 12th of October, 1537, so that, when he came to the throne, in 1547, he was but ten years old.

At six years of age he was put into the hands of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheke; the one was to form his mind, and teach him philosophy and divinity; the other to teach him languages and mathematics; other masters were also appointed for the various parts of his education. He discovered very early a good disposition to religion and virtue, and a particular reverence for the scriptures; and was once greatly offended with a person, who, in order to reach something hastily, laid a great Bible on the floor, and stood upon it. He made great progress in learning, and at the age of eight years, wrote Latin letters frequently both to the king, to Queen Catherine Parr, to the archbishop of Canterbury, and his uncle, the earl of Hertford.

Upon his father's decease, the earl of Hertford and Sir Anthony Brown were sent to bring him to the tower of London: and when Henry's death was published, he was proclaimed king.

The education of Edward, having been entrusted to protestants, and Hertford, afterwards created duke of Somerset, being appointed protector, and favouring the reformation, that cause greatly advanced; notwithstanding the opposition of some in power, among whom were Gardiner, Bonner, Tonslatt, and, above all, the Lady Mary, the next heir to the throne.

Under the auspices of the young king, Cranmer determined to proceed more vigorously in the work of reformation. Accordingly, as a beginning, a general visitation of all the churches in England was resolved upon. The visitors were accompanied by preachers, who were to justify their conduct, and to reason away existing superstitions.

The only thing by which the people could be universally instructed, was a book of *homilies*: therefore the twelve first homilies in the book, still known by that name, were compiled. The chief design of these homilies was to instruct the people as to the nature of the gospel covenant.

About the same time, orders were given to place a Bible in every church; which, though it had been commanded by Henry, had not been generally complied with. This was accompanied by Erasmus' paraphrase of the New Testament. The great reputation of that learned man, and his dying in the communion of the Roman church, rendered his paraphrase preferable to any other work then extant.

Injunctions, also, were added for removing images, and abolishing customs which engendered superstition. The scriptures were to be read more frequently in public, preaching and catechising were also to be more frequent, and the clergy were to be exhorted to be more exemplary in their lives.

Next, the Liturgy was revised, and the marriage of the priests agreed to. Acts were passed by parliament in aid of the views and

proceedings of the reformers. The new liturgy was generally introduced, and to great numbers proved highly acceptable. The princess Mary, however, steadfastly refused it, and continued to hear mass in her chapel.

The greater number of the bishops were now friends of the reformation. It was thought, therefore, to be a convenient time to settle the doctrine of the church. Accordingly, a body of articles was framed by the bishops and clergy. These articles were forty-two in number. In Elizabeth's reign they were reduced to thirty-nine, and have been continued from that day to the present to be the acknowledged creed of the church of England.

The reformers next proceeded to revise anew the lately published book of common prayer. In the daily service they added the confession and absolution; "that so the worship of God might begin with a grave and humble confession: after which a solemn declaration of the merey of God, according to the terms of the gospel," was to be pronounced by the priest. At the same time all popish-customs were finally abolished. The liturgy, as now established, with the exception of a few trifling alterations, made under Elizabeth, assumed its present appearance.

While the reformation was thus proceeding, and was likely, under providence, to terminate in an abandonment of every vestige of the Roman superstition, the prospects of the reformers were suddenly overcast by the afflicting illness and death of the young king.

He had contracted great colds by violent exercises, which, in January, settled into so obstinate a cough that all the skill of physicians, and the aid of medicine, proved ineffectual. There was a suspicion over all Europe, that he was poisoned; but no certain grounds appear for justifying it.

During his sickness, Ridley preached before him, and among other things spoke much on works of charity, and the duty of men of high condition, to be eminent in good works. The king was much touched with this; and after the sermon, he sent for the bishop, and treated him with such respect that he made him sit down and be covered: he then told him what impression his exhortation had made on him, and therefore he desired to be directed by him how to do his duty in that matter.

Ridley took a little time to consider of it, and after some consultation with the lord mayor and aldermen of London, he brought the king a scheme of several foundations; one for the sick and wounded; another for such as were wilfully idle, or were mad; and a third for orphans. Edward, acting on this suggestion, endowed St. Bartholomew's hospital for the first, Eridewell for the second, and Christ's hospital, near Newgate, for the third; and he enlarged the grant which he had made the year before, for St. Thomas's hospital, in Southwark. The statutes and warrants relating to these were not finished till the 26th of June, though he gave orders to make all the haste that was possible: and when he set his hand to them, he blessed God for having prolonged his life till he had finished his designs concerning them. These houses have, by the good government and the great charities of the city of London, continued to be so useful, and grown to be so well endowed, that now they may be reckoned among the noblest in Europe.

The king bore his sickness with great submission to the will of God, and seemed concerned in nothing so much as the state that religion and the church would be in after his death. The duke of Northumberland, who was at the head of affairs, resolved to improve the fears the king was in concerning religion, to the advantage of Lady Jane Grey, who was married to his son, Lord Guilford Dudley. Edward was easily persuaded by him to order the judges to put some articles, which he had signed, for the succession of the crown, in the common form of law. They answered, that the succession being settled by act of parliament, could not be taken away, except by parliament; yet the king persisted in his orders.

The judges then declared, before the council, that it had been made treason by an act passed in this reign, to change the succession; so that they could not meddle with it. Montague was chief justice, and spake in the name of the rest.

On this, Northumberland fell into a violent passion, calling him traitor, for refusing to obey the king's commands. But the judges were not moved by his threats; and they were again brought before the king, who sharply rebuked them for their delays. They replied, that all they could do would be of no force without a parliament; yet they were required to perform it in the best manner they could.

At last Montague desired they might first have a pardon for what they were to do, which being granted, all the judges, except Cosnald and Hales, agreed to the patent, and delivered their opinions, that the lord chancellor might put the seal to the articles, drawn up by the king, and that then they would be good in law. Cosnald was at last prevailed on to join in the same opinion, so that Hales, who was a zealous protestant, was the only man who stood out to the last.

The privy counsellors were next required to sign the paper. Cecil, in a relation he wrote of this transaction, says, that "hearing some of the judges declare so positively that it was against law, he refused to set his hand to it as a privy counsellor, but signed it only as a witness to the king's subscription."

Cranmer came to the council when it was passed there, and refused to consent to it, when he was pressed to it; saying, "he would never have a hand in disinheriting his late master's daughters." The dying king, at last, by his importunity, prevailed with him to do it; upon which the great seal was put to the patents.

The king's distemper continued to increase, so that the physicians despaired of his recovery. A confident woman undertook his cure, and he was put into her hands, but she left him worse than she found him; and this heightened the jealousy against the duke of Northumberland, who had introduced her, and dismissed the physicians. At last, to crown his designs, he got the king to write to his sisters to come and divert him in his sickness; and the exclusion had been conducted so secretly, that they, apprehending no danger, began their journey.

On the 6th of July the king felt the approach of death, and prepared himself for it in a most devout manner. He was often heard offering up prayers and ejaculations to God; particularly a few moments before he died he prayed earnestly that the Lord would take him out of this wretched life, and committed his spirit to him; he interceded very fervently for his subjects, that God would preserve Eng-

land from popery, and maintain his true religion among them. The last words he uttered were these, "I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit."

The death of so pious a prince—of one who had the reformation of the church so much at heart, was, indeed, a mysterious Providence. But God saw fit so to order circumstances, as to show more fully the awful pride and intolerant spirit of the papacy. The cruel martyrdoms to which we now proceed, form a tremendous comment on the genius of popery. If it could give birth to such barbarities as the reader will notice in the subsequent pages of this volume, and could sanction them, and even to this day can justify them—can it have proceeded from the gospel of Him who proclaimed "peace on earth, and good will to men?"

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## BOOK X.

### ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY, SUBVERSION OF RELIGION, AND PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, DURING HER REIGN.

It has been asserted by the Roman Catholics, "That all those who suffered death, during the reign of Queen Mary, had been adjudged guilty of high treason, in consequence of their rising in defence of Lady Jane Grey's title to the crown." To disprove this, however, is no difficult matter, since every one conversant in English history must know, that those who are found guilty of high treason, are to be hanged and quartered. But how can even a papist affirm, that ever a man in England was *burned* for high treason? We admit, that some few suffered death in the ordinary way of process at common law, for their adherence to Lady Jane: but none of those were burned. Why, if traitors, were they taken before the bishops, who have no power to judge in criminal cases? Even allowing the bishops to have had power to judge, yet their own bloody statute did not empower them to execute. The proceedings against the martyrs are still extant, and they are carried on directly according to the forms prescribed by their own statute. Not one of those who were burned in England, was ever accused of high treason, much less were they tried at common law. And this should teach the reader to value a history of transactions in his own country, particularly as it relates to the sufferings of the blessed martyrs in defence of the religion he professes, in order that he may be able to remove the veil which falsehood has cast over the face of truth. Having said thus much, by way of introduction, we shall proceed with the acts and monuments of the British martyrs.

By the death of King Edward, the crown devolved, according to law, on his eldest sister Mary, who was within half a day's journey to the court, when she had notice given her by the earl of Arundel, of her brother's death, and of the patent for Lady Jane's succession. Upon this she retired to Framlingham, in Suffolk, to be near the sea, that she might escape to Flanders in case of necessity. Before she arrived there, she wrote, on the 9th of July, to the council, telling

them, that "she understood that her brother was dead, by which she succeeded to the crown, but wondered that she heard not from them; she well understood what consultations they had engaged in, but she would pardon all such as would return to their duty, and proclaim her title to the crown."

It was now found, that the king's death could be no longer kept a secret: accordingly some of the privy council went to Lady Jane, and acknowledged her as their queen.\* The news of the king's death afflicted her much, and her being raised to the throne, rather increased than lessened her trouble. She was a person of extraordinary abilities, acquirements, and virtues. She was mistress both of the Greek and Latin tongues, and delighted much in study. As she was not tainted with the levities which usually accompany her age and station, so she seemed to have attained to the practice of the highest fortitude; for in those sudden turns of her condition, as she was not exalted with the prospect of a crown, so she was little cast down, when her palace was made her prison. The only passion she showed, was that of the noblest kind, in the concern she expressed for her father and husband, who fell with her, and seemingly on her account; though, in reality, Northumberland's ambition, and her father's weakness, ruined her.

She rejected the crown, when it was first offered her; she said, she knew that of right it belonged to the late king's sisters, and therefore could not with a good conscience assume it; but she was told, that both the judges and privy counsellors had declared, that it fell to her according to law. This, joined with the importunities of her husband, her father, and father-in-law, made her submit.—Upon this, twenty-one privy counsellors set their hands to a letter to Mary, telling her that Queen Jane was now their sovereign, and that as the marriage between her father and mother had been declared null, so she could not succeed to the crown; they therefore required her to lay down her pretensions, and to submit to the settlement now made; and if she gave a ready obedience, promised her much favour. The day after this they proclaimed Jane.

Northumberland's known enmity to the late duke of Somerset, and the suspicions of his being the author of Edward's untimely death, begot a great aversion in the people to him and his family, and disposed them to favour Mary; who, in the mean time, was very active in raising forces to support her claim. To attach the protestants to her cause, she promised not to make any change in the reformed worship, as established under her brother; and on this assurance a large body of the men of Suffolk joined her standard.

Northumberland was now perplexed between his wish to assume the command of an army raised to oppose Mary, and his fear of leaving London to the government of the council, of whose fidelity he entertained great doubts. He was, however, at length obliged to adopt the latter course, and before his departure from the metropolis, he adjured the members of the council, and all persons in authority, to be steadfast in their attachment to the cause of Queen Jane, on whose suc-

\* The Lady Jane was daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and grand-daughter to Mary, sister to Henry VIII. who, on the death of her first husband, the king of France, married Charles Brandon, afterwards created duke of Suffolk.



cess, he assured them, depended the continuance of the protestant religion in England. They promised all he required, and he departed, encouraged by their protestations and apparent zeal.

Mary's party in the mean time continued daily to augment. Hastings went over to her with 4000 men out of Buckinghamshire, and she was proclaimed queen in many places. At length the privy council began to see their danger, and to think how to avoid it; and besides fears for their personal safety, other motives operated with many of the members. To make their escape from the tower, where they were detained, ostensibly to give dignity to the court of Queen Jane, but really as prisoners, they pretended it was necessary to give an audience to the foreign ambassadors, who would not meet them in the tower; and the earl of Pembroke's house was appointed for the audience.

When they met there they resolved to declare for Queen Mary, and rid themselves of Northumberland's yoke, which they knew they must bear, if he were victorious. They sent for the lord mayor and aldermen, and easily gained their concurrence; and Mary was proclaimed queen on the 19th of July. They then sent to the tower, requiring the duke of Suffolk to quit the government of that place, and the Lady Jane to lay down the title of queen. To this she submitted with much greatness of mind, and her father with abjectness.

The council next sent orders to Northumberland to dismiss his forces, and to obey the queen. When Northumberland heard this, he disbanded his forces, went to the market-place at Cambridge, where he then was, and proclaimed Mary as queen. The earl of Arundel was sent to apprehend him, and when Northumberland was brought before him, he, in the most servile manner, fell at his feet to beg his favour. He, with three of his sons, and Sir Thomas Palmer, (his wicked tool in the destruction of the duke of Somerset,) were all sent to the tower.

Every one now flocked to implore the queen's favour, and Ridley among the rest, but he was committed to the tower; the queen being resolved to put Bonner again in the see of London. Some of the judges, and several noblemen, were also sent thither, among the rest the duke of Suffolk; who was, however, three days after set at liberty. He was a weak man, could do little harm, and was consequently selected as the first person towards whom the queen should exert her clemency.

Mary came to London on the 3d of August, and on the way was met by her sister, Lady Elizabeth, with a thousand horse, whom she had raised to assist the queen. On arriving at the tower, she liberated the duke of Norfolk, the dutchess of Somerset, and Gardiner; also the Lord Courtney, son to the marquis of Exeter, who had been kept there ever since his father's attainder, and whom she now made earl of Devonshire.

Thus was seated on the throne of England the Lady Mary, who, to a disagreeable person and weak mind, united bigotry, superstition, and cruelty. She seems to have inherited more of her mother's than her father's qualities. Henry was impatient, rough, and ungovernable; but Catherine, while she assumed the character of a saint, harboured inexorable rancour and hatred against the protestants. It was the same with her daughter Mary, as appears from a letter in her own

handwriting, now in the British Museum. In this letter, which is addressed to Bishop Gardiner, she declares her fixed intention of burning every protestant; and there is an insinuation, that as soon as circumstances would permit, she would restore back to the church the lands that had been taken from the convents. This was the greatest instance of her weakness that she could show: for, in the first place, the convents had been all demolished, except a few of their churches; and the rents were in the hands of the first nobility, who, rather than part with them, would have overturned the government both in church and state.

Mary was crowned at Westminster in the usual form; but dreadful were the consequences that followed. The narrowness of spirit which always distinguishes a weak mind from one that has been enlarged by education, pervaded all the actions of this princess. Unacquainted with the constitution of the country, and a slave to superstition, she thought to domineer over the rights of private judgment, and trample on the privileges of mankind.

The first exertion of her regal power was to wreak her vengeance upon all those who had supported the title of Lady Jane Grey.

The first of these was the duke of Northumberland, who was beheaded on Tower Hill, and who, in consequence of his crimes, arising from ambition, died unpitied; nay, he was even taunted on the scaffold by the spectators, who knew in what manner he had acted to the good duke of Somerset.

The other executions that followed were numerous indeed, but as they were all upon the statute of high treason, they cannot, with any degree of propriety, be applied to protestants, or, as they were called, *heretics*. The parliament was pliant enough to comply with all the queen's requests, and an act passed to establish the popish religion. This was what the queen waited for, and power being now put into her hands, she was determined to exercise it in the most arbitrary manner. She was destitute of human compassion, and without the least reluctance could tyrannize over the consciences of men.

This leads us to the conclusion of the first year of her reign; and we consider it the more necessary to take notice of these transactions, although not, strictly speaking, *martyrdoms*, that our readers might be convinced of the great difference there is between dying for religion, and for high treason. It is history alone that can teach them such things, and it is reflection only that can make history useful. We frequently read without reflection, and study without consideration; but the following portions of history, in particular, will furnish ample materials for serious thought to our readers, and we entreat their attention to them.

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## SECTION I.

### MARTYRDOMS IN THE SECOND YEAR OF QUEEN MARY'S REIGN.

The queen having satiated her malice upon those persons who had adhered to Lady Jane Grey, she had next recourse to those old auxiliaries of popery, fire, fagot, and the stake, in order to convert her heretical subjects to the *true* catholic faith.

*Martyrdom of the Rev. John Rogers.*

Mr. John Rogers, the aged minister of St. Sepulchre's church, Snow Hill, London, was the proto-martyr: he was the first sacrifice, strictly speaking, offered up in this reign to popery, and led the way for those sufferers, whose blood has been the foundation, honour, and glory of the church of England.

This Mr. Rogers had been some time chaplain to the English factory at Antwerp. There he became acquainted with Mr. Tindal, and assisted him in his translation of the New Testament. There were several other worthy protestants there at that time, most of whom had been driven out of England, on account of the persecutions for the six articles in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. Mr. Rogers, knowing that marriage was lawful, and even enjoined in scripture, entered into that state with a virtuous woman, and soon after set out for Saxony, in consequence of an invitation to that effect.

When Edward ascended the throne of England, Mr. Rogers returned to his native country, and was promoted by Bishop Ridley to a prebendary of St. Paul's. He was also appointed reader of the divinity lecture in that cathedral, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's.

In this situation he continued some years; and as Queen Mary was returning from the tower, where she had been imbibing Gardiner's pernicious counsels, Mr. Rogers was preaching at St. Paul's Cross. He inveighed much against popery, expatiated on the many virtues of the late King Edward, and exhorted the people to abide in the protestant religion.

For this sermon he was summoned before the council; but he vindicated himself so well, that he was dismissed.

This lenity shown by the council was rather displeasing to the queen; and Mr. Rogers' zeal against popery being equal to his knowledge and integrity, he was considered as a person who would prevent the re-establishment of popery.

For this reason it was, that he was summoned a second time before the council, and although there were many papists among the members, yet such was the respect almost universally felt for Mr. Rogers, that he was again dismissed, but was commanded not to go out of his own house. This order he complied with, although he might have made his escape if he would. He knew he could have had a living in Germany, and he had a wife and ten children; but all these things did not move him; he did not court death, but met it with fortitude when it came.

He remained confined in his own house several weeks, till Bonner, bishop of London, procured an order to have him committed to Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers.

He was afterwards brought a third time before the council, where Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, presided. It was not with any view of showing lenity to the prisoner; it was not with a view of convincing him of error, supposing him to be guilty of any; it was not to recall him to the Romish church that he was brought there; no, his destruction was designed, and he was singled out to be an example to all those who should refuse to comply with Romish idolatry.

When brought before the chancellor and council, he freely acknowledged, that he had been fully convinced, in his own mind, that the pope was antichrist, and that his religion was contrary to the gospel.

He made a most elaborate defence, which, however, did not avail him in the minds of his persecutors. He showed them, that the statute upon which he was prosecuted had never legally passed, and even if it had, it was in all respects contrary to the word of God: for whatever emoluments might have been bestowed upon the clergy from time to time, they had no right to persecute those who differed from them in sentiment.

After he had been examined several times before the council, which was a mere mockery of justice, he was turned over to Bonner, bishop of London, who caused him to go through a second mock examination; and, at last, declared him to be an obstinate heretic. A certificate of this was, in the ordinary course, sent into chancery, and a writ was issued for the burning of Mr. Rogers in Smithfield. This sentence did not in the least frighten our martyr, who by faith in the blood of Christ, was ready to go through with his attachment to the truth without paying any regard to the malice of his enemies.

On the 4th of February, 1555, Mr. Rogers was taken out of Newgate, to be led to the place of execution, when the sheriff asked him if he would recant his opinions? To this he answered, "That what he had preached he would seal with his blood." "Then," said the sheriff, "thou art a heretic." To which Mr. Rogers answered, "That will be known when we meet at the judgment seat of Christ."

As they were taking him to Smithfield, his wife and eleven children went to take their last farewell of a tender husband, and an indulgent parent. The sheriffs, however, would not permit them to speak to him; so unfeeling is bigotry, so merciless is superstition! When he was chained to the stake, he declared that God would in his own good time vindicate the truth of what he had taught, and appear in favour of the protestant religion. Fire was set to the pile, and he was consumed to ashes.

He was a very pious and humane man, and his being singled out as the first victim of superstitious cruelty, can only entitle him to a higher crown of glory in heaven.

#### *Martyrdom of Laurence Saunders.*

The next person who suffered in this reign was the reverend Mr. Laurence Saunders, of whose former life we have collected the following particulars: his father had a considerable estate in Oxfordshire, but dying young, left a large family of children. Laurence was sent to Eaton school as one of the king's scholars.

From Eaton he was, according to the rules of the foundation, sent to King's college in Cambridge, where he studied three years, and made great progress in the different sorts of learning then taught in the schools. At the end of the three years he left the university, and returning to his mother, prevailed on her to place him with a merchant.

He was accordingly artied to Sir William Chester, a rich merchant in London, who was afterwards sheriff of that city. He had not been long in this employment, when he became weary of a life of trade. He sunk into a deep melancholy, and afterwards went into a retired chamber, to mourn for his imprudence, and to beg of God that he would, in some manner or other, deliver him from a life so disgustful.

His master, who was a worthy man, took notice of this, and asked Saunders his reasons for being in that desponding condition? The young gentleman candidly told him; upon which he immediately gave him up his indentures, and sent him home to his relations.

This Saunders considered as a happy event, and that no time might be lost, he returned to his studies at Cambridge; and, what was very uncommon in that age, he learned the Greek and Hebrew languages. After this he devoted himself wholly to the study of the sacred scriptures, in order to qualify himself for preaching the gospel.

In study he was diligent, and practical in holiness of life: in doing good few equalled him, and he seemed to have nothing in view but the happiness of immortal souls.

In the beginning of King Edward's reign, when the true religion began to be countenanced, he entered into orders, and preached with great success. His first appointment was at Fotheringham, where he read a divinity lecture; but that college having been dissolved, he was appointed a preacher in Litchfield. In that new station his conduct entitled him to great respect: for such was his sweetness of temper, his knowledge in his profession, his eloquent manner of addressing his hearers, the purity of his manners, and his affectionate addresses to the heart, that he was universally respected, and his ministry was very useful.

After being some months in Litchfield, he removed to the living of Church-Langton, in Leicestershire: there he resided with his people, and instructed many who before were ignorant of the true principles of the Christian religion. He was the same to men's bodies as to their souls. All that he received, beside the small pittance that supported his person, was given away to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked. Here was the Christian minister indeed; for no instructions will make a lasting impression on the mind, while the example is contrary.

His next removal was to Alhallows, in Bread-street, London; and when he had taken possession of it, he went down to the country, to part, in an affectionate manner, with his friends.

While he was in the country King Edward died, and Mary succeeding, published a proclamation, commanding all her subjects to attend mass. Many pious ministers refused to obey the royal proclamation, and none was more forward in doing so than Mr. Saunders. He continued to preach whenever he had an opportunity, and read the prayer-book, with the scriptures, to the people, till he was apprehended in the following manner.

Mr. Saunders was advised to leave the nation, as pious Dr. Jewel, and many others, did; but he would not, declaring to his friends, that he was willing to die for the name of the Lord Jesus. Accordingly, he left his people in Leicestershire, and travelled towards London, on his arrival near which, he was met by Sir John Mordant, a privy counsellor to Queen Mary, who asked him where he was going? Mr. Saunders said, to his living in Bread-street, to instruct his people. Mordant desired him not go: to which Mr. Saunders answered, "How shall I then be accountable to God! If any be sick and die before consolation, then what a load of guilt will be upon my conscience, as an unfaithful shepherd, an unjust steward!"

Mordant asked whether he did not frequently preach in Bread-

street; and being answered in the affirmative, he endeavoured to dissuade him from doing so any more. Saunders, however, was resolute, and told him he would continue to preach as long as he lived, and invited the other to come and hear him the next day; adding, that he would confirm him in the truth of those sentiments which he taught. Upon this they parted, and Mordant went and gave information to Bishop Bonner, that Saunders would preach in his church the next Sunday.

In the mean time Saunders went to his lodgings, with a mind resolved to do his duty: when a person came to visit him, and took notice of him that he seemed to be troubled. He said he was: adding, "I am, as it were, in prison, till I speak to my people." So earnest was his desire to discharge his duty, and so little did he regard the malice of his enemies.

The next Sunday he preached in his church, and made a most elaborate discourse against the errors of popery; he exhorted the people to remain steadfast in the truth: not to fear those who can kill only the body, but to fear Him who can throw both body and soul into hell. He was attended by a great concourse of people, which gave much offence to the clergy, particularly to Bishop Bonner.

Through this bishop's instrumentality he was apprehended and confined in prison for a year and three months, strict orders being given to the keepers, not to suffer any person to converse with him. His wife, however, came to the prison with her young child in her arms, and the keeper had so much compassion, that he took the child and carried it to its father.

Mr. Saunders, seeing the child, rejoiced greatly, saying, it was a peculiar happiness for him to have such a boy. And to the bystanders, who admired the beauty of the child, he said, "What man, fearing God, would not lose his life, sooner than have it said that the mother of this child was a harlot."

He said these words, in order to point out the woful effects of popish celibacy; for the priests, being denied the privilege of marriage, seduced the wives and daughters of many of the laity, and filled the nation with bastards, who were left exposed to all sorts of hardships.

After all these afflictions and sufferings, Mr. Saunders was brought before the council, where the chancellor sat as president; and there he was asked a great number of questions concerning his opinions. These questions were proposed in so artful and ensnaring a manner, that the prisoner, by telling the truth, must criminate himself; and to have stood mute would have subjected him to the torture.

Under such circumstances God gave him fortitude to assert the truth, by declaring his abhorrence of all the doctrines of popery.

The examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and then waited till some other prisoners were examined. While Mr. Saunders was standing among the officers, seeing a great number of people assembled, as is common on such occasions, he exhorted them to beware of falling off from Christ to Antichrist, as many were then returning to popery, because they had not fortitude to suffer.

The chancellor ordered him to be excommunicated, and committed him to the Compter. This was a great comfort to him, because he was visited by many of his people, whom he exhorted to constancy;

and when they were denied admittance, he spoke to them through the grate.

On the 4th of February the sheriff of London delivered him to the bishop, who degraded him; and Mr. Saunders said, "Thank God, I am now out of your church."

The day following, he was given up to some of the queen's officers, who were appointed to convey him down to Coventry, there to be burned. The first night they lay at St. Albans, where Mr. Saunders took an opportunity of rebuking a person who had ridiculed the Christian faith.

After they arrived at Coventry, a poor shoemaker, who had formerly worked for Mr. Saunders, came to him and said, "O, my good master, may God strengthen you." "Good shoemaker," answered Mr. Saunders, "I beg you will pray for me, for I am at present in a very weak condition; but I hope, my gracious God, who hath appointed me to it, will give me strength."

The same night he spent in the common prison, praying for, and exhorting all those who went to hear him.

The next day, which was the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution, in the park without the gate of that city, going in an old gown and shirt, barefooted, and often fell on the ground and prayed. When he approached the place of execution, the under sheriff told him he was a heretic, and that he had led the people away from the true religion; but yet, if he would recant, the queen would pardon him. To this Mr. Saunders answered, "That he had not filled the realm with heresy, for he had taught the people the pure truths of the gospel; and in all his sermons, while he exhorted the people firmly, desired his hearers to be obedient to the queen."

When brought to the stake he embraced it, and after being fastened to it, and the fagots lighted, he said, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life;" soon after which he resigned his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

Well might the apostle say, that if we only in this life have hope, we are, of all men, the most miserable. This martyr was naturally of a timid disposition; and yet here we see with what constancy he died. This is a strong proof that there must be an almighty power, working through faith in the hearts of those who are punished for the truth.

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## SECTION II.

### SUFFERINGS AND MARTYRDOM OF BISHOP HOOPER.

We have seen, in our account of the pious Mr. Saunders, that a man by nature weak and timorous, could bear, with undaunted boldness, all those torments which were prepared for him by his enemies, and by the enemies of Christ Jesus; and we have seen that gracious Being, for whose name's sake he suffered, supported him under all his afflictions.

We shall now bring forth another martyr, whose name will ever be esteemed for his sincere attachment to the protestant religion, and for

the little regard he paid to ceremonies, about which there has been much unnecessary, and indeed angry contention.

The person to whom we allude was Dr. John Hooper, a man of eminence in his profession. He was educated in Oxford, but in what college does not appear; probably it was in Queen's College, because he was a north countryman, that seminary of learning being appropriated for those of the northern counties.

He made great progress in his studies, and was remarkable for early piety. He studied the sacred scriptures with the most unremitting assiduity, and was, for some time, an ornament to the university.

His spirit was fervent, and he hated every thing in religion that was not of an essential nature. When the six articles were published, Hooper did all he could to oppose them, as maintaining every thing in the popish system, except the supremacy. He preached frequently against them, which created him many enemies in Oxford; but Henry VIII. had such an opinion of him, that he would not suffer him to be molested. Soon after this he was obliged to leave the university, and assuming a lay character, became Steward to Sir Thomas Arundel, who at first treated him with great kindness, till, having discovered his sentiments as to religion, he became his most implacable enemy.

Mr. Hooper having received intelligence that some mischief was intended against him, left the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and, borrowing a horse from a friend, whose life he had saved, rode off towards the sea-side, intending to go to France, sending back the horse by a servant. He resided some time at Paris, in as private a manner as possible. Returning again to England he was informed against, and obliged to leave his native country a second time.

He went over again to France, but not being safe there, he travelled into Germany; from thence he went to Basil, where he married a pious woman, and afterwards settled some time at Zurich, in Switzerland; there he applied closely to his studies, and made himself master of the Hebrew language.

At length, when the true religion was set up after the death of king Henry VIII. amongst other exiles that returned was Mr. Hooper. In the most grateful manner he returned thanks to all his friends abroad, who had shown him so much compassion; particularly to the learned Bullinger, who was a great friend to all those who were persecuted for the gospel. When he took an affectionate leave of Bullinger, he told him that he would write to him as often as he could find an opportunity, but added, "probably I shall be burned to ashes, and then some friend will give you information." Another circumstance should not be omitted in this place, and that is, that when he was appointed bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, the herald, who emblazoned his arms, put the figure of a lamb in a fiery bush, with the rays of glory descending from heaven on the lamb, which had such an effect on Dr. Hooper, that he said he knew he should die for the truth; and this consideration inspired him with courage. But to return to our narrative.

When Dr. Hooper arrived in London, he was so much filled with zeal to promote the gospel, that he preached every day to crowded congregations. In his sermons he reprov'd sinners in general, but



particularly directed his discourse against the peculiar vices of the times.

The abuses he complained of were owing to a variety of causes: the nobility had got the church lands, and the clergy were not only seditious in their conduct, but ignorant even to a proverb. This occasioned a scene of general immorality among all ranks and degrees of people, which furnished pious men with sufficient matter for reproof.

In his doctrine, Hooper was clear, plain, eloquent, and persuasive, and so much followed by all ranks of people, that the churches could not contain them.

Although no man could labour more indefatigably in the Lord's vineyard, yet Hooper had a most excellent constitution, which he supported by temperance, and was therefore enabled to do much good. In the whole of his conversation with those who waited on him in private, he spoke of the purity of the gospel, and of the great things of God, cautioning the people against returning to popery, if any change in the government should take place. This was the more necessary, as the people in general were but ill grounded, though Cranner, Ridley, and many other pious men, were using every means in their power to make them acquainted with the principles of the Christian religion. In this pious undertaking, no one was more forward than Dr. Hooper; at all times, "in season, and out of season," he was ready to discharge his duty as a faithful minister of the gospel.

After he had preached some time, with great success, in the city, he was sent for by Edward VI. who appointed him one of his chaplains, and soon after made him bishop of Gloucester, by letters-patent under the great seal; having at the same time the care of the bishopric of Worcester committed to him.

As Dr. Hooper had been some time abroad, he had contracted an aversion to the popish ceremonies, and before he went to his bishopric, he requested of the king that he might not be obliged to give countenance to them, which request the monarch complied with, though much against the inclinations of the other bishops. Dr. Hooper, and his brethren of the reformed church, had many disputes about the Romish tenets, which shows that there are some remains of corruption in the best of men. Some persons seek honours with unwearied zeal, and seem to take more pleasure in titles, than in considering that an elevated rank only increases the necessity of being more observant of our duty.

Dr. Hooper differed from these men, for instead of seeking preferments, he would never have accepted of any, had they not been pressed on him. Having the care of two dioceses, he held and guided them both together, as if they had been but one. His leisure time, which was but little, he spent in hearing causes, in private prayer, and reading the scriptures. He likewise visited the schools, and encouraged youth in the pursuits of learning. He had children of his own, whom he likewise instructed, and treated them with all the tenderness of a good parent, but without the indulgence of a weak one.

He kept open house, with provisions for the poor, which was a very pious and necessary action in those times, because many persons who had been driven out of the convents roved up and down the country starving. He relieved a certain number of these every day, and

when they had satisfied their hunger, he delivered a discourse to them on the principles of the Christian religion.

After this manner, Bishop Hooper continued to discharge his duty as a faithful pastor, during the whole of King Edward's reign. But no sooner was Mary proclaimed, than a sergeant at arms was sent to arrest our bishop, in order to answer to two charges:

First, to Dr. Heath, who had been deprived of the diocese of Gloucester for his adherence to popery, but was now restored by the queen; secondly, to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, for having given evidence to King Edward against that persecuting prelate.

Bishop Hooper was desired, by some of his friends, to make his escape, but his answer was, "I once fled for my life, but I am now determined, through the strength and grace of God, to witness the truth to the last."

Being brought before the queen and council, Gardiner, sitting as president, accused Bishop Hooper of heresy, calling him the most opprobrious names. This was in September, 1553, and although he satisfactorily answered the charges brought against him, he was committed to prison on the pretence of being indebted to the queen in several sums of money. On the 19th of March, 1554, when he was called again to appear before Gardiner, the chancellor, and several other bishops, would not suffer him to plead his cause, but deprived him of his bishopric.

Being asked whether he was a married man, he answered in the affirmative, and declared that he would not be unmarried, till death occasioned the separation; because he looked upon the marriage of the clergy as necessary and legal.

The more they attempted to brow-beat him, the more resolute he became, and the more pertinent in his answers. He produced the decrees of the council of Nice, which first ascertained the canon of scripture, where it was ordained to be lawful, as well as expedient, for the clergy to marry. These arguments were to little purpose with men who had their instructions from the queen, and were previously determined to punish him; the good bishop was therefore committed to the tower, but afterwards removed to the Fleet.

As the determination for burning him was not agreed on, he was only considered as a debtor to the queen, for rents of his bishopric, which was the reason of his being sent to the Fleet. This, however, was a most unjust charge; for the protestant religion had been established in the first year of the reign of her brother Edward, by act of parliament; so that Dr. Hooper's acceptance of a bishopric, was in all respects legal and constitutional.

As a debtor, he was to have the rules of the Fleet, which the warden granted him for five pounds sterling; but went immediately and informed Gardiner, who, notwithstanding he had paid the money, ordered him to be closely confined.

The following account of his cruel treatment while confined here, was written by himself, and affords a picture of popish barbarity, which cannot fail to make a due impression on our readers.

"The first of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet, from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison: and within six days after I paid five pounds sterling to the warden for fees, for my liberty; who immediately upon payment thereof complained unto the bishop of

Winchester, upon which I was committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used extremely ill. Then by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, not suffered to speak with any of my friends, but as soon as dinner and supper were done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend, the bishop of Winchester.

“After one quarter of a year. Babington, the warden, and his wife, fell out with me, respecting the wicked mass; and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until, by God’s means, good people sent me bedding to lie on. On one side of the prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.

“During which time I have been sick, and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains, being all closed upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help; but the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying ‘Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him.’

“I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man’s table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishoprics, and since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely, than the veriest slave that ever came to the common side of the prison.

“The warden hath also imprisoned my man, William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but a little remembrance of good people’s names who had given me their alms to relieve me in prison: and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God’s enemy and mine.

“I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, livings, friends, and comfort, taken from me; the queen owing me, by just account, fourscore pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to keep me, neither is there suffered any one to come at me, whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy, (saving God’s help,) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death.”

After he had been eighteen months in prison, on the 22d of January, 1555, the warden of the Fleet was ordered to bring him before the Chancellor Gardiner, who, with other bishops, were appointed to examine him a second time, at Gardiner’s palace in Southwark.

When brought before these merciless persecutors, the chancellor made a long speech to him, desiring him to forsake the opinions he had embraced, and return to the bosom of the church; adding, that as the pope was the head of the church, so it was breaking through

her unity to separate from her. He promised to procure him the pope's absolution if he would recant his opinions; but this was merely an ostentatious pretence to mercy; for Gardiner knew that Hooper was too well grounded in his religious opinions to comply with his request.

To this Dr. Hooper answered, that as the pope's doctrine was contrary to the sacred scriptures, and as he could not be the head of the church, because there was no head of it but Christ, so he would live and die asserting the doctrines he had taught.

Gardiner replied, that the queen would never show any mercy to the enemies of the pope; whereupon, Babington, the warden, was commanded to take him back to the Fleet. It was likewise declared, that he should be shifted from his former chamber, which was done; and he was searched, to find, if possible, whether he had any books concealed about him, but none were found.

On the 25th of January he was again brought before the chancellor to be examined, and was again asked whether or not he would recant; but nothing could shake his constancy.

On Monday morning, February 4, the bishop of London went to the prison to degrade him, which was done in the usual form, by putting the different robes upon him worn by priests, and then taking them off. They did not put on him the bishop's robes, because they did not admit of the validity of his ordination. While they were stripping him of these Romish rags, he told them he was glad to part with them, because his mind had been always against them, and considered them no better than heathenish relics; as in fact they were, for the same kind of robes were worn by the priests before the time of Constantine the Great.

A few hours after he was degraded, the keeper came to him, and told him he was to be sent down to Gloucester to suffer death. Upon this he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, praising God that he was to die among his people, as it would be the means of confirming them in the truth of what he had taught them. He immediately sent to his servant for his boots and cloak, that he might be in readiness to attend the officers whenever they should come for him.

About four in the morning he was taken out of prison by the sheriff, and conducted to the sign of the Angel, near St. Dunstan's church, Fleet-street. There he was received by the queen's officers, who had the warrant for his execution; after which they permitted him to take some refreshment.

About break of day he cheerfully mounted on horseback without help, having a hood on his head under his hat, that he should not be known; and, thus equipped, with a serene and cheerful countenance, proceeded on the road to Gloucester, attended by his keepers. The guards asked him what houses he was accustomed to use on the road, and when they were informed, in order to perplex him, they took him to others.

On the Thursday following they arrived at Cirencester, a town in his own diocese, and about eleven miles from Gloucester, where they dined at the house of a woman who had always hated the protestants, and traduced Bishop Hooper's character as much as possible. This woman, seeing his constancy, was so affected, that she lamented his

case with tears, and begged his pardon for the manner in which she had spoken of him.

Dinner being over, they proceeded to Gloucester, where they arrived about five in the afternoon. A great crowd of people were assembled about a mile without the town; so that one of the guard, fearing a rescue, rode up to the mayor's house, to demand aid and assistance. This being granted, the people dispersed.

Hooper was that night lodged in the house of one Ingram, where he ate his supper with a good appetite, and slept very quietly, as the guard declared, for they continued in the chamber with him all the night. In the morning he got up, and having prayed most fervently, was visited by Sir Anthony Kingston, who was one of the persons appointed to see him executed. When Sir Anthony came into his chamber he found him at his prayers, and waiting till he had done, asked if he did not know him. To this Bishop Hooper answered, that he did know him, and was glad to see him in good health. He added, that he was come there to end his life, and blessed God that it was to be in the midst of his own diocese. He said he loved life as well as it ought to be loved, but he was not to enjoy it at the expense of his future welfare. He was not to blaspheme his Saviour by denying his name, through which alone he looked for salvation; but trusted that he should be endowed with fortitude sufficient to bear all the torments his enemies could inflict upon him.

Sir Anthony Kingston had profited much from the preaching of Bishop Hooper, and taking his leave, told him, with tears, that he was extremely sorry to lose so worthy a person. Dr. Hooper answered, that it was his duty to persevere in the truth, and not to be ashamed of the gospel, lest Christ should refuse to acknowledge him before his Father in heaven.

The same day, in the afternoon, a poor blind boy came to visit Bishop Hooper, and, falling on his knees before him, said, "Ah, my lord, I am blind in my eyes, but your pious instructions have removed a spiritual blindness from my heart. May God support you under all your sufferings, and bring you, even through flames, to heaven!"

Several other persons visited the bishop, amongst whom was a very wicked man, a bigoted papist, who had known him formerly. This man upbraided him with what he called his heresy; but Hooper bore all his insults with patience and meekness.

The time appointed for the execution of this pious bishop drawing nigh, he was delivered to the sheriffs of Gloucester, who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to his lodgings, and, at the first meeting, having saluted him, took him by the hand. The resigned martyr thanked the mayor, with the rest of the officers, for taking a condemned man by the hand, and for all the friendship that had formerly subsisted between them, for he had long been acquainted with them. He begged of the sheriffs that they would make the fire as violent as possible, that his pains might be of the shorter duration; adding, that he might have had his life if he chose it, but could not, consistently with that duty he owed to God, and His own conscience. He said, he knew the bishop of Rome was antichrist, and therefore he could not be obedient to him. He desired they would not deny his request, but let him suffer as soon as possible, without exercising any unnecessary cruelty, which was unbecoming the dignity of men of honour.

A consultation was held by the sheriffs, whether or not they should lodge him, the evening before his execution, in the common gaol over the north gate of the city; but the guards who had brought him from London, interceded so earnestly in his favour, that he was permitted to remain in his former lodgings; and he spent the evening in prayer, together with as much of the night as he could spare from his ordinary rest. The believer, who is to rest in Christ Jesus, throughout the endless ages of eternity, may well enjoy an hour's sleep, before the commencement of even the most excruciating tortures.

When Bishop Hooper arose in the morning, he desired that no person whatever should disturb him in his devotion, till the officers came to lead him out to execution.

About eight o'clock, the Lord Chandois, attended by several other noblemen and gentlemen, came to conduct him to the place of execution; and at nine Dr. Hooper was ready. Being brought down from his chamber, when he saw the guards, he told the sheriffs he was no traitor, but one who was willing to die for the truth; and that if they would have permitted him, he would have willingly gone unguarded to the stake, without troubling any officers. Afterwards, looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, above seven thousand in number, he said, "Alas! why are so many people assembled? I dare not speak to them as formerly."

He was led forward between the two sheriffs, as a lamb to the slaughter, having on a gown which the man of the house, where he was confined, had lent him; and being much afflicted with an illness he had contracted in prison, he was obliged to walk with a staff in his hand. The sheriffs having commanded him not to speak one word, he was not seen to open his mouth, but beholding the people, who mourned bitterly, he sometimes lifted his eyes towards heaven, and looked cheerfully upon such as he knew; and, indeed, his countenance was more cheerful than it had been for a long time before.

When he was brought to the stake, he embraced it, and looked smilingly to a place where he used formerly to preach. He then kneeled down to pray, and beckoned several times to one whom he knew well, to come near to hear him, that he might give a faithful account of what he said, after his death, as he was not permitted to speak aloud. When he had been some time at prayer, a pardon was brought, and offered to him, on condition that he would recant; but neither promises of pardon, nor threatenings of punishment, had any effect on him; so immovable was he in the faith, and so well established in the principles of the gospel.

Prayers being ended, he prepared himself for the stake, by taking off his landlord's gown, which he delivered to the sheriffs, requesting them to see it restored to the owner. He then took off the rest of his clothes, except his doublet and hose, in which he intended to be burned; but the sheriffs not permitting that, he patiently submitted. After this, a pound of gunpowder was placed between his legs, and the same quantity under each arm; three chains were then fixed round him, one to his neck, another to his middle, and a third to his legs; and with these he was fastened to the stake.

This being done, fire was put to the fagots; but they being green, he suffered inexpressible torment. Soon after this, a load of dry

fagots was brought, but still the wind blew away the flames; so that he begged for more, that he might be put out of his misery.

At length the fire took effect, and the martyr triumphantly ascended into heaven, after such a fiery trial as almost exceeds any thing we meet with in the primitive ages. His last words were, "Lord Jesus have mercy upon me; enable me to bear my sufferings for thy name's sake, and receive my spirit."

Such was the end of one of the most eminent fathers of the church of England: and surely that religion which could support him under such dreadful tortures must be of God. Fanaticism and superstition may give resolution; but it is only the divine influence of pure religion which can bestow calmness in the hour of death.

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### SECTION III.

#### SUFFERINGS AND MARTYRDOM OF DR. ROWLAND TAYLOR.

Dr. Rowland Taylor was born in the town of Hadleigh, in Suffolk which was one of the first places in England that received the gospel; and here he preached constantly during the reign of King Edward. Archbishop Cranmer, who was a good judge of merit, and loved to reward it in learned men, took him into his family, and presented him to the living of Hadleigh. Here he proved himself a most excellent preacher and a faithful pastor. He made himself acquainted with every individual in his parish; he taught them like the apostles and primitive Christians, who went from house to house. The love of Christ wrought so strongly on his mind, that every Sunday and holiday, he preached in the most fervent manner to his people.

Nor did he restrict himself to preaching: his life was one continued comment on his doctrine; it was a life of holiness: he studied nothing so much as to do good; was a stranger to pride; and was clothed with humility. He was particularly attentive to the poor, and his charity was bounded only by his ability. While he rebuked sinners for their enormities, he was ready to relieve their wants. This was a god-like disposition, and the characteristic of a true Christian.

In the course of his ministerial labours he often met with opposition, and even with abuse; but he attended to the maxim laid down by the apostle, that we must go through evil, as well as through good report. He was a married man, but never sat down to dinner with his family, without first inquiring whether the poor wanted any thing. To those who were distressed, he gave relief before he ate any thing himself. He familiarized himself with all ranks of men, in order that he might win them to the knowledge and practice of the truth. He was an indulgent, tender, affectionate husband, and brought up his children in the fear of God, well knowing, that to lay a good foundation is the only way to secure a beautiful superstructure.

In this excellent manner, Dr. Taylor continued to discharge his duty at Hadleigh, as long as King Edward lived; but no sooner was that pious monarch dead, than affairs took a different turn.

And here we may observe, that if a man be ever so pious, if he be ever so faithful in the discharge of his duty, yet he will meet with many enemies: this was the case with Dr. Taylor. In his parish, notwithstanding all his endeavours to suppress popery, yet some papists remained; and their hatred of his doctrines extended to the preacher, and rendered them blind to his excellencies.

Two of these persons, named Clarke and Foster, hired a Romish priest to come to Hadleigh to say mass. For this purpose, they ordered an altar to be built with all convenient speed, and appointed, that mass should be said on Palm Sunday. But the reformers met together in the evening, and pulled down the altar; it was, however, built up again, and a watch was appointed, lest it should be demolished a second time.

The day following, Clarke and Foster came, bringing along with them their popish priest, who was to perform the service of mass. The priest was dressed in his robes for the occasion, and had a guard with him, lest he should be interrupted by the populace.

When Dr. Taylor heard the bells ring, he went into the church to know the reason, but found the doors of the chancel barred against him. However, getting within the chancel, he saw the popish priest at the altar, attended by a great number of people, with their swords drawn. The doctor accused the priest of idolatry, but the priest retorted upon him, and called him a traitor, for disobeying the queen's proclamation. Dr. Taylor said he was no traitor, but a minister of the gospel, commanded to teach the people; and then ordered the popish priest to retire, as one who came in there to poison the flock of Christ with his most abominable doctrines. Foster, who was principally concerned in this affair, called Dr. Taylor a traitor, and violently dragged him out of the church; while his wife, on her knees, begged that God would vindicate his innocence, and avenge the injuries so wrongfully inflicted on him.

Foster and Clarke next exhibited a charge of heresy against Dr. Taylor, to the chancellor Gardiner, who sent a messenger, commanding Dr. Taylor to appear before him, in order to answer to the charge.

When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this they were much grieved, and fearing what would be the result, as justice was not to be expected from the furious bigots then in power, advised him to go abroad to save his life. But this he would by no means comply with; saying that it was more honourable to suffer for the cause of God, than to flee from the wrath of wicked men. "God," said he, "will either protect me from sufferings, or he will enable me to bear them." He added, "That he knew his dying for the truth would be of more service to the cause of Christ, than his flying away from the malice of his persecutors."

When his friends saw that nothing could prevail upon him, they took leave of him with tears; after which he set out for London, accompanied by a servant, named John Hull, who had been a considerable time in his family. This faithful servant advised him to make his escape, but to no purpose; for Taylor said, that the good shepherd should never leave his sheep, till he was torn from them by force. In the same heavenly manner he exhorted John to be constant in the profession of Christianity, and not to return to popery. He said, that worldly wisdom was apt to take too deep a root in our hearts, and that



it was, therefore, our duty to do all we could to triumph over the world, the flesh, and the devil; to be consistent in our attachment to the truth; to keep in view the glorious eternity provided for the faithful; to despise earthly enjoyments, while we strive to render ourselves worthy of heaven; to fear God more than men; to believe that he will sweeten all our sufferings, by the influence of his holy spirit; to think nothing too hard to endure, in order to obtain a blessed immortality; and, with a Christian courage, to trample on death, and triumph over the grave.

When Dr. Taylor was brought before the chancellor Gardiner, that prelate reviled him in the most shocking manner, calling him a traitor and a heretic; all which our pious martyr patiently submitted to. In the opinion of Gardiner he might have been a heretic, but, according to law, he could not have been a traitor; for the statute of high treason, and the statute of heresy, enforced different punishments: for treason the offending party was to be hanged and quartered; for heresy he was to be burned alive. Had Queen Mary proceeded against this man, and many others, on the statute of high-treason, they must have been acquitted, as the trial would have been conducted according to the principles of common law. But this she had no intention to do; her design was to gratify the clergy, by causing all those who opposed their sentiments, to be put to death in the most barbarous manner.

Dr. Taylor answered the chancellor with a becoming firmness: he told him, that he was the persecutor of God's people, and that he, himself, had adhered to our Saviour and his word; he put Bishop Gardiner in mind of the oath he had taken in the beginning of King Edward's reign, to maintain the protestant religion, and oppose the papal supremacy; but Gardiner answered, that the oath had been extorted, so that he was not obliged to abide by it.

It is certain, that every oath extorted by the threatening of punishment, can have no moral force; and the man who has been weak enough to swear, may recede from the obligatory part as soon as he has an opportunity. But this was not the case with Gardiner; had he refused the oath, all the punishment inflicted upon him would have been the loss of his bishopric. And surely he who pays the least regard to the sacred Name invoked to witness his sincerity, will not choose to enjoy a temporal subsistence at the expense of a guilty conscience.

Dr. Taylor explained to the bishop the nature of an oath, and told him, that as he had not been forced to take one contrary to the dictates of conscience, so he was either prejudiced in what he did, or, what was still worse, he trifled with a sacred obligation; that no man whatever could dispense with an oath, unless he knew it was his duty to do so, in consequence of its having been imposed on him by violence.

Gardiner, who was self-convicted, turned the subject to the disputed points concerning the real presence, and some other things in popery.

With respect to the real presence in the sacrament, Dr. Taylor told him, that it had no foundation in scripture, but had been first taught about the tenth century. He quoted the book of Bertram, which was written about that time, wherein the real presence was

denied, and transubstantiation considered as no better than a novel doctrine. He made it appear, that Christ only commanded his followers to keep the feast of the eucharist, in remembrance of his last supper with them. That as Christ broke bread and drank wine with his disciples in a friendly manner, before he was dragged to prison, to judgment, and to execution, consequently his followers should observe it as a feast of unity to the end of the world.

Such were the sentiments of this pious man, concerning a very disputed point. He was clear in his conceptions concerning the scripture account of the last supper, for all the primitive fathers have taught us to consider it in the same light. When Christ said, "This is my body," he could only mean the atonement that was to be made for sin, and surely that could not be the bread he took in his hand. The body of Christ, joined to his human soul, and both united to the divine nature, are now in a state of glory in heaven; and how then can the priest turn a morsel of bread into the body of our Divine Redeemer? the bare thought puts common sense to the blush. It is full of absurdity, and can only impose on the grossest credulity, for the purpose of increasing the influence of artful and designing priests.

Dr. Taylor, after being interrogated by the chancellor for a considerable time, was at length committed to prison; for bigotry knows no feeling; persecution no resting-place.

While he was in prison, he spent the greatest part of his time in prayer, in reading the sacred scriptures, and in exhorting the poor prisoners, confined with him, to a sense of their duty. This was the more necessary, as the people at that time were extremely ignorant; light indeed was beginning to break in upon them, but they knew not how to walk. The prison in which Dr. Taylor was confined, was that commonly called the King's Bench, and there he met with that holy and pious man, Mr. Bradford, whose affinity in religious sentiments contributed to mitigate his sufferings. If two virtuous or pious persons are of the same opinion, and under the same circumstances, they generally sympathize with each other. This was the case with Dr. Taylor and Mr. Bradford; for no sooner did they meet each other in prison, than they blessed God who had brought them together, to suffer for the truth of the gospel.

After Dr. Taylor had lain a considerable time in prison, he was cited to appear at Bow church, in Cheapside, to answer to the dean of the arches concerning his marriage.

When he was brought before this officer, he defended marriage in such a masterly manner, that the dean would not venture to pronounce a divorce, but only deprived him of his benefice. He was then remanded to prison, and kept there above a year and a half; when he and several others were brought to be again examined before the chancellor.

Gardiner asked him whether he adhered to the form of religion, as established by King Edward VI.? Whether he approved of the English book of common prayer? Whether he was married? and many other questions. To all these Dr. Taylor gave clear and satisfactory answers, justifying his conduct; but these were not sufficient, seeing his death was resolved on.

Concerning marriage, Dr. Taylor proved not only from the sacred scriptures, but likewise from the primitive writers, that the clergy

were not prohibited from it. As he was a learned civilian and canonist, he proved from the Justinian institutions, that all oaths of celibacy were then condemned, and that the priests were exhorted to marry. Nay, so strict was the emperor in this particular, that if a man made over a legacy to his wife, on condition of her not marrying again, the will was to be void.

He added further, that it was contained in the pandects, that if a man had a female slave, and made her free on condition she should never marry, the condition should not be binding, and she might marry, nor should her former master be permitted to reclaim her. It was the more proper to quote the pandects, because they were written in the sixth century, and although many abuses had then crept into the church, yet celibacy was not in the number.

The next time he was brought before the chancellor, was in company with Mr. Saunders, whose martyrdom we have already described, and Mr. Bradford. Dr. Taylor was charged with heresy by the chancellor, and the other bishops who were present. He acknowledged that he abhorred all the popish doctrines of the church of Rome; that the pope was Antichrist; that to deny the clergy the privilege of marriage was the doctrine of devils; that there were but two sacraments in the New Testament; that the mass was idolatry, the body of Christ being in heaven; and last of all, that he would abide by these sentiments to the last, being convinced that they were consistent with the doctrines laid down by Christ and his apostles.

One may easily imagine what would be the consequences of such a free and open declaration. The papists could not bear to hear their favourite notions thus called in question, and even condemned as idolatry.

The chancellor therefore pronounced sentence on him, and he was taken to a prison in Southwark, called the Clink, where he remained till night, and then was sent to the Compter in the poultry. Here he remained seven days; when on the 4th of February, 1555, Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to the said Compter to degrade him, bringing with them the popish habits.

The last part of the ceremony of degradation is for the bishop to strike the person degraded on the breast; but Bonner's chaplain advised him not to strike Dr. Taylor, for he would surely strike again. "Yes, that I will, by St. Peter," said the doctor, "for the cause is Christ's, and I should not be a good soldier, if I did not fight my master's battles."

The bishop therefore contented himself with pronouncing a curse upon Dr. Taylor; to which the doctor answered, "You may curse as long as you please, but I am confident God will support me: I have the witness of a good conscience, that I am standing in defence of the truth; whereas you dare not say that you are doing so: but I will pray for you."

When he was brought up to his chamber, he told Mr. Bradford that he had made the bishop of London afraid; "for," said he, "his chaplain advised him not to strike me, lest I should strike him again, which I made him believe I would, although I never intended to do so."

To strike an enemy is strictly forbidden in the gospel; but even had Dr. Taylor been so unguarded as to strike the bishop, it could only have been imputed to the ignorance which at that time prevailed, even over the minds of pious men.

The night after he was degraded, his wife, with his son Thomas, came to see him; and such was the good nature of the keeper, that he permitted them to go into his apartment and sup with him. Thus Dr. Taylor found a great difference between the keeper of the bishop's prison, and the keeper of the Compter. The bishop's keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannical, like their master; but the keepers of the royal prisons, for the most part, showed as much favour as could be granted, to those whom they had in custody. John Hull, the servant, came with the wife and son of Dr. Taylor; and at their first coming in, they all kneeled down and prayed.

After supper the doctor walked two or three times across the room, blessing God that he had singled him out to bear witness to the truth, as it is in Jesus; that he had been thought worthy to suffer for his name's sake; and then, turning to his son, he said, "My dear son, God Almighty bless you, and give you his holy spirit, to be a true servant of Christ; to hear his word, and constantly to stand by the truth all thy life long; and, my son, see that thou fear God always; flee from all sin and wicked living; be virtuous; attend closely to thy book, and pray to God sincerely. In all things that are lawful, see that thou be obedient to thy mother; love her, and serve her; be ruled and directed by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not God, but indulge their vain appetites and lusts. Fly from whoredom, and abhor all filthy living; remembering that I, thy father, am to die in defence of holy marriage. Another day, when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is to be rich in alms; and when thy mother is far advanced in years, forsake her not, but provide for her according to thy abilities, and see that she want for nothing. And God will bless thee, and give thee long life upon earth, and prosperity; for which, now, upon my knees, I pray through the merits of Jesus Christ."

Then turning to his wife, he said, "My dear wife, continue steadfast in the faith, fear, and love of God. Keep yourself undefiled by popish idolatries and superstition. I have been unto you a faithful yoke-fellow, and so have you been unto me; for the which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, my dear, but God will reward you. Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlock bond towards me; therefore I will give you my counsel, that I think most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and, therefore, it will be most convenient for you to marry; for, doubtless, you will not of yourself be able to support our dear children, nor be out of trouble, till you be married. Therefore, as soon as Providence shall point out some pious, honest man, who you think will support the poor children, be sure to marry him, and live in the fear of God; but by all means avoid idolatry and superstition."

Having said these words, he fell down and prayed for his family; and then he gave his wife an English prayer book, as set forth by King Edward VI.; and to his son Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing a collection of sentiments from the writings of the primitive fathers, relating to the courage and constancy of the ancient martyrs.

The reader who attends to the conduct of this dying martyr, will find that there is something in true religion far superior to deception.

In the primitive times it was common for the martyrs, previous to their sufferings, to converse with their friends, and also to write epistles to the churches at a distance. Some of those epistles are still extant, and we know that they were frequently read in the churches afterwards; but no eloquence can exceed that of Dr. Taylor, in taking leave of his wife and son. How sweetly do his expressions flow from the heart! What a manly dignity under his sufferings does he display! What resignation to the will of God, and what a firm reliance on divine Providence! Here, indeed, grace triumphed over human nature, and the soul showed its native splendour, although confined within a mortal body.

The next morning, the 5th of February, so early as two o'clock, the sheriff of London, attended by his officers, came to the Compter, and took Dr. Taylor to the Woolpack, near Aldgate. His wife, having some suspicion that he was to be taken out that morning, waited all night in the church of St. Botolph, near Aldgate, having with her a poor orphan girl, whom the doctor had brought up from infancy, and one of her own children. When the sheriff and his company came opposite the church, the orphan girl cried out, "O, my dear father; mother, mother, here is my father led out." Then Mrs. Taylor cried out, "Rowland! Rowland! where art thou?" for the morning was extremely dark. To this Dr. Taylor answered, "Here I am, but I am confined." The sheriff's officers wanted to hurry him away; but the sheriff, who had more humanity, ordered them to let him speak with his wife.

She then came to him, when, taking his wife and daughter, with the orphan girl, by the hands, he kneeled down, and prayed with them; which, when the sheriff, and the other persons present, saw, they shed tears. Prayers being over, he rose up, and taking his wife by the hand, bid her have good comfort, for he had a clear conscience. "God," said he, "will provide a father for my children, but let them be steadfast in the faith." To which his wife answered, "God be with you, my dear Rowland, and I will, with his grace, meet you at Hadleigh."

He was then put into a chamber, with four of the yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's officers. As soon as he entered the chamber he knelt down, and gave himself wholly to prayer. There, the sheriff, seeing Mrs. Taylor, told her that she must not speak to her husband; but that she might go to his house, and he would provide for her, so that she should not want for any thing. To this she answered, that "she would rather go to her mother's house," and two officers were sent to conduct her thither.

This part of the sheriff's conduct doubtless arose from principles of humanity; for what man can see a wife and children weeping over a father and husband, condemned to a cruel death, for a disputable offence, without shedding a tear of compassion?

Dr. Taylor remained at the Woolpack till eleven in the forenoon, when the sheriff of Essex came to receive him, and they prepared to set out on horseback. As they came out of the gate of the inn, John Hull, his old servant, whom we have mentioned before, was there waiting, having with him Dr. Taylor's son Thomas; John lifted up the boy that he might see his father, and then set him on the horse before him. Dr. Taylor, taking off his hat, said, "Good peo-

ple, this is my own son, begotten in lawful wedlock, and I bless God for lawful matrimony." He then lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son; laid his hat upon the boy's head, and blessed him. After this he delivered him to John Hull, whom he shook by the hand, and said, "thou hast been the faithfulest servant ever man had."

When they arrived at Brentwood, they made a close hood for Dr. Taylor, having two holes for his eyes, and one for his mouth to breathe at. They did this, that no man should know him or speak to him; which practice was frequently used in such cases. The evidence of their own consciences convinced them that they were leading innocent people to the slaughter. Guilt creates fear, and thus does Satan reward his vassals.

All the way Dr. Taylor was as joyful as if he had been going to take possession of an estate; and, indeed, how could it be otherwise? He knew he was suffering for the faith, and that the truth was able to support him; and he anticipated a glorious reward from Him for whose cause he suffered.

At Chelmsford they were met by the sheriff of Suffolk, who was to take him into that county to be executed. While they were at supper, the sheriff of Essex laboured earnestly with him to return to the popish religion. He told him, "that as he was a man of universal learning, so his death would be a great loss to the nation." The sheriff, whatever his own opinions were, said a great deal to Dr. Taylor, and falling before him on his knees, with the tears running down his cheeks, earnestly begged of him to recant his opinions, and be reconciled to the church; promising that he, and all his friends, would procure his pardon.

Dr. Taylor then took the cup in his hand, and looking to the company, particularly to the sheriff of Essex, said, "I heartily thank you for your good will; I have hearkened to your words, and minded well your counsels; and, to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am likely to deceive a great many in Hadleigh of their expectations." At these words the whole company clapped their hands with joy: "God bless you," said the sheriff of Essex, "keep to that, it is the most comfortable word we have heard from you. Why should you cast away yourself? Play a wise man's part, and then I am certain you will find favour." Upon this Dr. Taylor replied, "I am, as you see, a man of a very large body, which I thought should have lain in Hadleigh churchyard, and there are a great number of worms there who would have had the feasting, which no doubt they wished for many a day; but I know I am deceived," said he, "and the worms are so too, for my body is to be burned to ashes, and they will lose their feast."

When the sheriff and his companions heard him say this, they were amazed at his constancy; for the nearer his sufferings approached, the more he was strengthened to endure them. In this he imitated our blessed Redeemer, who, when he felt his father's wrath beginning to be inflicted upon him, sweated, as it were, great drops of blood; but when led forth, and nailed to the cross, he looked around with complacency, and convinced the spectators, that the glory of God shone through his human nature.

Such has been the case of the martyrs in all ages and nations. Hu-

man nature might, at first, shudder, and shrink back at the thought of the sufferings they were exposed to; but their constancy increased as the fiery trial drew near.

When the procession arrived at Aldham Common, where Dr. Taylor was to be burnt, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and thanked God that the last struggle was come, and he hoped he should be enabled to go through with it.

He tore the hood from his face, that he might be seen by the numerous spectators, many of whom had formerly been his parishioners. He then began to speak to the people who were praying for him; but the officers thrust sticks into his mouth, and threatened to cut his tongue out, unless he would promise to keep silence at the place of execution.

When he had prayed, he kissed the stake, and got into a barrel partly filled with pitch, which was placed for that purpose. Fire being set to the pitch, Dr. Taylor continued praying in the most devout manner, till one of the officers, more humane than the rest, knocked out his brains with a halberd; which put an end to his misery.

We have in this case an instance of popish superstition, in some respects more violent than any we have yet taken notice of. Dr. Taylor was not only a pious man, but he had been, for his knowledge of the canon and civil laws, long esteemed as the glory of Cambridge. He had, from his distinguished abilities and learning, confuted the chancellor in his arguments concerning the marriage of the clergy; and, indeed, in all other respects, he was so well acquainted with the ancient fathers, that he was with great propriety called "The Walking Library." But no mercy can be shown, where religious rancour takes place. There is something in such persecutions that shuts up the bowels of compassion, even towards the nearest relations. Civil persecutors may occasionally relax into compassion; but those who persecute from erroneous notions of religion, are strangers to every humane sensation; and pant for the blood of those who differ from them, "even as the hart doth for the water brooks."

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#### SECTION IV.

MARTYRDOMS OF NUMEROUS PERSONS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF ENGLAND.

##### *Thomas Tomkins.*

The first person we have to mention on the bloody list contained in this section, was named Thomas Tomkins, a weaver, who lived with great reputation, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch. Being accused of heresy, he was summoned before that merciless persecutor, Bishop Bonner, who confined him, with many others, in the dungeons of his palace at Fulham.

During his imprisonment he was treated by the bishop in a manner not only unbecoming a prelate, but a man; he several times beat him with peculiar cruelty, and tore the greatest part of his beard from his face, for no other reason but his refusing his assent to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Another instance of this cruel bishop's inhumanity to Mr. Tomkins, was exhibited before several gentlemen who came to visit him. The bishop, finding him inflexible, took hold of him by the wrist, and held his hand over the flame of a wax candle, in order, if possible, to make him deviate from those uncorrupted truths of the gospel he had so strongly preserved. This punishment Mr. Tomkins submitted to with great fortitude, till the veins burst, and water issuing from the hand, flew into the face of a bystander, who was so affected that he requested the bishop to forbear, saying, he had sufficiently punished the prisoner.

A few days after this, Mr. Tomkins was brought before the bishop, at his consistory court, at St. Paul's, to whom he delivered the following articles of confession in writing, sealed up, and signed with his own hand :

"I, Thomas Tomkins, of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the diocese of London, having confessed, and declared openly, heretofore, to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, mine ordinary, that my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ is not, truly and in very deed, in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven; and so in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar :

"And, moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary, openly, many times, that although the church, called the Catholic church, hath allowed, and doth allow the mass and sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholesome, profitable, and godly thing : yet my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for the soul ; and so I have called it many times, and take it at this present :

"Having also confessed and declared to my said ordinary, that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministered ; but also without such ceremonies as are generally used in the Latin church, and otherwise not to be allowed :

"Finally, being many and often times called before my said ordinary, and talking with all, touching all my said confessions and declarations, both by my said ordinary and divers other learned men, as well his chaplains as others, and counselled by them all to embrace the church, and to recant mine error, in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy, and manifest error ; do testify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my said confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises, and every part thereof ; and in no wise recant, or go from any part of the same. In witness whereof, I have subscribed and passed the writing, this 26th of September, 1554."

Bishop Bonner, and the rest of the tribunal, strongly pressed Mr. Tomkins to recant his errors, and return to the mother church : but he only answered, "I was born and brought up in ignorance till of late years, and now I know the truth, I will continue therein unto death."

Finding him inflexible, they declared him a heretic, and ordered the sheriff of London, who attended, to conduct him immediately to



Newgate. Here he remained till the 16th of March, 1555, when he was conducted to Smithfield, and there burnt, triumphing in the midst of the flames, and adding to the number of those martyrs who had preceded him through the path of the fiery trial to the rebus of immortal glory.

*William Hunter.*

This pious young man was the son of poor, but honest and religious parents, who trained him up in the doctrines of the reformation, and when at a proper age put him apprentice to one Thomas Taylor, a silk weaver, in Coleman-street, London.

On the accession of Queen Mary, orders were issued to the priests of every parish to summon all their parishioners to receive the communion at mass, the Easter following, when young Hunter, who was then only nineteen years of age, refusing to obey the summons, was threatened with being brought before the bishop to answer for his disobedience.

In consequence of this, his master, fearful of incurring ecclesiastical censure, desired he would leave him, at least for a time; upon which he quitted his service, and went to his father, at Brentwood, in Essex.

During his stay here, he one day went into the chapel, and seeing the Bible lay on the desk, he opened it, and began to read. Being observed by an officer of the bishop's court, he severely reprimanded him, and said, "Why meddlest thou with the Bible? understandest thou what thou readest? canst thou expound the scriptures?" To which Hunter replied, "I do not presume to do it; but finding the Bible here, I read it for my comfort and edification."

The officer then informed a neighbouring priest of the liberty Hunter had taken in reading the Bible, who immediately sent for him, and severely chid him, saying, "Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read the Bible, and expound it?" He answered as he had done to the officer; and, on the priest's saying, it became him not to meddle with the scriptures, he frankly declared his resolution to read them as long as he lived. The priest upbraided him as a heretic; but he boldly denied the charge. Being asked his opinion concerning the corporeal presence in the sacrament, he replied, that he esteemed the bread and wine but as figures, and looked upon the sacrament as an institution in remembrance of the death and sufferings of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. On this the priest openly declared him a heretic, and threatened to complain of him to the bishop.

A neighbouring justice named Brown, having heard that young Hunter maintained heretical principles, sent for his father to inquire into the particulars. The old man told him, that his son had left him, and that he knew not whither he was gone. The justice, not believing what he said, threatened to commit him to prison, unless he would immediately cause his son to be apprehended, and brought before him. To this he replied, with tears in his eyes, "Would you have me seek out my son to be burned?"

He was, however, obliged to go in quest of his son; when meeting him by accident, William asked his father if he was seeking for him; to which the old man answered, with tears, in the affirmative, and that it was by order of the justice, who threatened to put him in prison.

The son, to secure his father from any danger on his account, said he was ready to accompany him home, which he accordingly did.

The next day he was apprehended by the constable of the parish, who put him in the stocks for twenty-four hours, and then took him before the justice. On his arrival, the justice called for a Bible, turned to the sixth chapter of St. John, and desired him to give his opinion of the meaning of it, as it related to the sacrament of the altar.

Hunter gave the same explanation as he had done to the priest; and persisting in his denial of the corporeal presence in the eucharist, the justice upbraided him with heresy, and wrote an account of his conduct to the bishop of London.

In consequence of this, young Hunter was summoned to appear at the consistory court held at St. Paul's. He accordingly attended at the time appointed, when he was severely reprov'd for having fallen from the catholic faith, and was exhorted to return to the same.

To this he boldly answered, that he had not fallen from the catholic faith, but believed and confessed it with all his heart.

He was then desired by the bishop to recant what he had said concerning the sacrament of the altar; but he declared, that by the help of God he would still continue to persist in the faith he had hitherto maintained, and avowed.

Being urged still farther, and promised that if he would recant he should go home unhurt, he said to the bishop, "My lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my own conscience, I will return to my father, and dwell with him, or else with my master again, and will keep my opinion to myself."

The bishop answered, "I am content, so that thou wilt go to church, receive, and be confessed." This Hunter peremptorily refused; upon which, after several farther efforts to bring him over, the bishop ordered him to be put in the stocks, where he continued two days and nights, having only a crust of brown bread, and a cup of water, given to him for refreshment.

At the expiration of the two days the bishop went to him, and finding the bread and water lay by him untouched, he ordered some of his servants to take him out of the stocks, and let him breakfast with them; but they evaded the bishop's request, thinking it great profanation that such *excellent Christians* as they were, should eat with a vile *heretic*.

After this he was repeatedly brought before the bishop, who, sometimes by soothing him, and sometimes by threats, endeavoured to bring him to a recantation; but all his efforts proved ineffectual. In consequence of this the persecuting prelate passed sentence on him, which was, that he should be remanded to Newgate for a time, from whence he should be removed to Brentwood; "where," said the bishop, "thou shalt be burned."

A few days after this the bishop sent for him again, and promised him preferment if he would recant: to which he replied, "My lord, I thank you for your great offer; but if you cannot enforce my recantation from scripture, I cannot, in my conscience, turn from God for the love of the world, for I count all things but dung and dross for the love of Christ."

He was then carried back to Newgate, and in a few days removed to Brentwood, where he was confined in an inn till the day of his execution. During this time he was visited by many of his neigh-

hours and acquaintances, all of whom he exhorted to beware of popish superstition and idolatry.

On the morning of the 27th of March, 1555, the sheriff gave orders for the necessary preparations to be made for his execution. In the mean time the sheriff's son, who was his friend, visited him at the inn, and encouraged him not to fear the men who were making preparations for his death; to whom he said, "that, thank God, he was not in the least intimidated. for that he had cast up his account, and well knew the happy consequences that would attend his strict adherence to the cause of Christ."

A short time after this he was led from the inn to the stake, between one of the sheriff's officers, and his brother Robert. In their way he was met by his father, who, with tears flowing from his eyes, said to him, "God be with thee, son William." To which he replied, "God be with you, good father, and be of good cheer, for I trust we shall meet again, with exceeding great joy."

When he arrived at the place of execution, he knelt on a fagot, and repeated the 51st psalm, till he came to these words: "The sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit: a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." He was then interrupted by one of the officers, who told him the translation was wrong, the words being "an humble spirit;" but he said the translation was "a contrite heart," on which he was told that the heretics translated books as they pleased.

The sheriff then showed him a letter from the queen, containing his pardon if he would recant; but he refused life on such terms, went up to the stake, and was chained to it, saying to the spectators, "Good people, pray for me, and make quick despatch: pray for me, while you see me alive, and I will pray for you."

He then took a fagot, and embraced it in his arms; and on a priest's offering him a book, said, "Away, thou false prophet! beware of him, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest ye be partakers of their plagues." The priest cried out, "As thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell!" "Thou liest, thou false prophet!" exclaimed Hunter; "away with thee!"

As soon as the fire was kindled, our martyr gave his prayer book to his brother, who, to encourage him, reminded him of the passion of his dear Redeemer, and bid him be of good cheer: to which he replied, "I fear neither torture nor death; Lord Jesus, receive my departing spirit!" The fire burning rapidly, he was soon consumed, yielding up his life, with patience and humility, to Him who gave it, and in testimony of the truth of that God who cannot change, but whose word is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

On the same day that Hunter was executed, *Thomas Higbed* and *Thomas Causton*, two gentlemen of Essex, suffered the like fate; the former being burnt at Horndon on the Hill, and the latter at Rayleigh, both in that county.

*William Pigot, Stephen Knight, and the Rev. John Lawrence.*

These three pious Christians having been informed against by the emissaries of Bonner and Gardiner, as maintaining religious opinions contrary to the doctrine and practice of the holy mother church, were summoned to appear before Bishop Bonner, at his consistory court in London, where they were severally questioned concerning their faith of the corporal presence in the sacrament.

Having respectively answered and subscribed that the elements were not substantially, but figuratively, the body and blood of Christ, in that holy ordinance, they were severely reprimanded by the court, admonished to recant their heretical opinions, and for that time dismissed.

A few days after, they were again examined concerning the same tenet, when they made the like declaration as before; in consequence of which the bishop addressed himself to the two laymen, and with an affected concern for their spiritual and temporal interests, warmly exhorted them to reject their heresies, and not expose themselves to death here and damnation hereafter, by obstinately persisting in disobedience to the holy see; but these plain Christians were too well grounded in the doctrines of Christ's pure gospel, to be moved from their adherence to the true faith. They, therefore, told the bishop, that they could not recant consistently with the dictates of their consciences, nor would they abjure the opinions to which they had subscribed.

After this Bishop Bonner entered into argument with Lawrence, the priest, alone, and having demanded of what order he was, he answered, that he was admitted to priest's orders eighteen years past, that he had been formerly a black friar, and that he was now betrothed to a maid, whom he intended to marry.

The bishop then asked him his opinion of the corporeal presence in the sacrament; to which he replied, that "it was an institution of our blessed Lord, in commemoration of his death and sufferings; and that those were greatly deceived, who believed that his body was verily present in the same, since he had long before ascended into heaven, and was placed at the right hand of the glorious majesty of the Father."

Mr. Lawrence was, for the present, dismissed; but, a few days after, he, with Pigot and Knight, were again summoned before the bishop, who, with his usual hypocrisy, exhorted them to recant, embrace the Roman Catholic faith, and not be the wilful cause of their own destruction. But no argument could induce them to recede in a single point; all of them declaring they would abide by their opinions, because they were founded on the word of God, whereas the other was merely of human invention.

From this frank declaration Bishop Bonner proceeded to pass sentence on them as irreclaimable heretics, and then degraded Lawrence with the usual ceremonies. After which they were all three delivered to the sheriff, who conducted them to Newgate.

On the 28th of March, 1555, being the day appointed for the execution of Pigot and Knight, they were removed early in the morning to the respective places destined for their execution, the former at Braintree, and the latter at Malden, in Essex. When Knight arrived at the stake, he kneeled down, and, with an audible voice, said the following excellent prayer:

"O Lord Jesus Christ! for whose love I leave willingly this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy most holy name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy commandment; thou seest, O Lord, that where I might live in worldly wealth to worship a false God, and honour thine enemy, I choose rather the torment of one

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

Both these martyrs suffered with amazing fortitude and resignation, proving to the spectators, that, "as is the day" of the sincere believer, "so likewise will be his strength."

The next day, March 29th, the Rev. John Lawrence suffered at Colchester. He was carried to the place of execution in a chair, being unable to walk, from the pressure of the irons with which his legs were bound, and the weakness of his body from want of proper nourishment while in prison. The chair was fastened to the stake, and he sat in it, for some time, with great composure, praying to God to enable him to undergo the fiery trial; at length the fagots were lighted, and he triumphantly expired in the cause of his glorious master, in sure and certain hope of an eternal existence in heaven.

*Dr. Robert Farrar, Bishop of St. David's.*

The emissaries of the persecuting bishops had, for some time, fixed their eyes on this worthy and pious prelate, who, not only in the former reign, but also after the accession of Mary, had been particularly zealous in promoting the reformed doctrines, and exploding the errors of popish idolatry. Information of this being given to the bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor, Dr. Farrar, with several others, was summoned to appear before him, and the other commissioners.

After some previous harangue, the bishop of Winchester told him, that the queen and parliament had restored religion to the state in which it was at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII.; that he was in the queen's debt, but her majesty would cancel the same, and re-admit him to her favour, if he would return to the holy catholic church.

Undismayed by this information, Dr. Farrar answered, that with

respect to the debt, he submitted it to the lord treasurer: but his lordship might well remember, that upon two former occasions he had solemnly sworn never to acknowledge the papal jurisdiction over the realm of England, and therefore it was needless to rehearse what he had already so peremptorily declared.

After a long debate, Gardiner sternly demanded, if he would recant, and acknowledge the papal supremacy: to which Farrar, with a resolution becoming a true Christian, and worthy bishop, expressed a degree of contempt, that his lordship should even think he would recede from an oath he had made to his Maker: an oath he could not break, consistently with his duty to God, and his regard to the interest of the reformed religion in his native country.

The haughty Gardiner was so highly incensed at this spirited behaviour in Dr. Farrar, that, according to his usual inhuman custom, he treated him with scurrility, calling him "froward knave," and telling him, that he should know his fate in a few days. To this Farrar coolly replied, that he was ever ready to obey his summons, but would never retract what he had solemnly sworn, at the instigation of him, or any other man whatever.

The examination being over, Dr. Farrar was ordered to Newgate, where he was a short time confined, and then sent into Wales, there to receive his sentence of condemnation.

On his arrival at Carmarthen, he was delivered to the sheriff of the county, who took him before Henry Morgan, the popish bishop of St. David's, and Constantine, the public notary, by whom he was committed to the custody of the keeper of Carmarthen gaol.

A few days after his commitment to that prison, he was sent for by Bishop Morgan, who exhorted him to recant, on condition of which he assured him of the queen's clemency, as well as preference to an office of dignity in the church. But our martyr was inflexible: he would not listen to any proposals derogatory to the oath he had taken; upon which Bishop Morgan asked him the two following questions:

"1. Whether he believed the marriage of priests to be allowed by the laws of the holy church?"

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

Dr. Farrar refused to answer to these questions, unless the bishop produced a commission, authorizing him to ask them: upon which he was remanded to prison.

At length, after various disputes with Bishop Morgan, he appealed from him, as an incompetent judge, to Cardinal Pole; notwithstanding which, sentence was pronounced against him as a heretic, and he was delivered over to the secular power, having been previously degraded by Morgan.

Thus, for his steadfast adherence to the uncorrupted doctrines of the reformation, and resolute denial of the papal jurisdiction in these realms, was Dr. Farrar condemned, degraded, delivered up to the secular power, and, on the 30th of March, being the eve of Passion Sunday, in the bloody year 1555, executed in the market-place of Carmarthen, amidst a numerous crowd of spectators.

The following circumstance is a convincing proof what constancy and resolution this good man possessed, and how determined he was to retain those religious principles to the last, which, throughout his life, he had strongly adhered to.

The son of a person of distinction visiting him a few days before his execution, and lamenting the cruel fate that awaited him, the doctor told him, that if he saw him once stir in the pains of burning, he might then give no credit to his doctrine, but look upon it as the effects of enthusiasm.

He resolutely fulfilled his promise, and greatly surprised his friend, who came to condole his fate: for he stood motionless in the midst of the flames, holding both his hands till they were burnt to the stumps, at which time one of the officers struck him on the head with a staff, and put a period to his life.

As Dr. Farrar gave many signal instances of his sincere and unshaken zeal for the honour of Christ, and exaltation of his name, during life, so, at his death, he suffered and expired with a degree of Christian heroism, equal to that of any of the noble army of martyrs.

*Martyrdom of Rawlins White, a poor Fisherman of South Wales.*

To such a height did the rage and malice of popish persecutors arrive, during the reign of Mary, that they not only vented their fury on men of eminence and learning, who espoused the protestant cause, but the meanest and most ignorant of the people, who would not submit to the papal yoke, were arraigned at their bloody tribunals, and put to death for no other cause, but that of professing the truth as it is contained in the scriptures.

Rawlins White, (the poor man whose sufferings we are about to relate,) had been so attentive to the preaching of the gospel during the reign of Edward VI. that he had attained to a very competent knowledge of the holy scriptures, and became a zealous asserter of the protestant doctrines, having wholly renounced the superstition and idolatry of popery, and conformed to the public worship of God, according to the English common prayer-book.

Being thus converted to the true faith of Christ, he took great pains to instruct his son in the same, causing him to read a portion of the sacred scriptures every night and morning, till he likewise became well grounded in the principles of the true religion, as contained in the gospel.

White was not only desirous of acquiring saving knowledge himself, but also of communicating it to others; insomuch that he took every opportunity of visiting his neighbours, and endeavouring to instruct those, whom he found desirous of obtaining a knowledge of the truth.

He continued those devout and holy exercises in a public manner, till the death of King Edward, when popery being restored, and the pure religion discouraged and restrained, he used to meet his friends privately, pray, and encourage them to hold fast to the truth. At length he was apprehended, by one of the officers of the town, on a suspicion of heresy, who taking him before the bishop of Llandaff, he was, by that prelate, committed to prison.

During his confinement, several of his friends sent him money; and he was visited by many, whom he instructed in the faith of Christ,

and exhorted to beware of popish emissaries, as wolves in sheep's clothing.

After a long imprisonment, the bishop of Llandaff summoned White to appear before him, and endeavoured to bring him over to idolatry and superstition; but all his exhortations proving ineffectual, he told him in anger, that he must come to a resolution either to recant his heretical opinions, or endure the rigour of the laws enacted against those who maintained tenets repugnant to the doctrines of the holy see.

On the day appointed for his examination, the bishop, in the presence of his chaplains, and many others, assembled in the chapel, declared that White was known not only to maintain heretical principles himself, but to inculcate the same among his acquaintance. Then addressing himself to the prisoner, he told him, that he had frequently, since his first warning, been admonished to relinquish his heretical tenets, and yet he had always turned a deaf ear to the most salutary advice. He added, that out of clemency they had once more sent for him, mildly to endeavour to bring him to an humble sense of his errors; and assured him that, upon due penitence for the crimes he had committed, both against God and the laws of his sovereign, they were disposed to show him mercy: but that if, in spite of the royal clemency, and the admonition of the reverend fathers, he persisted in his heresies, they were determined to execute on him the utmost rigour of the law, as a most damnable and obstinate heretic.

White, without the least sign of fear at the peremptory declaration of the bishop, told his lordship, that he blessed God he was a Christian, and held no doctrines contrary to the divine mind and will as revealed in the scriptures of truth: if he did, he wished to be convinced of the same out of the divine word, to which he determined ever most implicitly to conform.

After much more exhortation, the bishop assured him, that if he would not recant, he must condemn him as a heretic. To which White replied, that he might proceed as he thought proper, but that he could not condemn him as a heretic, as he did not maintain any opinion that was not supported by the word of God.

The bishop then desired the people present to join with him in prayer, that it would please God to turn White's heart, and bring him to the acknowledgment of the true religion.

Our martyr applauded this behaviour of the bishop, as becoming his profession, assuring him that if the request was agreeable to the divine will, God would, doubtless, hear and grant the same; and that while the bishop was praying to his God, he himself would pray to his God, who he knew would hear and perform his desire.

Accordingly they all went to private prayer, which being finished, the bishop asked him how he found himself disposed in his mind? He replied, "The very same as before."

The bishop, incensed that no change could be wrought upon him, was about to read the sentence, when he was advised first to say mass, during which ceremony, White standing at the door of the choir, cried out to the populace, "Bear witness that I bow not to this idol," meaning the host which the priest held over his head.

Mass being performed, he was again warmly admonished to recant, but all exhortation was ineffectual; the bishop, therefore, read



the definitive sentence, after which he was carried to Cardiff, and imprisoned in a place called Cockmarel, a most filthy and loathsome dungeon, where he continued till the writ for his execution came from London.

Upon the day appointed for terminating his life, which was March 30, 1555, he was brought from prison, and in his way to the place appointed for the bloody scene, met his wife and children, wringing their hands, and most bitterly lamenting his approaching fate. This affecting sight drew tears from his eyes; but soon recollecting himself, and striking his breast with his hand, he said, "Ah! flesh, stayest thou me, wouldest thou fain prevail? Well, do what thou canst, by God's grace thou shalt not get the victory."

As soon as he arrived at the stake, he fell on his knees, and kissed the earth, saying, "Earth to earth, and dust to dust; thou art my mother, to thee I must return."

When he was fastened to the stake, and the straw, reeds, and wood were placed round him, a priest, appointed for the purpose, stood up and harangued the spectators, who were very numerous, it being market-day.

The priest, having finished his discourse, in which he inveighed against the opinion of the protestants concerning the sacrament of the altar, our martyr rebuked him, proved his doctrine to be false, and cited, as his authority, those words of our Lord, "Do this in remembrance of me."

The fire being kindled, he was soon surrounded by the flames, in the midst of which this good old man (for he was sixty years of age) held up his hands till the sinews shrunk, crying earnestly, "O Lord, receive my soul! O Lord, receive my spirit!" The flames were so vehement about his legs, that they were almost consumed, before the upper part of his body was injured by the fire; notwithstanding which he bore his sufferings with the greatest composure and resignation, cheerfully resigning his soul into the hands of Him who gave it, in sure and certain hopes of being rewarded for his constancy with a crown of eternal life.

#### *Martyrdom of the Rev. George Marsh.*

This eminent and pious divine was descended from poor, but honest and religious parents, who educated him, from his earliest years, in the principles of the reformed religion; so that when he arrived at manhood, he was well versed in the doctrines of the pure gospel of Christ.

At his first entrance into the business of life he followed the occupation of farming, and by his honest endeavours maintained his family with decency and reputation for some years; but on the decease of his wife, being disposed to study, he placed his children with his father, quitted his farm, and went to Cambridge, where he made such a progress in literature, that he soon entered into holy orders.

He officiated as curate in several parishes in the county of Lancaster, kept a school at Dean, and was a zealous promoter of the true religion, as well as a vigorous opposer of the idolatries of the church of Rome, during the reign of King Edward VI. But when popery again raised its destructive head, he, among many others, became the object of its persecution, as one that propagated doctrines contrary

to the *infallible church*, and therefore liable to the severest censure and punishment.

Mr. Marsh, on hearing that search was made after him, absconded for some time, and in his retirement often deliberated with himself, whether he should go abroad to save his life, or surrender himself up, in order to ward off the mischief which threatened his mother and brother, who were suspected of having concealed him.

During this unsettled state of his mind, he consulted with his friends, and earnestly sought direction of God, that he might be guided in the way which most conduced to His glory, and his own spiritual and eternal interest.

At length, thinking that flight would evince cowardice in the best of causes, he determined, by the grace of God, to abide by the consequence, and accordingly surrendered himself to the earl of Derby, at his seat at Latham, in the county of Lancaster.

When he was brought into the earl's presence, he was charged with propagating heresy, and sowing sedition among the people; but he denied the charge, and declared, that he preached no other doctrine than what was contained in the word of God, and that he always enforced allegiance to his sovereign according to the will of God.

Being asked to deliver a summary of his belief, he declared, that he believed in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to the creeds of the apostles, the council of Nice, and the saints Athanasius, Anstia, and Ambrose.

A Romish priest, who was present, then proceeded to inquire his opinion concerning the favourite tenet of the church of Rome, relating to the sacrament. Marsh answered, in general, that he believed whosoever received the holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, according to his own appointment, did eat and drink his body and blood, with all the benefits arising from the same, because our Lord was ever present at his own ordinances.

This general reply not appearing satisfactory, the inquisitors descended to particulars, and peremptorily demanded his opinion, whether or no the elements were changed into the very body and blood of Christ after consecration. Our martyr briefly observed, that what he believed he had already declared, and desired them not to propose to him such hard and unprofitable questions, in order to endanger his life, and, as it were, to suck from him his very blood.

Incensed at this reply, the earl told him, that instead of seeking his destruction, he meant to preserve his life in this world, and secure his happiness in that which is to come, by converting him from damnable errors and heresies, and bringing him over to the holy mother-church, out of the pale of which there was no salvation.

After many questions and exhortations, finding he still persevered in the faith which opposed that of the "infallible church," the earl gave him pen and ink, and ordered him to write down his belief concerning the sacrament of the altar; and on his writing the same words he had before delivered, he was commanded to be more particular, when he wrote only the following: "Further I know not."

This resolute behaviour exposed him to the keenest resentment of his popish persecutors, who committed him to prison, and suffered no

one to come near him but the keeper, who brought him daily the scanty allowance of the place.

Various attempts were made, during his confinement, to bring him to a recantation; but as he still remained fixed and determined in his faith, they administered to him the four following articles, and the earl declared, if he would not subscribe them, he should be imprisoned, and proceeded against with the utmost severity.

“ 1. Whether the mass now used in the church of England was according to Christ’s institution; and with faith, reverence, and devotion, to be heard and seen?”

“ 2. Whether Almighty God, by the words pronounced by the priest, did change the bread and wine, after the words of consecration, into the body and blood of Christ, whether it were received or reserved?”

“ 3. Whether the lay-people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?”

“ 4. Whether confession to the priest now used in England was godly and necessary?”

Having retired for some time to consider of these articles, he returned, and delivered his opinion of them as follows:

The first he absolutely denied.

The second he answered in the very words he had before written.

With respect to the third, he declared that lay-people, according to the institution of Christ, ought to receive under both kinds, and that, therefore, to receive under one kind only was not sufficient.

To the last he observed, that though auricular confession was good means to instruct ignorant people, it was not necessary to salvation, because not commanded by God.

To these answers he added, that his faith in Christ, founded on the infallible word of the only living and true God, he never would deny at the instance of any living creature, or through fear of any punishment whatsoever.

He was afterwards committed to Lancaster gaol, laid in irons, and arraigned at the bar with the common felons, where the persecutors endeavoured to extort from him information of several persons in that county, whom they suspected of maintaining heretical opinions; but nothing could prevail with him to utter a word that might endanger the lives or liberties of his faithful brethren in Christ.

He was severely reprimanded for reading aloud to the people (who came in crowds every morning and evening under his prison window) the litany and prayers of the reformed church, together with select passages of holy writ in the English tongue, which they termed “preaching,” and, therefore, deemed criminal.

After remaining some weeks in confinement at Lancaster, he was removed to Chester, and placed in the bishop’s custody, when his lordship frequently conferred with him, and used his utmost endeavours to bring him to an acknowledgment of the corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar, the mass, confession, and, in short, all the tenets and practices of the church of Rome.

When the bishop found he would not assent to a single point, he remanded him to prison; and in a few days summoned him before him in the cathedral church of Chester, where, in the presence of the mayor, chancellor, and principal inhabitants of that city, both laity

and clergy, he caused him to take a solemn oath, to answer truly to such articles as might be alleged against him.

After he was sworn, the chancellor accused him of having preached and published most heretically and blasphemously, within the parishes of Dean, Eccles, Berry, and many other parishes within the bishop's diocese, directly against the pope's authority, the catholic church of Rome, the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, with many other articles.

To all these charges Mr. Marsh answered, that he had neither heretically or blasphemously preached or published against any of the articles, but as occasion served; and as his conscience obliged him to maintain the truth, as declared in God's word, and as all then present had acknowledged in the preceding reign.

Being examined as to every particular article, he modestly answered, according to the doctrine publicly taught in the reign of King Edward VI.

After a further confinement of three weeks in prison, Marsh was again brought into the cathedral, where the chancellor made a formal harangue on the bishop's care of his flock, "in order to prevent infection from scabby sheep," and the like; which being ended, the former articles were propounded to him, to which he severally answered in the negative.

Being charged with having declared that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in King Edward's time was the true church, and that the church of Rome is not the true Catholic church, he acknowledged the declaration, and ratified it by a repetition.

Several persons present taking occasion to ask him, as he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England, whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, who were bishops of Rome, were not good men; he replied in the affirmative, but reminded them that they claimed no more authority in England, than the archbishop of Canterbury doth in Rome.

As this observation highly reflected on the validity of the papal supremacy, the bishop was so incensed, that he gave Marsh very abusive language, calling him, "a most damnable, irreclaimable, unpardonable heretic."

In return for this, Mr. Marsh mildly expostulated with the bishop, telling him, if he could be persuaded, in his own conscience, that the articles proposed to him were founded on God's word, he would gladly yield in every point, declaring that he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred every kind of heresy; and then called all present to bear witness, that in the articles of religion he held no other opinion than what was by law established, and publicly taught in England, in the time of King Edward the Sixth; and that, in such religion and doctrine, by the grace of God, he would live and die.

He was then, for the last time, asked, whether he would stand to these opinions, being full of heresies, or forsake them, and return to the catholic church; and on his heartily declaring he would continue steadfast and immovable in the faith of God's word, nor ever return to any church that was not founded on scripture authority, the bishop began to read his sentence of condemnation, but was interrupted by the chancellor, in order to give him another opportunity of recanting.

He absolutely withstood the earnest entreaties of several people,

who desired him to accept of the proffered mercy: nor could even the repeated exhortations of the bishop and chancellor prevail with this eminent servant of Christ, to deny his Lord and Master, and submit to the usurpation of cruel, tyrannical men.

All endeavours proving ineffectual, the bishop proceeded in passing sentence, which being ended, Marsh was delivered up to the sheriffs, who conveyed him to the North-Gate prison, where he was confined in a dungeon till the day appointed for his execution.

On the 4th of April, 1555, this firm believer was led to the place appointed for his martyrdom, amidst a crowd of lamenting spectators. It was near a village called Spittle-Boughton, at a small distance from Chester. As soon as he arrived at the place, the chamberlain of that city showed him a box, containing the queen's pardon, on condition that he would recant. Our martyr coolly answered, "that he would gladly accept the same, for he loved the queen; but as it tended to pluck him from God, who was King of kings, and Lord of lords, he could not receive it on such terms."

Then turning to the spectators, he told them the cause of the cruel death which awaited him, and exhorted them to remain steadfast in the faith of Christ; which done, he kneeled on the ground, directed his prayer to God for strength equal to the fiery trial, arose, and was chained to the stake, having a number of fagots under him, and a cask full of pitch and tar hanging over his head.

As soon as he was chained to the stake, he again addressed himself earnestly in prayer to God; and the fire being kindled, he suffered, for a considerable time, the most exquisite torture, his flesh being so broiled, and puffed up, that those who stood before him could not see the chain with which he was fastened. At length, with the utmost fortitude, he spread forth his arm, and said, with a voice to be universally heard by the spectators, "Father of heaven, have mercy upon me." Soon after which he yielded up his spirit into the hands of Him who gave it.

Thus died, in confirmation of the gospel of Christ, a sincere believer, raising, by his patient resignation, the wonder and astonishment of all that saw him suffer, the greater part of whom cried out with ecstacy, "Of a truth God is with him."

*Margaret Polley, first Female Martyr in England.*

Such was the fury of bigoted zeal during the reign of Mary, that even the more tender sex did not escape the resentment of the Romish persecutors. These monsters in human form, embraced every opportunity of exercising their cruelty, tyranny, and usurpation; nor could youth, age, or sex, impress on their minds the least feelings of humanity.

Information being given against Margaret Polley, to Maurice, bishop of Rochester, she was brought before him, when his lordship, according to the pontifical solemnity of the church of Rome, rose from his chair, in solemn parade, and harangued her as follows:

"We, Maurice, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our mere office in a cause of heresy, against thee, Margaret Polley, of the parish of Poppingberry, in our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay, and object against thee, all and singular the ensuing articles:

"To these, all and singular, we require of thee a true, a full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given."

The oath being administered by the official, the bishop looked steadfastly at the woman, and demanded of her a peremptory answer to each of the following articles.

1. "Are not those heretics, who maintain and hold other opinions than our holy mother and catholic church doth?"

To this she replied, "They are, indeed, heretics and grossly deceived, who hold and maintain doctrines contrary to the will of God, contained in the holy scriptures, which I sincerely believe were written by holy men immediately taught and instructed by the Holy Ghost."

2. "Do you hold and maintain that in the sacrament of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of Christ, and that the said body is verily in heaven only, and not in the sacrament?"

She answered, "What I have learned from the holy scriptures, those living oracles of God, I do and will steadfastly maintain, viz. that the very body which was crucified for the sins of all true believers, ascended into heaven, is there placed at the right hand of the majesty on high; that such body has ever since remained there, and therefore cannot, according to my belief, be in the sacrament of the altar.

"I believe that the bread and wine in the sacrament are to be received as symbols and representatives of the body and blood of Christ, but not as his body really and substantially.

"I think, in my weak judgment, that it is not in the power of any man, by pronouncing words over the elements of bread and wine, to transubstantiate them into the real body and blood of Christ.

"In short, it is my belief, that the eucharist is only a commemoration of the death of our Saviour, who said, 'As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.'"

These pertinent and frank replies greatly provoked the haughty prelate, who exclaimed against the woman, as an obstinate heretic, and, after much scurrilous language, told her, "she was a silly woman, knew not what she said, and that it was the duty of every Christian to believe as the mother-church hath taught and doth teach."

He then asked her the following question: "Will you, Margaret Polley, recant the error which you maintain, be reconciled to the holy church, and receive the remission of sins?" To which she replied, "I cannot believe otherwise than I have spoken, because the practice of the church of Rome is contrary not only to reason and my senses, but also to the word of God."

Immediately on this reply, the bishop pronounced sentence of condemnation against her; after which she was carried back to prison, where she remained for upwards of a month.

She was a woman in the prime of life, pious, charitable, humane, learned in the scriptures, and beloved by all who were acquainted with her.

During her imprisonment she was repeatedly exhorted to recant; but she refused all offers of life on such terms, choosing glory, honour, and immortality hereafter, rather than a few short years in this vale of grief, and even those purchased at the expense of truth and conscience.

When the day appointed for her execution arrived, which was in July, 1555, she was conducted from the prison at Rochester to Tunbridge, where she was burned, sealing the truth of what she had testified with her blood, and showing that the God of all grace, out of the weakest vessel, can give strength, and cause the meanest instruments to magnify the glories of his redeeming love.

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## SECTION V.

### MARTYRDOM OF THE REV. ROBERT SAMUEL, AND OTHERS.

Mr. Robert Samuel was a very pious man, and an eminent preacher of the gospel, according to the principles of the reformation, during the reign of Edward VI. He attended to his charge with indefatigable industry, and by his preaching and living, recommended and enforced the truth of the gospel.

Soon after the accession of Queen Mary, he was turned out of his living, and retired to Ipswich; but he could not refrain from using his utmost efforts to propagate the reformed religion, and, therefore, what he was prevented doing in public, he did in private. He assembled those who had been accustomed to hear him in a room in his house, and there daily taught them such precepts as might lead them to salvation.

While he was spending his time in this Christian manner, the queen commanded the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs to publish an order, that all priests who had been married in the days of King Edward, should put away their wives, and be compelled again to chastity, (as their hypocritical term expressed it,) and a single life.

This order Mr. Samuel could by no means obey, because he knew it to be abominable, contrary to the law of Christ, and every tie, social and humane. Therefore, determining within himself that God's laws were not to be violated for the traditions of men, he still kept his wife at Ipswich, and omitted no opportunity of instructing his Christian friends in the neighbourhood.

At length, his conduct reaching the ears of Foster, a justice of peace in those parts, every artifice was used by this popish bigot to apprehend Mr. Samuel, who was at length taken into custody by some of his myrmidons, when on a visit to his wife at Ipswich. Many efforts had been made without success, but, at length, information having been given of the precise time when he was to visit his wife, they deferred their enterprise till night, (fearing the resentment of the people, if they should attempt to apprehend them by day,) when great numbers beset him, and he quietly resigned himself into their hands.

Being taken before Foster, he was committed to Ipswich gaol, where he conversed and prayed with many of his fellow-sufferers, during his confinement in that place.

In a short time he was removed from Ipswich to Norwich, where Dr. Hopton, the persecuting bishop of that diocese, and Dunning, his chancellor, exercised on him the most intolerable cruelties.

Among all the inhuman wretches with which the nation abounded

at that time, none could be compared for cruelty with these two tyrants: for while the rage of others was generally satisfied with imprisonment and death, these were notorious for new invented tortures, by which some of their prisoners were brought to recant, and others were driven into all the horrors of the most bewildered madness.

In order to bring Mr. Samuel to recant, they confined him in a close prison, where he was chained to a post in such a manner, that, standing only on tiptoe, he was, in that position, forced to sustain the whole weight of his body.

To aggravate this torment, they kept him in a starving condition twelve days, allowing him no more than two bits of bread, and three spoonfuls of water each day, which was done in order to protract his misery, till they could invent new torments to overcome his patience and resolution.

These inhuman proceedings brought him to so shocking a state, that he was often ready to perish with thirst and hunger.

At length, when all the tortures which these savages could invent proved ineffectual, and nothing could induce our martyr to deny his great Lord and Master, he was condemned to be burned, an act less cruel than what he had already suffered.

On the 31st of August, 1555, he was taken to the stake, where he declared to the people around him what cruelties he had suffered during the time of his imprisonment, but that he had been enabled to sustain them all by the consolations of the divine spirit, with which he had been daily visited.

As this eminent martyr was being led to execution, a young woman, who had belonged to his congregation, and received the benefit of his spiritual discourses, came up to him, and, as the last token of respect, cordially embraced him. This being observed by some of the blood-thirsty papists, diligent inquiry was made for her the next day, in order to bring her to the like fate with her revered pastor, but she happily eluded their search, and escaped their cruel intentions.

Before Mr. Samuel was chained to the stake, he exhorted the spectators to avoid idolatry, and hold fast to the truth of the gospel; after which he knelt down, and with an audible voice, said the following prayer:

“O Lord, my God and Saviour, who art Lord in heaven and earth, maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the creature and work of thy hands: Lord God, look upon me, and others of thy people, who, at this time, are oppressed by the worldly-minded for thy law's sake; yea, Lord, thy law itself is now trodden under foot, and men's inventions exalted above it; and for that cause do I, and many of thy creatures, refuse the glory, praise, and conveniences of this life, and do choose to suffer adversity, and to be banished, yea, to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hope's sake that is laid up in store. For, Lord, thou knowest, if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to thy word, we might, by their permission, enjoy these advantages that others do, as wife, children, goods, and friends, all which I acknowledge to be thy gifts, given to the end I should serve thee. And now, Lord, that the world will not suffer me to enjoy them, except I offend thy laws, behold I give unto thee my whole spirit, soul, and body; and lo, I leave here all the pleasures of this life, and do now leave the use of them, for the hope's sake of eternal life, pur-



chased in Christ's blood, and promised to all them that fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his truth, whensoever the world and the devil shall persecute the same.

"O Father, I do not presume to come unto thee, trusting in mine own righteousness: no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son, my Saviour. For which excellent gift of salvation I cannot worthily praise thee, neither is my sacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in comparison of our bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will: and now, Lord, whatsoever rebellion hath been, or is found in my members against thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my body, to the death, rather than I will use any strange worshipping, which, I beseech thee, accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice: let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even death, the end of misery, and the beginning of all joy, peace, and solace: and when the time of resurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now be spoiled and consumed by fire. O Lord Jesus, receive my spirit into thy hands. Amen."

When he had finished his prayer, he arose, and being fastened to the stake, the fagots were placed round him and immediately lighted. He bore his sufferings with a courage and resolution truly Christian, cheerfully resigning this life of care and trouble, in exchange for another, where death shall be swallowed up in victory, where the tears shall be wiped away from all eyes, and an eternity employed in singing the praises of that grace, which has brought the redeemed of the Lord from much tribulation, and advanced them to mansions at the right hand of God, where are pleasures for evermore.

About the same time that Mr. Samuel suffered, several others shared the same fate, for adhering to the principles of the reformed religion.

*William Allen*, a labouring man, was burnt at Walsingham, in Norfolk.

*Thomas Cob*, a butcher, suffered at Thetford, in the same county.

*Roger Coo*, an ancient gentleman, was brought before the bishop of Norwich, and the following account of his examination will give a good idea of the degree of mercy and justice to be expected at such a tribunal; it being evident that the examination was a mere mockery.

Roger Coo, being brought before the bishop, was first asked by him, why he was imprisoned?

*Coo*. At the justice's commandment.

*Bishop*. There was some cause why.

*Coo*. Here is my accuser, let him declare.

And his accuser said, that he would not receive the sacrament.

Then the bishop said, that he thought he had transgressed the law.

*Coo* answered, that there was no law to transgress.

The bishop then asked, what he said to the law that then was?

*Coo* answered, that he had been in prison a long time, and knew it not.

No, said his accuser, nor will not. My lord, ask him when he received the sacrament.

When *Coo* heard him say so, he said, I pray you, my lord, let him sit down and examine me himself

But the bishop would not hear that, but said, Coo, why will you not receive ?

He answered him, That the bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine instead of the gospel and the belief of the same.

*Bishop.* Is not the holy church to be believed ?

*Coo.* Yes, if it be built upon the word of God.

The bishop said to Coo, that he had the charge of his soul.

*Coo.* Have you so, my lord ? Then if you go to the devil for your sins, what shall become of me ?

*Bishop.* Do you not believe as your father did ? Was not he an honest man ?

*Coo.* It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, "There shall come a people with the prince that shall destroy both city and sanctuary." I pray you, show me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or not ?

The bishop not answering this question, asked him, whether he would not obey the king's laws ?

*Coo.* As far as they agree with the word of God I will obey them.

*Bishop.* Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we are bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel.

*Coo.* If Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, had so done, Nebuchaduezzar had not confessed the living God.

*Bishop.* These two-and-twenty years we have been governed by such kings.

*Coo.* My lord, why were you then dumb, and did not speak or bark ?

*Bishop.* I durst not for fear of death. And thus they ended.

Mr. Coo was an aged man, and was at length committed to the fire at Yexford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly concluded his long extended years, in the month of September, 1555.

Four others also suffered about the same time at Canterbury, viz. George Cotner, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, and George Brodridge ; all of whom bore their punishment with Christian fortitude, glorifying God in the midst of the flames.

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## SECTION VI.

SUFFERINGS AND MARTYRDOMS OF ROBERT GLOVER AND CORNELIUS BONGEY, OF COVENTRY ; AND OF WILLIAM WOLSEY AND ROBERT PIGOT, OF THE ISLE OF ELV.

At the time Mr. Glover was apprehended, he lay sick at the house of his brother John Glover, who had secreted himself, on account of a warrant being issued to bring him before his ordinary, on a suspicion of heresy.

Though Mr. Robert Glover was in great danger from the bad state of his health, yet such was the brutality of the popish emissaries, that they took him out of his bed, and carried him to Coventry gaol, where he continued ten days, though no misdemeanour was alleged against him.



*Dr. Rowland Taylor dragged out of Church. Page 295.*



*Bishop Latimer examined before a Popish Tribunal. P. 327.*



*Archbishop Cranmer burnt. Page 390.*

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When the ten days were expired, in which he suffered great affliction from his illness, he was brought before the ordinary, the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, who told him that he must submit to ecclesiastical authority, and stand reprov'd for not coming to church.

Mr. Glover assured his lordship, that he neither had nor would come to church, so long as the mass was used there, to save five hundred lives, challenging him to produce one proof from scripture to justify that idolatrous practice.

After a long altercation with the bishop, in which Mr. Glover both learnedly and judiciously defended the doctrines of the reformation, against the errors and idolatries of popery, and evinced that he was able to "give a reason for the faith that was in him," he was remanded back to Coventry gaol, where he was kept close prisoner, without a bed, notwithstanding his illness; nevertheless, the divine comforts enabled him to sustain such cruel treatment without repining.

From Coventry he was removed to Litchfield, where he was visited by the chancellor and prebendaries, who exhorted him to recant his errors, and be dutiful to the holy mother-church; but he refused to conform to that, or any other church, whose doctrines and practices were not founded on scripture authority, which he determined to make the sole rule of his religious conduct.

After this visit, he remained alone eight days, during which time, he gave himself up to constant prayer, and meditation on the exceeding precious promises of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to all true believers, daily amending in bodily health, and increasing in the true faith of the gospel.

At the expiration of the eight days he was again brought before the bishop, who inquired how his imprisonment agreed with him, and warmly entreated him to become a member of the mother church, which had continued many years; whereas, the church, of which he had professed himself a member, was not known but in the time of Edward VI.

With respect to the inquiry, our martyr was silent, treating it with that contempt which such behaviour in a prelate deserved, but told his lordship, that he professed himself a member of that church, which is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; and then quoted that well-known passage in the epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians. "This church," added he, "hath been from the beginning, though it bore no pompous show before the world; being, for the most part, under crosses and afflictions, despised, rejected, and persecuted."

After much debate, in which Mr. Glover cited scripture for whatever he advanced, to the confusion and indignation of that haughty prelate, he was commanded, on his obedience, to hold his peace, as a proud and arrogant heretic.

Mr. Glover then, with a spirit becoming a man and a Christian, told the bishop he was not to be convinced by insolent and imperious behaviour, but by sound reasoning, founded on scripture; desiring, at the same time, that he would propound to him some articles: but the bishop chose to decline that method of proceeding, till he should be summoned to the consistory court, dismissing him with an assu-

rance that he should be kept in prison, and there have neither meat or drink, till he recanted his heresies.

Our martyr heard these cruel words with patience and resignation, lifting up his heart to God, that he might be enabled to stand steadfast in the faith of the glorious gospel.

When he was brought into the consistory court, the bishop demanded of him how many sacraments Christ had instituted to be used in his church? He replied, Two: Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, and no more.

Being asked if he allowed confession, he answered in the negative.

With respect to the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, he declared that the mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, because they had taken away the true institution; and when they should restore it, he would give his judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.

After several other examinations, public and private, he was condemned as a heretic, and delivered over to the secular power.

Cornelius Bongey, (who was apprehended much about the same time as Mr. Glover, and suffered with him,) was examined by Randolph, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and the following allegations brought against him:

1. That he did hold, maintain, and teach in the city of Coventry, that the priest hath no power to absolve a sinner from his sins.

2. That he asserted, there were in the church of Christ but two sacraments; Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

3. That in the sacrament of the popish, there was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine even after consecration.

4. That for the space of several years he did hold and defend, that the pope is not the head of the visible church on earth.

Mr. Bongey acknowledged the justness of these allegations, and protested that he would hold fast to them so long as he lived; in consequence of which he also was delivered over to the secular power.

On the 20th of September, 1555, these two martyrs were led to the stake at Coventry, where they both yielded up their spirits to that God who gave them, hoping, through the merits of the great Redeemer, for a glorious resurrection to life immortal.

John and William Glover, brothers to Robert, were sought after by the popish emissaries, in order to be brought to the stake, but they eluded their searches, and happily escaped. However, the resentment of the popish persecutors did not cease here, for after their deaths, the bones of one were taken up and dispersed in the highway; and the remains of the other were deposited in a common field.

#### *William Wolsey, and Robert Pigot.*

Information being laid against these two persons by the popish emissaries, they were sought after, and soon apprehended. William Wolsey was first taken, and being brought before a neighbouring justice, was bound over to appear at the ensuing sessions for the Isle of Ely. But a few days after, he was again taken into custody, and committed to Wisbeach gaol, there to remain till the next assizes for the county.

During his confinement here he was visited by the chancellor of Ely, who told him he was out of the pale of the catholic church, and desired that he would not meddle any more with the scriptures than became a layman.

After a short pause, Mr. Wolsey addressed the chancellor as follows: "Good doctor, what did our Saviour mean when he said, Wo be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men; ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them that come to enter in?"

Dr. Fuller replied, "You must understand, that Christ spake to the Scribes and Pharisees."

"Nay, Mr. Doctor," answered Wolsey, "Christ spake even to you and your fellows here present, and to all such as you are."

Dr. Fuller then said; "I will leave thee a book to read, of a learned man's writing, that is to say, Dr. Watson's" (who was then bishop of Lincoln.)

Wolsey receiving the book, diligently read it over, and found it in many places manifestly contrary to God's word. At length, a fortnight or three week after, Dr. Fuller going again to the prison to converse with Wolsey, asked him how he liked the book. Wolsey replied, "Sir, I like the book no otherwise than I thought before I should find it." Whereupon the chancellor taking his book departed home.

At night, when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he found in many places, the book rased with a pen by Wolsey, and being vexed therewith, said, "O this is an obstinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book."

Then the assizes drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller came again to Wolsey, and said to him, "Thou dost much trouble my conscience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee, and come to the church when thou wilt; and if thou be complained upon, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not hear of it."

"Doctor," said Wolsey, "I was brought hither by a law, and by a law I will be delivered."

He was then brought to the sessions, and laid in the castle at Wisbeach, he and all his friends thinking that he would have suffered there at that time, but it proved otherwise.

*Robert Pigot* was apprehended, and brought before Sir Clement Hyam, who reproved him severely for absenting himself from church. The reason he assigned for his absence was, "he considered the church should be a congregation of believers, assembled together for the worship of God, according to the manner laid down in his most holy word; and not a church of human invention, founded on the whimsical fancy of fallible men.

In consequence of this answer, he was, with Wolsey, committed to prison, where they both remained till the day appointed for their execution.

During their confinement, several of the neighbours came to visit them, among whom was Peter Valerices, a Frenchman, chaplain to the bishop of Ely, who thus addressed them: "My brethren, according to mine office, I am come to talk with you, for I have been almoner here these twenty years and more, wherefore, my brethren, I

desire you to take it in good part. I desire not to force you from your faith, but I require and desire you, in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of his gospel, and his word; and I beseech Almighty God, for his Son's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end, for I know not, brethren, how soon I may be in the same case with you."

This address, being so different from what was expected, drew tears from all who were present, and greatly comforted our martyrs.

On the 9th of October, Pigot and Wolsey were brought before Dr. Fuller, the chancellor, and other commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs, who laid several articles to their charge, but particularly that of the sacrament of the altar.

When that article was proposed, they jointly declared the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the real body and blood of Christ was not present in the said sacrament; and to this opinion they said they would stand, though at the peril of their lives, being founded on the authority of God's word, which enjoined the worship of the supreme God alone.

After this declaration, they were exhorted by Dr. Shaxton, one of the commissioners, to consider the danger of continuing in that belief, and recant the same, lest they should die here, and perish hereafter; adding, that he had formerly believed as they did, but was now become a new man in point of faith.

This not having any effect, Dr. Fuller upbraided Wolsey with obstinacy and fool-hardiness; but endeavoured to sooth Pigot into compliance, desiring one of the attendants to write to the following purport:

"I, Robert Pigot, do believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Christ, substantially the selfsame that was born of the Virgin Mary."

It was then read to Pigot: and his answer being required, he briefly said, "Sir, that is your faith, but never shall be mine, till you can prove it from scripture."

These two martyrs thus persevering in the faith of the pure gospel, sentence of death was passed, and they were both ordered to be burned as heretics.

On the 16th of October, 1555, the day appointed for their execution, they were conducted to the stake, amidst the lamentations of great numbers of spectators. Several English translations of the New Testament being ordered to be burned with them, they took each one of them in their hands, lamenting, on the one hand, the destroying so valuable a repository of sacred truth, and glorying, on the other, that they were deemed worthy of sealing the same with their blood.

They both died in the triumph of faith, magnifying the power of divine grace, which enables the servants of God to glory in tribulation, and count all things but dung and dross, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ, their Redeemer.



## SECTION VII.

THE LIVES, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOMS OF HUGH LATIMER, BISHOP OF WORCESTER; AND NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON.

*Hugh Latimer* was born of humble parents at Thirkeston, in Leicestershire, about the year 1475, who gave him a good education, and sent him to Cambridge, where he showed himself a zealous papist, and inveighed much against the reformers, who, at that time, began to make some figure in England. But conversing frequently with Thomas Bilney, the most considerable person at Cambridge of all those who favoured the reformation, he saw the errors of popery, and became a zealous protestant.

Latimer being thus converted, laboured, both publicly and privately, to promote the reformed opinions, and pressed the necessity of a holy life, in opposition to those outward performances, which were then thought the essentials of religion. This rendered him obnoxious at Cambridge, then the seat of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition. However, the unaffected piety of Mr. Bilney, and the clear and natural eloquence of honest Latimer, wrought greatly upon the junior students, and increased the credit of the protestants so much, that the papist clergy were greatly alarmed, and according to their usual practice, called aloud for the secular arm.

Under this arm, Bilney suffered at Norwich: but his sufferings, far from shaking the reformation at Cambridge, inspired the leaders of it with new courage. Latimer began to exert himself more than he had yet done; and succeeded to that credit with his party, which Bilney had so long supported. Among other instances of his zeal and resolution in this cause, he gave one which was very remarkable: he had the courage to write to the king (Henry VIII.) against a proclamation, then just published, forbidding the use of the Bible in English, and other books on religious subjects. He had preached before his majesty once or twice at Windsor; and had been taken notice of by him in a more affable manner than that monarch usually indulged towards his subjects. But whatever hopes of preferment his sovereign's favour might have raised in him, he chose to put all to the hazard rather than omit what he thought his duty. His letter is the picture of an honest and sincere heart, he concludes in these terms: "Accept, gracious sovereign, without displeasure, what I have written; I thought it my duty to mention these things to your majesty. No personal quarrel, as God shall judge me, have I with any man: I wanted only to induce your majesty to consider well what kind of persons you have about you, and the ends for which they counsel. Indeed, great prince, many of them, or they are much slandered, have very private ends. God grant your majesty may see through all the designs of evil men, and be in all things equal to the high office with which you are intrusted. Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself; have pity upon your own soul, and think that the day is at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and the blood which hath been shed by your sword: in the which day, that

your grace may stand steadfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which alone serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him who suffered death for our sins. The spirit of God preserve you."

Lord Cromwell was now in power, and being a favourer of the reformation, he obtained a benefice in Wiltshire for Latimer, who immediately went thither and resided, discharging his duty in a very conscientious manner, though much persecuted by the Romish clergy; who, at length, carried their malice so far as to obtain an archiepiscopal citation for his appearance in London. His friends would have had him quit England; but their persuasions were in vain.

He set out for London in the depth of winter, and under a severe fit of the stone and colic; but he was most distressed at the thoughts of leaving his parish exposed to the popish clergy. On his arrival at London, he found a court of bishops and canonists ready to receive him; where, instead of being examined, as he expected, about his sermons, a paper was put into his hands, which he was ordered to subscribe, declaring his belief in the efficacy of masses for the souls in purgatory, of prayers to the dead saints, of pilgrimages to their sepulchres and relics, the pope's power to forgive sins, the doctrine of merit, the seven sacraments, and the worship of images; which, when he refused to sign, the archbishop, with a frown, ordered him to consider what he did. "We intend not," said he, "Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you; we dismiss you for the present; take a copy of the articles; examine them carefully, and God grant, that at our next meeting we may find each other in better temper."

At the next, and several succeeding meetings, the same scene was acted over again. He continued inflexible, and they continued to distress him. Three times every week they regularly sent for him, with a view either to draw something from him by captious questions, or to tease him at length into a compliance. Tired out with this usage, when he was again summoned, instead of going he sent a letter to the archbishop, in which, with great freedom, he told him, "That the treatment he had lately met with had brought him into such a disorder as rendered him unfit to attend that day; that in the mean time he could not help taking this opportunity to expostulate with his grace for detaining him so long from his duty; that it seemed to him most unaccountable, that they, who never preached themselves, should hinder others; that, as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progress; that if his sermons gave offence, although he persuaded himself they were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, he was ready to answer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them; that he wished a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people; and that a distinction might be made between the ordinances of God and man; that if some abuses in religion did prevail, as was then commonly supposed, he thought preaching was the best means to discountenance them; that he wished all pastors might be obliged to perform their duty; but that, however, liberty might be given to those who were willing; that as to the articles proposed to him, he begged to be excused subscribing to them; while he lived, he never

would abet superstition; and that, lastly, he hoped the archbishop would excuse what he had written; he knew his duty to his superiors, and would practise it; but in that case, he thought a stronger obligation lay upon him."

The bishops, however, continued their persecutions, but their schemes were frustrated in an unexpected manner. Latimer being raised to the see of Worcester, in the year 1533, by the favour of Anne Boleyn, then the favourite wife of Henry, to whom, most probably, he was recommended by Lord Cromwell, he had now a more extensive field to promote the principles of the reformation, in which he laboured with the utmost pains and assiduity. All the historians of those times mention him as a person remarkably zealous in the discharge of his new office; and tell us, that in overlooking the clergy of his diocese, he was uncommonly active, warm, and resolute, and presided in his ecclesiastical court with the same spirit. In visiting, he was frequent and observant; in ordaining, strict and wary; in preaching, indefatigable; and in reproving and exhorting, severe and persuasive.

In 1536 he received a summons to attend the parliament and convocation, which gave him a further opportunity of promoting the work of reformation, whereon his heart was so much set. Many alterations were made in religious matters, and a few months after, the Bible was translated into English, and recommended to a general perusal, in October, 1537.

Latimer, highly satisfied with the prospect of the times, now repaired to his diocese, having made no longer stay in London than was absolutely necessary. He had no talents, and he pretended to have none, for state affairs. His whole ambition was to discharge the pastoral functions of a bishop, neither aiming to display the abilities of a statesman, nor those of a courtier. How very unqualified he was to support the latter of these characters, the following story will prove: It was the custom in those days for the bishops to make presents to the king on new-year's day, and many of them presented very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their hopes and expectations. Among the rest, Latimer, being then in town, waited upon the king, with his offering; but instead of a purse of gold, which was the common oblation, he presented a New Testament, with a leaf doubled down in a very conspicuous manner, at this passage, "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge."

In 1539 he was summoned again to attend the parliament: the bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, was his great enemy; and, upon a particular occasion, when the bishops were with the king, kneeled down and solemnly accused Bishop Latimer of a seditious sermon preached at court. Being called upon by the king, with some sternness, to vindicate himself, Latimer was so far from denying and palliating what he had said, that he nobly justified it; and turning to the king, with that noble unconcern which a good conscience inspires, "I never thought myself worthy," said he, "nor did I ever sue to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike it, to give place to my betters; for I grant, there may be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I can be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a

preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt, indeed, to have preached so at the very borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace." The boldness of his answer baffled his accuser's malice; the severity of the king's countenance changed into a gracious smile, and the bishop was dismissed with that obliging freedom which this monarch never used but to those he esteemed.

However, as Latimer could not give his vote for the act of the six papistical articles, drawn up by the duke of Norfolk, he thought it wrong to hold any office in a church where such terms of communion were required, and, therefore, he resigned his bishopric, and retired into the country, where he purposed to live a sequestered life. But, in the midst of his security, an unhappy accident carried him again into the tempestuous atmosphere of the court: he received a bruise by the fall of a tree, and the contusion was so dangerous, that he was obliged to seek for better assistance than could be afforded him by the unskillful surgeons of that part of the country where he resided. With this view he repaired to London, where he had the misfortune to see the fall of his patron, the Lord Cromwell; a loss which he was soon made sensible of. For Gardiner's emissaries quickly found him out in his concealment, and a pretended charge of his having spoken against the six articles, being alleged against him, he was sent to the tower; where, without any judicial examination, he suffered, through one pretence and another, a cruel imprisonment for the remaining six years of King Henry's reign.

On the death of Henry, the protestant interest revived under his son Edward, and Latimer, immediately upon the change of the government, was set at liberty. An address was made to the protector to restore him to his bishopric; the protector was very willing to gratify the parliament, and proposed the resumption of his bishopric to Mr. Latimer; who now thinking himself unequal to the weight of it, refused to resume it, choosing rather to accept an invitation from his friend, Archbishop Crammer, and to take up his residence with him at Lambeth; where his chief employment was to hear the complaints, and redress the grievances of the poor people; and his character, for services of this kind, was so universally known, that strangers from every part of England resorted to him.

In these employments he spent more than two years, during which time he assisted the archbishop in composing the homilies, which was set forth by authority, in the reign of King Edward; he was also appointed to preach the Lent sermons before his majesty, which office he performed during the first three years of his reign.

Upon the revolution, which happened at court, after the death of the duke of Somerset, he retired into the country, and made use of the king's license as a general preacher, in those places where he thought his labours might be most serviceable.

He was thus employed during the remainder of that reign, and continued the same course, for a short time, in the beginning of the next; but as soon as the re-introduction of popery was resolved on, the first step towards it was the prohibition of all preaching, and licensing only such as were known to be popishly inclined. The bishop of Winchester, who was now prime minister, having proscribed Mr. Latimer

from the first, sent a message to cite him before the council. He had notice of this design some hours before the messenger's arrival, but he made no use of the intelligence. The messenger found him equipped for his journey, at which, expressing his surprise, Mr. Latimer told him, that he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life; and that he doubted not but that God, who had already enabled him to preach the word before two princes, would enable him to witness the same before a third. The messenger then acquainting him that he had no orders to seize his person, delivered a letter and departed. However, opening the letter, and finding it a citation from the council, he resolved to obey it, and set out immediately. As he passed through Smithfield, he said, cheerfully, "This place of burning hath long groaned for me." The next morning he waited upon the council, who, having loaded him with many severe reproaches, sent him to the tower, from whence, after some time, he was removed to Oxford.

Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, received the earliest part of his education at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, from whence he was removed to the University of Cambridge, where his great learning and distinguished abilities so recommended him, that he was made master of Pembroke Hall, in that university.

After being some years in this office, he left Cambridge, and travelled into various parts of Europe for his advancement in knowledge. On his return to England he was made chaplain to Henry VIII. and bishop of Rochester, from which he was translated to the see of London by Edward VI.

In private life he was pious, humane, and affable; in public he was learned, sound, and eloquent; diligent in his duty, and very popular as a preacher.

He had been educated in the Roman Catholic religion, but was brought over to the reformed faith by reading Bertram's book on the sacrament; and he was confirmed in the same by frequent conferences with Cranmer and Peter Martyr, so that he became a zealous promoter of the reformed doctrines and discipline during the reign of King Edward.

The following character of this eminent divine presents so interesting a picture of the good man and pious Christian, that we give it verbatim.

"In his important offices he so diligently applied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that no good child was more singularly loved by his dear parents, than he by his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in one place or other, except he was otherwise hindered by weighty affairs and business; and to his sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and so faithfully did his life portray his doctrines, that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any thing.

"Besides this, he was very learned, his memory was great, and he had attained such reading withal, that he deserved to be compared to the best men of his age, as his works, sermons, and his sundry disputations in both the universities, well testified.

"He was, also, wise of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. He was anxious to gain the obstinate papists from their

erroneous opinions, and sought by gentleness to win them to the truth, as his gentle and courteous treatment of Dr. Heath, who was prisoner with him in King Edward's time, in his house, one year, sufficiently proved. In fine, he was in all points so good, pious, and spiritual a man, that England never saw his superior.

“He was comely in his person, and well proportioned. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour from his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kind and natural to his relations, and yet not bearing with them any otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea to his own brother and sister, that they doing evil, should look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens to him, and that they to be his brother and sister, must live a good life.

“He used all kinds of ways to mortify himself, and was much given to prayer and contemplation; for duly every morning, as soon as he was dressed, he went to his bed-chamber, and there upon his knees prayed for half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his study, (if no other business came to interrupt him,) where he continued till ten o'clock, and then came to the common prayer, daily used in his house. These being done, he went to dinner; where he talked little, except otherwise occasion had been ministered, and then it was sober, discreet, and wise, and sometimes merry, as case required.

“The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts, talking, or playing at chess: he then returned to his study, and there would continue, except visiters, or business abroad prevented him, until five o'clock at night, when he would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon; which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before. After supper, recreating himself again at chess, after which he would return again to his study; continuing there till eleven o'clock at night, which was his common hour of going to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees as in the morning when he rose. When at his manor of Fulham, he used to read a daily lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the epistles of St. Paul, giving to every man that could read, a New Testament, hiring them, besides, with money, to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially the 13th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, reading also unto his household, oftentimes, the 101st Psalm, being marvellously careful over his family, that they might be a pattern of all virtue and honesty to others. In short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

“The following is a striking instance of the benevolence of his temper, shown to Mrs. Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London. Bishop Ridley, when at his manor of Fulham, always sent for Mrs. Bonner, who dwelt in a house adjoining his own, to dinner and supper, with a Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister, saying, Go for my mother Bonner; who coming, was always placed in the chair at the head of the table, being as gently treated and welcomed as his own mother, and he would never have her displaced from her seat, although the king's council had been present; saying, when any of them were

there, (as several times they were,) By your lordship's favour, this place, of right and custom, is for my mother Bonner. But how well he was recompensed for this singular kindness and gentle pity afterwards at the hands of Dr. Bonner, is too well known. For who afterwards was a greater enemy to Dr. Ridley than Dr. Bonner? Who went more about to seek his destruction than he? Recompensing his gentleness with extreme cruelty; as well appeared by the severity against Dr. Ridley's own sister, and her husband, George Shipside, from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other permitted Bonner's mother, sister, and others of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had from Bishop Bonner, but also entertained them in his house, showing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them; while, on the other side, Bonner being restored again, would not suffer the brother and sister of Bishop Ridley, and other of his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by their brother, but also churlishly, without all order of law or honesty, wrested from them all the livings they had."

On the accession of Queen Mary, he shared the same fate with many others who professed the truth of the gospel. Being accused of heresy, he was first removed from his bishopric, then sent prisoner to the tower of London, and afterwards to Bocardo prison, in Oxford; from whence he was committed to the custody of Mr. Irish, mayor of that city, in whose house he remained till the day of his execution.

On the 30th of September, 1555, these two eminent prelates were cited to appear in the divinity-school at Oxford, which they accordingly did.

Dr. Ridley was first examined, and severely reprimanded by the bishop of Lincoln, because, when he heard the "cardinal's grace," and the "pope's holiness," mentioned in the commission, he kept on his cap. The words of the bishop were to this effect: "Mr. Ridley, if you will not be uncovered, in respect to the pope and the cardinal, his legate, by whose authority we sit in commission, your cap shall be taken off."

The bishop of Lincoln then made a formal harangue, in which he intreated Ridley to return to the holy mother-church, insisted on the antiquity and authority of the see of Rome, and of the pope, as the immediate successor of St. Peter.

Dr. Ridley, in return, strenuously opposed the arguments of the bishop, and boldly vindicated the doctrines of the reformation.

After much debate, the five following articles were proposed to him, and his immediate and explicit answers required.

1. That he had frequently affirmed, and openly maintained and defended, that the true natural body of Christ, after consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. That he had often publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. That he had often openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. That the aforesaid assertions have been solemnly condemned by the scholastic censure of this school, as heretical, and contrary to the Catholic faith, by the prolocutor of the convocation-house, and sundry learned men of both universities.

5. That all and singular the premises are true, and notoriously known, by all near at hand, and in distant places.

To the first of these articles Dr. Ridley replied, "that he believed Christ's body to be in the sacrament, really, by grace and spirit effectually, but not so as to include a lively and moveable body under the forms of bread and wine."

To the second he answered in the affirmative.

Part of the fourth he acknowledged, and part he denied.

To the fifth he answered, "that the premises were so far true, as his replies had set forth. Whether all men spake evil of them he knew not, because he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported."

He was then ordered to appear the following day in St. Mary's church, in Oxford, to give his final answer; after which he was committed to the custody of the mayor.

When Latimer was brought into court, the bishop of Lincoln warmly exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, from which he had revolted.

The same articles which were proposed to Dr. Ridley were read to Latimer, and he was required to give a full and satisfactory answer to each of them.

His replies not being satisfactory to the court, he was dismissed; but ordered to appear in St. Mary's church, at the same time with Dr. Ridley.

On the day appointed, the commissioners met, when Dr. Ridley being first brought before them, the bishop of Lincoln stood up, and began to repeat the proceedings of the former meeting, assuring him that he had full liberty to make what alterations he pleased in his answers to the articles proposed to him, and to deliver the same to the court in writing.

After some debate, Dr. Ridley took out a paper and began to read; but the bishop interrupted him, and ordered the beadle to take the writing from him. The doctor desired permission to read on, declaring the contents were only his answers to the articles proposed; but the bishop and others, having privately reviewed it, would not permit it to be read in open court.

When the articles were again administered, he referred the notary to his writing, who set them down according to the same.

The bishop of Gloucester affecting much concern for Dr. Ridley, persuaded him not to indulge an obstinate temper, but recant his erroneous opinions, and return to the unity of the holy catholic church.

Dr. Ridley coolly replied, he was not vain of his own understanding, but was fully persuaded that the religion he professed was founded on God's most holy and infallible church; and therefore, he could not abandon or deny the same, consistently with his regard for the honour of God, and the salvation of his immortal soul.

He desired to declare his reasons, why he could not, with a safe conscience, admit of the popish supremacy; but his request was denied.

The bishop finding him inflexible in the faith, according to the doctrine of the reformation, thus addressed him: "Dr. Ridley, it is with the utmost concern that I observe your stubbornness and obstinacy, in persisting in damnable errors and heresies; but unless you recant,



It must proceed to the other part of my commission, though very much against my will and desire."

Ridley not making any reply, sentence of condemnation was read; after which he was carried back to confinement.

When Latimer was brought before the court, the bishop of Lincoln informed him, that though they had already taken his answers to certain articles alleged against him, yet they had given him time to consider on the same, and would permit him to make what alterations he should deem fit, hoping, by such means, to reclaim him from his errors, and bring him over to the faith of the holy catholic church.

The articles were again read to him, but he deviated not, in a single point, from the answers he had already given.

Being again warned to recant, and revoke his errors, he refused, declaring that he never would deny God's truth, which he was ready to seal with his blood. Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced against him, and he was committed to the custody of the mayor.

The account of the degradation of Ridley, his behaviour before, and and at the place of execution, is curious and interesting; we therefore give it at length.

"On the 15th day of October, in the morning, Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Marshall, with others of the chief and heads of the same university, and many others accompanying them, came to the house of Mr. Irish, mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley was a close prisoner. And when the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where Dr. Ridley lay, he told him for what purpose their coming was, saying, 'That yet once again the queen's majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if he would receive it, and come home again to the faith in which he was baptized.' And further said, 'That if he would not recant and become one of the catholic church with them, then they must needs (against their wills) proceed according to the law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwise.' 'But,' said he, 'we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant your fantastical and devilish opinions, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good Mr. Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue both of body and soul, if you shall so wilfully cast yourself away, in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time.'

"'My lord,' said Dr. Ridley, 'you know my mind fully herein: and as for my doctrine, my conscience assureth me that it is sound, and according to God's word, (to his glory be it spoken;) and which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall move, and breath is within my body; and in confirmation thereof I am willing to seal the same with my blood.'

"*Brooks.*—Well, it were best, Mr. Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us. For you know well enough, that whosoever is out of the catholic church cannot be saved. Therefore I say, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the pope's holiness to be the chief head of the church.

"*Ridley.*—I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that antichrist.—And here he would have reasoned with the bishop of Gloucester, concerning the bishop of Rome's authority, but

was not suffered, and yet he spake so earnestly against the pope therein, that the bishop told him, 'If he would not hold his peace he should be compelled. And seeing,' saith he, 'that you will not receive the queen's mercy, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission to degrading and depriving you of the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore will the sooner have done with you: so committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow.'

"*Ridley.* Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you; I am well content to abide the same with all my heart.

"*Brooks.* Put off your cap, and put upon you this surplice.

"*Ridley.* Not I, truly.

"*Brooks.* But you must.

"*Ridley.* I will not.

"*Brooks.* You must; therefore, make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you.

"*Ridley.* Truly, if it come upon me it shall be against my will.

"*Brooks.* Will you not put it upon you?

"*Ridley.* No, that I will not.

"*Brooks.* It shall be put upon you, by one or other.

"*Ridley.* Do therein as it shall please you, I am well content with that, and more than that; the servant is not above his master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much doth it become us, his servants! And in saying these words they put upon him a surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass. As they were about this, Dr. Ridley vehemently inveighed against the Romish bishop, and all that foolish apparel, calling the first Antichrist, and the last foolish and abominable, 'yea, too foolish for a device in a play.'

"*Brooks.* You had best hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped. At which words one Eldridge, the reader of the Greek lecture, standing by, said, 'Sir, the law is that he should be gagged, therefore let him be gagged.' At which words Dr. Ridley looking earnestly upon him, shook his head at him, and made no answer.

"When they came to that place where Dr. Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer cake, (called the singing-bread,) Dr. Ridley said, 'They shall not come into my hands; for if they do, they shall fall to the ground for me.' Then one was appointed to hold them in his hand, while Bishop Brooks read a part in Latin, touching the degradation of spiritual persons, according to the pope's law.

"They then put the book into his hand, and read another thing in Latin, the effect of which was, 'We do take from thee the office of preaching the gospel,' &c. At which words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, and looking up towards heaven, said, 'O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness.'

"Having put on him the massgear, they began to take it away, (beginning with the uppermost garment,) again reading in Latin according to the pope's law. Now when all was taken from him, saving only the surplice, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. Ridley said unto them, 'Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never a singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had.'

“ So when this ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnly, Dr. Ridley said to Dr. Brooks, ‘ Have you done ? If you have, then give me leave to talk a little concerning these matters.’ Brooks answered, ‘ Mr. Ridley, we must not talk with you ; you are out of the church ; and our law is, that we must not talk with any out of the church.’ Then Dr. Ridley said, ‘ Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience ? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him.’

“ They were then going, when Ridley said, ‘ My lord, I would wish that you would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram’s writing, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you will find much good learning therein, if you will read it with an impartial judgment.’ To which Dr. Brooks made no answer, but was going away. Then said Dr. Ridley, ‘ Oh, I perceive you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well, as it is to no purpose, I will say no more ; I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you, therefore, my lord, hear me, and be a means to the queen’s majesty, in behalf of a great many poor men, especially my poor sister and her husband, who standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, when I was in the see of London, which is taken away from them, by him that occupieth the same room, without either law or conscience. I have a supplication to her majesty in their behalf. You shall hear it.’ Then he read the same, and when he came to the place that spake of his sister, by name, he wept ; so that for a time he could not speak for weeping. But recovering himself, he said, ‘ This is nature that moveth me, but I have now done ;’ and with that he finished it, and then delivered it to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen’s majesty, and to sue not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from them by Dr. Bonner. Dr. Brooks said, ‘ Indeed, Mr. Ridley, your request in this supplication is very right ; therefore I must in conscience speak to the queen’s majesty for them.’

“ *Ridley.* I pray for God’s sake so do.

“ *Brooks.* I think your request will be granted, except one thing hinder it, and that is, because you do not allow the queen’s proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same.

“ *Ridley.* What remedy ? I can do no more than speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein, and God’s will be done.

“ *Brooks.* I will do my best.

“ The degradation being concluded, and all things finished, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Dr. Ridley, with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Dr. Ridley, in praising God, said, ‘ God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime ; for if you could, it would surely be done, I see very well.’ Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud pharisee.

“ Dr. Ridley said, ‘ No, as I said before, to God’s glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable sinner, and have great need of God’s help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same :

therefore I pray you have no such opinion of me.' Then they departed, and in going away, a certain warden of a college advised Dr. Ridley to repent and forsake that erroneous opinion. 'Sir,' said the doctor, 'repent *you*, for you are out of the truth: and, I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word.' Then the warden, being in a passion thereat, said, 'I trust that I shall never be of your devilish opinion, either yet to be in that place whither you shall go: thou art the most obstinate and wilful man that I ever heard talk since I was born.'

*Behaviour of Dr. Ridley the night before he suffered.*

"On the night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs; and as he sat at supper, at the house of Mr. Irish, his keeper, he invited his hostess, and the rest at the table, to his marriage: for, said he, to-morrow I must be married, and so showed himself to be as merry as ever he had been before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother, sitting at the table, whether he thought she could find in her heart to be there: he answered, 'Yes, I dare say, with all her heart.' At which he said, 'He was glad to hear of her sincerity.' At this discourse Mrs. Irish wept. But Dr. Ridley comforted her, saying, 'O Mrs. Irish, you love me not, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you are not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper will be more pleasant and sweet.'

"When they arose from the table, his brother offered to stay all night with him. But he said, 'No, no, that you shall not. For I intend (God willing) to go to bed, and sleep as quietly to-night, as ever I did.' On this his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

*Burning of Ridley and Latimer.*

"On the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Baliol College, the place of execution was appointed; and for fear of any tumult that might arise to hinder the burning of the servants of Christ, the Lord Williams was commanded by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city, to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed; and when every thing was in readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs.

"Dr. Ridley had on a black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he used to wear when he was a bishop; a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, with a corner cap, and slippers on his feet. He walked to the stake between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

"After him came Mr. Latimer, in a poor Bristol frieze frock much worn, with his buttoned cap and handkerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging down to his feet: which at the first sight excited sorrow in the spectators, beholding, on the one side the honour they sometimes had, and on the other, the calamity into which they had fallen.

"Mr. Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where Dr. Crammer lay, hoping to have seen him at the glass window, and spoken

to him. But Dr. Crammer was then engaged in dispute with friar Soto and his fellows, so that he could not see him through that occasion. Dr. Ridley then looking back, saw Mr. Latimer coming after. Unto whom he said, 'Oh, are you there?'—'Yea,' said Mr. Latimer, 'have after, as fast as I can.' So he following a pretty way off, at length they came to the stake. Dr. Ridley first entering the place, earnestly held up both his hands, looked towards heaven: then shortly after seeing Mr. Latimer with a cheerful look, he ran to him, and embraced him, saying, 'Be of good cheer, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it.'

"He then went to the stake, and kneeling down prayed with great fervour, while Mr. Latimer, following, kneeled also, and prayed as earnestly as he. After this, they arose and conversed together, and while thus employed, Dr. Smith began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, in the 13th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians: 'If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby.' Wherein he alleged, that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford who of late hanged herself, for that they and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately separated their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men who stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon scarcely lasted a quarter of an hour.

"At its conclusion, Dr. Ridley said to Mr. Latimer, 'Will you begin to answer the sermon or shall I?' Mr. Latimer said, 'Begin you first, I pray you!'—'I will,' said Dr. Ridley.

"He then, with Mr. Latimer, kneeled to my Lord Williams, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and the other commissioners appointed for the purpose, who sat upon a form thereby, and said, 'I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words:' and whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know whether he might have leave to speak, the bailiffs, and Dr. Marshall, the vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopping his mouth, said, 'Mr. Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also your life.'—'Not otherwise?' said Dr. Ridley. 'No,' answered Dr. Marshall: 'therefore if you will not do so, there is no remedy: you must suffer for your deserts.' 'Well,' said the martyr, 'so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me:' with that he rose and said with a loud voice, 'I commit our cause to Almighty God, who will indifferently judge all.'

"To which Mr. Latimer added his old saying, 'Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened:' and said he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered. They were then commanded to prepare, immediately, for the stake.

"They according, with all meekness, obeyed. Dr. Ridley gave his

gown and tippet to his brother-in-law, Mr. Shipside, who, all the time of his imprisonment, although he was not suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which, from time to time, he sent him by the serjeant who kept him. Some other of his apparel he also gave away, the others the bailiffs took.

“ He likewise made presents of other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping; to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat; to my Lord Williams’ gentleman, some napkins, &c. and happy was he who could get the least trifle for a remembrance of this good man.

“ Mr. Latimer quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other apparel, which was very simple; and being stripped to his shroud, he seemed as comely a person as one could well see.

“ Then Dr. Ridley, standing as yet in his trowse, said to his brother, ‘ It were best for me to go in my trowse still.’ ‘ No,’ said Mr. Latimer, ‘ it will put you to more pain; and it will do a poor man good.’ Whereunto Dr. Ridley said, ‘ Be it in the name of God,’ and so unlaced himself. Then being in his shirt, he stood upon the aforesaid stone, and held up his hand, and said, ‘ O Heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death; I beseech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this realm of England, and deliver it from all her enemies.’

“ Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought it about both their middles; and as he was knocking in the staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand, and looking aside to the smith, said, ‘ Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course.’ Then Mr. Shipside brought him a bag of gunpowder, and tied it about his neck. Dr. Ridley asked him what it was; he answered, gunpowder. ‘ Then,’ said he, ‘ I will take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it. And have you any,’ said he, ‘ for my brother?’ (meaning Mr. Latimer.) ‘ Yea, sir, that I have,’ said he. ‘ Then give it unto him,’ said he, ‘ in time, lest you come too late.’ So his brother went, and carried it to Mr. Latimer.

“ Dr. Ridley said to my Lord Williams, ‘ My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister; I have made a supplication to the queen in their behalf. I beseech your lordship, for Christ’s sake, to be a means to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, (I praise God,) this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear that the bishop who now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants made to them, but contrary to all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings. I beseech you, my lord, be a means for them; you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you.’

“ They then brought a lighted fagot, and laid it at Dr. Ridley’s feet; upon which Mr. Latimer said, ‘ Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle by God’s grace in England, as I trust never shall be put out.’ When Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with an amazing loud voice: ‘ Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; Lord, receive my spirit;’ and continued often to repeat. ‘ Lord, Lord, re-

ceive my spirit.' Mr. Latimer, on the other side, cried as vehemently, 'O Father of Heaven, receive my soul.' After which he soon died, seemingly with very little pain.

"But Dr. Ridley, from the ill making of the fire, the fagots being green, and piled too high, so that the flames being kept down by the green wood, burned fiercely beneath, was put to such exquisite pain, that he desired them, for God's sake, to let the fire come unto him; which his brother-in-law hearing, but not very well understanding, to rid him out of his pain, (for which cause he gave attendance,) as one in such sorrow, and not well knowing what he did, heaped fagots upon him, so that he quite covered him, which made the fire so vehement beneath, that it burned all his nether parts before it touched the upper, and made him struggle under the fagots, and often desired them to let the fire come to him, saying, 'I cannot burn.' Yet, in all his torment, he forgot not to call upon God, still having in his mouth, 'Lord have mercy upon me,' intermingling his cry, 'Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn.' In which pains he laboured till one of the standers by, with his bill, pulled the fagots from above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself to that side. And when the fire touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Mr. Latimer's feet; his body being divided.

"The dreadful sight filled almost every eye with tears. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they had held so dear. Some pitied their persons, who thought their souls had no need thereof. But the sorrow of his brother, whose extreme anxiety had led him to attempt to put a speedy end to his sufferings, but who, from error and confusion, had so unhappily prolonged them, surpassed that of all; and so violent was his grief, that the spectators pitied him almost as much as they did the martyr."

Thus did these two pious divines, and steadfast believers, testify, with their blood, the truth of the everlasting gospel, upon which depends all the sinner's hopes of salvation; to suffer for which was the joy, the glory of many eminent Christians, who, having followed their dear Lord and Master through much tribulation in this vale of tears, will be glorified for ever with him, in the kingdom of his Father and our Father, of his God and our God.

Mr. Latimer, at the time of his death, was in the eightieth year of his age, and preserved the principles he had professed with the most distinguished magnanimity. He had naturally a happy temper, formed on the principles of true Christianity. Such was his cheerfulness, that none of the accidents of life could discompose him; such was his fortitude, that not even the severest trials could unman him; he had a collected spirit, and on no occasion wanted a resource; he could retire within himself, and hold the world at defiance.

And as danger could not daunt, so neither could ambition allure him; though conversant in courts, and intimate with princes, he preserved, to the last, his primeval plainness; in his profession he was indefatigable; and that he might bestow as much time as possible on the active part of it, he allowed himself only those hours for his private studies, when the busy world is at rest, constantly rising, at all seasons of the year, by two in the morning. How conscientious he was in the discharge of the public duties of his office, we have many

examples. No man could persuade more forcibly; no man could exert, on proper occasions, a more commanding severity. The wicked, in whatever station, he rebuked with censorial dignity, and awed vice by his firmness, more than the penal laws by their punishments.

He was not esteemed a very learned man, for he cultivated only useful learning; and that he thought lay in a very narrow compass. He never engaged in worldly affairs, thinking that a clergyman ought to employ himself only in his profession. Thus he lived, rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not those commanding talents which give superiority in business; but for purity and sincerity of heart, for true simplicity of manners, for apostolic zeal in the cause of religion, and for every virtue, both of a public and private kind, which should adorn the life of a Christian, he was eminent beyond most men of his own, or any other time.

As to his sermons, which are still extant, they are, indeed, very far from being correct or elegant compositions, yet his simplicity and low familiarity, his humour and drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence at that day, was exceedingly popular. His action and manner of preaching, too, were very affecting; and no wonder; "for he spoke immediately from his heart." His abilities, however, as an orator, made only an inferior part of his character as a preacher. What particularly recommends him, is that noble and apostolic zeal which he continually exerted in the cause of truth.

Mr. Ridley was no less indefatigable in promoting the reformed religion, than his fellow sufferer, Mr. Latimer. He was naturally of a very easy temper, and distinguished for his great piety and humanity to the distressed. He persevered, to the last, in that faith he had professed, and cheerfully resigned his life in defence of the truth of the gospel.

Both these worthy prelates, during their confinement, employed their time in writing various pieces to propagate that gospel to which they had so strictly adhered. They also wrote great numbers of letters to their respective friends and particular acquaintances.

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## SECTION VIII.

PERSECUTIONS, DEATHS, AND MARTYRDOMS OF JOHN WEBB, GEORGE ROPER, GREGORY PARKE, WILLIAM WISEMAN, JAMES GORE, AND JOHN PHILPOT.

*Martyrdoms of John Webb, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, at Canterbury.*

Mr. Webb was brought before Nicholas Harpsfield, or his deputy, at Dover, on the 16th of September, and there had propounded unto him such articles as were commonly administered by Bonner to those of his jurisdiction. Being advised for the present to depart, and deliberate with himself upon the matter, against his next appearance; he answered, "that he would say no otherwise (by God's grace) than he had already said, which was, that the sacrament was simply a com-



memoration of the death of the Lord for his church; and that the bread and wine underwent no transformation."

After this, on the 3d of October, and at several other times, Mr. John Webb, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were all brought together before the said judge; and all of them steadfastly adhering to the answer made before by Mr. Webb, were adjudged heretics; and, in consequence, about the end of the same month, they were brought out of prison together to the place of martyrdom; praying and repeating psalms in their way.

Being brought to the stake, and there fastened with a chain, they were burnt altogether in one fire at Canterbury, most patiently enduring their torments, and accounting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for his sake.

*Death of William Wiseman, and of James Gore.*

On the 13th of December, William Wiseman, a cloth-worker of London, died in Lollard's tower, where he had been confined on account of his adherence to the gospel. It was suspected that he had been starved to death; but the truth of this could not be ascertained.

After his death, the papists cast him out into the fields, as was their usual custom with such of the protestants as expired under their hands, commanding that no man should bury him. Notwithstanding their merciless commands, some pious Christians buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the rest thrown out in like manner, singing psalms together at their burial.

In the same month also, *James Gore*, imprisoned and in bonds for his resistance of the popish abominations, died in prison at Colchester.

*History and Martyrdom of Mr. John Philpot.*

Mr. Philpot was of a family highly respectable, (his father being a knight,) and was born in Hampshire. He was brought up at New College, Oxford, where he studied civil law and other branches of liberal education, particularly the learned languages, and became a great proficient in the Hebrew. He was accomplished, courageous, and zealous; ever careful to adorn his doctrine by his practice; and his learning is fully evinced by what he has left on record.

Desirous to travel, he went over to Italy, and journeying from Venice to Padua, he was in danger through a Franciscan friar who accompanied him, and, at Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England, uncorrupted in his morals, and strengthened in his faith, by beholding the monstrous absurdities and innumerable iniquities of antichrist in his strong hold, and finding that the time permitted more boldness unto him, it being the reign of King Edward, he had several conflicts with Bishop Gardiner in the city of Winchester.

After that, he was made archdeacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet, who then succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric, and here he continued during the reign of King Edward, to the great profit of those whom his office placed under his care. When the pious prince above named was taken away, and Mary, his sister, succeeded, her study was wholly to alter the state of religion in England: and first, she caused a convocation of the prelates and other retainers of her faith, to be assembled for the accomplishment of her desire.

In this convocation, Mr. Philpot, according to his degree, with a few others, sustained the cause of the gospel against the adversary, for which, notwithstanding the liberty the house had promised before, he was called to account before the chancellor, by whom he was first examined. From thence again he was removed to Bishop Bonner, and other commissioners, with whom he had divers conflicts, as may appear by the following examinations, the account of which was written by himself.

*His first examination before the Commissioners, at New Gate Sessions-Hall, Oct. 2, 1555.*

“ Before I was called into an inner parlour, where the commissioners sat, Dr. Story came into the hall where I was, to view me among others who were there; and passing by me, he grossly observed, that I was well fed indeed.

*Philpot.* Mr. Doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in prison these twelve months and a half.

*Story.* We hear thou art a suspected person, and of heretical opinions, and therefore we have sent for thee.

*Philpot.* I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspicion of setting forth the report thereof.

*Story.* If thou wilt revoke the same, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do well; or else thou shalt be committed to the bishop of London. How sayest thou, wilt thou revoke?

*Philpot.* I have already answered in this behalf to mine ordinary.

*Story.* If thou answerest thus when thou comest before us anon, thou shalt hear more of our minds; and with that he went into the parlour, and I a little while after was called in.

*The Scribe.* Sir, what is your name?

*Philpot.* My name is John Philpot. And so he entitled my name.

*Story.* This man was archdeacon of Winchester, of Dr. Poinet's presentment.

*Philpot.* I was archdeacon, indeed, but none of his presentment; but by virtue of a former advowson given by my lord chancellor that now is.

*Story.* You may be assured that my lord chancellor would not make any such as he is archdeacon.

*Roper.* Come hither to me, Mr. Philpot. We hear that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of which whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation. Wherefore if you will come into the same, you shall be received, and find favour.

*Philpot.* I am come before your worshipful masterships at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorized by the queen's majesty, whom I own and will do my due obedience unto the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, for which I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire of you that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my wrongful imprisonment, where I have lain a year and a half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without law.

*Roper.* Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may, by our commission, and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander resting on you; and besides this, we have statutes to charge you herein withal.

*Philpot.* If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal, and if I have incurred the penalty thereof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the queen's laws, by force whereof you now sit, I desire that if I be not found a transgressor of any of them, I may not be burthened with more than I have done.

*Cholmley.* If the justice do suspect a felon, he may examine him upon suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison, though there be no fault done.

*Story.* I perceive whereabout this man goeth: he is plain in Cardmaker's case, for he made the same allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art a heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass; how sayest thou to that?

*Philpot.* I am no heretic.

*Story.* I will prove thee a heretic. Whosoever hath held against the blessed mass is a heretic: but thou hast held against the same, therefore thou art a heretic.

*Philpot.* That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where, by the queen's majesty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to speak his mind freely of such questions in religion as there were propounded by the prolocutor: for which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now to be compelled by you to answer for the same.

*Story.* Thou shalt go to Lollards' Tower, and be handled there like a heretic as thou art, and answer to the same that thou there didst speak, and be judged by the bishop of London.

*Philpot.* Sir, you know it is against all equity, that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the law have nothing to do with me.

*Roper.* You cannot deny, but that you have spoken against the mass in the convocation-house.

*Story.* Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there or no?

*Philpot.* I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death for it, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto.

*The Scribe.* This man is fed of vain-glory.

*Cholmley.* Play the wise gentleman and be conformable, and be not stubborn in your opinion, neither cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good.

*Philpot.* I desire you, sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands, than the law chargeth me, for what I have done, since there was no law directly against that wherewith I am now charged. And you, Mr. Doctor, (of old acquaintance in Oxford,) I trust will show me some friendship, and not extremity.

*Story.* I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good catholic I would spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to a heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?

*Philpot.* I am not come now to dispute, and the time serveth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal.

*Story.* Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into Lollard's tower.

*Philpot.* Sir, since you will needs show me this extremity, and charge me with my conscience, I desire to see your commission, whether you have this authority so to do.

*Story.* Shall we let every vile person see our commission? Let him lie in the Lollard's tower; for I will sweep the King's Bench, and all other prisons also, of these heretics; they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their heresies.

*Philpot.* I mind not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse used than I am.

*Story.* Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday.

*Philpot.* God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in which he will judge us with righteousness, however you judge of us now.

*Roper.* Show yourself a catholic man.

*Philpot.* Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my conscience is, I should but dissemble with you; and why be you so earnest to have me show myself a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?

*Roper.* We do not require you to dissemble with us to be a catholic man.

*Philpot.* If I do stand in any thing against that, wherein any man is able to burthen me with one jot of the scripture, I shall be content to be counted no catholic man, or a heretic, as you please.

*Story.* This man is like his fellow, Woodman, who the other day would have nothing but scripture. And this is the beginning of the tragedy.

On the 24th of October, he was again brought before the same party, and experienced from them the most harsh, illiberal, and vulgar treatment. On demanding the fulfilment of their promise in being shown their commission, the scribe, in compliance, began to open it, when Dr. Cook, now added to their number, exclaimed,

*Cook.* Fie, what will ye do? he shall not see it.

*Philpot.* Then you do me wrong, to call me and vex me, not showing your authority in this behalf.

*Cook.* If we do you wrong, complain of us; and in the mean time thou shalt lie in the Lollards' tower.

*Philpot.* Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I trust that you will not commit me to so vile a place, being no heinous trespasser.

*Cook.* Thou art no gentleman.

*Philpot.* Yes, I am.

*Cook.* A heretic is no gentleman; for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

*Philpot.* The offence cannot take away the state of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor: but I mean not to boast of my gentlemanship, but I will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it.

*Story.* What, will you suffer this heretic to prate all day?

*Cook.* He saith he is a gentleman.

*Story.* A gentleman, said he? he is a vile heretic knave: for a

heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards' tower come in, and have him away.

*Keeper.* Here, sir.

*Story.* Take this man with you to the Lollards' tower, else to the bishop's coal house.

*Philpot.* Sir, if I were a dog, you could not appoint me a worse nor more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you, Mr. Cholmley, shew me some friendship that I may not be carried to so vile a place. On this Mr. Cholmley called me aside, and said: I neither understand their doings nor their laws; I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good.

After this, I, with four others, was brought to the keeper's house in Paternoster-row, where we supped, and after supper I was called up to a chamber by a servant of the archdeacon of London, and that in his master's name, who offered me a bed for the night. I thanked him, and said, That it would be a grief to me to lie one night well, and the next night worse: wherefore, said I, I will begin as I am likely to continue, to take such part as my fellows do. And with that we were brought through Paternoster-row, to my lord of London's coal-house; unto which was joined a little dark house, with a great pair of stocks, both for hand and foot; and there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly-zeal, with one other poor man. The minister at my coming desired to speak with me, telling me that he greatly lamented his infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment, he had been constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London: whereupon he had been set at liberty, and afterwards felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he went to the bishop's register, desiring to see his bill again; which as soon as he received, he tore it in pieces, after which he was joyful as any man. When my lord of London understood this, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and buffeted him, so that he made his face black and blue; and plucked away a great piece of his beard.

*His examination before Bishop Bonner.*

The second night of my imprisonment in his coal-house, the bishop sent Mr. Johnson, his register, to me, with a mess of meat, and a good pot of drink and some bread, saying, That he had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, not knowing whether I would receive the same.

I thanked God for his lordship's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, desiring the Almighty to increase the same in him, and in all others; and that I would not refuse his beneficence, and therewith took the same unto my brethren.

*Johnson.* My lord would know the cause of your being sent hither, (for he is ignorant thereof,) and wondereth that he should be troubled with prisoners that are not of his own diocese. On this I declared unto him the whole cause. After which he said, that my lord's will was, I should have any friendship I would desire, and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my lord's gentlemen came for me;

and brought me into his presence, where he sat at a table with three or four of his chaplains waiting upon him, and his register.

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot you are welcome; give me your hand. (Which I did.)

Then said he, I am sorry for your trouble, and promise you, that till within these two hours I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me the cause; for I promise you I know nothing thereof as yet, and marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I must be obedient to my betters, and I fear men speak otherwise of me than I deserve.

I told him that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house, for which I was, against all right, molested.

*Bonner.* I marvel that you should be troubled for that, if there was no other cause. But peradventure you have maintained the same since, and some of your friends of late have asked, whether you do stand to the same, and ye have said, yea; and for this you might be committed to prison.

*Philpot.* If it shall please your lordship I am burdened no otherwise than I have told you, by the commissioners who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same.

*Bonner.* A man may speak in the parliament house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it, as in case he speak words of high treason against the king and queen; and so it might be that you spake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ.

*Philpot.* I spake nothing which was out of the articles which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole house, and by permission of the queen and council.

*Bonner.* Why, may we dispute of our faith?

*Philpot.* That we may.

*Bonner.* Nay, I think not, by the law.

*Philpot.* Indeed, by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's law we may reason thereof. For St. Peter saith, "Be ye ready to render account unto all men of the hope which is in you."

*Bonner.* Indeed, St. Peter saith so. Why, then, I ask of you what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar?

*Philpot.* My lord, St. Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot show you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes in danger of my life for it. Wherefore, as the said doctor said unto Valentinian the emperor, so say I to your lordship; take away the law and I shall reason with you. And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any.

*Bonner.* I perceive you are learned; I would have such as you about me. But you must come and be of the church, for there is but one church.

*Philpot.* God forbid I should be out of the church! I am sure I am within the same; for I know, as I am taught by the scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation, out of which there is no salvation.

*Bonner.* How chanceth it, then, that you go out of the same, and walk not with us?

*Philpot.* My lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon she is built, which is the word of God.

*Bonner.* What age are you of?

*Philpot.* I am four and forty.

*Bonner.* You are not now of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers promised for you, in which you were baptized.

*Philpot.* Yes, I am; for I was baptized into the faith of Christ, which I now hold.

*Bonner.* How can that be? there is but one faith.

*Philpot.* I am assured of that by St. Paul, saying, "That there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism," of which I am.

*Bonner.* You were, twenty years ago, of another faith than you are now.

*Philpot.* Indeed, my lord, to tell you plain, I was then of no faith; a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

*Bonner.* Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?

*Philpot.* I desire your lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that God's word was thoroughly with the primitive church.

*Bonner.* Well, I promise you I mean you no hurt. I will not, therefore, burden you with your conscience now; I marvel that you are so merry in prison as you are, singing and rejoicing as the prophet saith, rejoicing in your naughtiness. Methinks you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry.

*Philpot.* My lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, singing together in hymns and psalms; and I trust your lordship cannot be displeased with that.

We are, my lord, in a dark comfortless place, and, therefore, it becometh us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, sorrowfulness eat up our heart.

*Bonner.* I will trouble you no farther now. If I can do you any good, I shall be glad. God be with you, good Mr. Philpot, and good night. Take him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine.

Thus I departed, and, by my lord's register, I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my lord's chaplain, Mr. Cousin, followed me, making acquaintance, saying that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular.

*Philpot.* I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, saying, "Wo be to him that is alone." After that I was carried to my lord's coal-house again, where I, with my six companions, housed together in straw as cheerfully as others in their beds of down.

#### *Fourth Examination of Mr. Philpot, before the Bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.*

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot, it hath pleased my lords to take pains here to-day, to dine with my poor archdeacon, and in the dinner time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here by many who knew you at New-College, in Oxford. And I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me, by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned; and, therefore, now I have sent for you to

come before them, that it might not be said hereafter, that I had so many learned bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talk with you, and at my request (I thank them) they are content so to do. Now, therefore, utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as you may if you please.

*Bath.* My lords here have not sent for you to fawn upon you, but for charity sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic church.

*Worcester.* Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call upon God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that it may conceive the truth.

*Philpot.* With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner :

“Almighty God, who art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (a most vile sinner in thy sight) the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the satisfaction of the hearers, before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding if I be deceived in any thing.”

*Bonner.* Nay, my lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing praises unto God before dawning of the day.

*Philpot.* My lord, God make me, and all you here present, such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns ; for they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended.

*Bath.* Proceed to what he hath to say. He hath prayed, I cannot tell for what.

*Bonner.* Say on, Mr. Philpot ; my lords will gladly hear you.

*Philpot.* I have, my lords, been these twelve months and a half in prison without any just cause, and my living is taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from my own territory and ordinary, into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing can be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released.

*Bonner.* There is none here that goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, you were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore speak your conscience without any fear.

*Philpot.* My lords, it is not unknown to you, that the chief cause why you count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is because we be not at unity with your church. You say, that whatsoever is out of your church is damned ; and we think verily, on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted by God's word, we shall stand in the state of damnation. Whereof if your lordships can bring any better authority for your church than we can for ours, and prove by the scriptures that the church of Rome now is the true catholic church, as in all sermons, writings, and arguments,



you uphold; and that all Christian persons ought to be ruled by the same, under pain of damnation, (as you say,) and that the same church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the scriptures as it seemeth good to her, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only; I shall be as conformable to the same church as you may desire, which otherwise I dare not.

*Cole.* If you stand upon this point only, you may soon be satisfied if you please.

*Philpot.* It is what I require, and to this I will stand, and refer all other controversies wherein I now am against you, and will put my hand thereto, if you mistrust my word.

*Bonner.* I pray you, Mr. Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith.

*Philpot.* My lord, to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith; for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then as I ought to do, God forgive me.

*Bonner.* No faith? that is not so. I am sure you were of some faith.

*Philpot.* My lord, I have declared to you on my conscience what I then was, and judge of myself. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?

*Bonner.* Doctor Cole, I pray you speak your mind to him.

*Cole.* What will you say, if I can prove it was decreed by an universal council in Athanasius' time, that all the Christian church should follow the determination of the church of Rome? but I do not now remember where.

*Philpot.* If you, Mr. Doctor, can show me the same granted to the see of Rome by the authority of the scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I think you are not able to show any such thing; for Athanasius was president of the Nicene council, and there was no such thing decreed.

*Cole.* Though it were not then, it might be at another time.

*Philpot.* I desire to see the proof thereof.

Upon this, Mr. Harpsfield, the chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Irenæus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be; which, after the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the latter gave me the book, and said:

Take the book, Mr. Philpot, and look upon that place, and there you may see how the church of Rome is to be followed of all men.

On this I took the book and read the place, after which I said it made nothing against me, but against Arians, and other heretics, against whom Irenæus wrote.

*Worcester.* It is to be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced the same.

*Philpot.* Let that be proved, and I have done.

*Worcester.* Nay, you are of such arrogancy, singularity, and vain glory, that you will never see it, be it ever so well proved.

*Philpot.* Ha! my lords, is it now time, think you, for me to follow singularity or vain glory, since it is now upon danger of my life, and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And, I know if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly; and again I

know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and a great many more; yet I had rather perish in your hands, than perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my goods of this world, and lie in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog.

*Cole.* Where are you able to prove that the church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what history? Certain it is by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was bishop twenty-five years at Rome.

*Philpot.* I know well that Eusebius so writeth; but if we compare that which St. Paul writeth to the Galatians, Gal. i. the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past thirty-five years after he was called to be an apostle; and St. Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ's death more than thirteen years. And further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historiographers, that the church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because she agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive church did use according to the gospel, and there needeth none other proof, but to compare the one with the other.

*Bonner.* I may compare this man to a certain one I read of who fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself, and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply this as I might. I pray you (Mr. Doctor) go forth with him.

*Cole.* My lord, there is on every side of me, some who are better able to answer him, and I love not to fall into disputation: for we now-a-days sustain shame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had rather show my mind in writing.

*Philpot.* And I had rather you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument; and I beseech you to do so. But if I were a rich man, I durst wager an hundred pounds that you shall not be able to show me that you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius' time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa, many years after, that none of Africa (under pain of excommunication) should appeal to Rome: which decree I am sure they would not have made, if by the scriptures and by a universal council it had been decreed, that all men should abide and follow the determination of the church of Rome.

*Cole.* But I can show that they revoked that error again.

*Philpot.* So you say, Mr. Doctor, but I pray you show me where. I have hitherto heard nothing from you to my satisfaction, but bare words without any authority.

*Bonner.* What, I pray you, ought we to dispute with you of our faith? Justinian in the law hath a title, *De fide Catholica*, to the contrary.

*Philpot.* I am certain the civil law hath such a constitution: but our faith must not depend upon the civil law. For, as St. Ambrose saith, Not the law, but the gospel, hath gathered the church together.

*Worcester.* Mr. Philpot, you have the spirit of pride wherewith you be led, which will not let you yield to the truth: leave it off, for shame.

*Philpot.* Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of faith, by which I speak at this present; neither am I ashamed to stand to my faith.

*Gloucester.* What! do you think yourself better learned than so many notable learned men as are here!

*Philpot.* Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred priests against him.

*Worcester.* Oh, you would be counted now for Elias! And yet I tell thee he was deceived: for he thought there had been none good but himself; and yet he was deceived, for there were seven thousand besides him.

*Philpot.* Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other four hundred were.

*Worcester.* Do you think the universal church may be deceived?

*Philpot.* St. Paul to the Thessalonians prophesied that there should come a universal departing from the faith, in the latter days, before the coming of Christ, saying, that "Christ shall not come, till there come departing first."

*Worcester.* I am sorry that you should be against the Christian world.

*Philpot.* The world commonly, and such as are called Christians, have hated the truth, and been enemies of the same.

*Gloucester.* Why, Mr. Philpot, do you think that the universal church hath erred, and that you only are in the truth?

*Philpot.* The church that you are of was never universal, for two parts of the world, which are Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, neither did they follow his decrees.

*Gloucester.* Yes, in the Florentine council they did agree.

*Philpot.* It was said so by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home: but it was not so indeed, as the sequel of them all proved the contrary.

*Gloucester.* I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy which happen daily?

*Philpot.* By the word of God. For Christ saith, in St. John, "The word that he spake, shall he judge in the latter day."

*Gloucester.* What if *you* take the word one way and *I* another way, who shall be judge then?

*Philpot.* The primitive church.

*Gloucester.* I know you mean the doctors that wrote thereof.

*Philpot.* I mean verily so.

*Gloucester.* What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another, who shall be judge then?

*Philpot.* Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word.

*Worcester.* Thou art the arrogantest fellow that ever I knew.

*Philpot.* I pray your lordship to bear with my hasty speech; it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily; but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your lordship.

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot, my lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go hence to the place whence you came, and have such favour as in the mean while I can show you; and upon Wednesday next you shall be called upon again, to be heard what you can say for the maintenance of your error.

*Philpot.* My lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I required; and your lordship shall find me as I have said.

*Warcester.* God send you more grace.

*Philpot.* And increase the same in you, and open your eyes, that you may see to maintain his truth, and his true church.

Then the bishops rose, and after consulting together, caused a writing to be made, in which I think my blood by them was bought and sold, and thereunto they put their hands; after which I was carried to my coal-house again.

*The fifth examination of Mr. Philpot before the bishops of London, Rochester, St. Asaph, and others.*

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot, come you hither; I have desired my lords here and other learned men, to take some pains once again to do you good, and because I do mind to sit in judgment on you to-morrow, as I am commanded, yet I would you should have as much favour as I can show you, if you will be any thing conformable; therefore play the wise man, and be not singular in your own opinion, but be ruled by these learned men.

*Philpot.* My lord, in that you say you will set on me in judgment to-morrow, I am glad thereof; for I was promised by them which sent me unto you, that I should have been judged the next day after: but promise hath not been kept with me, to my farther grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you are to require it.

Having argued some time upon questions of civil law, the subject of papal supremacy was resumed.

*St. Asaph.* It is most evident that St. Peter did build the Catholic church at Rome. And Christ said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church." Moreover, the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place so well, which is a manifest probation of the Catholic church, as divers doctors do write.

*Philpot.* That you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and that by the authority which you allege of Christ, saying unto Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church," unless you can prove that rock to signify Rome, as you would make me falsely believe. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the Catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the Roman Catholic church is built, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remain.\*

*Bonner.* Are there any more churches than one Catholic church? And I pray you tell me into what faith were you baptized?

*Philpot.* I acknowledge one holy Catholic and apostolic church,

\* This unanswerable argument, we see, was evaded by the bishops; as it always is by the professors of popery;—they rely upon the mere succession of bishops, as being sufficient to prove that they are in every respect the same, whereas nothing can be more fallacious: as well might the followers of the impostor Mahomet be considered as the successors of the apostles, because they have usurped the country sanctified by the labours of the first followers of our blessed Lord. And, in truth, their tenets differ not much more widely from real and genuine Christianity, than those of the upholders of papacy and superstition.

whereof I am a member, (I praise God,) and am of that catholic faith of Christ, wherunto I was baptized.

*Coventry.* I pray, can you tell what this word catholic doth signify?

*Philpot.* Yes, I can, thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not, as the people are taught, that which is most universal, or by most part of men received, whereby you infer our faith to hang upon the multitude: but I esteem the catholic church to be as St. Austin defineth: "We judge," saith he, "the catholic faith, of that which *hath been, is, and shall be.*" So that if you can be able to prove that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and shall be, then you may count yourselves catholic, otherwise not. And catholic is a Greek word, compounded of *kata*, which signifieth, after, or according, and *holon*, a sum, or principle, or whole. So that CATHOLIC CHURCH, OR CATHOLIC FAITH, is as much as to say, the first, whole, sound, or chief faith.

*Bonner.* Doth St. Austin say as he allegeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the same? How say you Mr. Curtop?

*Curtop.* Indeed, my lord, St. Austin hath such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the catholic faith ought to be esteemed of things in time past, and as they are practised according to the same, and ought to be through all ages, and not after a new manner, as the Donatists began to profess.

*Philpot.* You have said well, Mr. Curtop, and after the meaning of St. Austin, and to confirm that which I have said for the signification of catholic.

*Coventry.* Let the book be seen, my lord.

*Bonner.* I pray you, my lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off, and let all alone. Do you think that the catholic church (until within these few years, in which a few from singularity have swerved from the same,) hath erred?

*Philpot.* I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine: but I require you to prove this church of Rome to be the catholic church.

*Curtop.* I can prove that Irenæus (which was within a hundred years after Christ,) came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics, which (by all likelihood) he would not have done, if he had not taken him to be supreme head.

*Coventry.* Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer the same? Answer if you can.

*Philpot.* It is soon answered, my lord, for that is of no force: neither doth this fact of Irenæus make any more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, than mine hath done, who have been at Rome as well as he, and might have spoken with the pope if I had listed; and yet I would none in England did favour his supremacy more than I.

*St. Asaph.* You are more to blame (by the faith of my body) for that you favour the same no better, since all the catholic church, (until these few years,) have taken him to be the supreme head of the church, besides this good man Irenæus.

*Philpot.* That is not likely that Irenæus so took him, or the primitive church: for I am able to show seven general councils after Irenæus' time, wherein he was never taken for supreme head.

*The other Bishop.* This man will never be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him.

*Philpot.* O, my lords, would you have me satisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I, that by these many general councils am able to prove, that he was never so taken in many hundred years after Christ, as by Nicene, Ephesine, the first and second Chalcodon, Constantinopolitan, Carthaginense, Aquilense.

*Coventry.* Why will you not admit the church of Rome to be the catholic church?

*Philpot.* Because it followeth not the primitive catholic church, neither agreeth with the same.

*Coventry.* Wherein doth it dissent?

*Philpot.* It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, supremacy and transubstantiation.

*Dr. Saverson.* I wonder you will stand so steadfast in your error, to your own destruction.

*Philpot.* I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true church such a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries thereof should never be able to resist. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reasoning, neither by writing, your synagogue of Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all (at this day) is able to answer Calvin's institutions?

*Dr. Saverson.* A godly minister indeed, a receiver of cut-purses and runagate traitors. And of late, I can tell you, there is such contention fallen between him and his own sect, that he was obliged to fly the town, about predestination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva here.

*Philpot.* I am sure you blaspheme him, and that church where he is minister; as it is your church's disposition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to answer them with blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in no other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing to the scripture.

*Saverson.* Men are able to answer him if they will. And I pray which of you has answered Bishop Fisher's book?

*Philpot.* Yes, Mr. Doctor, that book is answered, and answered again, as you may see, if you like to see what hath been written against him.

And after this Dr. Story came in. To whom I said, Mr. Doctor, you have done me great injury, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And besides this you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after.

*Story.* I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a fantastical man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beast! yea, these heretics be worse than brute beasts; for they will upon a vain singularity take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools and ass-heads, not able to maintain that which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in.

*Philpot.* I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now.

Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you like. God forgive it you; yet I am no heretic. Neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold one jot against the word of God otherwise than a Christian man ought.

*Story.* The word of God, forsooth! It is but folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But yet I may reason with thee, not that I have any hope to win thee: whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou standest?

*Philpot.* Verily, the word itself.

*Story.* Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? he willeth the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak?

*Philpot.* If I cannot prove that which I have said by good authority, I will be content to be counted a heretic and an ignorant person, and farther, what you please.

*Story.* Let us hear what wise authority thou canst bring in.

*Philpot.* It is the word of Christ in St. John, "The word which I have spoken, shall judge in the last day." If the word shall judge in the last day, how much more ought it to judge of our doings now? and I am sure I have my judge on my side, who will absolve and justify me in another world. Howsoever now it shall please you by authority unrighteously to judge of me and others, sure I am in another world to judge you.

*Story.* Well, sir, you are like to go after your father, Latimer the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself but that he learned his heresy of Crammer. But I despatched them; and I tell thee that there never yet hath been one burnt, but I have spoke with him, and have been a cause of his despatch.\*

*Philpot.* You will have the more to answer for, Mr. Doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you now triumph.

*Story.* I tell thee I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak with my lord, I pray one of you to tell my lord, that my coming was to signify to his lordship, that he must out of hand put this heretic out of the way. And going away, he said to me, I certify thee, that thou mayest thank no other man but me.

*Philpot.* I thank you therefore with all my heart, and forgive it you.

*Story.* What, dost thou thank me? If I had thee in my study half an hour, I think I should make thee sing another song.

*Philpot.* No, Mr. Doctor, I stand upon too sure ground to be overthrown by you now. And thus they departed from me, one after another, until I was left alone. And afterwards going with my keeper to the coal-house, as I went I met my lord of London, who spoke unto me very gently.

*Bonner.* Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may show thee in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it.

*Philpot.* My lord, the pleasure that I will require of your lord-

\* The candid reader will doubtless be ready to inquire, Could a man who thus boasted of his wanton sacrifice of human life, be endued with the spirit of the Redeemer? Unable to offer a single argument, he overwhelms his victims with abuse, and glories in having been an instrument of bringing many to the stake—that conclusive reply with which the papists found it so convenient to stop the mouths of those whose doctrines they could not controvert, and which it is believed, they would *now* gladly press into their service, were their ability equal to their desires.

ship, is to hasten my judgment which is committed unto you, and to despatch me out of this miserable world unto my eternal rest. And for all this fair speech I cannot attain hitherto, this fortnight's space, either fire, candle, or good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted among the vilest, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore praised be God that hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladness to be content therewith. Let all who love the truth say Amen.

*His sixth examination, before the Lord Chamberlain, the Bishop of London, Lords Rich, St. John, Windsor, Shandois, Sir John Bridges, Dr. Chedsey, and others, Nov. 6, 1555.*

While the lords were seating themselves, the bishop of London came and whispered in my ear, desiring me to behave prudently before the lords of the queen's council, and to take heed what I said.

He then, after the lords and other gentlemen were sat, placed himself at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the lords I was placed at the upper end against him; where I kneeling down, the lords commanded me to stand up, and the bishop spoke to me in the following manner.

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot, I have heretofore both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more times than once, caused you to be conversed with, to reform you of your errors, but I have not yet found you so tractable as I could wish: wherefore now I have desired these honourable lords of the temporality, and of the queen's majesty's council, who have taken pains with me this day, I thank them for it, to hear you, and what you can say, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good or not: and I dare be bold to say in their behalf, that if you show yourself conformable to the queen's majesty's proceedings, you shall find as much favour for your deliverance as you can wish. I speak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home unto the church. Now let them hear what you have to say.

*Philpot.* My lord, I thank God that I have this day such an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your lordship's equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive church, which was, if any body had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese where he was suspected; secondly, in the presence of others his fellow bishops and learned elders: and thirdly, in hearing of the laity: where, after the judgment of God's word declared, and with the assent of the bishops and consent of the people, he was condemned for a heretic, or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at your lordship's hands already, in being called before you and your fellow-bishops; and now have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness in my cause, than I have found with the clergy: God grant that I may have at the last the judgment of God's word concerning the same.

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot, I pray you, ere you go farther, tell my lord's here plainly, whether you were by me, or by my procurement, committed to prison or not, and whether I have showed you any cruelty since you have been committed to my prison.



*Philpot.* If it shall please your lordship to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward.

*Lord Rich.* Answer first of all to my lord's two questions, and then proceed to the matter. How say you? Were you imprisoned by my lord, or not? Can you find any fault since with his cruel using of you?

*Philpot.* I cannot lay to my lord's charge the cause of my imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly; but rather for my part I may say, that I have found more gentleness at his hands than I did at my own ordinary's, for the time I have been within his prison, because he hath called me three or four times to mine answer, to which I was not called in a year and a half before.

*Rich.* Well, now go to your matter.

*Philpot.* The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputations held by me in the convocation-house, against the sacrament of the altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the queen's majesty and of the whole house, and that house, being a member of the parliament-house, which ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this realm. Wherefore I think myself to have sustained hitherto great injury for speaking my conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honourable lordships' judgment, who are of the parliament-house, whether of right I ought to be impeached for the same, and sustain the loss of my living, (as I have done,) and moreover my life, as it is sought.

*Rich.* You are deceived herein; for the convocation-house is no part of the parliament-house.

*Philpot.* My lord, I have always understood the contrary by such as are more expert men in things of this realm than I; and again, the title of every act leadeth me to think otherwise, which allegeth the agreement of the spirituality and temporality assembled together.

*Rich.* That is meant of the spiritual lords of the upper house.

*Lord Windsor.* Indeed the convocation-house is called together by one writ of the summons of the parliament, of an old custom; notwithstanding, that house is no part of the parliament-house.

*Philpot.* My lords, I must be content to abide your judgments in this behalf.

*Rich.* We have told you the truth. And yet we would not that you should be troubled for any thing that there was spoken, so that you having spoken amiss, do declare now you are sorry for what you have said.

*Bonner.* My lords, he hath spoken there manifest heresy, yea, and there stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar, (and with that he put off his cap, that all the lords might reverence and vail their bonnets at that idol as he did,) and would not allow the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same: yet, my lords, God forbid that I should endeavour to show him extremity for so doing, in case he will repent and revoke his wicked sayings; and if in faith he will so do, with your lordships' consent, he shall be released by and by; if he will not, he shall have the extremity of the law, and that shortly.

*Rich.* How say you? will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, as all learned men of this realm do, in the mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it!

*Philpot.* My lord, I do acknowledge in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ such a presence as the word of God doth allow and teach me.

*Rich.* That shall be no otherwise than you like.

*Bonner.* A sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; so that there is both the sign which is the accident, (as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of bread,) and there is also the thing itself, as very Christ, both God and man. But these heretics will have the sacrament to be but bare signs. How say you? declare unto my lords here whether you allow the thing itself in the sacrament, or no.

*Philpot.* I do confess, that in the Lord's supper there are, in due respects, both the sign, and the thing signified, when it is duly administered after the institution of Christ.

*Rich.* Show us what manner of presence you allow in the sacrament.

*Philpot.* My lords, the reason that at first I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you, is because I cannot speak without the danger of my life.

*Rich.* There is none of us here who seek thy life, or mean to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak.

*Philpot.* Although I mistrust not your lordships that be here of the temporality, yet here is one that sitteth against me, (pointing to the lord of London,) that will lay it to my charge even to death. Notwithstanding, seeing you require me to declare my mind of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, that ye may perceive I am not ashamed of the presence of Christ, neither do maintain any opinion without probable and sufficient authority of the scripture, I will show you frankly my mind.

I do protest here, first before God and his angels, that I speak it not of vain glory, neither of singularity, neither of wilful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded upon God's word, against which I dare not go for fear of damnation, which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge.

There are two things principally, by which the clergy at this day deceive the whole realm; that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the catholic church; which they do both usurp, having, indeed, neither of them. And as touching their sacrament, which they term of the altar, I say, that it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any manner of Christ's presence. Wherefore they deceive the queen, and you the nobility of this realm, in making you believe that to be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest proof, which I am able to make, I will yield my life; which to do, if it were not upon sure ground, it were to my utter damnation.

And where they take on them the name of the catholic church, (whereby they blind many people's eyes,) they are nothing so, calling

you from the true religion which was revealed and taught in King Edward's time, unto vain superstition. And this I will say for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the catholic church, I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my lords, to be a means for me to the queen's majesty, that I may be brought to a just trial hereof.

*Bonner.* It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale.

*Rich.* All heretics boast of the spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself; as Joan of Kent, and the anabaptists. I had myself Joan of Kent a week in my house, after the writ was out for her being burnt, where my lord of Canterbury, and Bishop Ridley, resorted almost daily unto her; but she was so high in the spirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their learning. But she went wilfully into the fire, as you do now.

*Philpot.* As for Joan of Kent, she was a vain woman, (I knew her well,) and a heretic indeed, because she stood against one of the manifest articles of our faith, contrary to the scriptures; and such are soon known from the true spirit of God and his church, for that the same abideth within the limits of God's word, and will not go out of it.

*Bonner.* I pray you, how will you join me these scriptures together: *Pater major me est; pater et ego unum sumus*;\* now show your cunning, and join these two scriptures by the word, if you can.

*Philpot.* Yes, that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there be two natures, the divinity and humanity, and in respect of his humanity, it is spoken of Christ, "The Father is greater than I." But in respect of his deity, he said again, "The Father and I are one."

*Bonner.* But what scripture have you?

*Philpot.* Yes, I have sufficient scripture for the proof of that I have said. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels."

*Bonner.* What say you then to the second scripture? how couple you that by the word with the other?

*Philpot.* The text itself declareth, that notwithstanding Christ did abase himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in Deity with the Father. And this St. Paul to the Hebrews doth more at large set forth.

*Bonner.* How can that be, seeing St. Paul saith, "That the letter killeth, but it is the spirit that giveth life?"

*Philpot.* St. Paul meaneth not that the word of God written, in itself killeth, which is the word of life, and faithful testimony of the Lord; but that the word is unprofitable, and killeth him that is void of the spirit of God; therefore, St. Paul said, "That the gospel to some was a savour of life unto life, and to others a savour of death unto death." Also an example hereof we have in the sixth of John, of them who hearing the word of God without the spirit, were offended thereby; wherefore Christ said, "The flesh profiteth nothing, it is the spirit that quickeneth."

\* The Father is greater than I; I and the Father are one.

*Bonner.* You see, my lords, that this man will have his own mind, and wilfully cast himself away. I am sorry for him.

*Philpot.* The words that I have spoken are none of mine, but the gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my lord, can bring better authority for the faith you would draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same.

*Rich.* What countryman are you?

*Philpot.* I am Sir P. Philpot's son, of Hampshire.

*Rich.* He is my near kinsman; wherefore I am the more sorry for him.

*Philpot.* I thank your lordship that it pleaseth you to challenge kindred of a poor prisoner.

*Rich.* In faith, I would go a hundred miles on my bare feet to do you good.

*Lord Chamberlain.* He may do well enough if he will.

*St. John.* Mr. Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you should do well.

*Rich.* I dare be bold to procure for you of the queen's majesty that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgment. How say you, will you promise here before my lords so to do?

*Philpot.* I will be contented to be judged by them.

*Rich.* Yea, but will you promise to agree to their judgment?

*Philpot.* There are causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the word of God.

*Rich.* O, I perceive you will have no man judge but yourself, and think yourself wiser than all the learned men in this realm.

*Philpot.* My lord, I seek not to be mine own judge, but am willing to be judged by others, so that the order of judgment in matters of religion be kept that was in the primitive church, which is, first, that God's will by his word was sought, and thereunto both the spirituality and temporality were gathered together, and gave their consents and judgment; and such kind of judgment I will stand to.

*Rich.* I marvel why you do deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, saying, "This is my body;" and yet you will not stick to say it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? And is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body, as he was to make man flesh of a piece of clay? Did not he say, "this is my body which shall be betrayed for you?" And was not his very body betrayed for us? Therefore it must needs be his body.

*Bonner.* My Lord Rich, you have said wonderful well and learnedly. But you might have begun with him before also, in the sixth of John, where Christ promised to give his body in the sacrament of the altar, saying, "The bread which I will give is my flesh." How can you answer to that?

*Philpot.* You may be soon answered; that saying of St. John is, that the humanity of Christ, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life whereby our souls and bodies are sustained to eternal life, of which the sacramental bread is a lively representation, to all such as believe on his passion. And as Christ saith in the same sixth of John, "I am the bread that came down from heaven;" but yet he is not material, neither natural bread: likewise,

the bread is his flesh, not natural or substantial, but by signification, and by grace in the sacrament.

And now to my Lord Rich's argument. I do not deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, "This is my body;" but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: they must be taken spiritually, according to the express declaration of Christ, saying that the words of the sacrament which the Capernaïtes took carnally, as the papists now do, ought to be taken spiritually and not carnally, as they falsely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Christ hath made in this behalf, neither following the institution of Christ, neither the use of the apostles and of the primitive church, who never taught, neither declared any such carnal manner of presence as is now exacted of us violently, without any ground of scripture or antiquity.

*Bonner.* What say you to the omnipotency of God? Is not he able to perform that which he spake, as my Lord Rich hath very well said? I tell thee, that God, by his omnipotency, may make himself to be this carpet if he will.

*Philpot.* As concerning the omnipotency of God, I say, that God is able to do (as the prophet David saith) whatsoever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his word; that is blasphemy which my lord of London hath spoken, that God may become a carpet. For God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature, and it is contrary to the nature of God to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature; and God is the creator; and the creator cannot be the creature: wherefore, unless you can declare by the word, that Christ is otherwise present with us than spiritually and sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the omnipotency of God in vain.

*Bonner.* Why, wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the sacrament? Or do you deny it?

*Philpot.* I deny not that Christ is really present in the sacrament to the receiver thereof according to Christ's institution.

*Bonner.* What mean you by "really present?"

*Philpot.* I mean, by "really present," present indeed.

*Bonner.* Is God really present every where?

*Philpot.* He is so.

*Bonner.* How prove you that?

*Philpot.* The prophet Isaiah saith, "That God filleth all places:" and wheresoever there be two or three gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them.

*Bonner.* What, his humanity?

*Philpot.* No, my lord, I mean the Deity, according to that you demanded.

*Rich.* My lord of London, I pray you let Dr. Chedsey reason with him, and let us see how he can answer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whose doctrine the queen's majesty and the whole realm doth well allow; therefore hear him.

Dr. Chedsey accordingly began.

*Chedsey.* You have of Scriptures the four evangelists for the probation of Christ's real presence to be in the sacrament after the words of consecration, with St. Paul to the Corinthians; which all say, "This is my body." They say not, as you would have me believe, "This is not my body." But especially the 6th of John proveth this

most manifestly, where Christ promised to give his body, which he performed in his last supper, as it appeareth by these words, "The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

*Philpot.* My Lord Rich, with your leave I must needs interrupt him a little, because he speaketh open blasphemy against the death of Christ: for if that promise, brought in by St. John, was performed by Christ in his last supper, then he needed not to have died after he had given the sacrament.

*Windsor.* There were never any that denied the words of Christ as you do. Did he not say, "This is my body?"

*Philpot.* My lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do not deny the words of Christ; but we say, these words are of none effect, being spoken otherwise than Christ did institute them in his last supper. For example: Christ biddeth the church to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. If a priest say these words over the water, and there be no child to be baptized, these words only pronounced do not make baptism. And baptism is only baptism to such as be baptised, and to none other standing by.

*Lord Chamberlain.* My lord, let me ask him one question. What kind of presence in the sacrament (duly administered according to Christ's ordinance) do you allow?

*Philpot.* If any come worthily to receive, then do I confess the presence of Christ wholly to be with all the fruits of his passion, unto the said worthy receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Christ is thereby joined to him, and he to Christ.

*Lord Chamberlain.* I am answered.

*Bonner.* My lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His similitude that he bringeth in of baptism, is nothing like to the sacrament of the altar. For if I should say to Sir John Bridges, being with me at supper, and having a fat capon, Take, eat, this is a capon, although he eat not thereof, is it not a capon still? And likewise of a piece of beef, or of a cup of wine, if I say, Drink, this is a cup of wine, is it not so, because he drincked not thereof?

*Philpot.* My lord, your similitudes are too gross for so high mysteries as we have in hand, as like must be compared to like, and spiritual things with spiritual, and not spiritual things with corporeal things. The sacraments are to be considered according to the word which Christ spake of them, of which, "Take ye, eat ye," be some of the chief, concurrent to the making of the same, without which there can be no sacraments. And, therefore, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is called Communion.

*Bonner.* My lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now. And with that the lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word unto me.

*His seventh Examination, November 19, before the bishops of London and Rochester, the Chancellor of Litchfield, and Dr. Chedsey.*

*Bonner.* Sirrah, come hither. How chance you came no sooner? Is it well done of you to make Mr. Chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming.

*Philpot.* My lord, it is well known to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors be shut upon me, and I cannot come when I please; but as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately.

*Bonner.* We sent for thee to the intent that thou shouldst have come to mass. How say you, would you have come to mass or no, if the doors had been sooner opened?

*Philpot.* My lord, that is another manner of question.

*Bonner.* Lo, Mr. Chancellor, I told you we should have a froward fellow of him: he will answer directly to nothing. I have had him before the spiritual lords and the temporal, thus he fareth still; yet he reckoneth himself better learned than all the realm. Yea, before the temporal lords the other day, he was so foolish as to challenge the best: he would make himself learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed.

*Philpot.* I reckon I answered your lordship before the lords plain enough.

*Bonner.* Why answerest thou not directly, whether thou wouldst have gone to mass or not if thou hadst come in time?

*Philpot.* Mine answer shall be thus, that if your lordship can prove your mass, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a Christian ought to come, I will afterwards come with a good will.

*Bonner.* Look, I pray you: the king and queen, and all the nobility of the realm, do come to mass, and yet he will not. By my faith, thou art too well handled; thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee.

*Philpot.* Your lordship hath power to treat my body as you please.

*Bonner.* Thou art a very ignorant fool. Mr. Chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they can desire. I did let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the leads, with a number of apprentices gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty; but I cut off their resort: and as for the apprentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them.

*Philpot.* My lord, we have no such resort to us, as your lordship imagineth, and there come very few unto us. And of apprentices, I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our coal-house, that I know of: wherefore your lordship hath mistaken your mark.

*Bonner.* Nay, now you think (because my lord chancellor is gone) that we will burn no more; yes, I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you recant.

The conversation then turned again upon the supremacy of the Romish church, on which nothing was said by its advocates, but what had been before refuted by Mr. Philpot; at length the chancellor thus concluded.

*Chancellor.* Well, Doctor, you see we can do no good in persuading of him: let us administer the articles which my lord hath left us, unto him. How say you, Mr. Philpot, to these articles? Mr. Johnson, I pray you write his answers.

*Philpot.* Mr. Chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles as you go about, for I am not of my lord of

London's diocese; and to be brief with you, I will make no farther answer herein, than I have already to the bishop.

*Chancellor.* Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away.

*Conference between the Bishop and Mr. Philpot, and other prisoners.*

Two days after, an hour before it was light, the bishop sent for me again by the keeper.

*Keeper.* Mr. Philpot, arise, you must come to my lord.

*Philpot.* I wonder what my lord meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus early; I fear he will use some violence towards me, wherefore I pray you make him this answer, that if he do send for me by an order of law, I will come and answer; otherwise, since I am not of his diocese, neither is he mine ordinary, I will not (without I be violently constrained) come unto him.

With that, one of them took me by force by the arm, and led me up into the bishop's gallery.

*Bonner.* What, thou art a foolish knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fetched.

*Philpot.* I am brought indeed, my lord, by violence unto you, and your cruelty is such, that I am afraid to come before you: I would your lordship would gently proceed against me by the law.

*Bonner.* I am blamed by the lords the bishops, that I have not dispatched thee ere this; and am commanded to take a farther order with thee; and in good faith, if thou wilt not relent, I will make no farther delay. Marry, if thou wilt yet be conformable, I will forgive thee all that is past, and thou shalt have no hurt for any thing that is already spoken or done.

*Philpot.* My lord, I have answered you already in this behalf what I will do.

*Bonner.* Hadst thou not a pig brought thee the other day, with a knife in it? Wherefore was it but to kill thyself? or, as it is told me, (marry I am counselled to take heed of thee,) to kill me? But I fear thee not; I think I am able to tread thee under my feet, do the best thou canst.

*Philpot.* My lord, I cannot deny but that there was a knife in the pig's belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpose, I know not, unless it were because he that sent the meat, thought I was without a knife. But other things your lordship needeth not to fear; for I was never without a knife, since I came to prison. And touching your own person, you shall live long if you should live till I go about to kill you; and I confess, by violence, your lordship is able to overcome me.

*Bonner.* I charge thee to answer to mine articles. Hold him a book. Thou shalt swear to answer truly to all such articles as I shall demand of thee.

*Philpot.* I refuse to swear in these causes before your lordship, because you are not mine ordinary.

*Bonner.* I am thine ordinary, and here do pronounce, by sentence peremptory, I am thine ordinary, and that thou art of my diocese; (and here he ordered others to be called in to bear him witness.) And I make thee (taking one of his servants by the arm) to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles, to which (when he had read them)



he admonished me to make answer, and said to the keeper, Fetch me his fellows, and I shall make them to be witnesses against him.

In the mean while came in one of the sheriffs of London, whom the bishop placed by him, saying, Mr. Sheriff, I would you should understand how I do proceed against this man. Mr. Sheriff, you shall hear what articles this man doth maintain: and so read a set of feigned articles: that I denied baptism to be necessary to them that were born of Christian parents, that I denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds: that I maintained only bare faith to be sufficient to salvation, whatsoever a man did besides, and I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness.

*Philpot.* Ah, my lord, have you nothing of truth to charge me withal, but you must be fain to imagine these blasphemous lies against me? You might as well have said, I had killed your father. The scriptures say, "That God will destroy all men that speak lies." And is not your lordship ashamed to say before this gentleman, (who is unknown to me,) that I maintain what you have rehearsed? which if I did, I were well worthy to be counted a heretic, and to be burnt.

*Bonner.* Wilt thou answer to them?

*Philpot.* I will first know you to be my ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things.

*Bonner.* Well, then I will make thy fellows to be witnesses herein against thee: where are they? are they come?

*Keeper.* They are here, my lord.

*Bonner.* Come hither, sirs: (hold them a book,) you shall swear by the contents of that book, that you shall say the truth of all such articles as shall be demanded of you concerning this man here present, and take you heed of him, that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth, and strengtheneth you in your errors.

*Prisoners.* My lord, we will not swear, except we know whereto: we can accuse him of no evil; we have been but a while acquainted with him.

*Philpot.* I wonder your lordship, knowing the law, will go about contrary to the same, for your lordship doth take them to be heretics, and by the law a heretic cannot be a witness.

*Bonner.* Yes, one heretic against another may be well enough. And, Mr. Sheriff, I will make one of them to be a witness against another.

*Prisoners.* No, my lord.

*Bonner.* No! will you not? I will make you swear, whether you will or no. I think they be Anabaptists, Mr. Sheriff, they think it not lawful to swear before a judge.

*Philpot.* We think it lawful to swear for a man judicially called, as we are not now, but in a blind corner.

*Bonner.* Why, then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for yourselves, and I do here in the presence of Mr. Sheriff, object the same articles unto you, as I have done unto him, and require you, under pain of excommunication, to answer particularly unto every one of them when you shall be examined, as you shall be soon, by my register and some of my chaplains.

*Prisoners.* My lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay any thing against us, we are here ready to answer thereto:

otherwise we pray your lordship not to burden us: for some of us are here before you, we know no just cause why.

*Bonner.* Mr. Sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with these forward men. And so he rose up, and was going away, talking with Mr. Sheriff.

*Philpot.* Mr. Sheriff, I pray you record how my lord proceedeth against us in corners, without all order of law, having no just cause to lay against us. And after this, we were all commanded to be put in the stocks, where I sat from morning until night; and the keeper at night upon favour let me out.

The Sunday after, the bishop came into the coal-house at night, with the keeper, and viewed the house, saying, that he was never there before; whereby a man may guess how he kept God's commandment in visiting the prisoners. Between eight and nine, he sent for me, saying:

*Bonner.* Sir, I have great displeasure of the queen and council for keeping you so long, and letting you have so much liberty; and besides that, you strengthen the other prisoners in their errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough; I will sequester you therefore from them, and you shall hurt them no more as you have done, and I will out of hand dispatch you as I am commanded, unless you will be a conformable man.

*Philpot.* My lord, you have my body in your custody, you may transport it whither you please; I am content. And I wish you would make as quick expedition in my judgment, as you say; I long for it: and as for conformity, I am ready to yield to all truth, if any can bring better than I.

*Bonner.* Why, will you believe no man but yourself, whatsoever they say?

*Philpot.* My belief must not hang upon men's sayings, without sure authority of God's word, which if they can show me, I will be pliant to the same; otherwise I cannot go from my certain faith to that which is uncertain.

*Bonner.* Have you then the truth only?

*Philpot.* My lord, I will speak my mind freely unto you and upon no malice that I bear to you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God; but you persecute both the truth and the true church of God, for which cause you cannot prosper long. You see God doth not prosper your doings according to your expectations; he hath of late showed his just judgment against one of your greatest doers, who, by reports, died miserably.\* I envy not the authority you are in. You that have learning, should know best how to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity and living again, use the same to God's glory, and to the setting forth of his true religion: otherwise it will not continue, do what you can. With this saying he paused, and at length said:

*Bonner.* That good man was punished for such as thou art. Where is the keeper? Come, let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before.

He then followed me, calling the keeper aside, commanding him to

\* The bishop of Winchester who died of a very painful disorder, on the 12th of November, 1555.

keep all men from me, and narrowly to search me, commanding two of his men to accompany the keeper to see me placed.

I afterwards passed through St. Paul's up to Lollards' Tower and after that turned along the west side of St. Paul's through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors, came to my lodging through many straits; where I called to remembrance, that straight is the way to heaven. And it is in a tower, right on the other side of Lollards' Tower, as high almost as the battlements of St. Paul's, eight feet in breadth, and thirteen in length, and almost over the prison where I was before, having a window opening towards the east, by which I could look over the tops of a great many houses, but saw no man passing into them.

And as I came to my place, the keeper took off my gown, searched me very narrowly, and took away a pen-case, ink-horn, girdle, and knife, but (as God would have it,) I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removal, and thereupon made an errand to the stool, where (full sore against my will,) I cast away many a friendly letter; but that which I had written of my last examination before, I thrust into my hose, thinking the next day to have made an end thereof, and with walking it was fallen down to my leg, which he by feeling soon found out, and asked what that was. I said, they were certain letters; and with that he was very busy to have them out. Let me alone, said I, I will take them out: with that I put my hand, having two other letters therein, and brought up the same writing into my breeches, and there left it, giving him the other two that were not of any importance; which to make a show that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, till they snatched them from me: and so deluded him from his purpose.

Then he went away, and as he was going, one of them that came with him, said that I did not deliver the writing I had in my hose, but two other letters I had in my hand before. Did he not? says he, I will go and search him better; which I hearing, conveyed my examination I had written, into another place near my bed, and took all my letters I had in my purse, and was tearing of them when he came again, and as he came I threw the same out of the window, saying that I heard what he said. By this, I prevented his searching any farther.

This zealous and unshaken servant of God still continued to be held in suspense, and underwent seven more examinations, being combated with all the learning and sophistry of the various heads of the corrupted church: but armed with truth, he bravely stood the test, and proved himself to be *founded on a rock*.

To relate the whole of the examinations, would only be a tedious repetition of the insolence of Bonner, of the pride and arrogance of the other bishops, and points of dispute, already discussed. We, therefore, proceed to his fourteenth and final examination.

#### *Last Examination of Mr. Philpot.*

Bishop Bonner having wearied himself with repeated interviews and conferences with our Christian champion; by turns insulting, threatening, and exhorting him, with equally hopeless effect, at length resolved to terminate the contest. Accordingly, on the 13th of De-

ember, he ordered him to be brought before him and others, in the consistory of St. Paul's, and thus addressed him :

“ Mr. Philpot, amongst other things that were laid and objected against you, these three you were principally charged with.

“ The first is, that you being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, do refuse to be reconciled thereto.

“ The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry.

“ And the third is, that you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same.

“ And according to the will and pleasure of the synod legislative, you have been often by me invited, and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which, if you will now willingly do, you shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favour I can show you. And now, to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore if you so refuse, I do ask of you whether you have any cause that you can show why I now should not give sentence against you.”

*Philpot.* Under protestation not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent judge, I say, respecting your first objection concerning the catholic church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as to the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, I never spoke against the same. And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say, that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, whereunto you would have me to come ; and in that time I have been many times sworn, both in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and of Edward, his son, against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, which oath, I think, I am bound in my conscience to keep, because I must perform unto the Lord mine oath. But if you, or any of the synod, can, by God's word, persuade me that my oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, faith, and religion, I will gladly yield up unto you, otherwise not.

Bonner, then, not able, with all his learned doctors, to accomplish this offered condition, had recourse, as usual, to his promises and threats ; to which Mr. Philpot answered :

“ You, and all other of your sort, are hypocrites, and I wish all the world knew your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry.”

Upon these words the bishop, for that time, dismissed him, commanding that on Monday, the 16th of the same month, he should again be brought thither, there to have the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against him, if he then remained resolved.

#### *Condemnation of Philpot.*

The day being come, Mr. Philpot was accordingly presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Litchfield ; when the former thus began :

*Bonner.* My lords, Stokesley, my predecessor, when he went to give sentence against a heretic, used to make this prayer :

*Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire, justitie veritatisque tue lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui christiana professione censentur, et illa respucere que huic, inimica sint nomini, et ea que sint apta sectari per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.* Which I will follow. And so he read it with a loud voice in Latin.

*Philpot.* I wish you would speak in English, that all men might understand you; for St. Paul willeth, that all things spoken in the congregation to edify, should be spoken in a tongue that all men might understand.

Whereupon the bishop read it in English.

“ O God, who showest the light of thy truth and righteousness to those that stray, that they may return into thy way, give to all who profess themselves Christians, to refuse those things which are foes to thy name, and to follow those things which are fit, by Christ our Lord. Amen.” And when he came to these words, “ To refuse those things which are foes to thy name,” Mr. Philpot said,

“ Then they all must turn away from you; for you are enemies to that name.”

*Bonner.* Whom do you mean ?

*Philpot.* You, and all of your generation and sect. And I am sorry to see you sit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute justice, and to do nothing less but deceive all in this realm.

And then turning himself unto the people, he farther said, “ O all you gentlemen, beware of these men, and all their doings, which are contrary to the primitive church. And I would know of you, my lord, by what authority you proceed against me.”

*Bonner.* Because I am bishop of London.

*Philpot.* Well, then, you are not my bishop, nor have I offended in your diocese; and moreover, I have appealed from you, and, therefore, by your own law, you ought not to proceed against me, especially being brought hither from another place by violence.

*Bonner.* Why, who sent you hither to me ?

*Philpot.* Dr. Story, and Dr. Cook, with other commissioners of the king and queen; and, my lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own sheep, but you must also meddle with other men's ?

Then the bishop delivered two books to Mr. Philpot, one of the civil, and the other of the canon law, out of which he would have proved that he had authority to proceed against him as he did. Mr. Philpot then perusing them, and seeing the small and slender proof that was alleged, said to the bishop :

“ I perceive your law and divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I wish you knew your own ignorance; but you dance in a net, and think that no man doth see you.” Hereupon they had much talk. At last Bonner said unto him :

“ Philpot, as concerning your objections against my jurisdiction, you shall understand that both the civil and canon laws make against you; and as for your appeal, it is not allowed for this case; for it is written in the law, there is no appeal from a judge executing the sentence of the law.”

*Philpot.* My lord, it appeareth by your interpretation of the law,

that you have no knowledge therein, and that you do not understand the law; for if you did, you would not bring in that next.

Hereupon the bishop recited a law of the Romans, That it was not lawful for a Jew to keep a Christian in captivity, and to use him as a slave, laying then to the said Philpot's charge that he did not understand the law, but did like a Jew. Whereunto Philpot answered:

"No, I am no Jew, but you, my lord, are a Jew. For you profess Christ, and maintain Antichrist: you profess the gospel, and maintain superstition, and you are able to charge me with nothing."

*Bonner and another bishop.* With what can you charge us?

*Philpot.* You are enemies to all truth, and all your doings are full of idolatry, saving the article of the trinity.

While they were thus debating, there came thither Sir William Garret, knight, then mayor of London, Sir Martin Bowes, knight, and Thomas Leigh, then sheriff of the same city, and sat down with the bishops in the consistory.

They were no sooner seated than Bonner again addressed Mr. Philpot, with the prayer, and again repeated the charge against him; after which he addressed him in a formal exhortation, which he had no sooner ended than Mr. Philpot turned himself to the lord mayor, and said:

*Philpot.* I am glad, my lord, now to stand before that authority, that hath defended the gospel and the truth of God's word: but I am sorry to see that that authority, which representeth the king and queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the command of Antichrist; and I am glad that God hath given me power to stand here this day, to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ.

Therefore, (turning to the bishops,) as touching your first objection, I say, that I am of the catholic church; whereof I never was out, and that your church is the church of Rome, and so the Babylonical, and not the Catholic church; of that church I am not.

As touching your second objection, which is, that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass; I do say, that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice; for your daily sacrifice is reiterated blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention; and that abominable sacrifice, which you set upon the altar, and use in your private masses, instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry.

Thirdly, where you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar you mean, whether it be the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone: and if you call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone, then I defy your Christ, for it is a false one.

And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was first brought up by a pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in Antichrist's name; prove to me that you be of the catholic church, (which you never can,) and I will follow you, and do as you would have me. But you are idolaters, and traitors; for in your pulpits ye rail against good things, as King Henry, and King Edward his son, who have stood against the usurped power of the pope of Rome: against whom I

have also taken an oath, which, if you can show me by God's law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the king and queen's heart from your synagogue and church.

*Coventry.* In our true catholic church are the apostles, evangelists, and martyrs; but before Martin Luther there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr of your church.

*Philpot.* Will you know the cause why? Christ did prophesy that in the latter days there should come false prophets and hypocrites, as you are.

*Coventry.* Your church of Geneva, which you call the catholic church, is that which Christ prophesied of.

*Philpot.* I allow the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same, for it is catholic and apostolic, and doth follow the doctrine which the apostles preached.

*Bonner.* My lord, this man had a roasted pig brought unto him, and this knife was put secretly between the skin and flesh thereof. And also this powder, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat and drink; which powder was only to make ink to write withal. For when his keeper perceived it, he took it and brought it unto me; which when I saw I thought it had been gunpowder, and thereupon put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poison, and so gave it to a dog, but it was not so. I then took a little water, and made as good ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my lord, you may understand what a naughty fellow this is.

*Philpot.* Ah, my lord, have you nothing else to charge me withal, but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the church of Rome to be the catholic church?

Then the bishop brought forth a certain instrument, containing articles and questions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. Also, he exhibited two books in print; the one was the catechism composed in King Edward's days, in the year 1552, the other concerning the report of the disputation in the convocation-house, mention whereof is above expressed.

Moreover, he brought forth two letters, and laid them to Mr. Philpot's charge; the one was addressed to him by a friend, complaining of the bishop's ill usage of a young man named Bartlet Green; the other was a consolatory letter from Lady Vane. Besides these, was introduced a memorial drawn up by Mr. Philpot, to the queen and parliament, stating the irregularity of his being brought to Bishop Bonner, he not being of his diocese; also complaining of the severity of his treatment.

These books, letters, supplications, &c. having been read, the bishop demanded of him, if the book entitled, "The true report of the disputation," &c. were of his penning, or not? To this Mr. Philpot answered in the affirmative.

The bishops growing weary, and not being able by any sufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, began with flattering speech to persuade him: promising, that if he would revoke his opinions, and return to their Romish and Babylonical church, he would not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would, with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. But when Bonner found that it would take no effect, he demanded

of Mr. Philpot, whether he had any just cause to allege why he should not condemn him as a heretic. "Well," quoth Mr. Philpot, "your idolatrous sacrament, which you have found out, you would fain defend, but you cannot, nor ever shall."

In the end, the bishop, seeing his steadfastness in the truth, openly pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words, "and you, an obstinate, pernicious, and impenitent heretic." &c. Mr. Philpot said, "I thank God that I am a heretic out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you grace to repent your wicked doings."

When Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, "My lord, my lord, know of him first whether he will recant or not." Bonner said, "O let him alone:" and so read forth the sentence.

When he had concluded, he delivered him to the sheriffs; and so two officers brought him through the bishop's house into Paternoster-row, where his servant met him, and when he saw him, he said, "Ah, dear master!"

"Content thyself," said Mr. Philpot, "I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again."

The officers then took him to Newgate; where they delivered him to the keeper. Then his man strove to go in after his master, and one of the officers said unto him, "Hence, fellow! what wouldst thou have?" And he said, "I would speak with my master." Mr. Philpot then turned about, and said to him, "To-morrow thou shalt speak with me."

When the under keeper understood it to be his servant, he gave him leave to go in with him. And Mr. Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a short time, when Alexander, the chief keeper, came unto him: who said, "Ah, hast thou not done well to bring thyself hither?"—"Well," said Mr. Philpot, "I must be content, for it is God's appointment; and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour, for you and I have been of old acquaintance."

"If you will recant," said the keeper, "I will show you any pleasure I can."—"Nay," said Mr. Philpot, "I will never recant that which I have spoken, whilst I have my life, for it is most certain truth, and in witness hereof, I will seal it with my blood." Then Alexander said, "This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics." Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons to be put upon his legs as he could bear.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that Mr. Philpot had given his man money. Alexander said to him, "What money hath thy master given thee?" He answered, "My master hath given me none."—"No?" said Alexander, "hath he given thee none! That I will know, for I will search thee."

"Do with me as you like, and search me all that you can," quoth his servant; "he hath given me a token or two to send to his friends, to his brothers and sisters." "Ah," said Alexander unto Mr. Philpot, "thou art a maintainer of heretics; thy man should have gone to some of thy affinity, but he shall be known well enough."—"Nay," said Mr. Philpot, "I do send it to my friends; there he is, let him make



answer to it. But, good Mr. Alexander, be so much my friend, that these irons may be taken off."—"Well," said Alexander, "give me my fees, and I will take them off; if not, thou shalt wear them still."

Then said Mr. Philpot, "Sir, what is your fee?" He said, "Four pounds."—"Ah," said Mr. Philpot, "I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison."—"What wilt thou give me then?" said Alexander. "Sir," said he, "I will give thee twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for, or else I will give thee my gown in pledge: for the time is not long, I am sure, that I shall be with you; for the bishop said unto me that I should soon be despatched."

"What is that to me?" said Alexander. And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be put in a dungeon: but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would have a groat.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore Mr. Philpot said to his servant, "Go to the sheriff, and show him how I am used, and desire him to be good to me;" and so his servant went, and took another person with him.

When they came to the sheriff, and showed him how Mr. Philpot was treated in Newgate, he took his ring from off his finger, and delivered it to the person that came with Mr. Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander the keeper, and command him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him.

And when they returned to Alexander, and delivered their message from the sheriff, he took the ring and said, "Ah, I perceive that Mr. Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is, therefore to-morrow I will show it to his betters:" yet at ten o'clock he went to Mr. Philpot where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had before taken from his servant.

Upon Tuesday, the 17th of December, while he was at supper, there came a messenger from the sheriff's, and bade Mr. Philpot make ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake. Mr. Philpot answered, "I am ready; God grant me strength and a joyful resurrection." And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks, that he had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

#### *Execution of Mr. Philpot.*

In the morning the sheriff's came according to order, about eight o'clock, and calling for him, he most joyfully came down to them. And there his man met him, and said, "Ah, dear master, farewell." His master answered, "Serve God, and he will help thee." And so he went with the sheriff's to the place of execution: and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, "What, will you make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot." But on entering into Smithfield, he kneeled down, and said, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield."

On arriving at the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, "Shall I disclaim to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer the most vile death upon the cross for me?" And

then with an obedient heart he repeated the 106th, 107th, and 108th Psalms: and when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, "What have you done for me?" And when they severally declared what they had done, he gave money to them.

They then bound him to the stake, and lighted the fire, when the blessed martyr soon resigned his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

Thus have we presented the reader with the life and actions of this learned and worthy soldier of the Lord, with his various examinations, that were preserved from the sight and hand of his enemies: who, by all manner of means, sought not only to stop him from all writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written. For which cause he was many times searched in the prison by his keeper: but yet so happily were these particulars preserved, that they always escaped his prying eyes.

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## SECTION IX.

LIFE, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, WHO WAS BURNT AT OXFORD, MARCH 21, 1556.

This eminent prelate was born at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, on the 2d of July, 1489. His family was ancient, and came in with William the Conqueror. He was early deprived of his father, and after a common school education, was sent by his mother to Cambridge, at the age of fourteen, according to the custom of those times.

Having completed his studies at the university, he took the usual degrees, and was so well beloved that he was chosen fellow of Jesus college, and became celebrated for his great learning and abilities.

In 1521 he married, by which he forfeited his fellowship; but his wife dying in child-bed within a year after his marriage, he was re-elected. This favour he gratefully acknowledged, and chose to decline an offer of a much more valuable fellowship in Cardinal Wolsey's new seminary at Oxford, rather than relinquish friends who had treated him with the most distinguished respect.

In 1523 he commenced doctor of divinity; and being in great esteem for theological learning, he was chosen divinity lecturer in his own college, and appointed, by the university, one of the examiners in that science. In this office he principally inculcated the study of the holy scriptures, then greatly neglected, as being indispensably necessary for the professors of that divine knowledge.

The plague happening to break out at Cambridge, Mr. Cranmer, with some of his pupils, removed to Waltham-abbey, where meeting with Gardiner and Fox, the one the secretary, the other the almoner of King Henry VIII., that monarch's intended divorce of Catherine, his queen, the common subject of discourse in those days, was mentioned: when Cranmer advising an application to the universities both in England and in foreign countries for their opinion in the case, and giving these gentlemen much satisfaction, they introduced him to

the king, who was so pleased with him, that he ordered him to write his thoughts on the subject, made him his chaplain, and admitted him into that favour and esteem which he never afterwards forfeited.

In 1530 he was sent by the king, with a solemn embassy, to dispute on the subject of the divorce, at Paris, Rome, and other foreign parts. At Rome he delivered his book which he had written in defence of the divorce, to the pope, and offered to justify it in a public disputation: but after various promises and appointments none appeared to oppose him; while in private conferences he forced them to confess that the marriage was contrary to the law of God. The pope constituted him penitentiary-general of England, and dismissed him. In Germany he gave full satisfaction to many learned men, who were before of a contrary opinion; and prevailed on the famous Osander, (whose niece he married while there,) to declare the king's marriage unlawful.

During the time he was abroad, the great archbishop Warham died: Henry, convinced of Cranmer's merit, determined that he should succeed him, and commanded him to return for that purpose. He suspected the cause, and delayed: he was desirous, by all means, to decline this high station: for he had a true and primitive sense of the office. But a spirit so different from that of the churchmen of his times, stimulated the king's resolution; and the more reluctance Cranmer showed, the greater resolution Henry exerted. He was consecrated on March 30, 1533, to the office; and though he received the usual bulls from the pope, he protested, at his consecration, against the oath of allegiance, &c. to him. For he had conversed freely with the reformed in Germany, had read Luther's books, and was zealously attached to the glorious cause of reformation.

The first service he did the king in his archiepiscopal character, was, pronouncing the sentence of his divorce from Queen Catherine, and the next was joining his hand with Anne Boleyn, the consequence of which marriage was the birth of Elizabeth, to whom he stood god-father.

As the queen was greatly interested in the reformation, the friends to that good work began to conceive high hopes; and, indeed, it went on with desirable success. But the fickle disposition of the king, and the fatal end of the unhappy Anne, for a while, alarmed their fears; though, by God's providence, without any ill effects. The pope's supremacy was universally exploded; monasteries, &c. destroyed, upon the fullest detection of the most abominable vices and wickedness existing in them; that valuable book of the "Erudition of a Christian Man," was set forth by the archbishop, with public authority; and the sacred scriptures, at length, to the infinite joy of Cranmer, and of Lord Cromwell, his constant friend and associate, were not only translated, but introduced into every parish. The translation was received with inexpressible joy; every one, that was able, purchased it, and the poor flocked greedily to hear it read; some persons in years learned to read, on purpose that they might peruse it; and even little children crowded with eagerness to hear it.

Cranmer, that he might proceed with true judgment, made a collection of opinions from the works of the ancient fathers and later doctors: of which work Dr. Burnet saw two volumes in folio; and it appears, by a letter of Lord Burleigh, that there were then six volumes

of Crammer's collections in his hands. A work of incredible labour, and of vast utility.

A short time after this, he gave shining proof of his sincere and disinterested constancy, by his noble opposition to what are commonly called King Henry's six bloody articles. However, he weathered the storm; and published, with an incomparable preface, written by himself, the larger Bible; six of which, even Bonner, then newly consecrated bishop of London, caused to be fixed, for the perusal of the people, in his cathedral of St. Paul's.

The enemies of the reformation, however, were restless; and Henry, alas! was no protestant in his heart. Cromwell fell a sacrifice to them, and they aimed their malignant shafts at Crammer. Gardiner in particular was indefatigable; he caused him to be accused in parliament, and several lords of the privy council moved the king to commit the archbishop to the tower. The king perceived their malice: and one evening, on pretence of diverting himself on the water, ordered his barge to be rowed to Lambeth. The archbishop, being informed of it, came down to pay his respects, and was ordered by the king to come into the barge, and sit close by him. Henry made him acquainted with the accusation of heresy, faction, &c. which were laid against him, and spoke of his opposition to the six articles; the archbishop modestly replied, that he could not but acknowledge himself to be of the same opinion with respect to them, but was not conscious of having offended against them. The king then putting on an air of pleasantry, asked him, if his bedchamber could stand the test of these articles? The archbishop confessed that he was married in Germany before his promotion; but he assured the king, that on the passing of that act he had parted with his wife, and sent her abroad to her friends. His majesty was so charmed with his openness and integrity, that he discovered the whole plot that was laid against him, and gave him a ring of great value to produce upon any future emergency.

A few days after this, Crammer's enemies summoned him to appear before the council. He accordingly attended, when they suffered him to wait in the lobby amongst the servants, treated him on his admission with haughty contempt, and would have sent him to the tower. But he produced the ring, which changed their tone, and, while his enemies received a severe reprimand from Henry, Crammer himself gained the highest degree of security and favour.

On this occasion, he showed that lenity and mildness for which he was always so much distinguished; he never persecuted any of his enemies; but, on the contrary, freely forgave even the inveterate Gardiner, on his writing a supplicatory letter to him. The same lenity he showed towards Dr. Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, and Dr. Barber, who, though entertained in his family, intrusted with his secrets, and indebted to him for many favours, had ungratefully conspired with Gardiner to take away his life.

When Crammer first discovered their treachery, he took them aside into his study, and telling them that he had been basely and falsely accused by some in whom he had always reposed the greatest confidence, desired them to advise him how he should behave himself towards them? They, not suspecting themselves to be concerned in the question, replied, that "such vile, abandoned villians, ought to

be prosecuted with the greatest rigour; nay, deserved to die without mercy." At this, the archbishop, lifting up his hands to heaven, cried out, "Merciful God! whom may man trust." And then taking out of his bosom the letters, by which he had discovered their treachery, asked them if they knew those papers? When they saw their own letters produced against them, they were in the utmost confusion; and falling down upon their knees, humbly sued for forgiveness. The archbishop told them, "that he forgave them, and would pray for them; but that they must not expect him ever to trust them for the future."

As we are upon the subject of the archbishop's readiness to forgive and forget injuries, it may not be improper here to relate a pleasant instance of it, which happened some time before the above circumstances.

The archbishop's first wife, whom he married at Cambridge, was kinswoman to the hostess at the Dolphin inn, and boarded there; and he often resorting thither on that account, the popish party had raised a story that he had been ostler to that inn, and never had the benefit of a learned education. This idle story a Yorkshire priest had, with great confidence, asserted, in an alehouse which he used to frequent; railing at the archbishop, and saying, that he had no more learning than a goose. Some people of the parish informed Lord Cromwell of this, and the priest was committed to the Fleet prison. When he had been there nine or ten weeks, he sent a relation of his to the archbishop, to beg his pardon, and to sue for a discharge. The archbishop instantly sent for him, and, after a gentle reproof, asked the priest whether he knew him? To which he answering, "No," the archbishop expostulated with him, why he should then make so free with his character? The priest excused himself, by saying he was disguised with liquor; but this Cranmer told him was a double fault. He then said to the priest, if he was inclined to try what a scholar he was, he should have liberty to oppose him in whatever science he pleased. The priest humbly asked his pardon, and confessed himself to be very ignorant, and to understand nothing but his mother tongue. "No doubt, then," said Cranmer, "you are well versed in the English Bible, and can answer any questions out of that; pray tell me, who was David's father?" The priest stood still for some time to consider; but, at last, told the archbishop he could not recollect his name. "Tell me, then," said Cranmer, "who was Solomon's father?" The poor priest replied, that he had no skill in genealogies, and could not tell. The archbishop then, advising him to frequent ale-houses less, and his study more, and admonishing him not to accuse others for want of learning till he was master of some himself, discharged him out of custody, and sent him home to his cure.

These may serve as instances of Cranmer's element temper. Indeed, he was much blamed by many for his too great lenity; which, it was thought, encouraged the popish faction to make fresh attempts against him; but he was happy in giving a shining example of that great Christian virtue which he diligently taught.

The king, who was a good discerner of men, remarking the implacable hatred of Cranmer's enemies towards him, changed his coat of arms from three cranes to three pelicans, feeding their young with their own blood; and told the archbishop, "that these birds should

signify to him, that he ought to be ready, like the pelican, to shed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of Christ: for," said the king, "you are like to be tried, if you will stand to your tackling, at length." The event proved the king to be no bad prophet.

In 1547, Henry died, and left his crown to his only son, Edward, who was godson to Cranmer, and had imbibed all the spirit of a reformer. This excellent young prince, influenced no less by his own inclinations than by the advice of Cranmer, and the other friends of reformation, was diligent in every endeavour to promote it. Homilies, and a catechism, were composed by the archbishop; Erasmus' notes on the New Testament were translated, and fixed in churches; the sacrament was administered in both kinds; and the liturgy was read in the vulgar tongue. Ridley, the archbishop's great friend, and one of the brightest lights of the English reformation, was equally zealous in the good cause; and in concert with him, the archbishop drew up the forty-two articles of religion, which were revised by other bishops and divines; as, through him, he had perfectly conquered all his scruples respecting the doctrines of the corporeal presence, and published a much esteemed treatise, entitled, "A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrines of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."

But this happy scene of prosperity was not to continue: God was pleased to deprive the nation of King Edward, in 1553, designing, in his wise providence, to perfect the new-born church of his son Jesus Christ in England, by the blood of martyrs, as at the beginning he perfected the church in general.

Anxious for the success of the reformation, and wrought upon by the artifices of the duke of Northumberland, Edward had been persuaded to exclude his sisters, and to bequeath the crown to that duke's amiable and every way deserving daughter-in-law the Lady Jane Gray. The archbishop did his utmost to oppose this alteration in the succession; but the king was over-ruled: the will was made, and subscribed by the council and the judges. The archbishop was sent for, last of all, and required to subscribe; but he answered that he could not do so without perjury; having sworn to the entail of the crown on the two princesses Mary and Elizabeth. To this the king replied, "that the judges, who, being best skilled in the constitution, ought to be regarded in this point, had assured him, that notwithstanding that entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to Lady Jane." The archbishop desired to discourse with them himself about it; and they all agreeing, that he might lawfully subscribe the king's will, he was at last prevailed with to resign his own private scruples to their authority, and set his hand to it.

Having done this, he thought himself obliged in conscience to join the Lady Jane: but her short-lived power soon expired; when Mary and persecution mounted the throne, and Cranmer could expect nothing less than what ensued—attainder, imprisonment, deprivation, and death.

He was condemned for treason, and, with pretended clemency, pardoned; but, to gratify Gardiner's malice, and her own implacable resentment against him for her mother's divorce, Mary gave orders to proceed against him for heresy. His friends, who fore-saw the storm, had advised him to consult his safety by retiring beyond sea; but he

chose rather to continue steady to the cause, which he had hitherto so nobly supported; and preferred the probability of sealing his testimony with his blood, to an ignominious and dishonourable flight.

The Tower was crowded with prisoners; inasmuch that Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Peckford, were all put into one chamber; which they were so far from thinking an inconvenience, that on the contrary, they blessed God for the opportunity of conversing together: reading and comparing the scriptures, confirming themselves in the true faith, and mutually exhorting each other to constancy in professing it, and patience in suffering for it. Happy society! blessed martyrs! rather to be crucified, than the purpled tyrant, with the sword deep-drenched in blood, though encircled with all the pomp and pageantry of power!

In April, 1554, the archbishop, with Bishops Ridley and Latimer, was removed from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both universities. But how vain are disputations, where the fate of men is fixed, and every word is misconstrued! And such was the case here: for on April the 20th, Cranmer was brought to St. Mary's before the queen's commissioners, and refusing to subscribe to the popish articles, he was pronounced a heretic, and sentence of condemnation was passed upon him. Upon which he told them, that he appealed from their unjust sentence to that of the Almighty; and that he trusted to be received into his presence in heaven for maintaining the truth, as set forth in his most holy gospel.

After this his servants were dismissed from their attendance, and himself closely confined in Bocardo, the prison of the city of Oxford. But this sentence being void in law, as the pope's authority was wanting, a new commission was sent from Rome in 1555; and in St. Mary's church at the high altar, the court sat, and tried the already condemned Cranmer. He was here well nigh too strong for his judges; and if reason and truth could have prevailed, there would have been no doubt who should have been acquitted, and who condemned.

The February following, a new commission was given to Bishop Bonner and Bishop Thirlby, for the degradation of the archbishop. When they came down to Oxford he was brought before them; and after they had read their commission from the pope, (for not appearing before whom in person, as they had cited him, he was declared contumacious, though they themselves had kept him a close prisoner) Bonner, in a scurrilous oration, insulted over him in the most unchristian manner, for which he was often rebuked by Bishop Thirlby, who wept, and declared it was the most sorrowful scene he had ever beheld in his whole life. In the commission it was declared that the cause had been impartially heard at Rome; the witnesses on both sides examined, and the archbishop's counsel allowed to make the best defence for him they could.

At the reading this, the archbishop could not help crying out, "Good God! what lies are these; that I, being continually in prison, and not suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should produce witnesses, and appoint my counsel at Rome! God must needs punish this shameless and open lying!"

When Bonner had finished his invective, they proceeded to degrade him; and that they might make him as ridiculous as they could, the

episcopal habit which they put on him was made of canvass and old rags. Bonner, in the meantime, by way of triumph and mockery, calling him "Mr. Canterbury," and the like.

He bore all this treatment with his wonted fortitude and patience; told them, "the degradation gave him no concern, for he had long despised those ornaments:" but when they came to take away his crosier, he held it fast, and delivered his appeal to Thirlby, saying, "I appeal to the next general council."

When they had stripped him of all his habits, they put on him a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, thread-bare and ill-shaped, and a townsman's cap; and in this manner delivered him to the secular power to be carried back to prison, where he was kept entirely destitute of money, and totally secluded from his friends. Nay, such was the fury of his enemies, that a gentleman was taken into custody by Bonner, and narrowly escaped a trial, for giving the poor archbishop money to buy him a dinner.

Cranmer had now been imprisoned almost three years, and death should have soon followed his sentence and degradation: but his cruel enemies reserved him for greater misery and insult. Every engine that could be thought of was employed to shake his constancy; but he held fast to the profession of his faith. Nay, even when he saw the barbarous martyrdom of his dear companions, Ridley and Latimer, he was so far from shrinking, that he not only prayed to God to strengthen them, but also, by their example, to animate him to a patient expectation and endurance of the same fiery trial.

The papists, after trying various severe ways to bring Cranmer over without effect, at length determined to try what gentle methods would do. They accordingly removed him from prison to the lodgings of the dean of Christ-church, where they urged every persuasive and affecting argument to make him deviate from his faith; and, indeed, too much melted his gentle nature, by the false sunshine of pretended civility and respect.

The unfortunate prelate, however, withstood every temptation, at which his enemies were so irritated, that they removed him from the dean's lodgings to the most loathsome part of the prison in which he had been confined, and then treated him with unparalleled severity. This was more than the infirmities of so old a man could support; the frailty of human nature prevailed; and he was induced to sign the following recantation, drawn from him by the malice and artifices of his enemies:

"I, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest, all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which are contrary to sound and true doctrine. And I believe most constantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confess one holy and catholic church visible, without which there is no salvation; and thereof I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to be supreme head in earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest bishop and pope, and Christ's vicar, unto whom all Christian people ought to be subject.

"And as concerning the sacraments, I believe in the worship and the sacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Christ, being contained most truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread through



the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood.

“And in the other six sacraments also, (like as in this,) I believe and hold as the universal church holdeth, and the church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

“Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls departed be punished for a time, for whom the church doth godly and wholesomely pray, like as it doth honour saints and make prayers to them.

“Finally, in all things, I profess that I do not otherwise believe than the catholic church and church of Rome holdeth and teacheth. I am sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me, whatsoever I have offended against God or his church, and also I desire and beseech all Christian people to pray for me.

“And all such as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them, by the blood of Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

“And to conclude, as I submit myself to the Catholic church of Christ, and to the supreme head thereof, so I submit myself unto the most excellent majesties of Philip and Mary, king and queen of this realm of England, &c. and to all other their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favour or fear of any person, but willingly and of mine own conscience, as to the instruction of others.”

This recantation of the archbishop was immediately printed, and distributed throughout the country; and to establish its authenticity, first was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a solemn subscription, then followed the witnesses of his recantation, Henry Sydal and friar John de Villa Garcina. All this time Cranmer had no certain assurance of his life, although it was faithfully promised to him by the doctors: but after they had gained their purpose, the rest they committed to chance, as usual with men of their religion. The queen, having now found a time to revenge her old grudge against him, received his recantation very gladly; but would not alter her intention of putting him to death.

The quaint simplicity with which the following account of the concluding scene of this good man's life is given, renders it more valuable and interesting than any narrative of the same transactions in “modern phrase;” we therefore give it *verbatim*.

Now was Dr. Cranmer in a miserable case, having neither inwardly any quietness in his own conscience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries.

Besides this, on the one side was praise, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger, so that he could neither die honestly, nor yet honestly live. And whereas he sought profit, he fell into double disprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid secret shame, nor yet with evil men the note of dissimulation.

In the mean time, while these things were doing in the prison among the doctors, the queen taking secret council how to despatch Cranmer out of the way, (who as yet knew not of her secret hate,

and was not expecting death) appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the 21st of March he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning, and so instructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleasure in that behalf, sent him away.

Soon after, the Lord Williams of Tame, and the Lord Shandois, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown, were sent for, with other worshipful men and justices, commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford on the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death should raise there any tumult.

Dr. Cole having this lesson given him before, and charged by her commandment, returned to Oxford, ready to play his part; who, as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the prison to Dr. Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had answered, that by God's grace he would be daily more confirmed in the catholic faith; Cole departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification as yet of his death that was prepared. And therefore in the morning, which was the 21st day of March, appointed for Cranmer's execution, the said Cole coming to him, asked him if he had any money, to whom when he had answered that he had none, he delivered fifteen crowns to give to the poor, to whom he would; and so exhorting him as much as he could to constancy in faith, departed thence about his business, as to his sermon appertained.

By this partly, and other like arguments, the archbishop began more and more to surmise what they were about. Then because the day was not far spent, and the lords and knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish friar, witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer should openly profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him that he would write the said instrument with the articles with his own hand, and sign it with his name: which, when he had done, the said friar desired that he would write another copy thereof, which should remain with him, and that he did also. But yet the archbishop, being not ignorant whereunto their secret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, he put his prayer and his exhortation written in another paper secretly into his bosom, which he intended to recite to the people before he should make the last profession of his faith, fearing lest if they heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterwards have suffered him to exhort the people.

Soon after, about nine o'clock, the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Brown, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen, that were sent of the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train of waiting men. Also of the other multitude on every side (as is wont in such a matter) was made a great concourse, and greater expectation: for first of all, they that were of the pope's side were in great hope that day to hear something of Cranmer that should establish the vanity of their opinion: the other part, who were endued with a better mind, could not yet doubt that he, who by continued study and labour for so many years, had set forth the doc-

trine of the gospel, either would or could now in the last act of his life forsake his part. Briefly, as every man's will inclined, either to this part or to that, so according to the diversity of their desires, every man wished and hoped for. And yet because in an uncertain thing the certainty could be known of none what would be the end; all their minds were hanging between hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in so doubtful a matter, the more was the multitude that was gathered thither to hear and behold.

During this great expectation, Dr. Crammer at length came from the prison of Bocardo unto St. Mary's church, (because it was a foul and rainy day,) the chief church in the university, in this order. The mayor went before, next him the aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Crammer brought between two friars, which mumbling to and fro certain psalms in the streets, answered one another until they came to the church door, and there they began the song of Simeon, "*Nunc dimittis*;" and entering into the church, the psalm-singing friars brought him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over against the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Crammer had his standing, waiting until Dr. Cole made ready for his sermon.

The lamentable case and sight of that man was a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes that beheld him. He that lately was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of all England, and the king's privy counsellor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and illfavouredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case, and might not fear his own chance, to see such a prelate, so grave a counsellor, and of so long continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life, and now presently from such fresh ornaments to descend to such vile and ragged apparel?

In this habit when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till at length Dr. Cole coming into the pulpit, and beginning his sermon, entered first into mention of Tobias and Zachary; whom after he had praised in the beginning of his sermon for their perseverance in the true worshipping of God, he then divided his whole sermon into three parts (according to the soleran custom of the schools,) intending to speak first of the mercy of God: secondly, of his justice to be showed: and last of all, how the prince's secrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occasion by and by to turn his tale to Crammer, and with many hot words reprov'd him, that he being one endued with the favour and feeling of wholesome and catholic doctrine, fell into a contrary opinion of pernicious error; which he had not only defended by his writings, and all his power, but also allured other men to do the like, with great liberality of gifts, as it were appointing rewards for error; and after he had allured them, by all means did cherish them.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were pronounced. The sum of his tripartite declamation was, that he said God's mercy was so tempered with his justice, that he did not altoge-

ther require punishment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet sometimes suffered the same to go altogether unpunished, yea, though they had repented. As in David, who when he was bidden to choose of three kinds of punishment which he would, and he had chosen pestilence for three days, the lord forgave him half the time, but did not release all; and that the same thing came to pass in him also, to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due according to the canons, seeing he repented of his errors, yet there were causes why the queen and the council at this time judged him to death; of which, lest he should marvel too much, he should hear some.

First; That being a traitor, he had dissolved the lawful matrimony between the king and queen, her father and mother; besides the driving out of the pope's authority, while he was metropolitan.

Secondly; That he had been a heretic, from whom, as from an author and only fountain, all heretical doctrine and schismatical opinion, that so many years have prevailed in England, did first rise and spring; of which he had not been a secret favourer only, but also a most earnest defender, even to the end of his life, sowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruin and decay to the catholic church.

And farther, it seemed meet, according to the law of equality, that as the death of the late duke of Northumberland *made even* with Thomas More, chancellor, that died for the church; so there should be one that should *make even* with Fisher of Rochester; and because that Ridley, Hooper, and Farrar, were not able to make even with that man, it seemed that Cranmer should be joined to them to fill up their part of the equality.

Besides these, there were *other just and weighty* causes, which appeared to the queen and council, which was not meet at that time to be opened to the common people.

After this, turning his tale to the hearers, he bid all men beware by this man's example, that among men nothing is so high that can promise itself safety on the earth, and that God's vengeance is equally stretched against all men, and spareth none; therefore they should beware, and learn to fear their prince. And seeing the queen's majesty would not spare so notable a man as this, much less in the like cause would she spare other men, that no man should think to make thereby any defence of his error, either in riches, or any kind of authority. They had now an example to teach them all, by whose calamity every man might consider his own fortune; who, from the top of dignity, none being more honourable than he in the whole realm, and next the king, was fallen into such great misery, as they might see, being a person of such high degree, sometime one of the chief prelates of the church, and an archbishop, the chief of the council, the second person in the realm a long time, a man thought in great assurance, having a king on his side; notwithstanding all his authority and defence, to be debased from high estate to a low degree, of a counselor to become a caitiff, and to be set in so wretched a state, that the poorest wretch would not change condition with him; briefly, so heaped with misery on all sides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worse.

The latter part of his sermon he converted to the archbishop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places

of scripture, as with these, and such like; bidding him not to mistrust, but he should incontinently receive what the thief did, to whom Christ said, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise;" and out of St. Paul he armed him against the terror of fire by this, "The Lord is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength;" by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew; adding also the rejoicing of St. Andrew on his cross, the patience of St. Lawrence in the fire, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it.

He glorified God much in his (Cranmer's) conversion, because it appeared to be only His (the Almighty's) work, declaring what travail and conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time (said he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life; and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour, (he said,) and also did promise, in the name of all the priests that were present, that immediately after his death there should be dirges, masses, and funerals, executed for him in all the churches of Oxford, for the succour of his soul.

All this time, with what great grief of mind Cranmer stood hearing this sermon, the outward shows of his body and countenance did better express, than any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow, lively in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping down marvellously from his fatherly face. They that were present do testify, that they never saw in any child more tears than came from him at that time, during the whole sermon; but especially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts, that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

After Cole had ended his sermon, he called back the people to prayers that were ready to depart. "Brethren," said he, "lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you; and, therefore, I pray you, Mr. Cranmer, to perform that now, which you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholic indeed." "I will do it," said the archbishop, "and that with a good will;" who, rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speak thus unto the people:

"Good Christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how great and how many soever my

sins be, I beseech you to pray to God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all." And here kneeling down, he said the following prayer:

"O Father of Heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth, more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee, therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me, for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son (O heavenly Father) unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy; have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now, therefore, O Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name," &c. And then he, rising, said:

"Every man (good people) desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation, that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby; so I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

"First; it is a heavy cause to see that so many folk so much doat upon the love of this false world, and be so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore, this shall be my first exhortation: that you set not your minds overmuch upon this deceitful world, but upon God, and upon the world to come, and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth that St. John teacheth, 'That the love of this world is hatred against God.'

"The second exhortation is, that next under God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you; and, therefore, whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

"The third exhortation is, that you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For, alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn, and bear well away this one lesson, to do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself ever so much in God's favour.

"The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world; that they will well consider and weigh

three sayings of the scripture; one is of our Saviour himself, who saith, Luke xviii. 'It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.' A sore saying, and yet spoken by him who knoweth the truth.

"The second is of St. John, 1 John, iii. whose saying is this, 'He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?'

"The third is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner, 'Weep you and howl for the misery that shall come upon you; your riches do rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver doth canker and rust, and their rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire; you gather a hoard or treasure of God's indignation against the last day.' Let them that be rich ponder well these three sentences; for if they ever had occasion to show their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear.

"And now forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my Master, Christ, for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up; I shall, therefore, declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour of dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past.

"First; I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth. &c. And I believe every article of the Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

"And now I come to the great thing which so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand hath offended, writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished; for when I come to the fire, it shall be first burned.

"And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy, and anti-christ, with all his false doctrine.

"And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show her face."

Here the standers-by were all astonished, marvelled, and amazed, and looked upon one another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood.

Briefly, it was strange to see the doctors beguiled of so great an hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably, or better in time

deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted, but they looked for a glorious victory, and a perpetual triumph by this man's retraction.

As soon as they heard these things, they began to let down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume; and so much the more because they could not revenge their grief: for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the world can die but once; and whereas of necessity he must needs die that day, though the papists had been ever so well pleased: being ever so much offended with him, yet could not he be twice killed by them. And so when they could do nothing else unto him, yet lest they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him his falschood and dissimulation.

Unto which accusation he answered, "Ah, my masters," quoth he, "do you not take it so? Always since I have lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled:" and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papaey, some of them began to cry out, yelp, and bawl, and especially Cole cried out upon him, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."

And then Cranmer being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. "What madness," say they, "hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell?" To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saving that to one troubling him in the way, he spake, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply to his book diligently; saying, if he did diligently call upon God by reading more he should get knowledge.

But the other Spanish barker, raging and foaming, was almost out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, *Non fecisti?* "Didst thou it not?"

But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Bishop Latimer and Bishop Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, kneeling down he prayed to God; and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garment to his shirt, he prepared himself for death. His shirt was made long, down to his feet. His feet were bare; likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare that one hair could not be seen upon it. His beard was so long and thick, that it covered his face with marvellous gravity; and his reverend countenance moved the hearts both of his friends and enemies.

Then the Spanish friars, John and Richard, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him, and play their parts with him afresh, but with vain and lost labour. Cranmer with steadfast purpose abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and others that stood by, bidding them farewell.

And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Mr. Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand and refused, saying, it was not lawful to salute heretics, and especially such a one as falsely returned unto the opinions that he had forsworn. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so



familiarly, and chid those serjeants and citizens, who had not refused to give him their hands. This Mr. Ely was a student in divinity, and lately made a priest, being then one of the fellows in Brazen-nose College.

Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, and they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, he stretched forth his right hand, which had signed his recantation, into the flames, and there held it so steadfast that all the people might see it burn to a coal before his body was touched. In short, he was so patient and constant in the midst of these extreme tortures, that he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up to heaven and often he repeated, "this unworthy right hand," so long as his voice would suffer him; and as often using the words of the blessed martyr St. Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," till the fury of the flames putting him to silence, he gave up the ghost.

This fortitude of mind, which perchance is rare and not found among the Spaniards, when Friar John saw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of desperation, although such manner of examples which are of like constancy, have been common in England, he ran to the Lord Williams of Tame, crying that the archbishop was vexed in mind, and died in great desperation. But he, who was not ignorant of the archbishop's constancy, being unknown to the Spaniards, smiled only, and as it were by silence rebuked the friar's folly. And this was the end of this learned archbishop, whom, lest by evil subscribing he should have perished, by well recanting, God preserved; and lest he should have lived longer with shame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and profit of his church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying the same with the testimony and blood of such a martyr; and so good also to the man with this cross of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against John Lambert and Mr. Allen, or if they were any other, with whose burning or blood his hand had been any thing before polluted. But especially he had to rejoice, that dying in such a cause, he was numbered amongst the martyrs of Christ, and much more worthy of the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury, than he whom the pope falsely before did canonize.

Thus died Thomas Cranmer, in the 67th year of his age. He was a man of great candour, and a firm friend, which appeared signally in the misfortunes of Anne Boleyn, Cromwell, and the duke of Somerset. In his writings he rather excelled in great industry and good judgment, than in a quickness of apprehension, or a closeness of style. He employed his revenues on pious and charitable uses; and in his table he was truly hospitable, for he entertained great numbers of his poor neighbours often at it. The gentleness and humility of his deportment were very remarkable. His last fall was the greatest blemish of his life, yet that was expiated by a sincere repentance; and while we drop a tear over this melancholy instance of human frailty, we must acknowledge with praise the interposition of Divine Providence in his return to the truth. And it seemed necessary that

the reformation of the church, being the restoring of the primitive and apostolic doctrine, should have been chiefly carried on by a man thus eminent for primitive and apostolic virtues.

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## SECTION X.

### PERSECUTIONS AND MARTYRDOMS OF VARIOUS PERSONS, AFTER THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

The force of bigotry in the breast of the unrelenting Mary, only terminated with her life. The destruction of those who could not think as she did, was her principal employment, and her greatest pleasure. Her emissaries were continually "seeking whom they might devour;" and the martyrdoms and cruelties inflicted under her orders, will load her name with indelible infamy.

#### *Martyrdoms of John Maundrel, William Cöberly, and John Spicer.*

John Maundrel was the son of Robert Maundrel, of Rowd, in the county of Wilts, farmer; he was from his childhood brought up to husbandry, and when he came to man's estate, he dwelt in a village called Buckhampton, in the above county, where he lived in good repute. After the scripture was translated into English, by William Tindal, this John Maundrel became a diligent hearer thereof, and a fervent embracer of God's true religion, so that he delighted in nothing so much as to hear and speak of God's word, never being without the New Testament about him, although he could not read himself, as was at that period too frequently the case among persons in his station of life. But when he came into the company of any one who could read, his book was always ready; and having a very good memory, he could recite by heart most places of the New Testament; and his life and conversation were very honest and charitable.

In the reign of King Henry the Eighth, when Dr. Trignonion and Dr. Lee visited the abbeys, John Maundrel was brought before Dr. Trignonion, at an abbey called Edyngton, in Wiltshire; where he was accused that he had spoken against the holy water and holy bread, and such like ceremonies, and was condemned to wear a white sheet, bearing a candle in his hand, about the market, in the town of Devizes. Nevertheless, his fervency did not abate, but, by God's merciful assistance, he took better hold, as the sequel will declare.

In the days of Queen Mary, when popery was restored again, and God's true religion put to silence, Maundrel left his own house and went into Gloucestershire, and into the north part of Wiltshire, wandering from one to another to such men as he knew feared God, with whom, as a servant to keep their cattle, he remained some time; he afterwards returned to his own county, and coming to Devizes, to a friend of his, named Anthony Clec, he mentioned his intention of returning home to his house.

And when his friend exhorted him by the words of scripture to flee from one city to another, he replied again by the words of the Reve-

lations of them that be fearful, and said, that he must needs go home ; and so he did ; and here he, Spicer, and Coberly, used at times to resort and confer together.

At length they agreed together to go to the parish church, where, seeing the parishioners in the procession, following and worshipping the idol there carried, they advised them to leave the same, and to return to the living God, particularly speaking to one Robert Barksdale, the principal man of the parish, but he paid no regard to their words.

After this the vicar came into the pulpit, and being about to read his bead-roll, and to pray for the souls in purgatory, John Maundrel, speaking with an audible voice, said, that was the pope's pinfold, the other two affirming the same. Upon which words, by command of the priest, they were put in the stocks, where they remained till the service was done, and then were brought before a justice of the peace ; the next day they were all three carried to Salisbury, and taken before Bishop Capon, and William Geffrey, chancellor of the diocese ; by whom they were imprisoned, and oftentimes examined concerning their faith, in their houses, but seldom openly. And at the last examination the usual articles being alleged against them, they answered, as Christian men should and ought to believe : and first they said, they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, the twelve articles of the creed, the holy scripture from the first of Genesis to the last of the Revelation.

But that faith the chancellor would not allow. Wherefore he proposed them in particular articles : First, whether they did not believe that in the sacrament of the altar, (as he termed it,) after the words of consecration spoken by the priest at mass, there remained no substance of bread nor wine, but Christ's body, flesh, and blood, as he was born of the Virgin Mary. To which they answered negatively, saying that the popish mass was abominable idolatry, and injurious to the blood of Christ ; but confessing, that in a faithful congregation, receiving the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, being duly administered according to Christ's institution, Christ's body and blood is spiritually received of the faithful believer.

Also, being asked whether the pope was supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar on earth ; they answered negatively, saying, that the bishop of Rome doth usurp over emperors and kings, being antichrist and God's enemy.

The chancellor said, " Will you have the church without a head ?" They answered, " Christ was head of his church, and under Christ the queen's majesty."

" What," said the chancellor, " a woman head of the church ?" " Yea," said they, " within her grace's dominions."

They were also asked whether the souls in purgatory were delivered by the pope's pardon, and the suffrages of the church.

They said, they believed faithfully that the blood of Christ had purged their sins, and the sins of them that were saved, unto the end of the world, so that they feared nothing of the pope's purgatory, nor esteemed his pardons.

Also, whether images were necessary to be in the churches, as laymen's books, and saints to be prayed unto and worshipped.

They answered negatively, John Maundrel adding, " that wooden

images were good to roast a shoulder of mutton, but evil in the church; whereby idolatry was committed."

Those articles being thus answered, the chancellor read their condemnation, and so delivered them to the sheriff, who was present during the examination. John Spicer then said, "O, master sheriff, now must you be their butcher, that you may be guilty also with them of innocent blood before the Lord." This was on the 22d day of March, 1556, and on the following day, they were carried out of the common gaol to a place between Salisbury and Wilton, where were two stakes set for them to be burnt at. Upon coming to the place, they kneeled down, and made their prayers secretly together, and then being undressed to their shirts, John Maundrel cried out with a loud voice, "Not for all Salisbury!" Which words were understood to be an answer to the sheriff, who offered him the queen's pardon if he would recant. And after that John Spicer said, "This is the joy-fullest day that ever I saw." Thus were the three burnt at two stakes; where most constantly they gave their bodies to the fire, and their souls to the Lord, for the testimony of his truth.

The wife of William Coberly, being also apprehended, was detained in the keeper's house at the same time that her husband was in prison. The keeper's wife, Agnes Penicote, having secretly heated a key red hot, laid it in the back-yard, and desired Alice Coberly to fetch it to her in all haste; the poor woman went immediately to bring it, and taking it up in haste, burnt her hand terribly. Whereupon she crying out, "Ah! thou drab," cried the keeper's wife, "thou that canst not abide the burning of the key, how wilt thou be able to abide the burning of thy whole body?" And indeed, she was weak enough to recant.

But to return to the story of Coberly; he being at the stake, was somewhat long in burning; after his body was scorched with the flames, and the flesh of his left arm entirely consumed by the violence of the fire, at length he stooped over the chain, and with the right hand, which was less injured, smote upon his breast softly, the blood gushing out of his mouth. Afterwards, when all thought he had been dead, suddenly he rose upright again, but shortly after expired, following his companions to the realms of eternal glory and felicity.

*Martyrdoms of Richard and Thomas Spurg, John Cavill, and George Ambrose, Laymen; and of Robert Drake and William Tims, Ministers.*

These six pious Christians resided in the county of Essex. Being accused of heresy, they were all apprehended, and sent by the Lord Rich, and other commissioners, at different times, to Bishop Gardiner, lord chancellor; who, after a short examination, sent the four first to the Marshalsea prison in the borough, and the two last to the King's Bench, where they continued during a whole year, till the death of Bishop Gardiner.

When Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, succeeded to the chancellorship, four of these persecuted brethren, namely, Richard and Thomas Spurg, John Cavill, and George Ambrose, weary of their tedious confinement, presented a petition to the lord chancellor, subscribing their names, and requesting his interest for their enlargement.

A short time after the delivery of this petition, Sir Richard Read, one of the officers of the court of Chancery, was sent by the chancellor to the Marshalsea to examine them.

*Richard Spurg*, the first who passed examination, being asked the cause of his imprisonment, replied, that he, with several others, being complained of by the minister of Bocking for not coming to their parish church, to the Lord Rich, was thereupon sent up to London by his lordship, to be examined by the late chancellor.

He acknowledged that he had not been at church since the English service was changed into Latin, (except on Christmas day was twelvemonth,) because he disliked the same, and the mass also, as not agreeable to God's holy word.

He then desired that he might be no farther examined concerning this matter, until it pleased the present chancellor to inquire his faith concerning the same, which he was ready to testify.

Thomas Spurg, on his examination, answered to the same effect with the other, confessing that he absented himself from church, because the word of God was not there truly taught, nor the sacraments of Christ duly administered, as prescribed by the same word.

Being farther examined touching his faith in the sacrament of the altar; he said, that if he stood accused in that particular, he would answer as God had given him knowledge, which he should do at another opportunity.

John Cavill likewise agreed in the chief particulars with his brethren: but farther said, the cause of his absenting himself from church was, that the minister there had advanced two doctrines contrary to each other: for first, in a sermon which he delivered when the queen came to the crown, he exhorted the people to believe the gospel, declaring it to be the truth, and that if they believed it not, they would be damned; and secondly, in a future discourse, he declared that the New Testament was false in forty places; which contrariety gave Cavill much disgust, and was, among other things, the cause of his absenting himself from church.

George Ambrose answered to the same effect, adding, moreover, that after he had read the late bishop of Winchester's book, entitled, *De vera Obedientia*, with Bishop Bonner's preface thereunto annexed, both inveighing against the authority of the bishop of Rome, he esteemed their principles more lightly than he had done before.

Robert Drake was minister of Thundersly, in Essex, to which living he had been presented by Lord Rich in the reign of Edward VI. when he was ordained priest by Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, according to the reformed English service of ordination.

On the accession of Queen Mary to the throne of England, he was sent for by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who demanded of him whether he would conform, like a good subject, to the laws of the realm then in force? He answered, that he would abide by those laws that were agreeable to the law of God; upon which he was immediately committed to prison.

William Tims was a deacon and curate of Hockley, in Essex, in the reign of Edward VI., but being deprived of his living soon after the death of that monarch, he absconded, and privately preached in a neighbouring wood, whither many of his flock attended to hear the word of God.

In consequence of these proceedings he was apprehended by one of the constables, and sent up to the bishop of London, by whom he was referred to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord-chancellor, who committed him to the king's bench prison.

A short time after his confinement, he (with the others beforementioned) was ordered to appear before the bishop of London, who questioned him in the usual manner, concerning his faith in the sacrament of the altar.

Mr. Tims answered, that the body of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar, really and corporeally, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest; and that he had been a long time of that opinion, ever since it had pleased God, of his infinite mercy, to call him to the true knowledge of the gospel of his grace.

On the 28th of March, 1556, these six persons were all brought into the consistory court, in St. Paul's church, before the bishop of London, in order to be examined, for the last time: when he assured them, that if they did not submit to the church of Rome, they should be condemned for heresy.

The bishop began his examination with Tims, whom he called the ringleader of the others: he told him that he had taught them heresies, confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to render them as abominable as himself; with many other accusations equally false and opprobrious.

He was then asked by the bishop what he had to say in his own vindication, in order to prevent him from proceeding against him as his ordinary. To which he replied as follows:

“ My lord, I am astonished that you should begin your charge with a falsehood; and aver that I am the ringleader of the company now brought before you, and have taught them principles contrary to the Romish church, since we have been in confinement; but the injustice of this declaration will soon appear, if you will inquire of these my brethren, whether, when at liberty, and out of prison, they dissented not from popish principles as much as they do at present; such inquiry, I presume, will render it evident, that they learned not their religion in prison.

“ For my own part, I declare I never knew them, till such time as I became their fellow-prisoner; how then could I be their ringleader and teacher? With respect to the charge alleged against me, a charge which you endeavour to aggravate to the highest degree, whatever opinion you maintain concerning me, I am well assured I hold no other religion than what Christ preached, the apostles witnessed, the primitive church received, and of late the apostolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught, and for which you have cruelly caused them to be burnt, and now seek to treat us with the like inhuman severity. I acknowledge you to be my ordinary.”

The bishop, finding it necessary to come to the point with him, demanded, if he would submit to the holy mother church, promising, that if he did, he should be kindly received; and threatening, at the same time, that if he did not, judgment should be pronounced against him as a heretic.

In answer to this, Tims told his lordship he was well persuaded that he was within the pale of the catholic church, whatever he might

think; and reminded him, that he had most solemnly abjured that very church to which he since professed such strenuous allegiance; and that, contrary to his oath, he again admitted in this realm the authority of the pope, and was, therefore, perjured and forsworn in the highest degree. He also recalled to his memory, that he had spoken with great force and perspicuity against the usurped power of the pope, though he afterwards sentenced persons to be burnt, because they would not acknowledge the pope to be the supreme head of the church.

On this Bonner sternly demanded, what *he* had written against the church of Rome?

Mr. Tims pertinently answered, "My lord, the late bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned treatise, entitled *De vera Obedientia*, which contains many solid arguments against the papal supremacy: to this book *you* wrote a preface, strongly inveighing against the bishop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and usurpation, and showing that his power was ill-founded, and contrary both to the will of God, and the real interest of mankind."

The bishop, struck with the poignancy of this reproof, evasively told him that the bishop of Winchester wrote a book against the supremacy of the pope's holiness, and he wrote a preface to the same book, tending to the same purpose: but that the cause of the same arose not from their disregard to his holiness, but because it was then deemed treason by the law of the realm to maintain the pope's authority in England.

He also observed, that at such time it was dangerous to profess to favour the church of Rome, and therefore fear compelled them to comply with the prevailing opinions of the times: for if any person had conscientiously acknowledged the pope's authority in those days, he would have been put to death; but that since the queen's happy accession to the throne, they might boldly speak the dictates of their consciences; and farther reminded him, that as my lord of Winchester was not ashamed to recant his errors at St. Paul's cross, and that he himself had done the same, every inferior clergyman should follow the example of his superiors.

Mr. Tims, still persisting in the vindication of his own conduct, and reprehension of that of the bishop, again replied, "My lord, that which you have written against the supremacy of the pope may be well proved from scripture to be true; that which you now do is contrary to the word of God, as I can sufficiently prove."

Bonner, after much farther conversation, proceeded according to the form of law, causing his articles, with the respective answers to each, to be publicly read in court.

Mr. Tims acknowledged only two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; commended the bishop of Winchester's book *De vera Obedientia*, and the bishop of London's preface to the same. He declared that the mass was blasphemy of Christ's passion and death; that Christ is not corporeally but spiritually present in the sacrament, and that as they used it, it was an abominable idol.

Bonner exhorted him to revoke his errors and heresies, conform to the church of Rome, and not abide strenuously by the literal sense of the scripture, but use the interpretation of the fathers.

Our martyr frankly declared he would not conform thereunto, not-

withstanding the execrations denounced against him by the church of Rome, and demanded of the bishop what he had to support the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, but the bare letter of scripture?

On the bishop's replying, the authority of the holy catholic church, Tims informed him that he had the popish church, for which he was perjured and forsworn, declaring that the see of Rome was the see of antichrist, and, therefore, he would never consent to yield obedience to the same.

The bishop, finding Mr. Tims so inflexible in his adherence to the faith he professed, that every attempt to draw him from it was vain and fruitless, read his definitive sentence, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

Bonner then used the same measures with Drake, as he had done with Tims; but Drake frankly declared, that he denied the church of Rome, with all the works thereof, even as he denied the devil, and all his works.

The bishop, perceiving all his exhortations fruitless, pronounced sentence of condemnation, and he was immediately delivered into the custody of the sheriffs.

After this, Thomas and Richard Spurg, George Ambrose, and John Cavill, were severally asked if they would forsake their heresies, and return to the catholic church. They all refused consenting to the church of Rome; but said they were willing to adhere to the true catholic church, and continue in the same.

Bonner then read their several definitive sentences, after which he committed them to the custody of the sheriffs of London, by whom they were conducted to Newgate.

On the 14th of April, 1556, the day appointed for their execution, they were all led to Smithfield, where they were all chained to the same stake, and burnt in one fire, patiently submitting themselves to the flames, and resigning their souls into the hands of that glorious Redeemer, for whose sake they delivered their bodies to be burned.

#### *John Fortune.*

About the same time that the preceding suffered, there was one *John Fortune*, a blacksmith, of the parish of Mendlesham, in Suffolk, who was several times examined by the bishop of Norwich, and others, respecting the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and other points of the Romish religion, which he refuted by texts quoted from scripture. His sentence of condemnation is recorded in the bishop's register; but whether it was ever carried into execution we are not informed; if not burnt, however, he most probably died in prison, as the unrelenting persecutors very seldom allowed their victims to escape.

The following account of his examinations was written by himself.

#### *His first Examination before Dr. Parker and Mr. Foster.*

First, Dr. Parker asked me how I believed in the catholic faith.

And I asked him which faith he meant; whether the faith that Stephen had, or the faith of them that put Stephen to death.

Dr. Parker, being moved, said, what an impudent fellow this is! You shall soon see anon, he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar.



Then said Mr. Foster, I know you well enough. You are a busy merchant. How sayest thou by the blessed mass?

And I stood still, and made no answer.

Then said Foster, why speakest thou not, and makest the gentleman an answer?

And I said, silence is a good answer to a foolish question.

Then said Dr. Parker, I am sure he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar.

And I answered, I knew none such, but only the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Then said Dr. Parker, you deny the order of the seven sacraments. And why dost not thou believe in the sacrament of the altar?

And I answered, because it is not written in God's book.

Then said he, you will not believe unwritten verities?

And I answered, I will believe those unwritten verities that agree with the written verities, to be true; but those unwritten verities that are of your own making, and inventions of your own brain, I do not believe.

Well, said Mr. Foster, you shall be whipped and burned for this gear.

Then answered I, if you knew how these words do rejoice my heart, you would not have spoken them.

Then said Mr. Foster, away, thou fool, dost thou rejoice in whipping?

Yes, answered I, for it is written in the scriptures, and Christ saith, thou shalt be whipped for my name's sake; and since the sword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that were whipped. Happy were I, if I were the first to suffer this persecution.

Away with him then, said he, for he is ten times worse than Samuel; and so I was carried to prison again.

*His second Examination before the Bishop of Norwich.*

When I came before the bishop, he asked me if I did not believe in the catholic church.

I answered, I believe that church whereof Christ is the head.

Then said the bishop, dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the church?

And I answered, no; Christ is the head of the true church.

*Bishop.* So do I believe also; but the pope is God's vicar upon earth, and the head of the church, and I believe that he hath power to forgive sins also.

*Fortune.* The pope is but a man, and the prophet David saith, "That no man can deliver his brother, nor make agreement unto God for him;" for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that he must let that alone for ever.

And the bishop again fetching about a great circumstance, said, like as the bell-weather weareth the bell, and is the head of the flock of the sheep, so is the pope our head. And as the hives of bees have a master-bee that bringeth the bees to the hive again, so doth our head bring us home again to our true church.

Then I asked him, whether the pope were a spiritual man. And he said, yea. And I said again, they are spiteful men; for in seventeen months there were three popes, and one poisoned another for that presumptuous seat of antichrist.

*Bishop.* It is maliciously spoken, for thou must obey the power and not the man. Well, what sayest thou to the ceremonies of the church?

And I answered, "All things that are not planted by my heavenly Father, shall be plucked up by the roots," saith our Saviour: for they are not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end.

*Bishop.* They are good and godly, and necessary to be used.

*Fortune.* St. Paul called them weak and beggarly.

*Bishop.* No; that is a lie.

I, hearing that, said, that St. Paul writeth thus in the fourth chapter to the Galatians, "You foolish Galatians, (saith he,) who hath bewitched you, that ye seek to be in bondage to these weak and beggarly ceremonies?" Now which of you doth lie, you, or St. Paul? And also it is said, That works instituted, and enjoined without the commandment of God, pertain not to the worship of God, according to the text, *Matt. xv.* "In vain do men worship me with men's traditions and commandments." And St. Paul, "Wherefore do ye carry us away from the grace of Christ to another kind of doctrine?" And Christ openly rebuked the scribes, lawyers, pharisees, doctors, priests, bishops, and other hypocrites, for making God's commandments of none effect, to support their own tradition.

*Bishop.* Thou liest, there is not such a word in all the scriptures, thou impudent heretic.\* Thou art worse than all the other heretics; for Hooper and Bradford allow them to be good, and thou dost not. Away with him.

#### *His third examination.*

The next day I was brought before the said bishop again, where he preached a sermon upon the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, from Christ's words, "I am the bread that came down from heaven," &c. And thereupon had a great bible babble to no purpose. So in the end I was called before him, and he said to me:

*Bishop.* How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar? Dost thou not believe, that after the consecration, there is the real substance of the body of Christ?

*Fortune.* That is the greatest plague that ever came into England.

*Bishop.* Why so?

*Fortune.* If I were a bishop, and you a poor man, as I am, I would be ashamed to ask such a question: for a bishop should be apt to teach, and not to learn.

*Bishop.* I am appointed by the law to teach; you are not.

*Fortune.* Your law breaketh out very well; for you have burned up the true bishops and preachers, and maintained liars in their stead.

*Bishop.* Now you may understand that he is a traitor, for he denieth the higher powers.

*Fortune.* I am no traitor: for St. Paul saith, "All souls must obey the higher powers," and I resist not the higher powers concerning my body, but I must resist your evil doctrine wherewith you would infect my soul.

\* If this *worthy* prelate had been as conversant with the scriptures as he ought to have been, he would have known that "a bishop must be blameless, not *self-willed*, not soon angry;" and he would have found that he has other and very different duties, than persecuting and reviling the advocates of the gospel.

Then said a doctor, My Lord, you do not well: let him answer shortly to his articles.

*Bishop.* How sayest thou? make an answer quickly to these articles.

*Fortune.* St. Paul saith, Heb. x., "Christ did one sacrifice once for all, and sat him down at the right hand of his Father," triumphing over hell and death, making intercession for sins.

*Bishop.* I ask thee no such question, but make answer to this article.

*Fortune.* If it be not God before the consecration, it is not God after; for God is without beginning and without ending.

*Bishop.* Lo, what a still heretic this is! He hath denied all together! How sayest thou? Is it idolatry to worship the blessed sacrament or no?

*Fortune.* God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth.

*Bishop.* I ask thee no such question: answer me directly?

*Fortune.* I answer, that this is the God Mauzzim, that robbeth God of his honour.

*Bishop.* It is a pity that the ground beareth thee, or that thou hast a tongue to speak.

Then said the scribe, Here are a great many articles.

Then said the bishop, Away with him? for he hath spoken too much.

#### *His last examination.*

When I came to mine examination again, the bishop asked me if I would stand upon mine answers that I made before; and I said, Yea; for I had spoken nothing but the truth. And after that he made a great circumstance upon the sacrament.

Then I desired him to stand to the text, and he read the gospel on Corpus Christi day, which said, "I am the bread which came down from heaven;" believest thou not this? And I said, Yea, truly

And he said, why dost thou deny the sacrament?

Because your doctrine is false, said I.

Then said he, How can that be false which is spoken in the scripture.

And I answered, Christ said, "I am the bread;" and you say the bread is he. Therefore your doctrine is false.

And he said, Dost thou not believe that the bread is he? I answered, No.

*Bishop.* I will bring thee to it by the scriptures.

*Fortune.* Hold that fast, my lord; for that is the best argument that you have had yet.

*Bishop.* Thou shalt be burned like a heretic.

*Fortune.* Who shall give judgment upon me?

*Bishop.* I will judge a hundred such as thou art, and never be shriven upon it.

*Fortune.* Is there not law for the spirituality, as well as for the temporality.

And Sir Clement Higham said, Yes; what meanest thou by that?

*Fortune.* When a man is perjured by the law, he is cast over the

bar, and sitteth no more in judgment. And the bishop is a perjured man, and ought not to sit in judgment.

*Bishop.* How provest thou that!

*Fortune.* Because you took an oath in King Henry's days to resist the pope. So both spiritual and temporal are perjured, that here can be no true judgment.

*Bishop.* Thinkest thou to escape judgment by that? No: for my chancellor shall judge thee. He took no oath, for he was then out of the realm.

*Sir C. Higham.* It is time to weed out such fellows as you are, indeed.

*Bishop.* Good fellow, why believest thou not in the sacrament of the altar?

*Fortune.* Because I find it not in God's book, nor yet in the doctors. If it were there, I would believe it with all my heart.

*Bishop.* How knowest thou it is not there?

*Fortune.* Because it is contrary to the second commandment; and seeing it is not written in God's book, why do you then rob me of my life?

Then the bishop having no more to say, commanded the bailiff to take him away; and after this we find no further mention of him in the register of Norwich, except that his sentence of condemnation was drawn and registered, but whether it was pronounced or not is uncertain.

#### *Sufferings and Death of John Careless in the King's Bench.*

About the first of July, 1556, John Careless, of Coventry, weaver, died in the King's Bench prison: who though he were by the secret judgment of Almighty God prevented by death, so that he came not to the full martyrdom of his body, yet is he no less worthy to be counted in honour and place of Christ's martyrs, than others that suffered most cruel torments; as well because he was for the same truth's sake a long time imprisoned, as also for his willing mind and the zealous affection he had thereunto, if the Lord had so determined it, as may well appear by his examination before Dr. Martin, of which examination we shall give some particulars, omitting those parts, in which the scurrility of the popish priest is, as usual, much more observable than the strength of his reasoning.

First, Dr. Martin calling John Careless to him in his chamber, demanded what was his name? To whom when the other had answered, that his name was John Careless, then began Dr. Martin to descant at his pleasure upon that name, saying, that it would appear by his condition, by that time he had done with him, that he would be a true careless man indeed. And so after a deal of unnecessary talk there spent about much needless matter, then he asked him where he was born.

Forsooth, said Careless, at Coventry.

*Martin.* At Coventry? What, so far, man? How camest thou hither? Who sent thee to the King's Bench prison?

*Careless.* I was brought hither by a writ, I think; what it was I cannot tell. I suppose master Marshal can tell you.

*Marshal.* In good faith I cannot tell what the matter is; but indeed my lord chief justice sent him from the bar.

*Martin.* Well, Careless, I would thou shouldst play the wise man's part. Thou art a handsome man, and it is a pity but thou shouldst do well, and save that which God hath brought.

*Careless.* I thank your good mastership most heartily; and I put you out of doubt, that I am most sure and certain of my salvation by Jesus Christ; so that my soul is safe already, whatsoever pains my body suffer here for a little time.

*Martin.* Yea, marry, you say truth. For thou art so predestinate to life, that thou canst not perish in whatsoever opinion thou dost die.

*Careless.* That God hath predestinated me to eternal life in Jesus Christ, I am most certain, and even so am I sure that his Holy Spirit (wherewith I am sealed) will preserve me from all heresies and evil opinions, that I shall die in none at all.

*Martin.* Go to, let me hear thy faith in predestination. For that shall be written also.

*Careless.* Your mastership shall pardon me herein. For you said yourself ere now, that you had no commission to examine my conscience. I will trouble myself with answering no more matters than I needs must, until I come before them that shall have more authority to examine me.

*Martin.* I tell thee then I have a commission and commandment from the council to examine thee: for they delivered me thy articles.

*Careless.* Yea, I think indeed that your mastership is appointed to examine me of my articles, which you have there in writing, and I have told you the truth. I do confess them to be mine own fact and deed; but you do now examine me of predestination, whereof my articles speak nothing at all.

*Martin.* I tell thee yet again, that I must also examine thee of such things as be in controversy between thee and thy fellows in the King's Bench, whereof predestination is a part, as thy fellow N—— hath confessed, and thyself doth not deny it.

*Careless.* I do not deny it. But he that first told you that, might have found himself much better occupied.

*Martin.* Why, what if he had not told me, thinkest thou that I would not have known it? Yes, or else thou shouldst have withstood my commission. For I tell thee the truth, I may now examine thee of the blessed sacrament, or any other thing that I like, but that I will show thee favour, and not be too hasty with thee at the first.

*Marshal.* Yea, indeed, Careless, Mr. Doctor hath a commission to examine you or any other of your fellows.

*Martin.* Yea, marry, that I have, I tell thee the truth of it.

*Careless.* Then let your scribe set his pen to the paper, and you shall have it roundly, even as the truth is. I believe that Almighty God, our most dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness, did elect in Christ.

*Martin.* Tush! what need of all that long circumstance? Write, I believe God elected; and make no more ado.

*Careless.* No, not so, Mr. Doctor; it is a high mystery, and ought reverently to be spoken of. And if my words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not speak at all.

*Martin.* Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more business than needeth.

*Careless.* I believe that Almighty God, our most dear and loving

Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness (through Jesus Christ) did elect and appoint in him, before the foundation of the earth was laid, a church or congregation, which he doth continually guide and govern by his grace and Holy Spirit, so that not one of them shall ever finally perish.

When this was written, Mr. Doctor took it in his hand, and read it, saying :

Why, who will deny this ?

*Careless.* If your mastership do allow this, and other learned men when they shall see it, I have my heart's desire.

*Martin.* And do you hold no otherwise than is here written ?

*Careless.* No, verily, nor never did.

*Martin.* Write what he saith, otherwise he holdeth not. So that was written.

*Martin.* It was told me also, that thou dost affirm, That Christ did not die effectually for all men.

*Careless.* Whatsoever hath been told you, it is not much material unto me. Let the tellers of such tales come before my face, and I trust to make them answer. For indeed I do believe that Christ did effectually die for all those that do effectually repent and believe, and for no other. So that was written also.

*Martin.* Now, sir, what is Trew's faith of predestination ? He believeth that all men are predestinate, and that none shall be damned, doth he not ?

*Careless.* No, forsooth, that he doth not.

*Martin.* How then ?

*Careless.* Truly I think he doth believe as your mastership and the rest of the clergy do believe of predestination, that we are elected in respect of our good works, and so long elected as we do them, and no longer.

*Martin.* Write what he saith, That his fellow Trew believeth of predestination as the papists do believe.

*Careless.* Ah, master Doctor, did I so term you ? Seeing that this my confession shall come before the council, I pray you place my terms as reverently as I speak them.

*Martin.* Well, well, write that Trew is of the same faith as the catholics be.

*Careless.* I did not so call you neither ; I wonder what you mean.

*Martin.* You said the clergy, did you not ?

*Careless.* Yes, forsooth, did I. So then it was written " of the lergy."

*Martin.* Now, sir, what say you more ?

*Careless.* Forsooth I have no further to say in this matter.

*Martin.* Well, Careless, I pray thee prove thyself a wise man, and do not cast thy life away wilfully.

*Careless.* Now the Lord he knoweth, good Mr. Doctor, I would full gladly live, so that I might do the same with a safe conscience. And your mastership shall right well perceive that I will be no wilful man, but in all things that I stand upon I will have sure ground.

*Martin.* Now the Lord knoweth, good Careless, that I would gladly make some means to preserve thy life. But thou speakest so much

of the Lord, the Lord! Wilt thou be content to go with my Lord Fitzwater into Ireland? Methinks thou art a handsome fellow, and would do the queen a service there. What sayest thou?

*Careless.* Verily, Mr. Doctor, whether I be in Ireland, France, or Spain, or any place else, I am ready to do her grace the best service that I can, with body, goods, and life, so long as it doth last.

*Martin.* That is honestly said; I promise thee every man will not say so. How say you, Mr. Marshal? This man is meet for all manner of service. Indeed thou art worthy, Careless, to have the more favour.

*Careless.* Indeed, sir, I hope to be meet and ready unto all things that pertain unto a true Christian subject to do. And if her grace or her officers under her do require of me to do any thing contrary to Christ's religion, I am ready also to do my service in Smithfield for not observing it, as my bedfellow and other worthy brethren have done, praised be God for them.

*Martin.* By my troth, thou art as pleasant a fellow as ever I talked with, of all the protestants, except it were Tomson. I am sorry that I must depart from thee so soon; but I have such business now, that I can tarry with thee no longer. Well, yet thou canst not deny, but you are at variance among yourselves in the king's bench, and it is so throughout all your congregation: for you will not be at church.

*Careless.* No, master Doctor, that is not so. There is a thousand times more variety in opinions among your doctors, which you call of the catholic church, yea, and that in the sacrament, for which there is so much blood shed now-a-days, I mean of your latter doctors and new writers; as for the old, they agree wholly with us.

*Martin.* No, Careless, this is not so; there thou art deceived.

*Careless.* Verily it is so, master Doctor; I am not deceived therein any thing at all, as it hath been, and is, evidently proved by such as God hath endued with great learning.

Then he turned to the marshal, and whispered with him awhile.

Turning to me again, he said, Farewell, Careless; for I can tarry no longer with thee now, my business is such.

*Careless.* God be with you, my good master Doctor, the Lord give your mastership health of body and soul.

*Martin.* God have mercy, good Careless, and God keep thee from all errors, and give thee grace to do as well as I would wish myself.

*Careless.* I thank your good mastership: I pray God I may do always that which is acceptable in his sight. Whereunto they all said Amen. And so I departed with a glad heart; God only have the whole praise, Amen.

It appears that Careless had suffered two years imprisonment at Coventry, which much distressed his wife and children, who depended on him for support.

After that, being brought to London, he was endued with such patience and constant fortitude, that he longed for nothing more earnestly, than to die in the fire for the profession of his faith: but it pleasing God to prevent him by death in the prison, he was buried under a dunghill in the fields, by order of the persecutors.

*Persecutions and sufferings of Julius Palmer, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; John Gwin, and Thomas Askine, who suffered Martyrdom at Newbury, in Berkshire.*

Julius Palmer was the son of a reputable merchant, and born in the city of Coventry. He received his first education at the free school of that place; after which he was sent to Oxford, where, in process of time, he obtained a fellowship in Magdalen college, in that university.

As he was brought up a zealous papist, he refused to conform to the service of the church, as practised in the time of King Edward VI.; for which he was expelled the college, and for some time kept a school in the city of Oxford.

On the accession of Queen Mary, the visitors went to Magdalen College, to displace such as refused to be of the popish religion. Mr. Palmer availed himself of this opportunity, and, by close application himself, joined to the interest of his friends, was reinstated in his fellowship.

During the time of his expulsion from the college, he used frequently to converse with some of his acquaintance who were protestants; and being by them advised to study the scriptures, he began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of several Romish doctrines, and would often ask questions on that subject.

His sincere attachment to the principles he professed, (though opposite in their nature at different periods,) was the cause of his expulsion in the days of King Edward VI., and of his troubles in the reign of Queen Mary; for had he been a dissembler, he might have retained his fellowship under the reign of the former, and escaped death under that of the latter.

When the persecution raged in the beginning of the reign of Mary, he inquired, very particularly, into the cause of persons being apprehended, the nature of the articles upon which they were condemned, the manner of their treatment, and their behaviour at the time of their suffering. Nay, so desirous was he of knowing this, that he sent one of his pupils from Oxford to Gloucester, to see the whole form of Bishop Hooper's execution, and bring him a minute account of the bloody transaction.

Before he had imbibed well grounded notions of the gospel of Christ, and the pure incorruptible worship of God, he was inclined to think that very few would undergo the fiery trial for the sake of their profession; but when experience proved to him the cruelties which the papists inflicted, and the protestants endured; when he had been present at the examination of Bishops Ridley and Latimer, and had been an eye-witness of their faith, patience, and fortitude, even unto death, these scenes converted him absolutely from popery; and on his return from the execution, he was heard to utter these expressions, "O raging cruelty! O barbarous tyranny!"

From that very day he applied himself most assiduously to learn the truth of God's word; and to that end, borrowed Peter Martyr's Commentary on the Corinthians, and read many other well written treatises on religion, till, at length, he became as zealous an asserter of the protestant cause, as he before had been an obstinate opposer of it.

He now began to absent himself from mass, and other popish services and ceremonies; but finding that his absence on these occasions



incurred the suspicions of many, and the disapprobation of the president of the college, to avoid expulsion, which might be attended with danger, and to preserve his conscience inviolate, he resigned his fellowship.

On his leaving the college, his friends obtained for him the place of teacher to the grammar school at Reading, in Berkshire, where he was received by those who loved the gospel of Christ, both on account of his eminent learning, and zealous adherence to the truth.

In process of time, some hypocritical professors of the reformed religion insinuated themselves into his confidence, with a design to learn his religious principles. Their disingenuous stratagem succeeded to their wishes; for as he was a man of an open, unreserved temper, he freely declared his sentiments, which those snakes reported to his enemies, who thereupon caused his library to be searched for heretical books, and finding some of his writings, both in Latin and English, that inveighed against popish cruelty, they threatened to lay this discovery before the queen's commissioners, unless he would quietly resign his school to a friend of theirs, and depart.

Mr. Palmer, fearful of death, complied with their unjust proposal, and departed from Reading, leaving behind him all his goods, with the salary that was due to him.

Being thus destitute of a livelihood, he went to Evesham, in Worcestershire, where his mother lived, in order to obtain from her a legacy, which his father had bequeathed him four years before.

As soon as he saw his mother, he implored her blessing, on his bended knees; but she having been informed, by his brother, of the cause of his resignation, and the business of his visit, hastily exclaimed, "Thou shalt have Christ's curse and mine, whithersoever thou goest."

Julius, at first, was amazed at so unexpected and heavy a curse from his own mother; but after he had recollected himself a little, he said, "O mother, your own curse you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved; but God's curse you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me."

His bigoted mother said, "Thou wentest from God's blessing when thou wast banished for a heretic from thy fellowship at Oxford, and for the like knavery hast thou been expelled from Reading too."

"Alas! mother," returned Julius, "my case has been misrepresented to you, for I was not expelled from the college at Oxford, but freely I resigned my fellowship there. Heretic I am none, for I oppose not the true doctrine of Christ, but defend it to my utmost power."

His mother then vehemently declared, that he believed not as his father and forefathers had done, but according to the new doctrine taught and set forth in the days of King Edward VI., which was damnable heresy.

In answer to this he confessed, that he believed the doctrine publicly set forth in the reign of King Edward VI. He also affirmed it to be the truth, and that, instead of being new, it was as old as Christ and his apostles.

His mother, incensed at this frank declaration of his principles, ordered him to depart the house, nor ever more esteem her as his mother, informing him, at the same time, that he had no property

there, either in money or goods, as his father bequeathed nothing to heretics.

Our martyr, as became a true follower of the blessed Jesus, when he was reviled, reviled not again, but committed his cause to Him who judgeth righteously. On leaving his bigoted mother, he thus addressed her: "Mother, you have cursed me, I beseech God to bless you, and prosper your undertakings as long as you live."

This pathetic address, attended with flowing tears, in some degree moved her compassion; and on his leaving the room, she threw a piece of gold after him, saying, "Keep that to make thee a true man."

Mr. Palmer, being thus repulsed by his mother, on whom he relied as his only friend, as well as disregarded by his brother, was destitute of all help, and knew not what steps to take in order to obtain subsistence.

At length, he thought of returning privately to Magdalen college depending on the confidence of a few friends he had in that house. He accordingly went thither, and, through the interest of Mr. Allen Cope, a fellow of the same, he obtained a recommendation to a school in Gloucestershire.

He had not proceeded far on his journey to that place before he altered his resolution, and determined to go privately to Reading to try if he could obtain the salary due to him, and at the same time dispose of the goods he had left there.

No sooner had he arrived at Reading than his old enemies became acquainted with it, and consulted in what manner they should proceed against him.

In a short time it was concluded among them, that one Mr. Hampton who had formerly professed himself a protestant, (but who was, in reality, a time-server,) should visit him, under colour of friendship, to learn the cause of his return.

Hampton traitorously went, when Palmer, with his usual sincerity and openness of soul, disclosed his whole design, which the other immediately related to the confederates, who caused him to be apprehended that very night, by the officers appointed for that purpose.

Mr. Palmer was then carried to prison, where he remained ten days in custody of an unmerciful keeper; at the expiration of which time he was brought before the mayor of Reading, and charged with the following crimes:

1. That he said the queen's sword was not put into her hand to execute tyranny, and to kill and murder the true servants of God.
2. That her sword was too blunt towards the papists, but too sharp towards the true Christians.
3. That certain servants of Sir Francis Knolles, and others, resorting to his lectures, fell out among them, and had almost committed murder; therefore he was a sower of sedition, and a procurer of unlawful assemblies.
4. That his landlady had written a letter to him, which he had intercepted, wherein she requested him to return to Reading, and sent her commendations by the token, that the knife lay hid under the beam, whereby they inferred that she had conspired with him against her husband.
5. That they once found him alone with his said landlady, by the

fireside, the door being shut, thereby suspecting him of incontinency with her.

Three men, who were suborned for the purpose by one of the confederates, swore these things against him before the mayor, who thereupon sent him to the cage, to be an open spectacle of contempt to the people.

The same villian also spread a report, that he was thus punished for the most enormous crimes and misdemeanours, which had been fully proved against him.

After he had been thus unjustly exposed to public shame, the mayor sent for him to answer for himself, concerning what was laid to his charge.

He fully overthrew all the evidence, by proving the letter said to have been written to him by his landlady, to be of their own forging; and in the most incontestible manner acquitted himself of all the other crimes laid to his charge. The mayor was confounded, to think he should have given such credit to his persecutor; and though he did not choose to discharge him immediately, yet he thought of doing it as soon as a convenient opportunity should offer.

While Mr. Palmer was in prison, he was visited by one John Gallant, a true professor of the gospel, who said to him, "O Palmer! thou hast deceived many men's expectations, for we hear that you suffer not for righteousness sake, but for thy own demerits."

Palmer replied, "O brother Gallant, these be the old practices of that fanatical brood: but be you well assured, and God be praised for it, I have so purged myself and detected their falsehood, that from henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith."

When his enemies found they had miscarried in their plot against him, they determined to accuse him of heresy. This was accordingly done, in consequence of which he was taken before the mayor, and Mr. Bird, the bishop of Salisbury's official, in order to give an account of his faith, and to answer to such information as might be laid against him.

In the course of his examination they gathered from him sufficient grounds to proceed against him. Articles were accordingly drawn up, and sent to Dr. Jeffrey at Newbery, who was to hold his visitation there on the Thursday following.

The next day Palmer was conducted to Newbery, together with one Thomas Askine, who had been for some time imprisoned on account of his religion. Immediately on their arrival they were committed to the Blind-house prison, where they found one John Gwin, who was confined there for professing the truth of the gospel.

On Tuesday, July 10, 1556, a place being prepared in the parish church of Newbery to hold the consistory court, Dr. Jeffrey, representative of the bishop of Sarum, Sir Richard Abridge, John Winchom, Esq. and the minister of Inglefield, repaired thither, as commissioners appointed for the purpose.

After the prisoners were produced, the commission read, and other things done according to the usual form, Dr. Jeffrey, in the presence of several hundred spectators, called to Palmer, and asked if he was the writer of a two-penny pamphlet that had been lately published?

Having some altercation about this affair, in which Palmer answered

in his own behalf with great force and propriety, the doctor, rising from his seat, said to him, "Mr. Palmer, we have received certain writings and articles against you from the right worshipful the mayor of Reading, and other justices, whereby we understand, that, being brought before them, you were convicted of certain heresies.

"1. That you deny the supremacy of the pope's holiness.

"2. That you affirm there are but two sacraments.

"3. You say that the priest showeth up an idol at mass, and therefore you went to no mass since your first coming to Reading.

"4. You hold there is no purgatory.

"5. You are charged with sowing sedition, and seeking to divide the unity of the queen's subjects."

Several books and pamphlets were then produced, and Palmer being asked if he was the author of them, replied in the affirmative, declaring, at the same time, that they contained nothing but what was founded on the word of God.

Jeffrey then reviled him, declaring that such opinions were dictated by no good spirit, and that he was very wicked in slandering the dead, and railing at a Catholic and learned man living.

Mr. Palmer replied, "If it be a slander, he slandered himself, for I do but report his own writings, and expose absurdities therein contained: and I esteem it not railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiaphas, being dead."

The doctor, incensed at this reply, assured him, that he would take such measures as should compel him to recant his damnable errors and heresies; but Palmer told him, that although of himself he could do nothing, yet if he, and all his enemies, both bodily and ghostly, should exert their efforts, they would not be able to effect what they desired, neither could they prevail against the mighty powers of divine grace, by which he understood the truth, and was determined to speak it boldly.

After much farther discourse, the minister of Inglesfield pointed to the pix over the altar, saying to Palmer, "What seest thou there?" To which he replied, "A canopy of silk embroidered with gold."

"But what is within?" demanded the priest. "A piece of bread in a cloth," replied Palmer.

The priest then upbraided him as a vile heretic, and asked him if he did not believe that those who receive the sacrament of the altar do truly eat Christ's natural body?

He answered, "If the sacrament of the Lord's Supper be administered as Christ did ordain it, the faithful receivers do, indeed, spiritually and truly eat and drink in it Christ's body and blood."

On being asked if he meant with the holy mother-church, really, carnally, and substantially, he declared, "he could not believe so absurd and monstrous a doctrine."

After this the court was adjourned, when one of the justices took Palmer aside, and in the presence of several persons exhorted him to revoke his opinions, and thereby preserve his life; promising him, at the same time, if he would conform to the church, to take him into his family as his chaplain, and give him a handsome salary, or, if he

chose not to resume the clerical function, to procure him an advantageous farm.

Mr. Palmer heartily thanked him for his kind offer, but assured him that he had already renounced his living in two places, for the sake of Christ and his gospel, and was ready to yield up his life in defence of the same, if God, in his providence, should think fit to call him to it.

When the justice found he could by no means bring him to a recantation, he said, "Well, Palmer, I perceive that one of us two must be damned, for we are of two faiths, and there is but one faith that leads to life and salvation."

Palmer observed, that it was possible they might both be saved, for that as it had pleased a merciful God to call him at the third hour of the day, that is, in the prime of life, at the age of twenty-four years, so he trusted that in his infinite goodness he would graciously call the other at the eleventh hour of his old age, and give him an eternal inheritance among the saints in light.

After much conversation had passed, and many efforts were tried in vain, Palmer was remanded back to prison; but the other men, John Gwin, and Thomas Askine, were brought into the consistory court, received their definitive sentence, and were delivered over to the secular power to be burned as heretics.

Though the particular examinations and answers of these two martyrs are not recorded, there is no doubt but they were of the same faith, and equally steadfast in it, as their fellow sufferer, Palmer; but they were very illiterate, from whence it is supposed their examination was short, they not being capable of making any defence.

The next morning the commissioners required Julius Palmer to subscribe to certain articles which they had gathered from his answers, but which they described by those odious epithets and terms, horrid, heretical, damnable, and execrable; this, when he had read, he refused to subscribe, affirming, that the doctrine which he held and professed was not such, but agreeable to, and founded on the word of God.

Jeffrey being now greatly incensed, Palmer consented to subscribe, provided they would strike out those odious epithets; upon which they gave him a pen, and bid him do as he pleased, when he made such alterations as he thought proper, and then subscribed.

Having thus set his hand to the articles which they had drawn up, they asked him if he would recant? but he peremptorily refusing, they pronounced sentence against him, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

While he was in prison, he gave great comfort to his two fellow-sufferers, and strongly exhorted them to hold fast to the faith they had professed. On the day of their execution, about an hour before they were led to the stake, he addressed them in words to the following effect:

"Brethren, be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not: remember the words of our Saviour Christ, who saith, 'Happy are ye, when men shall revile and persecute you for my sake: rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven.' Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to hurt the soul: God is faithful."

and will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are able to bear. We shall end our lives in the fire, but we shall exchange them for a better life: yea, for coals we shall receive pearls; for God's spirit certifieth our spirit, that he hath prepared for us blissful mansions in heaven for his sake, who suffered for us."

These words not only strengthened and confirmed the resolution of his two weak brethren, but drew tears from many of the multitude.

When they were brought by the high sheriff and constables of the town to the sand-pits, (the place appointed for their execution,) they fell on the ground, and Palmer, with an audible voice, repeated the thirty-first psalm; but the other two made their prayers secretly to Almighty God.

When Palmer arose from prayer, there came behind him two popish priests, exhorting him to recant, and save his soul.

Our martyr exclaimed, "Away, away, and tempt me no longer! away! I say, from me, all ye that work iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears."

When they were chained to the stake, Palmer thus addressed the spectators: "Good people, pray for us, that we persevere to the end, and for Christ's sake beware of popish teachers, for they deceive you."

As he spoke this, one of the attendants threw a fagot at him, which striking him on the face, caused the blood to gush out from several places; but this cruel behaviour escaped not the notice or resentment of the sheriff, who not only upbraided his cruelty, but manfully retaliated the injury on the man who had thus insulted suffering innocence.

When the fire was kindled, and began to reach their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and cheerfully, as though they felt not much pain, said, "Lord Jesu, strengthen us! Lord Jesu, assist us! Lord Jesu, receive our souls!" and thus they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and sometimes beating upon their breasts, and calling on the name of Jesus, till they ended their mortal lives, and exchanged a scene of exquisite pain, for an everlasting habitation in those heavenly mansions, where their Almighty Father reigns, encompassed by ten thousand times ten thousand blissful spirits.

#### *Martyrdom of three Women and an Infant, in Guernsey*

Of all the singular and tragical histories in this book, nothing can be more barbarous, if any thing can equal, the inhumanity of this execution upon three women and an infant, whose names were Catherine Cawches, the mother; Guillemins Gilbert, and Perotine Massey, her daughters; and an infant, the son of Perotine.

These innocent victims of popish cruelty owed their sufferings to the following circumstances. A woman, named Gosset, having stolen a cup, took it to Mrs. Massey, who lived with her mother and sister, and requested of her to lend her six-pence upon it. The latter, suspecting the theft, at first refused; but thinking she would return it to the owner, whom she knew, in order to prevent Gosset's taking it elsewhere, gave her the six-pence, and made known the affair to the owner, who charging the offender with her crime, she confessed, and

the cup was, accordingly, restored. On a pretended suspicion, however, that Mrs. Massey, with her mother and sister, was a sharer in the crime, they were accordingly imprisoned and brought to trial, when it evidently appeared that they were perfectly innocent. It was found, however, that they did not attend the *church*, and on farther investigation, they were discovered to be, in the judgment of the papists, heretics; and they were, consequently, condemned to be burnt.

After sentence was pronounced, the hapless women appealed to the king, queen, and council, saying, "That against reason and right they were condemned, and for that cause made their appeal;" their persecutors, however, refused to receive their appeal, but delivered them to the officers for execution, according to their sentence.

The day being come when these innocents should suffer, July 18, 1556, in the place where they stood to consummate their martyrdom were three stakes set up. To the middle post the mother was bound, the eldest daughter on the right hand, and the youngest on the left. They were first strangled, but the rope breaking before they were dead, they fell into the fire. Perotine, who was then in a very advanced stage of pregnancy, fell on her side, and her womb bursting asunder, by the vehemency of the flame, the infant, being a male, fell into the fire, and being immediately taken up by one W. House, was laid upon the grass.

Then was the child carried to the provost, and from him to the bailiff, who gave order that it should be carried back again and cast into the fire. And so the infant, baptized in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent saints, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind a spectacle wherein the whole world may see the Herodian cruelty of this graceless generation of popish tormentors, to their perpetual shame and infamy.

"Now," says Mr. Fox, "as this story, perhaps for the horrible strangeness of the fact, will be hardly believed by some, but rather thought to be forged, or else more amplified by me than truth will bear me out, therefore, to discharge my credit herein, I will not only mention that I received this story by the faithful relation both of the French and English, of them which were present witnesses and looked on, but also have hitherto annexed the true supplication of the said inhabitants of Guernsey, and of the brother of the said two sisters, complaining to Queen Elizabeth, and her commissioners, concerning the horribleness of the act."

Then follows the petition, which, after stating the cruelty of the case, solicits the restoration of the property of the martyrs, which had been confiscated, to him, as the rightful heir.

This being presented to the queen's commissioners, in the year 1562, such order therein was taken, that the matter being further examined, the dean, who had been instrumental in the tragical event, was committed to prison and dispossessed of all his livings. So that in conclusion, both he, and all other partakers of that most bloody and barbarous murder, either by conscience, or for fear of the law, were driven to acknowledge their trespass, and to submit themselves to the queen's mercy.

*Three Martyrs burnt at Grindstead, in Sussex.*

Near about the same time that these three women, and the infant, were burnt at Guernsey, three other persons suffered at Grindstead, in Sussex, two men and one woman; the names of whom were Thomas Dugate, John Foreman, and Mary Tree, who for righteousness' sake gave themselves to death amidst the torments of the fire, patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could say or work against them; and so ended their lives on the 18th of July, in the year 1556

*Martyrdom of Thomas Moor, at Leicester*

As the bloody rage of this persecution spared neither man, woman, nor child, lame nor blind, and as there was no difference either of age or sex considered, so neither was there any condition or quality respected of any person; but whosoever he were that believed not as the papists did, concerning the pope, and the sacrament of the altar, were he learned or unlearned, wise or simple, all went to the fire. Thus this poor simple man named Thomas Moor, a servant in the town of Leicester, about twenty-four years of age, for merely expressing his belief that "his Maker was in heaven, and not in the pix," was thereupon apprehended, and brought before his ordinary, when he was first asked, "Whether he did not believe his Maker to be there?" pointing to the high altar. Which he denied.

"How, then," said the bishop, "dost thou believe?"

The young man answered, "As my creed doth teach me."

Then said the bishop, "And what is yonder that thou seest above the altar?"

He answered, "Forsooth, I cannot tell what you would have me to see. I see there fine clothes, with golden tassels, and other gay matters, hanging about the pix; what is within I cannot see."

"Why," said the bishop, "dost thou not believe Christ to be there, flesh, blood, and bone?"

"No, that I do not," replied Moor.

Whereupon the ordinary making short with him, read the sentence, and so condemned this faithful servant of Christ to death; he was accordingly burnt, and suffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom for the testimony of righteousness, at Leicester, about the 26th day of June, 1556.

*Examination of John Jackson, March 11, 1556.*

There is so much Christian boldness and becoming spirit in the answers of John Jackson, on his examination by Dr. Cook, as related by himself, that we give them, although we have no certain account of his ultimate fate.

"First, when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me heretic.

I answered, and said, I am no heretic.

*Cook.* Yes, thou art. For Mr. Read told me, that thou wert the rankest heretic of all of them in the King's Bench.

*Jackson.* I know him not.

*Cook.* No? Yes, he examined thee at the King's Bench.

*Jackson.* He examined five others, but not me.

*Cook.* Then answer me; what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Tell me.



*Jackson.* It is a vague question to ask me at the first setting off.

*Cook.* What a heretic is this!

*Jackson.* It is easier to call a man heretic, than to prove him one.

*Cook.* What church art thou of?

*Jackson.* What church? I am of the same church that is built on the foundation of the prophets and the apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone.

*Cook.* Thou art a heretic.

*Jackson.* How can that be, seeing that I am of that church? I am sure that you will not say that the prophets and apostles were heretics.

*Cook.* No. But what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar, again? Tell me.

*Jackson.* I find it not written.

*Cook.* No? Keeper, away with him

Yet I tarried there long, and did talk with him; and I said, sir, I am content to be tractable, and obedient to the word of God.

Dr. Cook answered, and said to me, that I knew not what the word of God meant, nor yet whether it were true or not.

*Jackson.* Yea, that I do.

*Cook.* Whereby?

*Jackson.* Hereby, said I. Our Saviour Christ saith, 'Search the scriptures; for in them you think to have eternal life. For they be they that testify of me.'

*Cook.* That is a wise proof.

*Jackson.* Is it so? What say you then to these words, that the prophet David said? 'Whatsoever he be that feareth the Lord, he will show him the way that he hath chosen; his soul shall dwell at ease, and his seed shall possess the land. The secrets of the Lord are among them that fear him, and he showeth them his covenant.'

*Cook.* Well, you shall be rid shortly, one way or other.

*Jackson.* My life lieth not in men's hands, therefore no man shall do more unto me than God will suffer him.

*Cook.* No? Thou art a stubborn and naughty fellow.

*Jackson.* You cannot so judge of me, except you did see some evil by me.

*Cook.* No? Why may not I judge thee, as well as thou and thy fellows judge us, and call us papists?

*Jackson.* Why, that is no judgment; but Christ saith, 'If you refuse me, and receive not my word, you have one that judgeth you. The word that I have spoken unto you now, shall judge you in the last day.'

*Cook.* I pray thee tell me, who is the head of the congregation?

*Jackson.* Christ is the head.

*Cook.* But who is head on earth?

*Jackson.* Christ hath members here on earth.

*Cook.* Who are they?

*Jackson.* They that are ruled by the word of God.

*Cook.* You are a good fellow.

*Jackson.* I am that I am.

Then Dr. Cook said to my keeper, have him to prison again.

I am contented with that, said I; and so we departed.

I answered no further in this matter, because I thought he should

not have my blood in a corner. But I hope, in the living God, that when the time shall come, before the congregation I shall shake their building after another manner of fashion. For they build but upon the sand, and their walls are daubed with untempered mortar, and therefore they cannot stand long.

Therefore, good brothers and sisters, be of good cheer: for I trust in my God, I and my other fellow-prisoners shall go joyfully before you, praising God most heartily, that we are counted worthy to be witnesses of his truth. I pray you accept my simple answer at this time, committing you unto God."

*Martyrdom of Joan Waste, a poor blind woman, of Derby.*

This poor woman, during the time of King Edward VI., used to frequent the church to hear divine service in the vulgar tongue, together with homilies and sermons, by which means she became confirmed and established in the principles of the reformed religion.

Having purchased a New Testament in English, she applied to an old man, whom she paid for reading such passages as she directed him; by which means she became so well versed in the holy scriptures, that she could repeat entire chapters by heart, and, by citing proper texts of scripture, would reprove the errors in religion, as well as the vicious customs and practices that prevailed in those days.

Thus did this pious woman increase in the knowledge of God's word, leading a life of exemplary godliness, without molestation, or any kind of interruption, during the reign of King Edward.

But on his death, and the re-introduction of popery, on the accession of Queen Mary, because she continued steadfast in the profession of that faith she had embraced from a knowledge of the divine word, and refused to communicate with those who maintained contrary doctrines, she was brought before Dr. Ralph Bayn, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and Dr. Draycott, the chancellor, as one suspected of heresies, and by them committed to the prison of Derby.

She was several times privately examined by Peter Finch, the bishop's official; and afterwards brought to public examination before the bishop, his chancellor, and several more of the queen's commissioners; when the following articles were alleged against her:

1. That she held the sacrament of the altar to be only a memorial, or representation of Christ's body, and material bread and wine; and that it ought not to be reserved from time to time, but immediately received.

2. That she held, that in the receiving the sacrament of the altar, she did not receive the same body, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered on the cross, for the redemption of mankind.

3. That she held, that Christ, at his last supper, did not only bless the bread which he had then in his hands, but was blessed himself; and that, by virtue of the words of consecration, the substance of the bread and wine was not converted, nor turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

4. That she granted she was of the parish of Allhallows, in Derby, and that all and singular the premises were true.

To these respective articles she answered, that she believed just as much as the holy scriptures taught her, and according to what she

had heard preached by many pious and learned men, some of whom had suffered imprisonment, and others death, for the same doctrine.

Among others, she mentioned Dr. Taylor, and asked, if they would follow his example in testimony of their doctrine? which, unless they were willing to do, she desired, for God's sake, they would not trouble her, (being a poor, blind, and illiterate woman,) declaring, at the same time, she was ready to yield up her life in defence of that faith she had publicly professed.

The bishop, and his chancellor, urged many arguments in proof of the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, demanding why Christ was not as able to make bread his body, as to turn water into wine, to raise Lazarus from the dead, and the like, threatening her, at the same time, with imprisonment, torments, and death.

The poor woman, terrified at these threatenings, told the bishop, if he would, before that company, take it upon his conscience, that the doctrine which he would have her to believe, concerning the sacrament, was true, and that he would, at the awful tribunal of God, answer for her therein, (as Dr. Taylor, in several sermons, had offered,) she would then farther answer them.

The bishop declaring that he would, the chancellor said to him, "My lord, you know not what you do; you may in no case answer for a heretic."

The bishop, struck by this interposition of the chancellor, demanded of the woman, whether she would recant or not, and told her she should answer for herself.

This honest Christian finding, at length, they desired but to prevaricate, told his lordship, that if he refused to take upon himself to answer for the truth of what they required her to believe, she would answer no farther, but desired them to do their pleasure.

In consequence of this, sentence of death was pronounced against her, and she was delivered to the sheriff, who immediately re-conducted her to the prison.

On the 1st of August, 1556, the day appointed for her execution, she was led to the stake. Immediately on her arrival at the fatal spot, she knelt down, and in the most fervent manner, repeated several prayers, desiring the spectators to pray also for her departing soul. Having finished her prayers she arose, and was fastened to the stake; when the fagots being lighted, she called on the Lord to have mercy on her, and continued so to do, till the flames deprived her both of speech and life. And thus did this poor woman quit this mortal stage, to obtain a life of immortality, the sure and certain reward of all those who suffer for the sake of the true gospel of their blessed Redeemer.

#### *Various Martyrdoms.*

On the 8th of September, 1556, one Edward Sharp was burnt at Bristol; and on the 25th of the same month, a young man, by trade a carpenter, suffered at the same place.

The day preceding the last martyrdom, John Hart, a shoemaker, and Thomas Ravendale, a currier, were burnt at Mayfield, in Sussex. And,

On the 27th of the same month, one John Horn, and a woman, whose name is unknown, suffered at Wooten-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire.

All these martyrs submitted to their fate with the most Christian fortitude, giving glory to God for having numbered them among the followers and advocates of his most holy gospel.

*Five persons starved to death.*

The last on record, who suffered for the truth of the gospel in the bloody year 1556, were five persons, (confined, with many others, in Canterbury castle,) who were cruelly starved to death. Their names were as follow:—William Foster, Alice Potkins, and John Archer, who had been condemned; John Clark, and Dustan Chittenden, who had not been condemned.

The cruel usage these unhappy persons suffered from their unfeeling persecutors, is displayed in a letter written by one of them, and thrown out of the window of the prison; of which the following is an exact copy:

“ Be it known unto all men that shall read, or hear read, these our letters, that we the poor prisoners of the castle of Canterbury, for God’s truth, are kept, and lie in, cold irons, and our keepers will not suffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheese, or any other food, the said keeper will charge them that so bring us any thing, except money or raiment, to carry it them again; or else, if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it, so that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us; insomuch, that there are four of us prisoners there for God’s truth famished already; and thus it is his mind to famish us all; and we think he is appointed thereunto by the bishops and priests, and also of the justices, so to famish us; and not only us of the said castle, but also all other prisoners, in other prisons, for the like cause to be also famished; notwithstanding, we write not these our letters, to that intent we might not afford to be famished for the Lord Jesus’ sake, but for this cause and intent, that they, having no law to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers’ hearts should be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what church they are, and who is their father.—Out of the castle of Canterbury.”

Among the others confined with these five were ten men, who, having been examined by Dr. Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, were sentenced to be burnt. They had been confined a considerable time, but their sentence was, at length, put into execution, and they were the first who opened the bloody transactions of the year 1557. Their names were as follow: Stephen Kemp, of Norgate; William Waterer, of Beddingden; W. Prowting, of Thornham; W. Lowick, of Cranbroke; Thomas Hudson, of Salenge; William Hay, of Hithe; Thomas Stephens, of Beddingden; John Philpot, Nicholas Final, and Matthew Bradbridge, all of Tenterden.

The six first were burnt at Canterbury on the 15th of January, 1557; Stephens and Philpot suffered the next day at Wye; and Final and Bradbridge the day after, at Ashford.

They all bore their sufferings with Christian fortitude, rejoicing that their troubles were drawing to an end, and that they should leave this world, for that where the weary are at rest.

*Further Persecutions.*

Notwithstanding the numerous sacrifices that had been made in various parts of the kingdom, since the accession of Queen Mary, in order to gratify the barbarous bigotry of that infuriated princess, yet they were far from being at an end. Naturally disposed to tyranny, and encouraged in her blood-thirsty principles by that monster in human form, Bonner, bishop of London, she determined to compel all her subjects, who differed from herself in religious sentiments, either to submit to her maxims, or fall victims to her insatiable vengeance.

To facilitate this horrid intention, in the beginning of February, 1557, she issued the following proclamation, which was, in a great measure, promoted by Bishop Bonner, whose diabolical soul, in conjunction with hers, thirsted after the blood of those who worshipped God in purity of heart.

“ Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, &c. To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well beloved counsellor Thomas, Bishop of Ely, and to our right trusty and well beloved William Windsore, knight, Lord Windsore; Edward North, knight, Lord North; and to our trusty and well beloved counsellor, J. Bourn, knight, one of our chief secretaries; J. Mordaunt, knight; Francis Englefield, knight, master of our wards and liveries; Edward Walgrave, knight, master of our great wardrobe; Nicholas Hare, knight, master of the rolls; Thomas Pope, knight; Roger Cholmley, knight; Richard Rede, knight; Rowland Hill, knight; William Rastal, serjeant at law; Henry Cole, clerk, dean of Paul’s; William Roper, and Ralph Cholmley, esquires; William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of the law, greeting:

“ Forasmuch as divers devilish and slanderous persons have not only invented, bruted, and set forth divers false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown divers heresies, and heretical opinions, and set forth divers seditious books within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only amongst our loving subjects, but also betwixt us and our said subjects, with divers other outrageous misdemeanours, enormities, contempts, and offences, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people; we, minding the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelities, wisdoms, and discretions, have authorized, appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners; and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you, to inquire, as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses, and all other means and politic ways you can devise, of all and singular heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false rumours, tales, seditious and slanderous words or sayings, raised, published, bruted, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any county, key, bowing, or other place or places, within this our realm of England, or elsewhere, in any place, or places, beyond the seas, and of the bringers in,

utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of any such letter, book, rumour, and tale : and of all and every their coadjutors, counsellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you, and three of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to search out, and take into your hands and possessions, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings, wheresoever they, or any of them, shall be found, as well in printers' houses and shops as elsewhere, willing you, and every of you, to search for the same in all places, according to your discretions.

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

“ And also to inquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or come to their parish churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine service ; and all such as refuse to go on procession, to take holy bread, or holy water, or otherwise do misuse themselves in any church, or other hallowed places, wheresoever any of the same offences have been, or hereafter shall be committed, within this our said realm.

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

“ And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority, to inquire and search out all vagabonds, and masterless men, barretours, quarrellers, and suspected persons, abiding within our city of London, and ten miles compass of the same, and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city and compass.

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

“ Further willing and commanding you, and any three of you, in case you shall find any person, or persons, obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment, or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments, in any thing or things, touching the premises, or any part thereof, to commit the same person, or persons, so offending, to ward, there to remain, till by you, or three of you, he be discharged or delivered,” &c.

*Account of twenty-two persons apprehended at Colchester, and brought to London for examination, by Bonner.*

The proclamation which we have given above, was issued on the 8th of February, 1557, and gave the new inquisition an opportunity of extending their horrid ravages; so that persecution universally prevailed, and most of the gaols in the kingdom were crowded with prisoners, for the true faith.

The rage of persecution was particularly prevalent in and about the town of Colchester, insomuch that twenty-three persons were apprehended together, of which number one only escaped; the others being sent up to London, in order to abide by the award of the bloody tribunal. These poor people consisted of fourteen men and eight women, who were fastened together, with a chain placed between them, each person being at the same time tied separately with a cord round the arm. On their entrance into the city they were pinioned, and in that manner conducted to Newgate.

At length they were brought before Bishop Bonner, who examined them separately with respect to their faith; but he did not choose to proceed against them, till he had sent the following letter to Cardinal Pole:

“ May it please your grace, with my most humble obedience, reverence, and duty, to understand, that going to London upon Thursday last, and thinking to be troubled with Mr. German's matter only, and such other common matters as are accustomed, enough to weary a right strong body, I had the day following, to comfort my stomach withal, letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the day following, I should have sent thence twenty-two heretics, indicted before the commissioners; and indeed so I had, and compelled to bear their charges, as I did of the others, a sum of money that I thought full evil bestowed. And these heretics, notwithstanding they had honest catholic keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and in all the way from Colchester to Stratford Bow, did go quietly and obediently, yet coming to Stratford they began to take heart of grace, and to do as they pleased themselves, for they began to have their guard, which generally increased till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged, Friday night.

“ And albeit I took order, that the said heretics should be with me early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come, and be examined by me; yet it was between ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and no way would they take but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with a thousand persons. Which thing I took very strange, and spake to Sir John Gresham, then being with me, to tell the mayor and the sheriffs that this thing was not well suffered in the city. These naughty here-

ties, all the way they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort from the promiscuous multitude; and being entered into my house, and talked withal, they showed themselves desperate, and very obstinate; yet I used all the honest means I could, both of myself and others, to have won them, causing divers learned men to talk with them; and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulness, I thought to have them all hither to Fulham, and here to give sentence against them. Nevertheless, perceiving, by my last doing, that your grace was offended, I thought it my duty, before I any farther proceeded herein, to advertise first your grace hereof, and know your good pleasure, which I beseech your grace I may do by this trusty bearer. And thus, most humbly, I take my leave of your good grace, beseeching Almighty God always to preserve the same. At Fulham, anno, 1557.

“Your grace’s most bounden headsman and servant,

“EDMUND BONNER.”

From the contents of this letter, may evidently be seen the persecuting spirit of the blood-thirsty Bonner, who was manifestly desirous of glutting himself with the massacre of those innocent persons.

Cardinal Pole, though a papist, was a man of moderation and humanity, as appears, not only by his endeavours to mitigate the fury of Bonner, but also by several of his letters, directed to Archbishop Cramer, as well as many complaints alleged against him to the pope, for his lenity towards the heretics.

Nay, so incensed was his holiness by his mild and merciful disposition, that he ordered him to Rome, and would have proceeded against him most rigorously, had not Queen Mary interposed in his behalf, and warded off the danger that threatened him, and which would otherwise have fallen very heavily on him, for it was shrewdly suspected by the pope and his court, that the cardinal, a short time before his coming from Rome to England, began to favour the opinion and doctrine of Luther.

But to turn to the account of our martyrs, who would certainly have all suffered, had it not been for the interposition of Cardinal Pole; it would exceed the limits of our work, and be tedious to the reader, were we minutely to relate the articles that were respectively administered to each, and their several answers to the same. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to that of the Lord’s Supper, on which they were principally examined, and give their

*General Confession concerning the Sacrament.*

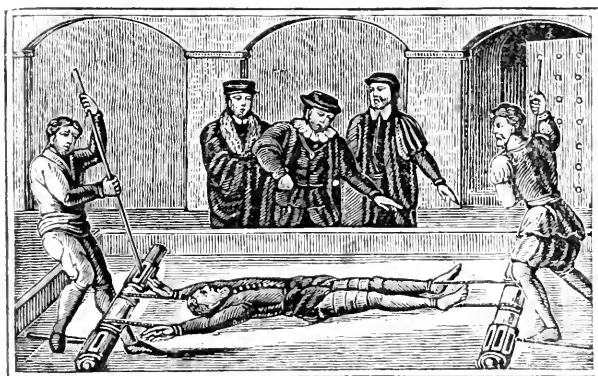
“Whereas Christ, at his last Supper, took bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, *Take, eat, this is my body.* And likewise took the cup and thanked, &c. We do understand it to be a figurative speech, as the common manner of his language was in parables, and dark sentences, that they which were carnally minded should see with their eyes, and not understand; signifying this, that as he did break the bread among them, being but one loaf, and they all were partakers thereof, so we, through his body, in that it was broken and offered upon the cross for us, are all partakers thereof; and his blood cleanseth us from our sins, and hath pacified God’s wrath towards us, and made the atone-



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*Burning of Protestants. Page 426.*



*Cruel tortures inflicted on Christians. Page 430—450*



*Bishop Bonner's Coal House. Page 416.*

ment between God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light, even as he is the true light.

“And that he said further, *Do this in remembrance of me*; it is a memorial and token of the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ; and he commanded it for this cause, that the followers of Christ should come together to show his death, and to thank him for his benefits, and magnify his holy name; and so to break bread, and drink the wine, in remembrance that Christ had given his body and shed his blood for us.

“Thus you may well perceive though Christ called the bread his body, and wine his blood, yet it followeth not, that the substance of his body should be in the bread and wine, as divers places in scripture are spoken by the apostles in like phrase of speech, as in John xv. *I am the true vine*. Also in John x. *I am the door*. And as it is written in the ninth chapter to the Hebrews, and in Exodus xxiv. how Moses took the blood of calves, and sprinkled both the book and all the people, saying, *This is the blood of the covenant or testament*. And also in the fifth chapter of Ezekiel, how the Lord said unto him concerning the third part of his hair, saying, *This is Jerusalem, &c.*

“Thus we see how the scriptures speak in figures, and ought to be spiritually examined, and not as they would have us to say, that the bodily presence of Christ is in the bread, which is a blasphemous understanding of the word, and contrary to the holy scriptures.

“Also, we see that great idolatry is sprung out of the misunderstanding of the words of Christ, *This is my body*, and yet daily springeth, to the great dishonour of God; so that men worship a piece of bread for God; yea, and hold that to be their maker.”

After this confession of their faith and doctrine was written and exhibited, they also drew up a letter in the form of a short supplication, or rather an admonition to the judges and commissioners, requiring that justice and judgment, after the rule of God's word, might be administered unto them. This letter was as follows:

“*A Supplication of the Prisoners to the Judges.*”

“To the right honourable audience, before whom our writings and the confession of our faith shall come: we poor prisoners, being fast in bonds, upon the trial of our faith, which we offer to be tried by the scriptures, pray most heartily, that forasmuch as God hath given you power and strength over us, as concerning our bodies, under whom we submit ourselves as obedient subjects in all things, ye, being officers and rulers of the people, may execute true judgment, keep the laws of righteousness, govern the people, and defend the cause of the poor and helpless.

“God, for his Son, Jesus Christ's sake, give you the wisdom and understanding of Solomon, David, Hezekiah, Moses, with divers other most virtuous rulers, by whose wisdom and godly understanding, the people were justly ruled and governed in fear of God, all wickedness was by them overthrown and beaten down, and all godliness and virtue did flourish and spring. O God, which art the most high, the creator and maker of all things, and of all men, both great and small, and carest for all alike, who dost try all men's works and imaginations, before whose judgment-seat shall come both high and

low, rich and poor; we most humbly beseech thee to put into our rulers' hearts the pure love and fear of that name, that even as they themselves would be judged, and as they shall make answer before thee, so they may hear our causes, judge with mercy, and read over these our requests and confessions of our faith with deliberation and a godly judgment.

“And if any thing here seemeth to you to be erroneous or disagreeing with the scripture, if it shall please your lordships to hear us patiently, which do offer ourselves to be tried by the scriptures, thereby to make answer; and, in so doing, we poor subjects being in much captivity and bondage, are bound to pray for your noble estate and long preservation.”

Notwithstanding the request of these men was so just, and their doctrine so sound, yet the bishop, and the other judges, would have passed sentence on them, had it not been for Cardinal Pole, and some others, who thought the putting to death of so many at one time, would produce a great disturbance among the people. It was therefore decreed, that they should make a submission, or confession, and, thereupon, be discharged. This they readily agreed to; and the following paper was drawn up and signed by them.

“BECAUSE our Saviour at his last supper took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his disciples, and said, ‘Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me;’ therefore, according to the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, we do believe in the sacrament to be spiritually Christ’s body. And likewise he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his disciples, and said, ‘This is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many;’ therefore likewise do we believe that it is spiritually the blood of Christ, according as his church doth administer the same. Unto which catholic church of Christ we do, like as in all other matters, submit ourselves, promising therein to live as it becometh good Christian men, and here in this realm to behave ourselves as becometh faithful subjects unto our most gracious king and queen, and to all other superiors, both spiritual and temporal, according to our bounden duties.”

The whole twenty-two persons brought from Colchester respectively subscribed their names to this submission; as did also six others who had been apprehended in London, and were brought up with them at the same time for examination. The names of the whole were as follow:

John Atkyn, Allen Sympson, Richard George, Thomas Firefaune, William Munt, Richard Joly, Richard Gratwick, Thomas Winssey, Richard Rothe, Richard Clarke, Stephen Glover, Robert Colman, Thomas Merse, William Bongeor, Robert Bercock, Margaret Hyde, Elyn Euring, Christian Pepper, Margaret Field, Alice Munt, Joan Winsley, Cicely Warren, Rose Allen, Ann Whitlocke, George Barber, John Saxby, Thomas Locker, and Alice Locker.

In consequence of their submission, they were all immediately set at liberty; though several of them were afterwards apprehended, and put to death. One of the women, Margaret Hyde, escaped their resentment but a short time, being one in the list we have next to bring forward, of those who suffered for the truth of the gospel.

*Martyrdoms of Thomas Loseby, Henry Ramsey, Thomas Thyrtell, Margaret Hyde, and Agnes Stanley.*

The popish emissaries having laid information against these five persons, they were all apprehended, and being examined by several justices of the county of Essex, in which they resided, were by them sent up to the bishop of London, for examination. On their arrival, the bishop referred them to the chancellor, who, after questioning them on the articles usual on such occasions, committed them all to Newgate.

After being imprisoned nearly three months, by order of the chancellor, they were summoned to appear before the bishop himself, when the following singular articles were exhibited against them.

“1. That they thought, believed, and declared, within some part of the city and diocese of London, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service here observed and kept, as it is in the realm of England, was not a true and laudable faith, religion, and service, especially concerning the mass and the seven sacraments, nor were they agreeable to God’s word; and that they could not, without grudging and scruple, receive and use it, nor conform themselves unto it, as other subjects of this realm customarily have done.

“2. That they have thought, &c. that the English service, set forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth, in this realm of England, was good, godly, and catholic in all points, and that it alone ought, here in this realm, to be received, used, and practised, and none other.

“3. That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound to their parish church, and there to be present at matins, mass, even-song, and other divine service.

“4. That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound to come to procession to the church, upon times appointed, and to go in the same with others of the parish, singing or saying the accustomed prayers used in the church, nor to bear a taper, or candle, on Candlemas-day, nor take ashes on Ash-Wednesday, nor bear palms on Palm-Sunday, nor to creep to the cross on days accustomed, nor to receive holy water and holy bread, or to accept or allow the ceremonies and usages of the church, after the manner in which they were then used in this realm.

“5. That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound, at any time, to confess their sins to any priest, and to receive absolution at his hands as God’s minister, nor to receive, at any time, the blessed sacrament of the altar, especially as it is used in the church of England.

“6. That they had thought, &c. that in matters of religion and faith, they were bound to follow and believe their own conscience only, and not credit the determination and common order of the catholic church, and see of Rome, nor any members thereof.

“7. That they had thought, &c. that the fashion and manner of christening infants, is not agreeable to God’s word, and that none can be effectually baptized, and therefore saved, except they are arrived to years of discretion to believe themselves, and willingly accept, or refuse, baptism at their pleasure.

“8. That they had thought, &c. that prayers to saints, or prayers for the dead, were not available, nor allowable by God’s word, and

that souls departed this life do immediately go to heaven or hell, or else to sleep till the day of doom: so that there is no place of purgation at all.

“ 9. That they had thought, &c. that all those, who in the time of King Henry VIII. or in the time of Queen Mary, the present sovereign of England, had been burned as heretics, were no heretics, but faithful, sincere Christians; especially Barnes, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Cranmer, Ridley, &c. and that they did allow and approve all their opinions, and disapproved their condemnations and burnings.

“ 10. That they had thought, &c. that fasting and prayers used in the church of England, and the appointing a day for fasting, and abstaining from flesh upon fasting days, especially in the time of Lent, is not laudable nor allowable, by God’s word, and that men ought to have liberty, at all times, to eat all kind of meats.

“ 11. That they thought, &c. that the sacrament of the altar is an idol: and to reserve, keep, and honour it, is idolatry and superstition, as was also the mass and elevation of the sacrament.

“ 12. That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound to be convened before an ecclesiastical judge, concerning matters of faith, nor to make answer to all, especially upon oath on a book.”

The first, second, third, fourth, fifth, eighth, and ninth articles, they granted in general, excepting that they denied “ that souls departed do sleep till the day of judgment,” as mentioned in the eighth article.

With respect to the sixth article objected to them, they thought themselves bound to believe the true catholice church, so far as it instructed them according to God’s holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the superstitious church of Rome.

Concerning the eighth and twelfth articles, they denied that they ever maintained any such absurd opinions, but granted that man of himself, without the aid and assistance of God’s spirit, had no power to do any thing acceptable in the sight of God.

To the tenth article they answered, that true fasting and prayer, used according to God’s word, was allowable, and approved in his sight; and that, by the same word, every faithful man may eat all meats at all times, with thanksgiving to God for the same.

Having given these answers, they were dismissed, and conveyed to their respective places of confinement, where they remained till they were again brought before the bishop, who made no other inquiry, than whether they would abjure their heretical opinions; and on their refusal, again dismissed them.

At length, they were brought into the public consistory court, at St. Paul’s, and severally asked what they had to allege, why sentence of condemnation should not be pronounced against them.

Thomas Loseby being first questioned, thus replied: “ God give me grace to withstand you, your sentence, and your law, which devours the flock of Christ, for I perceive death is my certain portion, unless I will consent to believe in that accursed idol the mass.”

Thomas Thyrtell being next examined, said, “ My lord, if you make me a heretic, you make Christ and the twelve apostles all heretics, for I hold one and the same faith with them, and I will abide in that faith, being assured that it will obtain for me everlasting life.”

Henry Ramsey being required to recant, answered, "My lord, would you have me abjure the truth, and, for fear of death here, forfeit eternal felicity hereafter?"

Margaret Hyde being questioned, replied, "My lord, you have no cause to pronounce sentence against me, for I am in the true faith, nor will ever forsake it: and I wish I was more confirmed in it than I am."

Agnes Stanley, the last examined, said, "My lord, I would suffer every hair of my head to be burned, before I would renounce the faith of Christ, and his holy gospel."

The court now broke up, but was convened again in the afternoon, when the prisoners were brought in, and were again examined.

Thomas Loseby, being first called upon, his articles and answers were read; after which many attempts were made to bring him to a recantation, but he persisted in his faith, declaring, that "he hoped he had the spirit of God, which had led him into all truth:" his sentence of condemnation was therefore pronounced, and he was delivered to the custody of the sheriff, in order for execution.

Various arguments were used by the bishop to bring over Margaret Hyde; but she declared she would not depart from what she had said upon any penalty whatever; and added, that she would gladly hear his lordship instruct her from some part of God's word, and not talk to her concerning holy bread and holy water, which was no part of God's word.

The bishop finding her resolute, pronounced sentence on her, and she was delivered over to the secular power.

Agnes Stanley was also admonished to return to the communion of the holy mother church, but she continued steadfast in her faith, declaring she was no heretic, and that those who were burned, as the papists said, for heresy, were true martyrs in the sight of God. In consequence of this she likewise received sentence of death, and was committed to the care of the sheriff.

Thomas Thyrtell being asked what he had to allege, answered, "My lord, I will not hold with those idolatrous opinions you would inculcate: for I say the mass is idolatry, and I will abide by the faith of Christ as long as I live."

He was then sentenced in the same manner as the former.

Henry Ramsey, who was last called, being asked whether he would stand by his answers, as the rest had done, or recant and become a new member of the church, replied, "I will never abjure my religion, in which I will live, and in which I will die."

Their examination being closed, and sentence of death passed on them all, they were immediately conducted to Newgate, where they continued till the 12th of April, 1557. On the morning of that day they were led to Smithfield, the place appointed for their execution, where, being fastened to two stakes, they were burnt in one fire, praising God as long as they had the power of speech, and cheerfully giving up their lives in testimony of the truth of the gospel.

*Martyrdom of Stephen Gratwick, William Morant, and John King.*

Stephen Gratwick being informed against by the popish emissaries, on a suspicion of heresy, was apprehended, and being carried before a justice of peace, was committed to the Marshalsea prison, where he continued for a considerable time.

At length he was brought before Dr. White, bishop of Winchester, in St. George's church, Southwark, to answer such questions as he should be asked relative to his religious opinions.

The bishop first asked him if he would revoke the heresies which he had maintained and defended; when Mr. Gratwick answering in the negative, he administered the usual articles, desiring him to give an explicit answer to each.

The articles being read, Mr. Gratwick replied, "My lord, these articles are of your making, and not of mine, nor have I had any time to examine them: therefore I desire the liberty of lawful appeal to mine ordinary, having no concern with you."

During his examination, the bishop of Rochester and the archdeacon of Canterbury arrived, when, on a consultation about the present case, it was agreed to introduce a person to represent the ordinary, which being done, Gratwick desired leave to depart, but the counterfeit ordinary insisted on his being detained, saying, that he was justly summoned before those lords and him, on trial of his faith; and that, if he confessed the truth, he should be quietly dismissed, and allowed full liberty.

Gratwick told him, that "he would turn his own argument upon him, for Christ came before the high-priest, scribes, and Pharisees, bringing the truth with him, being the very truth himself; yet both he and his truth were condemned, and had no avail with them; the apostles likewise, and all the martyrs that died since Christ, did the same."

The bishop of Winchester then asked his opinion concerning the sacrament of the altar; to which he replied, "My lord, I do verily believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, truly administered in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, unto the worthy receiver, he eateth mystically, by faith, the body and blood of Christ."

The bishop of Rochester observed, that this definition was a mere evasion of the principal points, for that he separated the sacrament of the altar from the Supper of the Lord, intimating thereby, that the former was not the true sacrament; and also condemned their method of administering it in one kind, as well as hindered the unworthy receiver to eat and drink the body and blood of Christ, which, if duly weighed, were points of the highest importance, though he had craftily evaded them.

Having entered into closer examination concerning this matter, the counterfeit ordinary ordered the articles to be read again, and Gratwick refusing to make any reply, was threatened with excommunication; on which he thus addressed himself to his examiners:

"Since ye thirst for my blood, before ye are glutted with the same, permit me to say a word in my own cause. On Sunday, my lord of Winchester, I was before you, when you took occasion to preach from these words of St. James: 'If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, his man's religion is vain.' From these words, my lord, by wrested inferences, you slander us poor prisoners, upbraiding us with the title of Arians, Herodians, Sacramentaries, and Pelagians. When we stood up to speak in vindication of ourselves, you threatened to cut out our tongues, and caused us to be dragged out of the church by



violence: nevertheless, I will abide by the truth to the end of my life."

The incensed prelate, after various endeavours, by threats and promises, to bring him to a recantation, finding that vain, pronounced sentence of condemnation upon him, and he was delivered over to the sheriff, who immediately conducted him to the Marshalsea prison. Here he remained till the latter end of May, 1557, when he was brought to the stake in St. George's Fields, and there cheerfully resigned up his soul into the hand of him who gave it.

Two persons, named William Morant and John King, suffered with him; but we have no account on record relative to their examinations.

*Martyrdom of five women and two men, at Maidstone, June 18, 1557.*

We have stated that after the proclamation, in February, 1557, the storm of persecution began in all places to rage anew, but no where more than in the diocese of Canterbury, as the inquisition was there under the direction of Richard Thornton, bishop of Dover, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, who were so furious against the harmless flock of Christ, that they needed not the proclamation to stir up the coals of their burning cruelty, but yet were enabled by it to gratify to a greater extent their diabolical malice against the believers. We have already given several instances of the furious persecutions in this diocese, and we have now to add the following, wherein seven innocents were committed to the flames by these monsters, under the pretence of *religion!* We shall give the account in the original words of the Martyrologist, as they are curious and interesting.

In the next month following, being the 18th day of June, were seven Christian and faithful martyrs of Christ burned at Maidstone, whose names here follow:

Joan Bradbridge, of Staplehurst:

Walter Appleby, of Maidstone:

Petronil, his wife:

Edmund Allin, of Frytenden:

Catherine, his wife;

John Manning's wife, of Maidstone;

Elizabeth, a blind maiden.

As concerning the general articles commonly objected to them in the public consistory, and the order of their condemnation, it differeth not much from the usual manner expressed before, neither did their answers, in effect, much differ from the others that suffered under the same ordinary, in the aforesaid diocese at Canterbury.

Now as touching their answers and manner of apprehension, and their private conflicts with their adversaries, I find no great matter coming to my hands, save only of Edmund Allin some intimation is given me, how his troubles came, what was his cause and answers before the justices, as here consequently you shall understand.

*The examination of Edmund Allin.*

This Allin was a miller, of the parish of Frytenden, in Kent, and in a dear year, when many poor people were like to starve, he fed them, and sold his corn cheaper by half than others did; he also fed them with the food of life, reading to them the scriptures, and interpreting

them. This being known to the popish priests dwelling thereabouts, by the procurement of two of them, namely, of John Taylor, parson of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, he was soon complained of to the justices, and brought before John Baker, knight, who committed both him and his wife to prison, but soon after they were let out, I know not how, and went to Calais; where, continuing some time, he began to be troubled in conscience, and meeting with one John Webb, from Frytenden, (who had likewise fled from the tyranny of Sir John Baker, and Parson Taylor,) said unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatsoever the cause was: "for God," said he, "had something for him to do in England;" and shortly after he returned to Frytenden, where was cruel Taylor.

This parson being informed that Edmund Allin and his wife were returned, and were not at mass time in the church; as he was the same time in the midst of his mass, upon a Sunday, a little before the elevation, (as they term it,) even almost at the lifting up of his Romish god, he turned to the people in a great rage, commanded them with all speed to go unto their house, and apprehend them, and he would come unto them as soon as he could. Which promise he well performed, for he had no sooner made an end of *ite missa est*, and the vestments off his back, but presently he was at the house, and there laying hands on the said Allin, caused him again to be brought to Sir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the scriptures to the people; and so he and his wife were sent to Maidstone prison. Witnessed by Richard Fletcher, vicar of Cramboke, and John Webb, of Frytenden.

No sooner were they in prison, but Sir John Baker immediately sent certain of his men to their house, namely, John Dove, Thomas Best, Thomas Linley, Percival Barber, with the aforesaid John Taylor, parson of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, to take an inventory of all the goods that were in the house; where they found in the bed-straw a little chest locked with a padlock, wherein they found a sackcloth bag of money, containing the sum of thirteen or fourteen pounds, partly in gold, and partly in silver; which money, after being told, and put in the bag again, they carried away with them.

Besides, also, they found there certain books, as psalters, bibles, and other writings; all which books, with the money, were delivered to the aforesaid priest, Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, and, afterwards, in the fifth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was by right law recovered from him again, as in records remaineth to be seen.

Thus good Edmund Allin and his wife, being maliciously accused, wrongfully imprisoned, and cruelly robbed and spoiled of all their goods, were brought, as is aforesaid, before Sir John Baker, the justice, to be examined; who, taunting and reviling him without all mercy and pity, asked him if those were the fruits of his gospel, to have conventicles, to gather people together, to make conspiracies, to sow sedition and rebellion; and thus he began to reason with him.

*Baker.* Who gave thee authority to preach and interpret? Art thou a priest? Art thou admitted thereunto? Let me see thy licence.

Collins, Sir John Baker's schoolmaster, said, surely he is an arrant heretic, and worthy to be burned.

*Allin.* If it pleases your honour to permit me to answer in the cause of my faith, I am persuaded that God hath given me this authority, as he hath given to all other Christians. Why are we called Christians, if we do not follow Christ, if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others that have not so much understanding? Is not Christ our Father? Shall not the son follow the father's steps? Is not Christ our master? and shall the scholar be inhibited to learn and preach his precepts? Is not Christ our Redeemer, and shall we not praise his name, and serve him, who hath redeemed us from sin and damnation? Did not Christ, when but twelve years of age, dispute with the doctors, and interpret the prophet Isaiah? and yet, notwithstanding he was neither of the tribe of Levi, which were priests, but of the royal tribe of Judah, neither had taken any outward priesthood; wherefore, if we be Christians, we must do the same.

*Collins.* Please your honour, what a knave is this, that compareth himself with Christ!

*Baker.* Let him alone, he will pump out presently an infinite number of heresies. Hast thou any more to say for thyself?

*Allin.* Yea, that I have. Adam was licensed of God, and Abraham was commanded to teach his children, and posterity, and so David teacheth in divers psalms; and Solomon also preached to the people, as the book of the preacher very well proveth, where he teacheth that there is no immortal felicity in this life, but in the next. And Noah taught them that were disobedient in his days, and therefore is called "The eighth preacher of righteousness," in the second epistle of Peter. Also, in the 11th chapter of Numbers, where Moses had chosen seventy elders to help him to teach and rule the rest, Eldad and Medad preached in the tents, wherefore Joshua being offended, complained to Moses, that Eldad and Medad did preach without licence. To whom Moses answered, and wished that all the people could do the like. Why should I be long? most of the priests were not of the tribe of Levi and Aaron.

*Collins.* These are authorities of the Old Testament, and, therefore, abrogated; but thou art a fool, and knowest no school points. Is not the law divided into the law ceremonial and judicial?

*Allin.* I grant that the ceremonies ceased when Christ came, as St. Paul proveth to the Hebrews, and to the Colossians, when he saith, "Let no man judge you in any part of the Sabbath day, new moon, or other ceremonies, which are figures of things to come; for Christ is the body."

*Collins.* And are not the judicials abrogated by Christ?

*Allin.* They are confirmed both by Christ, in the fifth chapter of Matthew, and by Paul in the first epistle to Timothy. The law, saith he, is not yet set forth for the virtuous and godly, but for manslayers, perjurers, adulterers, and such like.

*Collins.* Thou art a heretic. Wilt thou call the judicials of Moses again? Wilt thou have adultery punished with death? disobedient children to their parents to be stoned? Wilt thou have *Legem Talionis*? But thou art an ass. Why should I speak Latin to thee, thou erroneous rebel? shall we now smite out eye for eye, tooth for tooth? *Thou art worthy to have thy teeth and tongue plucked out.*

*Allin.* If we had that law, we should neither have disobedient children, neither false witness bearers, nor ruffians.

*Baker.* Master Collins, let us return to our first matter. Why did you teach the people, whom you said you had fed both bodily and spiritually, being no priest?

*Allin.* Because that we are all kings to rule our affections, priests to preach out the virtues and word of God, as Peter writeth, and lively stones to give light to others. For as out of flint stones cometh forth that which is able to set the world on fire; so out of Christians should spring the beams of the gospel, which should inflame all the world. If we must give a reckoning of our faith to every man, and now to you demanding it, then must we study the scriptures, and practise them. What availeth it a man to have meat, and will eat none; or apparel, and will wear none; or to have an occupation, and to teach none; or to be a lawyer, and to utter none? Shall every artificer be suffered, yea, and commended to practise his faculty and science, and the Christian forbidden to exercise his? Doth not every lawyer practise his law? Is not every Christian a follower of Christ? Shall ignorance, which is condemned in all sciences, be practised by Christians? Doth not St. Paul forbid any man's spirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibit any man that hath any of these gifts, which he repeateth, I Cor. xiv. to practise the same? Only he forbiddeth women, but no man. The Jews never forbade any. Read the Acts of the Apostles. And the restraint was made by Gregory, the ninth pope of that name, as I heard a learned man preach in King Edward's days.

*Collins.* This villain, please your honour, is mad. By my priesthood, I believe that he will say that a priest hath no more authority than another man! Doth not a priest bind and loose?

*Allin.* No, my sin bindeth me, and my repentance looseth. God forgiveth sin only, and no priest. For every Christian, when he sinneth, bindeth himself, and when he repenteth, looseth himself. And if any other be loosed from his sin by my exhortation, I am said to loose him; and if he persevere in sin notwithstanding my exhortation, I am said to bind him, although it is God that bindeth and looseth, and giveth the increase. Therefore saith Christ, Matt. xviii. "Whosoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them; and whose soever sins they forgive, they are forgiven, and whose soever they retain, they are retained." Neither hath the pope any keys, save the keys of error; for the key that openeth the lock to God's mysteries and salvation, is the key of faith and repentance. And as I have heard learned men reason, St. Austin, Origen, and others, are of this opinion.

Then they reviled him and laid him in the stocks all night: where-with some that were better minded, being offended with such extremity, desired Allin to keep his conscience to himself, and to follow Baruch's counsel, in the sixth chapter: "Wherefore when ye see the multitude of people worshipping them, behind and before, say ye in your hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought only to be worshipped."

Wherewith he was persuaded to go to hear mass the next day, and suddenly before the sacring, went out and considered in the church-yard with himself, that such a little cake between the priest's fingers could not be Christ, nor a material body, neither to have soul, life, sinews, bones, flesh, legs, head, arms, nor breast, and lamented that he was seduced by the words of Baruch, which his conscience told

him was no scripture, or else had another meaning : after this he was brought again before Sir John Baker, who asked why he refused to worship the blessed sacrament of the altar.

*Allin.* It is an idol.

*Collins.* It is God's body.

*Allin.* It is not.

*Collins.* By the mass it is.

*Allin.* It is bread.

*Collins.* How provest thou that?

*Allin.* When Christ sat at his supper, and gave them bread to eat.

*Collins.* Bread, knave!

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

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

*Allin.* Then he had more bodies than one, by your own placing of him.

*Collins.* Thou ignorant ass, the schoolmen say, that a glorified body may be every where.

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

*Collins.* A glorified body occupieth no place.

*Allin.* That which occupieth no place, is neither God nor any thing else. If it be nothing, then is your religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one Trinity, which is the person of the Father, of the Son, of the Holy Ghost, and the human nature of Christ. If Christ be nothing, which you must needs confess, if he occupieth no place, then is our study vain, our faith frustrate, and our hope without reward.

*Collins.* This rebel will believe nothing but Scripture! How knowest thou that it is the Scripture, but by the church? and so saith St. Austin.

*Allin.* I cannot tell what Dr. Austin saith, but I am persuaded that it is Scripture, by divers arguments: First, that the law worketh in me my condemnation. The law telleth me, that of myself I am damned; and this damnation, Mr. Collins, you must find in yourself, or else you shall never come to repentance. For as this grief and sorrow of conscience, without faith, is desperation; so is a glorious and Romish faith, without the lamentation of a man's sins, presumption.

The second is the gospel, which is the power and Spirit of God. "This Spirit (saith St. Paul) certifieth my spirit that I am the Son of God, and that these are the Scriptures."

The third are the wonderful works of God, which cause me to believe that there is a God, though we glorify him not as God, Rom. i. The sun, the moon, the stars, and other his works (as David discourseth Psalm xix.) declare that there is a God, and that these are the Scriptures, because that they teach nothing else but God, and his power, majesty, and might; and because the Scripture teacheth nothing disagreeing from this prescription of nature. And, fourthly, be-

cause that the word of God gave authority to the church in paradise, saying, that the seed of the woman shall break down the serpent's head. This seed is the gospel; this is all the scriptures, and by this we are assured of eternal life; and by these words, "The seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head," gave authority to the church, and not the church to the word.

*Baker.* I heard say that you spake against priests and bishops.

*Allin.* I spake for them; for now they have so much living, and especially bishops, archdeacons, and deans, that they neither can, nor will teach God's word. If they had a hundred pounds apiece, then would they apply their study; now they cannot for their affairs.

*Collins.* Who will then set his children to school?

*Allin.* Where there is now one set to school for that end, there would be forty; because that one bishop's living divided into thirty or forty parts, would find so many men, as well learned as the bishops now are who have all this living; neither had Peter or Paul any such revenue.

*Baker.* Let us despatch him; he will mar all.

*Collins.* If every man had a hundred pounds, as he saith, it would make more learned men.

*Baker.* But our bishops would be angry, if that they knew it.

*Allin.* It would be for the common good to have such bishoprics divided, for the farther increase of learning.

*Baker.* What sayest thou to the sacrament?

*Allin.* As I said before.

*Baker.* Away with him.

Then he was carried to prison, and afterwards burned. And thus much concerning the particular story of Edmund Allin and his wife; who, with the five other martyrs abovenamed, being seven, were burned at Maidstone, the 18th of June, 1557.

#### *Martyrdoms of the Rev. John Rough, and of Margaret Maring.*

Mr. John Rough was a native of Scotland, the son of reputable and pious parents. Being deprived of the right of inheritance to certain lands by some of his kindred, he was so irritated that, though only seventeen years of age, he entered himself a member of the order of Black Friars, at Stirling, in Scotland.

Here he continued upwards of sixteen years, when the earl of Arran, (afterwards duke of Hamilton,) then regent of Scotland, having a partiality for him, applied to the archbishop of St Andrew's to dispense with his professed order, that he might serve him as a chaplain.

The archbishop readily granting the request of the regent, Mr. Rough was disengaged from his monastic order, and continued chaplain to his patron about a year, when it pleased God to open his eyes, and give him some knowledge of the truth of the gospel.

At this time the earl sent him to preach in the county of Ayr, where he continued about four years, during which time he discharged the duties of his office with the strictest diligence.

On the death of the cardinal of Scotland, he was sent for to officiate at St. Andrew's, for which he had a pension of twenty pounds per annum allowed him by King Henry VIII.

After being some time in this situation, he began to abhor the ido-

latry and superstition of his own country; and when he found that on the accession of Edward VI. there was free profession of the gospel in England, he left St. Andrew's, and went first to Carlisle, and afterwards waited on the duke of Somerset, then protector, by whom he was appointed preacher, with an annual allowance of twenty pounds, to serve in Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

A short time after this he married, and the archbishop of York gave him a benefice near the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, which he enjoyed till the death of the king.

On the accession of Queen Mary, when the true religion was superseded by the false, and persecution took place in all parts of the kingdom, Mr. Rough fled with his wife into the Low Countries, and took up his residence at a place called Norden. Here he maintained himself by knitting and selling caps and hose, till the month of October. 1557, when wanting yarn, and other necessaries for his trade, he embarked for England, and arrived in London on the 10th of November following.

Soon after his arrival, he was informed that there was a private congregation of religious people in a certain part of the city, upon which he joined them, and was elected their minister.

In this office he continued some time, till at the instigation of Roger Sergeant, a hypocrite and false brother, on the 13th of December, he, together with one Cuthbert Simson, deacon of the aforesaid congregation, were apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's household, at the Saracen's-Head, in Islington, where the congregation had assembled for the purpose of performing their usual worship; although, to avoid suspicion, it had been given out that their meeting was to hear a play.

Mr. Rough and Mr. Simson were both conducted by the vice-chamberlain to the queen's council, by whom they were charged with assembling to celebrate the Communion, or Lord's Supper. After a long examination, Simson was, for the present, dismissed, but Rough was sent prisoner to Newgate.

On the 18th of December, Bishop Bonner ordered Rough to be brought before him at his palace in London, for examination concerning his religious faith; after which he was reconducted to his place of confinement.

On the 20th of December he was brought to the consistory court at St. Paul's, before Bonner, bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, and others, in order to undergo a final examination.

After various methods had been used by the court to persuade him to recant, without effect, Bonner read the articles, with his answers, before mentioned: he then charged him with marrying, after having received priestly orders; and that he had refused to consent to the Latin service then used in the church.

Mr. Rough answered, their orders were of no effect, and that the children he had by his wife were legitimate. With respect to the Latin service then used, he had said, he utterly detested it, and that, were he to live as long as Methuselah, he would never go to church, to hear the abominable mass.

In consequence of this declaration, the bishop proceeded to the ceremony of degradation; after which he read the sentence of con-

demnation, and Mr. Rough being delivered to the sheriff, was by him reconducted to Newgate, there to remain till the time appointed for his execution.

*Examination of Margaret Maring.*

This woman belonged to a private congregation in London, where Mr. Rough used to officiate. She was suspected by him, and some others, of not being sincere in the religion she professed; but the event showed that their suspicions were ill-founded.

An information being laid against her before the bishop of London, he sent an officer to her house near Mark-lane, in the city, to apprehend her; which being done, she was immediately brought before his lordship, who, after a short examination, sent her to Newgate.

On the 18th day of December she was again brought before the bishop, at his palace in London, in order to undergo a thorough examination, relative to her religious principles. The usual articles being exhibited against her, she answered each respectively as follows:

1. That there is here on earth a catholic church, and there is the true faith of Christ observed and kept in the same church.

2. That there are only two sacraments in the church, namely, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of Baptism.

3. That she was baptized in the faith and belief of the said church, renouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil, and all his works.

4. That when she came to the age of fourteen years, she did not know what her true belief was, because she was not then of discretion to understand the same, neither yet was taught it.

5. That she had not gone from the catholic faith at any time; but she said that the mass was abominable in the sight of God, and all true Christian people.

6. Concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said she believed there was no such sacrament in the catholic church: that she utterly abhorred the authority of the bishop of Rome, with all the religion observed in his antichristian church.

7. That she had refused to come to her parish church, because the true religion was not then used in the same; and that she had not come into the church for the space of one year and three quarters, neither did mean to come any more to the same, in these idolatrous days.

8. She acknowledged that she was apprehended, and brought before the bishop of London.

These answers being registered by the bishop's official, she was, for the present, remanded to prison.

On the 20th of December she was again brought before the bishop, at his consistory court, where her articles and answers were again read to her; after which they asked her if she would stand to the same as they were registered? She answered, that she would stand to the same to her death: "for the very angels in heaven," said she, "laugh you to scorn, to see the abomination you use in the church."

The bishop then used various arguments to prevail on her to recant; but finding them all ineffectual, he read the sentence of condemnation, and she was delivered to the sheriff for execution, who reconducted her to Newgate.



Two days after this, on the 22d of December, 1557, she, with her fellow-martyr John Rough, were conducted, by the proper officers, to Smithfield, where they were both fastened to one stake, and burnt in the same fire. They both behaved themselves with Christian fortitude, and cheerfully gave up their lives in testimony of the truth of that gospel, which was given to man by him from whom they hoped to receive an eternal reward in his heavenly kingdom.

*Martyrdoms of Robert Mills, Stephen Cotton, Robert Dines, Stephen Wight, John Slade, and William Pikes.*

These six men were apprehended, with several others, in a close near Islington, where they had assembled to pay their devotions to their Maker; and being taken before a magistrate were committed to prison as heretics.

A few days after their apprehension, they were brought before Dr. Thomas Darbyshire, the bishop of London's chancellor, for examination; when the usual articles were exhibited against them, to which they answered as follows:

The first article they all granted. Robert Mills and Stephen Wight said, they had not been at church for three quarters of a year; Stephen Cotton, not for a twelve month; Robert Dines, for two years; and John Slade and William Pikes, not since the queen's accession to the throne.

To the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, they all answered, in effect, as other protestants had done; asserting, that as the rites, ceremonies, and customs of the then church were against the word of God, so they would not observe any part of the same.

The seventh article they all granted in every part.

To the eighth article they likewise unanimously agreed; but Robert Mills added, that he would not come to church, nor approve of their religion, so long as the cross was crept to and worshipped, and images kept in the church.

John Slade affirmed, in effect, the same as Robert Mills, adding farther, that there were not seven sacraments, but two, namely, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

Stephen Cotton and Robert Dines would no farther allow the popish religion than it agreed with God's word.

To the ninth and tenth articles, Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton, answered, that they did not allow the popish service then set forth, because it was against the truth, and in a language which the common people did not understand.

Robert Dines, and William Pikes, would neither allow or disallow the Latin service, because they did not understand it.

Stephen Wight would not make any answer to either of these two articles, neither to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth articles; but the rest of his fellow-prisoners answered as follows:

To the eleventh article Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton, answered, that concerning the books, faith, and religion, specified in this article, they did allow them, so far as they agreed with God's word.

Robert Dines would not make any answer to this, saying, he did not understand it; and William Pikes said, that he would abide by the service, faith, and religion, as set forth in the days of King Edward VI.

To the twelfth article they said, they would agree to it provided they might receive the sacrament as administered in the reign of King Edward.

The thirteenth and fourteenth articles they granted to be true in every part.

After they had been all examined, they were reconducted to prison, but ordered to appear on the 11th of July, at the consistory court at St. Paul's. Accordingly, on that day, they were brought before the bishop and his chancellor, by the latter of whom they were asked, if they would turn from their opinions against the holy mother-church; and if not, whether they could show cause why sentence of condemnation should not be pronounced against them. To this they all answered, that they would not depart from the truth, nor any part of the same, on any conditions whatever.

The chancellor then dismissed them, but ordered that they should appear again before him the next day, in the afternoon, to hear their definitive sentence pronounced, agreeably to the ecclesiastical law then in force.

They were accordingly brought at the time appointed, when the chancellor sat as judge, accompanied by Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis. The chancellor used his utmost endeavours to prevail on them to recant, but all proved ineffectual. He therefore read the sentence of condemnation, and they were delivered over to the sheriffs, who conducted them to prison, in order for execution.

The chancellor, having condemned these six innocent persons, sent a certificate of their condemnation to the lord chancellor's office, from whence, the next day, a writ was issued for their being burnt at Brentford.

On the 14th of July, 1558, they were conducted by the sheriffs, and their attendants, from Newgate, to the place appointed for their execution. As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot, they all knelt down, and for some time prayed in the most fervent manner. After this they arose, and undressing themselves, went cheerfully to the stakes, of which there were three, though all were consumed in one fire. Being bound to the stakes, and the fagots being lighted, they all calmly and joyfully yielded up their souls to that God, for whose gospel they suffered, and whose heavenly mansions they were in hopes of inheriting.

*Martyrdoms of Henry Pond, Rainhold Eastland, Robert Southam, Matthew Ricarby, John Floid, John Holliday, and Roger Holland.*

A few days after the execution of the before-mentioned six martyrs at Brentford, seven others, who were apprehended with them at the same time and place, were burnt in Smithfield. Their names we have given above.

The particular examinations of these persons are not recorded, except that of Roger Holland, which, together with his story, we give at length, as being both interesting and edifying.

*History, examination, and condemnation of Roger Holland.*

This Roger Holland, a merchant tailor of London, was first an apprentice with Mr. Kempton, at the Black Boy, in Watling-street, where he served his apprenticeship with much trouble to his master, in breaking him of the licentious liberty which he had before been trained

and brought up in, giving himself to riot, as dancing, fencing, gaming, banqueting, and wanton company; and besides all this, an obstinate papist, unlike to come to any such end as God called him unto.

His master, notwithstanding his lewdness, trusted him with his accounts; and on a time he received the sum of thirty pounds for his master, and falling into ill company, lost every groat at dice; being past all hope which way to answer it, and therefore he purposed to convey himself beyond the seas.

Having determined with himself thus to do, he called betimes in the morning on a servant in the house, an ancient and discreet maid, whose name was Elizabeth, who professed the gospel, with a life agreeing unto the same, and at all times much rebuking the wifful and obstinate papistry, as also the licentious living of this Roger Holland. To whom he said, Elizabeth, I would I had followed thy gentle persuasions and friendly rebukes; which if I had done, I had never come to this shame and misery which I have now fallen into; for this night I have lost thirty pounds of my master's money, which to pay him and make up my accounts I am not able. But this much, I pray you, desire my mistress, that she would entreat my master to take this note of my hand, that I am thus much indebted to him, and if I am ever able, I will see him paid; desiring him that the matter may pass with silence, and that none of my kindred and friends may ever understand this my lewd part.

The maid, considering that it might be his utter ruin, Stay, said she; and having a sum of money by her, which was left her by a kinsman, at his death, who was thought to be Dr. Redman, she brought unto him thirty pounds, saying, Roger, here is thus much money, I will let thee have it, and I will keep this note. But since I do thus much for thee, to help thee, and to save thy honesty, thou shalt promise me to refuse all lewd and wild company, all swearing and ribaldry talk; and if ever I know thee to play one twelve-pence at either dice or cards, then will I show this thy note unto my master. And furthermore, thou shalt promise me to resort every day to the lecture at All-hallows, and the sermon at St. Paul's every Sunday, and to cast away all thy books of popery and vain ballads, and get thee the Testament and book of service, and read the scriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God still for his grace to direct thee in his truth. And pray fervently to God, desiring him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the sins of thy youth; and ever be afraid to break his laws, or offend his majesty.

After this time, within one half year, God had wrought such a change in this man, that he was become an earnest professor of the truth, and detested all popery and ill company; so that he was an admiration to all that had seen his former life.

Then he repaired to his father, in Lancashire, and brought divers good books with him, and bestowed them among his friends, so that his father and others began to taste the sweetness of the gospel, and to detest the mass, idolatry, and superstition; and in the end his father gave him fifty pounds to begin the world withal.

Then he came to London again, and went to the maid that lent him the money to pay his master withal, and said unto her, Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed of thee, and for the friendship, good will, and good counsel, I have received at thy hands, to recompense

thee I am not able, otherwise than by making thee my wife; and soon after they were married, which was in the first year of Queen Mary. And having a child by her, he caused Mr. Rose to baptise it in his own house. Notwithstanding he was betrayed to the enemies, and he being gone into the country to convey the child away, that the papists should not have it in their anointing hands, Bonner caused his goods to be seized on, and most cruelly used his wife.

After this he remained closely in the city, and in the country, in the congregations of the faithful, until the last year of Queen Mary. Then he, with the six others before named, were taken in, or not far from St. John's wood, and so brought to Newgate upon May day, in the morning, 1558.

Then being called before the bishop, Dr. Chedsey, both the Harpsfields, and certain others, after many other fair and crafty persuasions of Dr. Chedsey, thus the bishop began with him :

Holland, I for my part do wish well unto thee, and the more for thy friend's sake. And as Dr. Standish telleth me, you and he were both born in one parish, and he knoweth your father to be a very honest catholic gentleman; and Mr. Doctor told me that he talked with you a year ago, and found you very wilfully addicted to your own conceit. Divers of the city also have showed me of you, that you have been a great procurer of men's servants to be of your religion, and to come to your congregations; but since you now be in the danger of the law, I would wish you to act a wise man's part; so shall you not want any favour I can do or procure for you, both for your own sake, and also for your friends, who are men of worship and credit, and wish you well; and, by my troth, Roger, so do I.

Then said Mr. Eglestone, a gentleman of Lancashire, and near kinsman to Roger, being there present, I thank your good lordship; your honour meaneth good unto my cousin; I beseech God he have the grace to follow your counsel.

Holland. Sir, you crave of God you know not what. I beseech God to open your eyes to see the light of his word.

Eglestone. Roger, hold your peace, lest you fare the worse at my lord's hands.

Holland. No, I shall fare as it pleaseth God, for man can do no more than God doth permit him.

Then the bishop, and the doctors, with Johnson, the register, casting their heads together, in the end saith Johnson, Roger, how sayest thou? wilt thou submit thyself unto my lord, before thou be entered into the book of contempt?

Holland. I never meant but to submit myself unto the magistrates, as I learn of St. Paul to the Romans, chap. xiii. and so he recited the text.

Chedsey. Then I see you are no anabaptist.

Holland. I mean not yet to be a papist; for they and the anabaptists agree in this point, not to submit themselves to any other prince or magistrate, than those that must first be sworn to maintain them and their doings.

Chedsey. Roger, remember what I have said, and also what my lord hath promised he will perform with farther friendship. Take heed, Roger, for your ripeness of wit hath brought you into these errors.

*Holland.* Mr. Doctor, I have yet your words in memory, though they are of no such force to prevail with me.

Then they whispered together again, and at last Bonner said, Roger, I perceive thou wilt not be ruled by good counsel, for any that either I or your friends can say.

*Holland.* I may say to you, my lord, as Paul said to Felix, and to the Jews, as doth appear in the 22d of the Acts, and in the 15th of the first epistle to the Corinthians. It is not unknown unto my master to whom I was apprentice withal, that I was of your blind religion, having that liberty under your auricular confession, that I made no conscience of sin, but trusted in the priest's absolution, he for money doing also some penance for me; which after I had given, I cared no farther what offences I did, no more than he minded after he had my money, whether he tasted bread and water for me, or no: so that lechery, swearing, and all other vices, I accounted no offence of danger, so long as I could for money have them absolved. So straitly did I observe your rules of religion, that I would have ashes upon Ash Wednesday, though I had used ever so much wickedness at night. And albeit I could not of conscience eat flesh upon the Friday, yet in swearing, drinking, or dicing, all the night long, I made no conscience at all. And thus I was brought up, and herein I have continued, till now of late that God hath opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repentance of my former idolatry and wicked life; for in Lancashire their blindness and whoredom is much more than may with chaste ears be heard. Yet these my friends, which are not clear in these notable crimes, think the priest with his mass can save them, though they blaspheme God, and keep concubines besides their wives as long as they live.

Mr. Doctor, now to your antiquity, unity, and universality. (for these Dr. Chedsey alleged as notes and tokens of their religion,) I am unlearned. I have no sophistry to shift my reasons withal; but the truth I trust I have, which needeth no painted colours to set her forth. The antiquity of our church is not from Pope Nicholas, or Pope Joan, but our church is from the beginning, even from the time that God said unto Adam, that the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head; and so to faithful Noah; to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to whom it was promised, that their seed should multiply as the stars in the sky; and so to Moses, David, and the holy fathers that were from the beginning unto the birth of our Saviour Christ. All they that believed these promises were of the church, though the number were oftentimes but few and small, as in Elias's days, when he thought there was none but he that had not bowed their knees to Baal, when God had reserved seven thousand that never had bowed their knees to that idol; as I trust there be seven hundred thousand more than I know of, that have not bowed their knees to the idol your mass, and your God Maozim; the upholding whereof is your bloody cruelty, while you daily persecute Elias, and the servants of God, forcing them (as Daniel was in his chamber) closely to serve the Lord their God; and even as we, by this your cruelty, are forced in the fields to pray unto God, that his holy word may be once again truly preached amongst us, and that he would mitigate and shorten these idolatrous and bloody days wherein all cruelty reigneth. Moreover, of our church have been the apostles and evangelists, the martyrs and con-

fessors of Christ, that have at all times and in all ages been persecuted for the testimony of the word of God. But for the upholding of your church and religion, what antiquity can you show? Yea, the mass, that idol and chief pillar of your religion, is not yet four hundred years old, and some of your masses are younger, as that of St. Thomas Becket, the traitor, wherein you pray, That you may be saved by the blood of St. Thomas. And as for your Latin service, what are we of the laity the better for it? I think he that should hear your priests mumble up their service, although he did well understand Latin, yet should he understand few words thereof, the priests do so champ them and chew them, and post so fast, that they neither understand what they say, nor they that hear them: and in the mean time the people, when they should pray with the priest, are set to their beads to pray our lady's psalter. So crafty is Satan to devise these his dreains, (which you defend with fagot and fire,) to quench the light of the word of God: which, as David saith, should be a lantern to our feet. And again, wherein shall a young man direct his ways but by the word of God? And yet you will hide it from us in a tongue unknown. St. Paul had rather have five words spoken with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue; and yet will you have your Latin service and praying in a strange tongue, whereof the people are utterly ignorant, to be of such antiquity!

The Greek church, and a good part of Christendom besides, never received your service in an unknown tongue, but in their own natural language, which all the people understand, neither yet your transubstantiation, your receiving in one kind, your purgatory, your images, &c.

As for the unity which is in your church, what is it else but treason, murder, poisoning one another, idolatry, superstition, and wickedness? What unity was in your church, when there were three popes at once? Where was your head of unity when you had a woman pope?

Here he was interrupted, and could not be suffered to proceed.

The bishop then said, Roger, these thy words are downright blasphemy, and by the means of thy friends thou hast been suffered to speak, and art over malapert to teach any here. Therefore, keeper, take him away.

#### *The second Examination of Roger Holland.*

The day that Henry Pond and the rest were brought forth to be again examined, Dr. Chedsey said, Roger, I trust you have now better considered of the church than you did before.

*Holland.* I consider thus much: that out of the church there is no salvation, as divers ancient doctors say.

*Bonner.* That is well said. Mr. Eglestone, I trust your kinsman will be a good catholic man. But, Roger, you mean, I trust, the church of Rome.

*Holland.* I mean that church which hath Christ for her head; which also hath his word, and his sacraments according to his word and institution.

Then Chedsey interrupted him, and said, Is that a Testament you have in your hand?

*Holland.* Yea, Mr. Doctor, it is a New Testament. You will find

no fault with the translation, I think. It is your own translation; it is according to the great Bible.

*Bonner.* How say you? How do you know that it is the Testament of Christ, but only by the church? For the church of Rome hath and doth preserve it, and out of the same hath made decrees, ordinances, and true expositions.

No, (saith Roger,) the church of Rome hath and doth suppress the reading of the Testament. And what a true exposition, I pray you, did the pope make thereof, when he put his foot on the emperor's neck, and said, "Thou shalt walk upon the lion and the asp; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy foot?" Psalm xci.

Then said the bishop, Such unlearned wild heads as thou and others, would be expositors of the scripture. Would you then the ancient learned (as there are some here as well as I) should be taught of you?

*Holland.* Youth delighteth in vanity. My wildness hath been somewhat the more by your doctrine, than ever I learned out of this book of God. But (my lord) I suppose some old docters say, if a poor layman bring his reason and argument out of the word of God, he his to be credited before the learned, though they be ever such great docters. For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned docters, and given to poor fishermen. Notwithstanding, I am ready to be instructed by the church.

*Bonner.* That is very well said, Roger. But you must understand that the church of Rome is the Catholic church. Roger, for thy friend's sake, (I promise thee) I wish thee well, and I mean to do thee good. Keeper, see he want nothing. Roger, if thou lackest any money, to pleasure thee, I will see thou shalt not want. This he spake unto him alone, his companions being apart, with many other fair promises, and so he was sent to prison again.

#### *His last Examination.*

The last examination of Roger Holland was when he with his fellow prisoners were brought into the consistory, and there all excommunicated, except Roger, and ready to have their sentence of judgment given, with many threatening words to affright them withal: the Lord Strange, Sir Thomas Jarret, M. Eglestone, Esq., and divers others of worship, both of Cheshire and Lancashire, that were Roger Holland's kinsmen and friends, being there present, who had been earnest suitors to the bishop in his favour, hoping for his safety of life. Now the bishop, hoping yet to win him with his fair and flattering words, began after this manner.

*Bonner.* Roger, I have divers times called thee before me at my own house, and have conferred with thee, and being not learned in the Latin tongue, it doth appear unto me that thou hast a good memory, and very sensible in talk, but something over hasty, which is a natural impediment incident to some men. And surely they are not the worst natured men. For I myself am now and then too hasty, but mine anger is soon over. So, Roger, surely I have a good opinion of you, that you will not with these fellows cast yourself headlong from the church of your parents and your friends that are here, very good catholics, (as it is reported to me.) And as I mean thee good, so,

Roger, play the wise man's part, and come home with the lost son, and say, I have run into the church of schismatics and heretics, from the catholic church of Rome, and you shall, I warrant you, not only find favour at God's hands, but the church that hath authority, shall absolve you, and put new garments upon you, and kill the fasting to make thee good cheer withal: that is, in so doing, as meat doth refresh and cherish the mind, so thou shalt find as much quietness of conscience in coming home to the church, as did the hungry son that had been fed before with the hogs, as you have done with these heretics that sever themselves from the church. But, Roger, if I did not bear thee and thy friends good will, I would not have said so much as I have done, but I would have let mine ordinary alone with you.

At these words his friends there present thanked the bishop for his good will, and for the pains he had taken in his and their behalf.

Then the bishop proceeded, saying, Well, Roger, how say you? Do you not believe, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ really and corporeally, under the forms of bread and wine? I mean the self-same body as was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified upon the cross, that rose again the third day.

*Holland.* Your lordship saith, the same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the cross, which rose again the third day: but you leave out, who ascended into heaven: and the scripture saith, he shall there remain until he come to judge the quick and the dead. Then he is not contained under the forms of bread and wine, by *Hoc est corpus meum, &c.*

*Bonner.* Roger, I perceive my pains and good will will not prevail, and if I should argue with thee, thou art so wilful, (as all thy fellows be, standing in thine own singularity and foolish conceit,) that thou wouldst still talk to no purpose this seven years, if thou mightest be suffered. Answer whether thou wilt confess the real and corporeal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, or wilt not.

*Holland.* My lord, although God by his sufferance hath here placed you, to set forth his truth and glory in us, his faithful servants, notwithstanding your meaning is far from the zeal of Christ; and, for all your words, you have the same zeal that Annas and Caiphas had, trusting to their authority, traditions, and ceremonies, more than to the word of God.

*Bonner.* If I should suffer him, he would fall from reasoning to raving, as a frantic heretic.

Roger, (said the Lord Strange,) my lord would have you tell him, whether you will submit yourself, or no.

Yea, said Bonner, and confess this presence that I have spoken of.

With this Roger turned to the Lord Strange, and the rest of his kinsmen and friends, and kneeling down upon his knees, said, God, by the mouth of his servant Paul, hath said, "Let every soul submit himself unto the higher powers, and he that resisteth, receiveth his own damnation:" and as you are a magistrate appointed by God, so I submit myself unto you, and to all such as are appointed for magistrates.

*Bonner.* That is well said; I see you are no anabaptist. How say you then to the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar?

*Holland.* I say, and beseech you all to mark and bear witness with



me, (for so you shall be before the judgement seat of God,) what I speak; for here is the conclusion; and ye, my dear friends, (turning to his kinsmen,) I pray you show my father what I do say, that he may understand that I am a Christian man. I say and believe, and am therein fully persuaded by the scriptures, that the sacrament of the supper of our Lord, ministered in the holy communion according to Christ's institution, I being penitent and sorry for my sins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and so coming worthily unto God's board in perfect love and charity, do there receive, by faith, the body and blood of Christ. And though Christ in his human nature sit at the right hand of his Father, yet (by faith I say) his death, his passion, his merits are mine, and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the mass, transubstantiation, and the worshipping of the sacrament, they are mere impiety and horrible idolatry.

I thought so much, said Bonner, (suffering him to speak no more,) how he would prove a very blasphemous heretic as ever I heard. How irreverently doth he speak of the blessed mass! And so he read his sentence of condemnation, adjudging him to be burned.

All this while Roger was very patient, and when he should depart, he said, My lord, I beseech you to suffer me to speak two words. The bishop would not hear him, but bade him away. Notwithstanding, being requested by his friends, said, Speak, what hast thou to say.

*Holland.* Even now I told you that your authority was from God, and by his sufferance: and now I tell you God hath heard the prayer of his servants, which hath been poured forth with tears for his afflicted saints whom you daily persecute, as now you do us. But this I dare be bold in God to say, (by whose Spirit I am moved,) that God will shorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time you shall not molest his church. And this you shall in a short time well perceive, my dear brethren, to be most true. For after this day, in this place there shall not be any by him put to the trial of fire and fagot: [and after that day there was none that suffered in Smithfield for the truth of the gospel.]

Then said Bonner, Roger, thou art, I perceive, as mad in these thy heresies as ever was Joan Boucher. In anger and fume thou wouldst become a railing prophet. Though thou and all the rest of you would see me hanged, yet I shall live to burn, yea, and I will burn all the sort of you that come into my hands, that will not worship the blessed sacrament of the altar, for all thy prattling: and so he went his way.

Then Roger Holland began to exhort his friends to repentance, and think well of them that suffered for the testimony of the gospel, and with that the bishop came back, charging the keeper that no man should speak to them without his license, and if they did, they would be committed to prison. In the mean time Henry Pond and Roger spake still unto the people, exhorting them to stand firm in the truth: adding moreover, that God would shorten these cruel and evil days for his elect's sake.

The day they suffered, a proclamation was made, that none should be so bold as to speak or talk any word unto them, or receive any thing of them, or to touch them, upon pain of imprisonment, without

either bail or mainprize: with other cruel threatening words, contained in the same proclamation. Notwithstanding, the people cried out desiring God to strengthen them: and they likewise still prayed for the people, and the restoring of the word. At length, Roger, embracing the stake and the reeds, said these words:

“Lord, I most humbly thank thy Majesty, that thou hast called me from the state of death, unto the light of thy heavenly word, and now unto the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing and say, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts. And, Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord, bless these thy people, and save them from idolatry.” And so he ended his life, looking up unto heaven, praying to, and praising God, with the rest of his fellow-saints. For whose joyful constancy the Lord be praised.

*Scourging of Thomas Hinshaw, by Bonner*

When Bishop Bonner found that his examinations, persuasions, threats, and imprisonments, were to no purpose with Thomas Hinshaw, one of those who had been apprehended at Islington, he took him to Fulham, where, immediately after his coming, he was set in the stocks, remaining there all the first night, with no other refreshment than bread and water.

The next morning the bishop came and examined him himself, and perceiving no yielding in his mind, he sent Mr. Harpsfield to talk with him; who, after a long dispute, at last fell into a passion, calling Hinshaw “peevish boy,” and asking him “whether he thought he went about to damn his soul, or no?” &c. To all this Hinshaw answered, “That he was persuaded that they laboured to maintain their dark and devilish kingdom, and not for any love of truth.” Harpsfield, being greatly incensed, told the bishop of this; who was thereat in as great a rage as himself, and, although scarce able to speak for anger, cried out, “Dost thou answer my archdeacon so, thou naughty boy? I shall handle thee well enough, be assured.” He then sent for a couple of rods, and causing Hinshaw to kneel against a long bench in an arbour in his garden, severely scourged him, with his own hands, till he was compelled to desist from fatigue.

After this scourging, Hinshaw was several times examined: and at last being brought before the bishop, in his chapel at Fulham, articles were exhibited against him, which the young man denied, and would not affirm, or consent to any of their interrogatories.

Being remanded to prison, about a fortnight after, he fell sick of an ague, whereupon he was delivered, after much entreaty, to his master, Martin Pugson, in St. Paul’s churchyard; for the bishop thought he was more likely to die than to live; indeed his sickness continued a twelve month or more, so that in the mean time Queen Mary died. He shortly after recovered his health, and thus escaped the death designed for him by the persecutors.

*Scourging of John Willes, by Bonner.*

We have an account of another person who was also scourged by Bonner: he was named John Willes, “a right faithful, and true honest man in all his dealings and conditions.” He had been apprehended at Islington, with the company before-mentioned, and being com-

mitted to the coal-house, with Thomas Hinshaw, remained one night there in the stocks.

The account then goes on to state that, "from the coal-house he was sent to Fulham, where he, with the said Hinshaw, remained eight or ten days in the stocks: during which time he sustained divers conflicts with the said Bonner, who had him often in examination, urging him, and with a stick which he had in his hand, often rapping him on the head, and flirting him under the chin, and on the ears, saying he looked down like a thief. Moreover, after he had essayed all manner of ways to make him recant, and could not, at length taking him to his orchard, there within a little arbour, with his own hands beat him first with a willow rod, and that being worn well nigh to the stumps, he called for a birch rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber. The cause why he so beat him was this: Bonner asked him when he had crept to the cross. He answered, Not since he came to years of discretion, neither would, though he should be torn by wild horses. Then Bonner desired him to make a cross on his forehead, which he refused to do. Whereupon he had him immediately to his orchard, and there calling for rods, showed his cruelty upon him, as he had done upon Thomas Hinshaw.

"This done, he had him immediately to the parish church of Fulham, with the said Thomas Hinshaw, and Robert Willes; to whom there, being severally called before him, he ministered certain articles, asking if he would subscribe to the same. To which he made his answer according to his conscience, denying them all, except one article, which was concerning King Edward's service in English. Shortly after this beating, Bonner sent a certain old priest lately come from Rome, to him in prison, to conjure out the evil spirit from him, who laying his hand upon his head, began with certain words pronounced over him, to conjure as he had been wont before to do. Willes marvelling at what the old man was about, said, I trust no evil spirit is in me; and laughed him to scorn.

"As this John Willes was divers times called before Bonner, so much communication passed between them as is too tedious to recite. It is enough to make the reader laugh to see the blind and unsavoury reasons with which that bishop endeavoured to delude the ignorant, some of which were in the following manner: Bonner going about to persuade Willes not to meddle with matters of scripture, but rather to believe other men's teaching, who had more skill in the same, asked him if he did believe the scripture: Yea, said he, that I do. Then (quoth the bishop) St. Paul saith, If the man sleep, the woman is at liberty to go to another man. If thou wert asleep, having a wife, wouldst thou be content that thy wife should take to another man? And yet this is the scripture.

"Also, if thou wilt believe Luther, Zuinglius, and such, then thou canst not go right; but if thou wilt believe me, &c. thou canst not err; and if thou shouldst err, yet thou art in no danger, thy blood should be required at our hands. And if thou shouldst go to a far country, and meet with a fatherly man, as I am, (these were his words,) and ask the way to the city, and he should say, This way, and thou wilt not believe him, but follow Luther, and other heretics of late days, and go a contrary way, how wilt thou come to the place thou askest for? So if thou wilt not believe me, but follow the leading of other

heretics, thou shalt be brought to destruction, and burn both body and soul.

“As truly as thou seest the bodies of them in Smithfield burnt, so truly their souls do burn in hell, because they err from the true church.

“Oft times speaking to the said John Willes, he would say, they call me bloody Bonner. A vengeance on you all! I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. But if I might have my will, I would sew up your mouths, and put you in sacks and drown you.

“The same day that he was delivered, Bonner came to the stocks where he lay, and asked him how he liked his lodging, and his fare.

“Well, (said Willes,) if it would please God, I might have a little straw to lie or sit upon.

“Then (said Bonner) thou wilt show no token of a Christian man. And upon this his wife came in unknown to him, being very great with child, every hour expecting her labour, and entreated the bishop for her husband, saying, that she would not go from thence, but that she would there stay, and be delivered in the bishop’s house, unless she had her husband with her. How sayest thou (quoth Bonner to Willes,) if thy wife miscarry, or thy child, or children, if she be with one or two, should perish, the blood of them would be required at thy hands. Then to this agreement he came, that she should hire a bed in the town of Fulham, and her husband should go home with her the morrow after, upon this condition, that his kinsman there present (one Robert Rouse) should bring the said Willes to his house at St. Paul’s the next day.

“To which Willes would not agree, but insisted upon going then. At length, his wife being importunate for her husband, and Bonner seeing she would not stir without him, fearing belike the rumour that might come upon his house thereby, and also probably fearing to be troubled with a lying-in-woman, bade Willes make a cross, and say, *In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.*

“Then Willes began to say, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, amen. No, no, (saith Bonner,) say it me in Latin. Willes understanding the matter of that Latin to be good, said the same, and so went home with his wife, his aforesaid kinsman being charged to bring him the next day to St. Paul’s; else, said Bonner, if thou dost not bring him, thou art a heretic as well as he. Notwithstanding, the charge being no greater, his kinsman did not bring him, but he, of his own accord, came to the bishop within a few days after, where he put to him a certain writing in Latin, to subscribe unto, containing, as it seemed to him, no great matter, that he needed greatly to stick at, although, what the bill was, he could not certainly tell; so he subscribed to the bill, and returned home. And thus much concerning the twenty-two taken at Islington.”

#### *Sufferings and Martyrdom of Elizabeth Prest.*

This poor woman was the wife of a labouring man, and lived at a small village near the town of Launceston, in Cornwall. Her husband, and three children, were zealous papists, and she would frequently rebuke them for their superstition; but her husband being a morose man, forced her sometimes to go to church, to follow in procession, and to conform to the Romish ceremonies.

Being greatly afflicted at the thoughts of doing that which was so much against her conscience, she prayed to God for his assistance, took courage, and left her husband and family.

For some time she travelled from one place to another, maintaining herself by labour and spinning. But, at length, she returned to her husband; a few days after which she was accused of heresy by some of her neighbours, and being apprehended, was sent to Exeter, to be examined by Dr. Troubleville, then bishop of that see.

The following account of what passed at her examination, and subsequently, was given by some persons who were at that time residing at Exeter.

*Bishop.* Thou foolish woman, I hear say that thou hast spoken certain words against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ. Fie, for shame! thou art an unlearned person, and a woman; wilt thou meddle with such high matters, which all the doctors of the world cannot define? Wilt thou talk of such high mysteries? Keep thy work, and meddle with that thou hast to do. It is no woman's matter, at cards and tow to be spoken of. And if it be as I am informed, thou art worthy to be burned.

*Woman.* My lord, I trust your lordship will hear me speak.

*Bishop.* Yea, marry, for that cause I sent for you.

*Woman.* I am a poor woman, and doth live by my hands, getting a penny truly, and of what I get, I give part to the poor.

*Bishop.* That is well done. Art thou not a man's wife?

And here the bishop entered into conversation about her husband. To whom she answered again, declaring that she had a husband and children, and had them not. So long as she was at liberty, she refused neither husband nor children; but now, standing here as I do, said she, in the cause of Christ and his truth, where I must either forsake Christ, or my husband, I am contented to stick only to Christ, my heavenly spouse, and renounce the other.

And here she making mention of the words of Christ, "He that leaveth not father or mother, sister or brother, husband," &c. the bishop inferred, that Christ spake that of the holy martyrs, who died because they would not sacrifice to the false gods.

*Woman.* Surely, sir, and I will rather die than I will do any worship to that idol, which with your mass you make a god.

*Bishop.* What, heretic! will you say that the sacrament of the altar is a foul idol?

*Woman.* Yes, truly, there never was such an idol as your sacrament is made by your priests, and commanded to be worshipped of all men, with many fond fantasies, where Christ did command it to be eaten and drank in remembrance of his most blessed passion for our redemption.

*Bishop.* See this prattling woman! Dost thou not hear that Christ did say over the bread, "This is my body," and over the cup, "This is my blood?"

*Woman.* Yes, forsooth, he said so, but he meant that it is his body and blood, not carnally, but sacramentally.

*Bishop.* Lo, she hath heard prating among these new preachers, or heard some peevish book. Alas, poor woman, thou art deceived.

*Woman.* No, my lord, what I have learned was of godly preachers, and of godly books which I have heard read. And if you will

give me leave, I will declare a reason why I will not worship the sacrament.

*Bishop.* Marry, say on, I am sure it will be goodly gear.

*Woman.* Truly such gear as I will lose this poor life of mine for.

*Bishop.* Then you will be a martyr, good wife.

*Woman.* Indeed, if the denying to worship that bready god be my martyrdom, I will suffer it with all my heart.

*Bishop.* Say thy mind.

*Woman.* You must bear with me, a poor woman.

*Bishop.* So I will.

*Woman.* I will demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which doth say, That Christ doth perpetually sit at the right hand of his Father, both body and soul, until he come again; or whether he be there in heaven our Advocate, and to make prayer for us unto God his Father? If it be so, he is not here on earth in a piece of bread. If he be not here, and if he do not dwell in temples made with hands, but in heaven, what, shall we seek him here? If he did offer his body once for all, why make you a new offering? If with once offering he made all perfect, why do you with a false offering make all imperfect? If he be to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, why do you worship a piece of bread? If he be eaten and drank in faith and truth, if his flesh be not profitable to be among us, why do you say you make his flesh and blood, and say it is profitable for body and soul? Alas, I am a poor woman, but rather than I will do as you, I would live no longer. I have said, sir.

*Bishop.* I promise you, you are a jolly protestant. I pray you, in what schools have you been brought up?

*Woman.* I have upon the Sundays visited the sermons, and there have I learned such things as are so fixed in my breast, that death shall not separate them.

*Bishop.* O foolish woman, who will waste his breath upon thee, or such as thou art? But how chanceth it that thou wentest away from thy husband? if thou wert an honest woman, thou wouldst not have left thy husband and children, and run about the country like a fugitive.

*Woman.* Sir, I laboured for my living; and as my master Christ counselled me, when I was persecuted in one city, I fled into another.

*Bishop.* Who persecuted thee?

*Woman.* My husband and my children. For when I would have them to leave idolatry, and to worship God in heaven, he would not hear me, but he with his children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for whoredom, nor for theft, but because I would be no partaker with him and his, of that foul idol the mass; and wheresoever I was, as oft as I could, I made excuses not to go to the popish church.

*Bishop.* Belike then you are a good housewife, to fly from your husband and the church.

*Woman.* My housewifery is but small; but God give me grace to go to the true church.

*Bishop.* The true church, what dost thou mean?

*Woman.* Not your popish church, full of idols and abominations, but where two or three are gathered together in the name of God, to that church will I go as long as I live.

*Bishop.* Belike then you have a church of your own. Well, let this mad woman be put down to prison till we send for her husband.

*Woman.* No, I have but one husband, who is here already in this city, and in prison with me (from whom I will never depart.) And so their communication, for that time, brake off. Blackstone and others persuaded the bishop that she was not in her right senses, (which is no new thing for the wisdom of God to appear foolishness to the carnal men of this world,) and therefore they consulted together, that she should have liberty to go at large. So the keeper of the bishop's prison had her home to his house, where she fell to spinning and carding, and did work as a servant in the said keeper's house, and she went about the city when and where she pleased, and many people took great delight in talking with her: and all her discourse was about the sacrament of the altar, which of all things they could least abide.

Then her husband was sent for, but she refused to go home with him, with the blemish of the cause and religion, in defence whereof she there stood before the bishop and the priests. Then divers of the priests endeavoured to persuade her to leave her "wicked opinion" about the sacrament of the altar, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ. But she made them answer, that it was nothing but very bread and wine, and that they might be ashamed to say, that a piece of bread should be turned by a man into the natural body of Christ, which bread doth corrupt, and mice oftentimes do eat it, and it doth mould, and is burned: God's body will not be so handled, nor kept in prison, or boxes, or aumbries. Let it be your god, it shall not be mine: for my Saviour sitteth on the right hand of God, and doth pray for me. And to make that sacramental or significative bread instituted for a remembrance, the very body of Christ, and to worship it, is very foolishness and devilish deceit.

Now truly, said they, the devil hath deceived thee.

No, said she, I trust the living God hath opened mine eyes, and caused me to understand the right use of the blessed sacrament, which the true church doth use, but the false church doth abuse.

Then stepped forth an old friar, and asked her what she said of the holy pope.

I say, said she, that he is antichrist, and the devil.

Then they all laughed.

Nay, said she, you have more need to weep than to laugh, and to be sorry that ever you were born, to be the chaplains of that whore of Babylon. I defy him and all his falsehood; and get you away from me, you do but trouble my conscience. You would have me follow your doings; I will first lose my life. I pray you depart.

Why, thou foolish woman, said they, we come to thee for thy profit and soul's health.

O Lord God! said she, what profit ariseth by you, that teach nothing but lies for truth? how save you souls, when you preach nothing but damnable lies, and destroy souls?

How provest thou that, said they.

Do you not damn your souls, said she, when you teach the people to worship idols, stocks, and stones, the works of men's hands? and to worship a false god of your own making of a piece of bread, and teach that the pope is God's vicar, and hath power to forgive sins?

and that there is a purgatory, when God's Son hath by his passion purged all? and say, you make God, and sacrifice him, when Christ's body was a sacrifice once for all? Do you not teach the people to number their sins in your ears, and say they be damned, if they confess not all; when God's word saith, who can number his sins? Do you not promise them trentals and dirges, and masses for souls, and sell your prayers for money, and make them buy pardons, and trust to such foolish inventions of your own imaginations? Do you not altogether against God? Do you not teach us to pray upon beads, and to pray unto saints, and say they can pray for us? Do you not make holy water, and holy bread, to fray\* devils? Do you not a thousand more abominations? And yet you say, you come for my profit, and to save my soul. No, no, One hath saved me. Farewell, you with your salvation. Much other talk there was between her and them, which were too tedious to express.

In the month's liberty which was granted her by the bishop, as is before mentioned, she went into St. Peter's church, and there found a cunning Dutchman that had made new noses to certain fine images which were disfigured in King Edward's time; to whom she said, what a madman art thou to make them new noses, which within a few days shall all lose their heads? The Dutchman accused her, and laid it hard to her charge. And she said unto him, thou art accursed, and so are thy images. Then she was sent for, and clapped fast, and from that time she had no liberty.

During the time of her imprisonment, divers resorted to visit her, some sent by the bishop, some of their own voluntary will; amongst whom was one Daniel, a great preacher of the gospel in the days of King Edward, in those parts of Cornwall and Devonshire; whom after that she perceived by his own confession to have revolted from what he preached before, through the grievous imprisonments, as he said, and fear of persecution which he had partly sustained by the cruel justices in those parts, earnestly she exhorted him to repent with Peter, and to be more constant in his profession.

Moreover, there resorted to her a certain gentlewoman, the wife of one Walter Raully, a woman of noble wit, and of a good and godly opinion; who, coming to the prison, and talking with her, she said her creed to the gentlewoman; and when she came to the article, he ascended, there she staid, and bid the gentlewoman to seek his blessed body in heaven, not on earth, and told her plainly that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, and the sacrament to be nothing else but a remembrance of his blessed passion; and yet, said she, as they now use it, it is but an idol, and far wide from any remembrance of Christ's body; which, said she, will not continue, and so take it, good mistress. So that as soon as she came home to her husband, she declared to him, that in her life she never heard a woman (of such simplicity to look on) talk so godly, so perfectly, so sincerely, and so earnestly; insomuch, that if God were not with her, she could not speak such things.

Also there came to her one William Kede, and John his brother, not only brethren in the flesh, but also in the truth, and men in that country of great credit, whose father, R. Kede, all his life suffered nothing but trouble for the gospel. These two good brethren were

\* To frighten, or scare away.



present with her, both in the hall, and at the prison, and (as they said) they never heard the like woman, of so godly talk, so faithful or so constant.

Thus this good matron was by many ways tried, by hard imprisonment, threatenings, taunts, and scorn, called an anabaptist, a mad woman, a drunkard, a runagate. She was proved by liberty to go whither she would; she was tried by flattery, with many fair promises; she was tried with her husband, her goods, and children; but nothing could prevail; her heart was fixed, she had cast anchor, utterly contemning this wicked world.

Although she was of such simplicity, and unskilled in the knowledge of this world, you could declare no place of scripture but she would tell you the chapter; yea, she would recite you the names of all the books of the Bible. For which cause one Gregory Basset, a rank papist, said she was out of her wits, and talked of the scriptures as a dog rangeth far off from his master when he walketh in the fields, or as a stolen sheep out of his master's hands, she knew not whereat, as all heretics do; with many other taunts, which she utterly defied.

At last, when they could, neither by imprisonment nor liberty, by menaces nor flattery, win her to their vanities and superstitious doings, then they cried out, an anabaptist, an anabaptist! Then in one day they brought her from the bishop's prison to the Guildhall, and after that delivered her to the temporal power, according to their custom, where she was by the gentlemen of the country exhorted yet to call for grace, "and go home to thy husband," said they, "thou art an unlearned woman, thou art not able to answer such high matters."

"I am not," said she; "yet with my death I am content to be a witness of Christ's death."

During the time that this good woman was thus under these priest's hands, she sustained many baitings and sore conflicts. But, in fine, (after many combats and scoffing persuasions,) when they had played the part of the cat with the mouse, they at length condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power.

Then the sentence being given, that she should go to the place from whence she came, and from thence to the place of execution, there to be burned with flames till she be consumed; she lifted up her voice and thanked God, saying, "I thank thee, my Lord, my God; this day have I found that which I have long sought." And yet this favour they pretended after her judgment, that her life should be spared, if she would turn and recant. "Nay, that I will not," said she; "God forbid that I should lose the life eternal for this carnal and short life."

Then was she delivered to the sheriff, innumerable people beholding her, and led by the officers to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Southernhay, where again these superstitious priests assaulted her; and she prayed them to have no more talk with her, but cried still, "God be merciful to me, a sinner." And so while they were tying her to the stake, thus still she cried, and would give no answer to them, but with much patience took her cruel death, and was with flames of fire consumed; and so ended this mortal life, as constant a woman in the faith of Christ, as ever was upon the earth.

*Martyrdom of John Corneford, Christopher Browne, John Herst, Alice Snoth, and Catherine Knight, (alias Tinley.)*

These five persons were the last who suffered in Queen Mary's reign for the testimony of that word for which so many had died before, and gave up their lives meekly and patiently, suffering the violent malice of the papists.

The matter why they were judged to the fire was, for believing the body not to be in the sacrament of the altar, unless it be received :

For confessing that an evil man doth not receive Christ's body :

That it is idolatry to creep to the cross, and that St. John forbideth it, saying, "Beware of images."

For confessing that we should not pray to saints, because they be not omnipotent.

For these and other similar articles of Christian doctrine, they were committed to the flames. Notwithstanding the sickness of Queen Mary, whereof they were not ignorant, the archdeacon and others of Canterbury, hastened to despatch the martyrdom of these persons, before her death, which was daily expected, should deprive them of the power.

In so doing this archdeacon proved himself more bigoted and blood-thirsty than even Bonner, who, notwithstanding he had some at the same time under his custody, yet did not hurry them to the stake, as appears by several persons, who being then in his prison, were delivered by the death of Queen Mary.

We have not any particulars relative to the examinations, &c. of the five persons above named, but the following anecdotes of two of them are given by the Martyrologist.

Catherine Tinley was the mother of one Robert Tinley, dwelling in Maidstone, which Robert was in trouble all Queen Mary's time. To whom, his mother coming to visit him, asked him how he took this place of scripture which she had seen, not by reading of the scripture, (for she had yet in manner no taste of religion.) but had found it by chance in a book of prayers, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants and upon the maids in those days will I pour my Spirit," &c. Which place after that he had expounded to her, she began to take hold on the gospel, growing more and more in zeal and love thereof, and so continued unto her martyrdom.

Among such women as were burned at Canterbury, it is recorded of a certain maid, and supposed to be this Alice Snoth mentioned in this story, or else to be Agnes Snoth, of whom an account is given in a preceding page, that when she was brought to be executed, she being at the stake called for her godfathers and godmothers. The justice hearing her, sent for them, but they durst not come. Notwithstanding the justices willed the messenger to go again, and to show them that they should incur no danger thereof.

Then they hearing that, came to know the matter of their sending for. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her, and so she immediately rehearsed her faith, and the

commandments of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promised in her behalf; and they said, No.

Then, said she, I die a Christian woman, bear witness of me; and she was consumed in fire, and gave up her life joyfully for the testimony of Christ's gospel, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and also to the stopping of the slanderous mouths of such as falsely do quarrel against the faithful martyrs, for going from that religion wherein by their godfathers and godmothers they were at first baptized.

*Condemnation of John Hunt and Richard White, who escaped the fire by the Death of Queen Mary.*

Several others were imprisoned in various places, whereof some were but lately taken and not examined, some were examined but not condemned, and others had been both examined and condemned, but the warrants for their execution not being signed, they escaped. Nay, of some the writ had been brought down for their burning, and yet by the death of the chancellor, the bishop, and of Queen Mary, happening about one time, they most happily and miraculously were preserved and lived many years after. Of these were John Hunt, and Richard White, imprisoned at Salisbury, of whom the history is given as follows:

“These two good men had been in prison at Salisbury, and other places thereabouts, more than two years; were often called to examination, and manifold ways impugned by the bishops and priests. As a specimen we shall give the examination of Richard White, before Dr. Capon, the bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Brookes, the bishop of Gloucester, with Dr. Geoffrey, the chancellor, and other priests, with whom first the bishop of Gloucester, who had the examination of him, began thus:

“On being interrogated for what cause he came hither, White answered that he desired to know the cause, and referred to the Register as to his examination at Marlborough. After some irrelevant matter, he was asked his opinion of the sacrament of the altar, when they stumbled upon the very definition of a sacrament, a word first framed by St. Augustine, and not to be found in the scripture; and White declared that Christ and his sacraments are alike, and that in both are two natures; in the one a divine and human nature, in the other, an external and internal; the external being the element of bread and wine, and the internal the invisible grace. He afterwards observed that Christ, as God, is in all places; but as man, only in one place. After some other questions equally appropriate, and answers not more satisfactory to his persecutors, he was ordered away to the Lollards' Tower. They were sent for to be condemned by the chancellor, who delivered them to the sheriff in order to execution.

“The sheriff, Sir Anthony Hungerford, being advised by his son-in-law, Mr. Clifford, of Boseo, (perhaps Boscomb,) in Wilts, deferred their execution until he received the writ *De Comburendo*; and was supported therein by Mr. Justice Brown, on which he left the town, and the chancellor rode after him, to know why he had not seen them executed.

“The sheriff hearing the chancellor's words, and seeing him so urgent upon him, told him again that he was no babe, which now was

to be taugt of him. If he had any writ to warrant and discharge him in burning those men, then he knew what he had to do; but if you have no other writ but that which you signed, I tell you, I will neither burn them for you, nor any of you all.

“Where note again, (good reader,) how by this it may be thought and supposed, that the other poor saints and martyrs of God, such as had been burned at Salisbury before, were burned belike without any authorized or sufficient writ from the superiors, but only from the information of the chancellor and of the close.

“Dr. Geoffrey, the chancellor, thus sent away from the sheriff, went home, and there fell sick upon the same.

“The under sheriff to this Sir Anthony Hungerford, above named, was one Mr. Michell, a godly man. So that not long after this came down the writ to burn the above named Richard White and John Hunt; but the under sheriff said, I will not be guilty of these men's blood: and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within four days after, the chancellor died; concerning whose death this cometh by the way to be noted, that these two aforesaid, John Hunt and Richard White, being at the same time in a low and dark dungeon, suddenly fell to such a weeping, (but how they could not tell,) that they could not pray one word; the first word they heard in the morning was, that the chancellor was dead, which happened the same hour when they fell into such a sudden weeping. Richard White and John Hunt, after the death of the chancellor, the bishop also being dead a little before, continued still in prison till the happy coming in of Queen Elizabeth; and so were set at liberty.”

#### *Death of Queen Mary.*

Happy are we to say, that the five persons mentioned above completed the number of human sacrifices in this island. They were the last who fell victims to gratify the malevolent heart of Bonner, and the bigoted zeal of the unfeeling and relentless Mary.

The queen's health had been long declining. She had, for some time, been afflicted with the dropsy, the consequence of a false conception, and of the improper regimen which she pursued. Her malady was greatly augmented by the anxiety of her mind, which was a prey to the most painful reflections. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects; the mortification of being childless; the fear of leaving her crown to a sister, whom she detested; the approaching ruin that threatened the catholic religion in England on her death; the indifference of her husband, (Philip of Spain,) who, never having loved her, had now ceased to treat her even with the outward show of affection, and had retired into his own country in disgust: all these painful circumstances preyed upon her mind, and at length threw her into a slow fever, of which she died on the 15th of November, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age, and the sixth of her reign.

When we consider the bigoted zeal of this infatuated princess, and the great number of valuable lives sacrificed through her arbitrary mandates, we are naturally led to condemn her, first, as a fellow-creature, and next, as a sovereign; but more particularly in the latter character, because, as Providence had placed her in so distinguished a rank, she should have held out the arm of protection to her subjects, instead of the sword of destruction. But the whole progress

of her reign does not furnish us with a single instance of merit in her, either as a woman or a sovereign. On the contrary, all her actions were of the most horrid and gloomy cast; and the barbarities she committed, during her reign, were such as to exceed description. With her the practice of religion became the trade of murder, and the care of her people the exercise of her cruelty; while all her views for their happiness, terminated in punishments for their virtues. Her bigotry infected every branch of government, and weakened every bond of society. She had not any thing engaging, either in her person, her behaviour, or her address; her understanding was confined within very narrow limits, and her temper was morose and gloomy; while obstinacy, bigotry, violence, malignity, revenge, and tyranny, directed all her actions.

The death of Queen Mary revived the drooping spirits of the long-oppressed protestants. They now anticipated the peaceful period, when they should no longer be persecuted for their religion; and when their virtues would not expose them to the rage of ignorance and bigotry.

Nor were they mistaken: Elizabeth was as strong an advocate for the protestant religion, as her predecessor had been inveterate against it. No sooner did she ascend the throne, than her attention was directed to the protection of the professors of the reformed religion; but she did this in so wise and prudent a manner, as to prevent any disturbance from the opposite party. By her distinguished management, in a short time, she fixed the protestant religion on so solid a basis, as to prevent its being again overthrown, and ever since her reign, though various attempts have been made to destroy it, they have all terminated in the defeat of the conspirators, and the ruin of their projects. That they may always so terminate, should be the fervent prayer of every one who prefers purity to corruption, and the decent worship of the reformed churches, to the frivolous ceremonies and pompous nothingness of the Popish worship.

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## SECTION XI.

“A TREATISE CONCERNING THOSE THAT WERE SCOURGED BY THE PAPISTS, FOR THE CAUSE OF THE GOSPEL, AND THOSE WHO, AFTER VARIOUS SUFFERINGS, ESCAPED.”

The following “Treatise” concerning those persons who, though not actually put to death, were yet persecuted and cruelly treated by the enemies of the gospel, is so interesting, and so worthy of preservation on many accounts, that we should consider our work very incomplete, and we doubt not our readers would be of the same opinion, were we to omit it; we therefore give it entire, and wish to direct particular attention to that part which relates to the marvellous preservation of many of those whom the agents of Antichrist had devoted to destruction; from this a consoling reflection may be drawn,—that, however desperate our condition may seem in the eyes of the world, there is One who can assist us; and, however we may be surrounded, “shot at, and sore grieved, by the archers,” He who smote

the army of Sennacherib, as it were with a whirlwind, will deliver us, in his good time, from the malice of our enemies, and become the tower of our refuge and the rock of our salvation.

After this bloody slaughter of God's saints and servants thus ended and discussed, let us now proceed (by God's assistance) to treat of such as for the same cause of religion have been, though not put to death, yet whipped and scourged by the enemies of God's word, first beginning with Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax, who, about the time of Anne Askew, were miserably rent and tormented with scourges and stripes, for their faithful standing to Christ and his truth, as by the story and examination of them both may appear.

*The scourging of Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax.*

After the first recantation of Dr. Crome, for his sermon which he made the fifth Sunday in Lent, at St. Thomas Acres, being the Mercers' Chapel, his sermon was on the Epistle of the same day, written in the tenth chapter to the Hebrews: wherein he very learnedly proved by the same place of scripture and others, that Christ was the only and sufficient sacrifice unto God the Father for the sins of the whole world, and that there was no more sacrifice to be offered for sin by the priests, forasmuch as Christ had offered his body on the cross, and shed his blood for the sins of the people, and that once for all. For which sermon he was apprehended by Bonner, and brought before Stephen Gardiner and others of the council, where he promised to recant his doctrine at St. Paul's Cross, the second Sunday after Easter. And accordingly he was there and preached, Bonner with all his doctors sitting before him; but he so preached and handled his matter, that he rather verified his former saying, than denied any part of that which he before had preached. For which the protestants praised God, and heartily rejoiced.

Bishop Bonner and his champions were not at all pleased therewith, but yet notwithstanding they took him home with them, and he was so handled among the wolfish generation, that they made him come to the Cross again the next Sunday.

And because the magistrates should now hear him, and be witness of this recantation, which was most blasphemous, to deny Christ's sacrifice to be sufficient for penitent sinners, and to say that the sacrifice of the mass was good, godly, and a holy sacrifice, propitiatory and available both for the quick and the dead: because (I say) that they would have the nobles to hear this blasphemous doctrine, the viperous generation procured all the chief of the council to be there present.

Now to come to our matter: at this time, the same week, between his first sermon and the last, and while Dr. Crome was in durance, one Richard Wilmot, being apprentice in Bow-lane, of the age of 19 years, and sitting at work in his master's shop, in the month of July, one Lewis, a Welchman, being one of the guard, came into the shop, having things to do for himself.

One asked him what news at the court, and he answered, that the old heretic, Dr. Crome, had recanted now indeed before the council, and that he should on Sunday next be at St. Paul's Cross again, and there declare it.

Then Wilmot sitting at his master's work and hearing him speak

these words, and rejoicing in the same, began to speak unto him, saying, that he was sorry to hear this news: for (said he) if Crome should say otherwise than he hath said, then is it contrary to the truth of God's word, and contrary to his own conscience, which shall before God accuse him.

Lewis answered and said, that he had preached and taught heresy; and therefore it was meet that he should in such a place revoke it.

Wilmot told him that he would not so say, neither did he hear him preach any doctrine contrary to God's written word, but that he proved his doctrine, and that sufficiently, by the scriptures.

Lewis then asked him, how he knew that?

Wilmot answered, by the scripture of God, wherein he shall find God's will and pleasure, what he willeth all men to do, and what not to do; and also by them he shall prove and try all doctrines, and the false doctrine from the true.

Lewis said, it was never well since the Bible was translated into English; and that he was both a heretic and a traitor that caused it to be translated into English, (meaning Cromwell,) and therefore was rewarded according to his deserts.

Wilmot answered again, What his deserts and offences were to his prince a great many do not know, neither is it of any force whether they do or no; since he was sure he lost his life for offending his prince, and the law did put it in execution; adding, moreover, concerning that man, that he thought it pleased God to raise him from a low estate, and to place him in high authority, partly unto this, that he should do that which all the bishops in the realm yet never did, in restoring again God's holy word, which being hid long before from the people in a strange tongue, and now coming abroad among us, will bring our bishops and priests, said he, in less estimation among the people.

Lewis asked, Why so?

Wilmot said, Because their doctrine and living is not agreeable to his word.

Then said Lewis, I never heard but that all men should learn of the bishops and priests, because they are learned men, and have been brought up in learning all the days of their lives. Wherefore they must needs know the truth, and our fathers did believe their doctrine and learning, and I think they did well, for the world was far better then than it is now.

Wilmot answered, I will not say so: for we must not believe them because they are bishops, neither because they are learned, neither because our forefathers did follow their doctrine. For I have read in God's book, how that bishops and learned men have taught the people false doctrine, and likewise the priests from time to time, and indeed those people our forefathers believed as they taught, and as they thought, so thought the people. But for all this Christ calleth them false prophets, thieves, and murderers, blind leaders of the blind, willing the people to take heed of them, lest they should both fall into the ditch.

Moreover we read, that the bishops, priests, and learned men have been commonly resisters of the truth from time to time, and have always persecuted the prophets in the old law, as their successors did persecute our Saviour Christ and his disciples in the new law. We

must take heed, therefore, that we credit them no farther than God will have us, neither follow them nor our forefathers otherwise than he commandeth us. For Almighty God hath given to all people, as well to kings and princes, as bishops, priests, learned and unlearned men, a commandment and law, unto which he willeth all men to be obedient. Therefore if any bishop or priest preach or teach, or prince or magistrate command any thing contrary to his commandment, we must take heed how we obey them. For it is better for us to obey God than man.

Marry, sir, quoth Lewis, you are a holy doctor indeed. By God's blood, if you were my man, I would set you about your business a little better, and not suffer you to look upon books, and so would your master, if he were wise. And with that in came his master, and a young man with him, who was a servant to Mr. Daubney, in Watling-street.

His master asked him what was the matter ?

Lewis said, that he had a knavish boy here to his servant, and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him than keep him in his house.

Then his master, being somewhat moved, asked his fellows what the matter was ?

They said, they began to talk about Dr. Crome.

Then his master asked what he had said, swearing a great oath, that he would make him tell him.

He said, that he trusted he had said nothing, wherewith either he or Mr. Lewis might justly be offended. I pray, (quoth Wilmot,) ask him what I said.

Marry, (said Lewis,) this he said, That Dr. Crome did preach and teach nothing but the truth, and how that if he recanted on Sunday next, he should be sorry to hear it, and that if he do, he is made to do it against his conscience. And more he saith, that we must not follow our bishops' doctrine and preaching: for, saith he, they be hinderers of God's word, and persecutors of that: and how Cromwell (that traitor) did more good in setting forth the Bible, than all our bishops have done these hundred years: thus reporting the matter worse than it really was.

His master hearing this, was in a great fury, and rated him, saying, that either he would be hanged or burned, swearing that he would take away all his books and burn them.

The young man (Mr. Daubney's servant) standing by, hearing this, began to speak on his part unto Lewis, and his talk confirmed all the sayings of the other to be true.

This young man was learned, his name was Thomas Fairfax. Lewis, hearing this man's talk as well as the other's, went his way in a rage to the court.

On the next morning they heard that the said Wilmot and Fairfax were sent for to come to the lord mayor. The messenger was Mr. Smart, the sword-bearer of London. They came before dinner to the mayor's house, and were commanded to sit down and take dinner in the hall; and when dinner was done, they were both called into the parlour, where the mayor and Sir Roger Cholmley was, who examined them severally, the one not hearing the other.

The effect of their discourse was this: Sir Roger Cholmley said to



Wilmot, that my lord mayor and he had received a commandment from the council, to send for him and his company, and to examine them of certain things which were laid to their charge.

Then said Cholmley to him, Sirrah, what countryman art thou? He answered, that he was born in Cambridgeshire, and in such a town. Then he asked him how long he had known Dr. Crome. He said, about two years. Then he called him a lying boy, and said that he (the said Wilmot) was his son.

The other said unto him, that was unlike, for that he never saw his mother, nor she him. Cholmley said he lied. Wilmot said he could prove it to be true. Then he asked him how he liked his sermon that he made at St. Thomas Acres chapel, in Lent. He said that indeed he heard him not. He said yes, and the other nay. Then said he, What say you to this sermon made at the Cross, the last day, heard you not that?

*Wilmot.* Yes; and in that sermon he deceived a great number of people.

*Cholmley.* How so?

*Wilmot.* For that they looked that he should have recanted his doctrine that he taught before, and did not, but rather confirmed it.

*Cholmley.* Yea, sir, but how say you now to him? For he hath recanted before the council; and hath promised on Sunday next to be at the Cross again: how think you of that.

*Wilmot.* If he so did, I am the more sorry to hear it; and said, he thought he did it for fear and safeguard of his life.

*Cholmley.* But what say you? Was his first sermon heresy or not?

*Wilmot.* No, I suppose it was no heresy. For if it were, St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews was heresy, and Paul a heretic that preached such doctrine; but God forbid that any Christian man should so think of the holy apostle; neither do I so think.

*Cholmley.* Why how knowest thou that St. Paul wrote those things that are in English now, to be true, whereas Paul never wrote English or Latin?

*Wilmot.* I am certified that learned men of God, that did seek to advance his word, did translate the same out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and English, and that they durst not presume to alter the sense of the scripture of God, and last will and testament of Christ Jesus.

Then the lord mayor, being in a great fury, asked him what he had to do to read such books, and said, that it was a pity that his master did suffer him so to do, and that he was not set better to work; and in fine said unto him, that he had spoken evil of my lord of Winchester and Bishop Bonner, those reverend and learned fathers and counsellors of this realm, for which his act he saw no other but he must suffer, as was due to the same. And Sir R. Cholmley said, Yea, my lord, there is such a sort of heretics and traitorous knaves taken now in Essex, by my Lord Rich, that it is too wonderful to hear. They shall be sent to the bishop shortly, and shall be hanged and burned all.

*Wilmot.* I am sorry to hear that of my Lord Rich, for that he was my godfather, and gave me my name at my baptism.

Cholmley asked him when he spake with him. He said, not these twelve years.

*Cholmley.* If he knew that you were such a one, he would do the like by you, and in so doing he should do God great service.

*Wilmot.* I have read the same saying in the gospel, that Christ said to his disciples, "The time shall come," saith he, "that whosoever killeth you, shall think that he shall do God good service."

Well, sir, said Cholmley, because you are so full of your scripture, and so well learned, we consider you lack a quiet place to study in. Therefore you shall go to a place where you shall be most quiet, and I would wish you to study how you will answer to the council, of those things which they have to charge you with, for else it is like to cost you your best joint. I know my lord of Winchester will handle you well enough, when he heareth thus much. Then was the officer called in to have him to the Compter, in the Poultry, and the other to the other Compter, not one of them to see another; and thus they remained eight days. In which time their masters made great suit to the lord mayor, and to Sir Roger Cholmley, to know their offences, and that they might be delivered.

At length they procured the wardens of the company of Drapers to labour with them in their suit to the mayor. The mayor went with them to the council: but at that time they could find no grace at Winchester's hand, and Sir Antony Browne's, but that they had deserved death, and that they should have the law.

At length, through much entreaty he granted them this favour, that they should not die as they had deserved, but should be tied to a cart's tail, and be whipped three market days through the city. Thus they came home that day, and went another day, and the master and wardens of the company petitioned on their knees to have this open punishment released, forasmuch as they were servants of so worshipful a company, and that they might be punished in their own hall, before the wardens, and certain of the company, which at length was granted.

The next day they appeared before the masters in the hall, their own masters being present, where they were charged with heresy and treason, for which, they were told, they deserved death, and this was declared, with a long process, by Mr. Brookes, the master of the company, declaring what labour and suit the mayor and wardens had made for them, to save them from death, which they (as he said) had deserved, and from open shame, which they should have had, being judged by the council to have been whipped three days through the city, at a cart's tail, and from these two dangers they had laboured to deliver them, but not without great trouble and charge. For (said he) the company hath promised to the council for this their mercy towards them, a hundred pounds; notwithstanding, we must see them punished in our hall, within ourselves, for those their offences. After these, and many other words, he commanded them to prepare themselves to receive their punishment.

Then they were put asunder, and stripped from the waist upward, one after another, and were had in the midst of the hall, where they were wont to make their fire; there was a great ring of iron, to which there was a rope tied fast, and one of their feet tied fast to that.

Then came down two men, with vizors on their faces, and they beat

them with great rods, till the blood flowed out of their bodies. As for Wilmot, he could not lie in his bed for six nights after, for Brookes played the tyrant with them; so that, with the pain and fear, they were never in health afterwards, as the said Wilmot with his mouth hath credibly informed us, and we can do no less than testify the same.

Thus have we briefly declared this little tragedy, wherein we may note the malice of the enemies at all times to those who profess Christ, and take his part, of what estate or degree soever they be, according to the apostle's saying, "It is given unto you not only to believe but also to suffer with him." To whom be honour and glory, Amen.

*The Scourging of Thomas Green, Printer, written by his own hand.*

In the reign of Queen Mary, I, Thomas Green, being brought before Dr. Story, by my master, whose name is John Wayland, a printer, for a book called Antichrist, which had been distributed to certain honest men; he asked me where I had the book, and said I was a traitor. I told him I had the book of a Frenchman. Then he asked me more questions, but I told him I could tell him no more. Then he said it was no heresy, but treason, and that I should be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and so he called for Cluny, the keeper of the Lollards' Tower, and bid him set me fast in the stocks; and he took me out, and carried me to the Coal-house, and there I found a Frenchman lying in the stocks, and he took him out, and put a bolt and a fetter on my right leg, and another on my left hand, and so he set me cross-fettered in the stocks, and took the Frenchman away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after, he came and said, Let me shift your hand and your leg, because you shall not be lame; and he made as though he pitied me, and said, Tell me the truth, and I will be your friend.

And I said, I had told the truth, and could tell no otherwise. Then he put only my leg in the stocks, and so went his way, and there I remained six days, and would come to no answer.

Then Dr. Story sent for me, and asked me whether I would tell him the truth, where I had the book. I said I had told him, of a Frenchman. He asked me where I came acquainted with the Frenchman, where he dwelt, and where he delivered me the book. I said, I came acquainted with him in Newgate, I coming to my friends, who were put in for God's word and truth's sake, and the Frenchman coming to his friends also, there we talked together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eat and drink together there, with our friends, in the fear of God.

Then Story scoffed at me, and said, Then there was brother in Christ, and brother in Christ; and reviled me, and called me a heretic, and asked me if I had the book of him in Newgate. I said, No; and I told him, as I went on my business in the street, I met him, and he asked me how I did, and I him also; so falling into discourse, he showed me that book, and I desired him that he would let me have it.

In this examination Story said, it was a great book, and asked me whether I bought it, or had it given me. I told him I bought it. Then he said, I was a thief, and had stolen my master's money. And I said,

a little money served, for I gave him but four pence, but I promised him that at our next meeting I would give him twelve pence more. And he said, that was boldly done, for such a book as spake both treason and heresy.

Then Story required me to bring him two sureties and watch for him that I had the book of, and I should have no harm. I made him answer, I would bring no sureties, nor could I tell where to find them. Then said he, This is but a lie; and so called for Cluny, and bid him lay me fast in the coal-house, saying, he would make me tell another tale at my next coming; and so I lay in the stocks, day and night, but only when I eat my meat, and there remained ten days before I was called for again.

Then Dr. Story sent for me again, and asked if I would yet tell him the truth; I said, I neither could nor would tell him any other truth than I had done already. And while I was there standing, there were two brought, which I took to be prisoners.

Then Mrs. Story fell in a rage, and swore a great oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of these heretic knaves in a house, and I myself (said she) would set it on fire! So I was committed to prison again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no answer.

Then Story sent for me again, and called me into the garden, where I found with him my lord of Windsor's chaplain, and two gentlemen more, and he told them all what they had said and done. They said, the book was a wondrous evil book, and had both treason and heresy in it. They then asked me what I said of the book. And I said, I knew no evil by it.

At which words Story chafed, and said he would hang me up by the hand with a rope; and said also, he would cut out my tongue, and mine ears also from my head. After this they alleged two or three things unto me out of the book. And I answered, I had not read the book throughout, and therefore could give no judgment of it.

Then my lord of Windsor's chaplain, and the other two gentlemen, took me aside and entreated me very gently, saying, Tell us where you had the book, and of whom, and we will save you harmless. I made them answer, that I had told all I could to Dr. Story, and began to tell it them again: but they said, they knew that already; so they left that talk, and went again with me to Story.

Then Story burdened me with my faith, and said I was a heretic. Whereupon the chaplain asked me how I did believe? Then I began to rehearse the articles of my belief, but he bid me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Christ? I made him answer, that I believed in Christ, who died, and rose again the third day, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father.

Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, What is the right hand of God? I made him answer, I thought it was his glory. Then said he, So they say all. And he asked me when he would be weary of sitting there! Then interfered my lord of Windsor's chaplain, asking me what I said to the mass. I said, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I understood it not, because I never learned any Latin, and since the time I had any knowledge, I had been brought up in nothing but in reading of English, and with such men

as have taught the same ; with many more questions which I cannot rehearse.

Moreover, he asked me if there were not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, in the mass, after the priest had consecrated it. And I made him answer, As for the mass, I cannot understand it ; but in the New Testament I read, that as the apostles stood looking after the Lord when he ascended up into heaven, an angel said to them, “ Even as ye see him ascend up, so shall he come again.” And I told them another sentence, where Christ saith, “ The poor shall you have always with you, but me ye shall not have always.”

Then Mr. Chaplain put many more questions to me, to which I made no answer. Among others, he brought Chrysostom and St. Hierome, for his purpose. To whom I answered, that I neither minded nor was able to answer their doctors, neither knew whether they alleged them right, or no, but to that which is written in the New Testament I would answer. Here they laughed me to scorn, and called me fool, and said, they would reason no more with me.

Then Dr. Story called for Cluny, and bid him take me away, and set me fast, and let no man speak with me. So I was sent to the coal-house ; where I had not been a week, but there came in fourteen prisoners : but I was kept still alone without company, in a prison called Salt-house, having upon my leg a bolt and a fetter, and my hands manacled together with irons, and there continued ten days, having nothing to lie on, but bare stones or a board.

On a time, whilst I lay there in prison, the bishop of London coming down a pair of stairs on the backside undrest, in hose and doublet, looked through the grate, and asked wherefore I was put in, and who put me in ?

I made him answer, that I was put in for a book called Antichrist, by Dr. Story. And he said, You are not ashamed to declare wherefore you were put in ! and said it was a very wicked book, and bid me confess the truth to Story. I said, I had told the truth to him already, and desired him to be good unto me, and help me out of prison, for they had kept me there a long time. And he said, he could not meddle with it ; Story had begun, and he must end it.

Then I was removed out of the salt-house to give place to two women, and carried to the Lollards' Tower, and put in the stocks ; and there I found two prisoners, one called Lion, a Frenchman, and another with him : and so I was kept in the stocks more than a month, both day and night, and no man suffered to come to me, or to speak with me, but only my keeper.

Thus we three being together, Lion, the Frenchman, sung a psalm in the French tongue, and we sung with him, so that we were heard down in the street, and the keeper coming up in a great rage, swore that he would put all in the stocks, and so took the Frenchman, and commanded him to kneel down upon his knees, and put both his hands in the stocks, where he remained all that night till the next day.

After this, I being in Lollards' Tower seven days, since my last being with Story, he swore a great oath that he would rack me, and make me tell the truth. Then Story sending for me, commanded me to be brought to Walbrook, where he and the commissioners dined, and by the way the keeper told me that I should go to the Tower to be racked. So when they had dined, Story called for me in, and so there

I stood before them, and some said I was worthy to be hanged for having such heretical books. After I had staid a little while before them, Story called for the keeper, and commanded him to carry me to the Lollards' Tower again, and said he had other matters of the queen's to do with the commissioners, but he would find another time for me. Whilst I lay yet in the Lollards' Tower, the woman which brought me the books over, was taken, and her books were put in the Clink, in Southwark, by Hussey, one of the arches; and I, Thomas Green, do testify before God, now, that I neither discovered the man nor the woman of whom I had the books.

“Then I, lying in the Lollards' Tower, being sent for before Mr. Hussey, he required of me, wherefore I was put into the Lollards' Tower, and by whom. To whom I answered, that I was put there by Dr. Story, for a book called Antichrist. Then he made as though he would be my friend, and said he knew my friends, and my father and mother, and bid me tell him of whom I had the book, and said, Come on, tell me the truth. I told him as I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he was angry, and said, I love thee well, and therefore I send for thee, and looked for a farther truth; but I could tell him no other; whereupon he sent me again to the Lollards' Tower. At my going away, he called me back again, and said, that Dixon gave me the books, being an old man, dwelling in Birch-in-lane; and I said, he knew the matter better than I. So he sent me away to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained seven days and more.

Then Mr. Hussey sent for me again, and required of me to tell him the truth. I told him I could tell him no other truth than I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he began to tell me of Dixon, of whom, he said, I had the books, who had made the matter manifest before; and he told me of all things touching Dixon and the books, more than I could myself, in-somuch that he told me how many I had, and that he had a sack full of them in his house, and knew where the woman lay better than myself. Then I saw the matter so open and manifest before my face, that it signified nothing for me to stand in it. He asked me what I had done with the books, and I told him I had but one, and that Dr. Story had. He said I lied, for I had three at one time, and he required me to tell him of one.

Then I told him of one that John Beane had of me, being apprentice with Mr. Tottle. So he promised me before and after, and as he should be saved before God, that he should have no harm. And I kneeling down upon my knees, desired him to take my blood, and not to hurt the young man. Then he said, Because you have been so stubborn, the matter being made manifest by others and not by you, being so long in prison, tell me if you will stand to my judgment. I said, Yea, take my blood, and hurt not the young man.

Then he told me, I should be whipped like a thief and a vagabond; and so I thanked him, and went my way with the keeper to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained two or three days, and so was brought by the keeper, Chny, by the commandment of the commissioners, to Christ's Hospital, some time the Gray-Friars, and accordingly had there for that time the correction of thieves and vagabonds; and so was delivered to Trinian, the porter, and put into a stinking dungeon.

After a few days, I finding friendship, was let out of the dungeon,

and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yard by the dungeon in the day-time, and so remained prisoner a month and more.

At length Dr. Story came, and two gentlemen with him, and called for me, and I was brought before them. Then he said to the gentlemen, Here cometh this heretic, of whom I had the book called Antichrist: and began to tell them how many times I had been before him, and said, I have entreated him very gently, and he would never tell me the truth, till he was found out by others. Then, said he, It were a good deed to cut out thy tongue, and thy ears off thy head, to make thee an example to all other heretic knaves. And the gentlemen said, Nay, that were pity. Then he asked, if I would not become an honest man: and I said, Yes, for I have offended God many ways. Whereupon he burdened me with my faith: I told him that I had made him answer of my faith before my Lord Windsor's chaplain as much as I could.

So in the end he commanded me to be stripped, he standing by me, and called for two of the bealdes and the whips to whip me; and the two bealdes came with a cord, and bound my hands together, and the one end of the cord to a stone pillar. Then one of my friends, called Nicholas Priestman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundle of rods, which seemed something to pacify the mind of his cruelty; and they scourged me with rods. But as they were whipping of me, Story asked me if I would go unto my master again, and I said nay. And he said, I perceive now he will be worse than ever he was before; but let me alone, (quoth he,) I will find him out if he be in England. And so with many other things, which I cannot rehearse, when they had done whipping of me, they bid me pay my fees, and go my ways.

Dr. Story commanded that I should have a hundred stripes, but the gentlemen so entreated, that I had not so many, Story saying, If I might have my will, I would surely cut out his tongue.

*Catherine, Dutchess of Suffolk.*

Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, surmising the Lady Catherine, baroness of Willoughby and Eresby, and dutchess dowager of Suffolk, to be one of his ancient enemies, because he knew he had deserved no better of her, devised in the holy time of the first Lent in Queen Mary's reign, a *holy* practice of revenge, first, by touching her in the person of her husband, Richard Berty, Esquire, for whom he sent an attachment (having the great seal at his devotion,) to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, with a special letter, commanding most strictly the same sheriff to attach the said Richard immediately, and without bail to bring him up to London to his lordship. Mr. Berty being clear in conscience, and free from offence towards the queen, could not conjecture any cause of this strange process, unless it were some quarrel for religion, which he thought could not be so sore as the process pretended.

The sheriff, notwithstanding the commandment, adventured only to take a bond of Mr. Berty, with two surties, in a thousand pounds, for his appearance before the bishop on Good-Friday following; at which day Mr. Berty appeared, the bishop then being at his house by St. Mary Overy's. Of whose pretence, when the bishop understood by a gentleman of his chamber, he came out of his gallery into his dining-

chamber in a great rage, where he found a crowd of suitors, saying, he would not that day hear any, but came forth only to know of Mr. Berty, how he, being a subject, durst so arrogantly set at light two former processes of the queen.

Mr. Berty answered, that notwithstanding my lord's words might seem to the rest somewhat sharp towards him, yet he conceived great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremely hard to be attached, having used no obstinacy or contumacy, now he gathered of those words, that my lord meant not otherwise but to have used some ordinary process: none, however, came to his hands.

Yea, marry, said the bishop, I have sent you two subpoenas to appear immediately, and I am sure you received them, for I committed the trust of them to no worse a man than Mr. Solicitor; and I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire for your obstinacy.

Mr. Berty denying the receipt of any subpoena, humbly prayed his lordship to suspend his displeasure and the punishment till he had good trial thereof, and then, if it please him, to double the pain for the fault, if any were.

Well, said the bishop, I have appointed myself this day (according to the holiness of the same) for devotion, and I will not farther trouble myself with you; but I enjoin you in a thousand pounds not to depart without leave, and to be here again to-morrow at seven of the clock. Mr. Berty came at the time appointed, at which time the bishop had with him Mr. Sergeant Stampford, to whom he moved certain questions of the said Mr. Berty, because Mr. Sergeant was towards the Lord Wriothsley, late earl of Southampton, and chancellor of England, with whom the said Mr. Berty was brought up. Mr. Sergeant gave a very friendly account of Mr. Berty, of his own knowledge, for the time of their conversation together. Whereupon the bishop caused Mr. Berty to be brought in, and first making a false train, (as God would, without fire,) before he would descend to the quarrel of religion, he assaulted him in this manner.

*Bishop of Winchester.* The queen's pleasure is, that you shall make present payment of 4000 pounds, due to her father by duke Charles, late husband to the duchess, your wife, whose executor she was.

*Berty.* Pleaseth it your lordship, that debt is installed, and is, according to that instalment, truly answered.

*Bishop.* Tush, the queen will not be bound by instalments, in the time of Kett's government: for so I esteem the late government.

*Berty.* The instalment was appointed by King Henry the Eighth: besides, the same was, by special commissioners, confirmed in King Edward's time; and the lord treasurer being an executor also to the Duke Charles, solely and wholly, took upon him, before the said commissioners, to discharge the same.

*Bishop.* If it be true that you say, I will show you favour. But of another thing, Mr. Berty, I will admonish you, as meaning you well. I hear evil of your religion, yet I can hardly think evil of you, whose mother I know to be as godly a catholic as any within this land; yourself brought up with a master, whose education, if I should disallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Besides, partly I know you myself, and understand of my friends enough to make me your friend; wherefore I will not doubt of you; but I pray you, if I



may ask the question of my lady, your wife, is she now as ready to set up the mass as she was lately to pull it down, when she caused, in her progress, a dog to be carried in a rochet, and called by my name? or doth she think her lambs now safe enough, who said to me, when I veiled my bonnet to her, out of my chamber window in the Tower, that it was merry with the lambs now the wolf was shut up? Another time, my lord, her husband, having invited me and divers ladies to dinner, desired every lady to choose him whom she loved best, and so place themselves: my lady, your wife, taking me by the hand, for my lord would not have her to take himself, said, That, forasmuch as she could not sit down with my lord, whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom she loved worst.

Of the device of the dog, quoth Mr. Berty, she was neither the author nor the allower. The words, though in that season they sounded bitter to your lordship, yet if it would please you, without offence, to know the cause, I am sure the one will clear the other. As touching setting up of mass which she learned, not only by strong persuasions of divers excellent learned men, but by universal consent and order, these six years past, inwardly to abhor, if she should outwardly allow, she should both to Christ show herself a false Christian, and to her prince a masking subject. You know my lord, one by judgment reformed, is more worth than a thousand transformed temporizers. To force a confession of religion by mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh damnation where salvation is pretended.

Yea, marry, quoth the bishop, that deliberation would do well, if she were required to come from an old religion to a new; but now she is to return from a new to an ancient religion; wherein, when she made me her gossip, she was as earnest as any.

For that, my lord, (said Mr. Berty) not long since she answered a friend of hers, using your lordship's speech, "That religion went not by age, but by truth: and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion, and not by commandment."

I pray you, (quoth the bishop,) think you it possible to persuade her?

Yea, verily, (said Mr. Berty,) with the truth: for she is reasonable enough.

The bishop, in reply to this, said, It will be a marvellous grief to the prince of Spain, and to all the nobility that shall come with him, when they shall find but two noble personages of the Spanish race within this land, the queen and my lady, your wife, and one of them gone from the faith.

Mr. Berty answered, that he trusted that they should find no fruits of intideliety in her.

The bishop then persuaded Mr. Berty to labour earnestly for the reformation of her opinion, and offering large friendship, released him of his bond from farther appearance.

The dutchess and her husband, from the daily accounts which they received from their friends, understanding that the bishop meant to call her to an account for her faith, whereby extremity might follow, devised how they might pass the seas by the queen's license. Mr. Berty had a ready means: for there remained great sums of money due to the old duke of Suffolk (one of whose executors the dutchess was) beyond the seas, the emperor himself being one of those debtors.

Mr. Berty communicated this his purposed suit for license to pass the seas, and the cause, to the bishop, adding, that he took this to be the most proper time to deal with the emperor, by reason of likelihood of marriage between the queen and his son.

I like your device well, said the bishop, but I think it better that you tarry the prince's coming, and I will procure you his letters also to his father.

Nay, said Mr. Berty, under your lordship's correction, and pardon for so liberal speech, I suppose the time will then be less convenient; for when the marriage is consummated, the emperor hath his desire, but till then he will refuse nothing to win credit with us.

By St. Mary, said the bishop, smiling, you guess shrewdly. Well, proceed in your suit to the queen, and it shall not lack my helping hand.

Mr. Berty found so good success, that he obtained the queen's licence, not only to pass the seas, but to pass and repass them as often as he should think proper, till he had finished his business beyond the seas. He accordingly embarked at Dover, about the beginning of June, in the first year of her reign, leaving the dutchess behind, who, by agreement with her husband, followed, taking barge at Lion-key, very early in the morning of the first of January ensuing, not without some danger.

None of the persons who accompanied her, except Mr. Robert Cranwell, an old gentleman whom Mr. Berty had provided for that purpose, were made privy to her departure till the instant. She took her daughter with her, an infant of one year old, and the meanest of her servants, for she imagined the best would not adventure that fortune with her. They were in number four men, one a Greek born, who was a rider of horses, another a joiner, the third a brewer, the fourth a fool,\* a kitchen maid, a gentlewoman, and a laundress.

As she departed her house called the Barbican, between four and five o'clock in the morning, with her company and baggage, one Atkinson, a herald, keeper of her house, hearing a noise, rose and came out with a torch in his hand, as she was going out of the gate; wherewith being amazed, she was forced to leave a mail† with necessaries for her young daughter, and a milk pot with milk, in the same gate-house, commanding all her servants to hasten forward to Lion-key; and taking with her only the two women and her child, as soon as she was clear of her own house, perceiving the herald to follow, she stepped into the Charter-house just by. The herald coming out of the dutchess's house, and seeing nobody stirring, nor assured (though by the mail suspecting) that she was departed, returned in; and while he was searching the parcels left in the mail, the dutchess issued into the streets, and proceeded on her journey, she knowing the place only by name where she should take her boat, but not the way thither, nor any that was with her. Likewise her servants being divided themselves, none but one knew the way to the said Lion-key.

So she appeared like a mean merchant's wife, and the rest like mean servants, walking in the streets unknown, she took the way that leads to Finsbury field, and the others walked the city streets as they

\* A fool, by profession, was, in the sixteenth century, an almost indispensable part of the retinue of the nobility of this, and other countries.

† A trunk, or portmanteau.

lay open before them, till by chance, more than discretion, they met all suddenly together a little within Moregate, from whence they passed directly to Lion-key, and there took barge in a morning so misty, that the steer's-man was loth to launch out, but that they urged him. So soon as the day permitted, the council was informed of her departure, and some of them came forthwith to her house to inquire of the manner thereof, and took an inventory of their goods, besides farther order devised for search, and watch to apprehend and stay her.

The fame of her departure reached Leigh, a town at the Land's End, before her approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Gosling, a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwell's, whither the said Cranwell brought the dutchess, naming her Mrs. White, the daughter of Mr. Gosling, for such a daughter he had who never was in that country. She there reposed herself, and made new garments for her daughter, having lost her own in the mail at Barbican.

When the time came that she should take ship, being constrained that night to lie at an inn in Leigh, (where she was again almost betrayed,) yet notwithstanding by God's good working she escaped that hazard; at length, as the tide and wind served, they went aboard, and carried twice into the seas, almost into the coast of Zealand, by contrary wind were driven to the place from whence they came; and at the last recoil certain persons came to the shore, suspecting she was within that ship; yet having examined one of her company that was on shore for fresh provision, and finding, by the simplicity of his tale, only the appearance of a mean merchant's wife to be on ship-board, he ceased to search any farther.

To be short, so soon as the dutchess had landed in Brabant, she and her women were apparelled like the women of the Netherlands with hoods; and so she and her husband took their journey towards Cleveland, and being arrived at a town called Santon, took a house there, until they might devise of some sure place where to settle themselves.

About five miles from Santon, is a free town called Wesell, under the said Duke of Cleves' dominion, and of the Hanse-towns, privileged with the company of the Steel-yard, in London, whither divers Walloons were fled for religion, and had for their minister one Francis Perusell, then called Francis de Rivers, who had received some courtesy in England at the dutchess's hands. Mr. Berty being yet at Santon, practised with him to obtain a protection from the magistrates for his and his wife's abode at Wesell; which was the sooner procured, because the state of the dutchess was not discovered, but only to the chief magistrate, earnestly bent to show them pleasure, while this protection was in seeking.

In the mean while, at the town of Santon was a rumour, that the dutchess and her husband were greater personages than they gave themselves forth; and the magistrates not very well inclined to religion, the bishop of Arras also being dean of the great minster, orders were taken that the dutchess and her husband should be examined of their condition and religion. Which being discovered by a gentleman of that country to Mr. Berty, he without delay taking no more than the dutchess, her daughter, and two others with them, meant privily that night to get to Wesell, leaving the rest of his family at Santon.

After they had travelled one English mile from the town, there fell a mighty rain of continuance, whereby a long frost and ice, before congealed, was thawed. But being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they sent their two servants (who only went with them) to a village as they passed, to hire a car for their ease, but none could be hired. At last, between six and seven o'clock of a dark night, they came to Wesell, and repairing to the inns for lodging, after such a painful journey, found hard entertainment; for going from inn to inn, offering large sums for a small lodging, they were refused by all the inn-holders, who suspected them to be persons of bad character.

Mr. Berty, destitute of all other succour of hospitality, resolved to bring the dutchess to the porch of the great church in the town, and so to buy coals, victuals, and straw for their miserable repose there that night, or at least till by God's help he might provide her better lodging. Mr. Berty at that time understood not much Dutch, and by reason of bad weather and late season of the night, he could not happen upon any that could speak English, French, Italian, or Latin. Till at last going towards the church-porch, he heard two striplings talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two stivers to bring him to some Walloon's house.

By these boys, and God's good conduct, he chanced upon the house where Mr. Perusell snpped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magistrates of that town. At the first knock the good man of the house himself came to the door, and opening it, asked Mr. Berty what he was. Mr. Berty said, an Englishman, that sought for one Mr. Perusell's house. The Walloon desired Mr. Berty to stay a while, who went back, and told Mr. Perusell, that the same English gentleman, of whom they had talked at supper time, had sent by likelihood his servant to speak with him. Whereupon Perusell came to the door, and beholding Mr. Berty, the dutchess, and their child, could not speak to them, nor they to him, for tears. At length recovering themselves, they saluted one another.

Within a few days after, by Mr. Perusell's means, they hired a very fair house in the town. The time thus passing forth, as they thought themselves thus happily settled, suddenly a watch-word came from Sir John Mason, then Queen Mary's ambassador in the Netherlands, that my Lord Paget had feigned an errand to the baths that way: and whereas the duke of Brunswick was shortly with ten ensigns to pass by Wesell for the service of the house of Austria against the French king, the said dutchess and her husband should be with the same company intercepted.

Wherefore to prevent the cruelty of these enemies, Mr. Berty with his wife and child departed to a place called Winheim, under the Palsgrave's dominion; where they continued till their necessaries began to fail them. At which time, in the midst of their despair, there came suddenly to them letters from the Palatine of Silva, that the king of Poland was informed of their hard estate by a baron, named Joannes Alasco, that was sometime in England, offering them great courtesy. This greatly revived their spirits. Yet considering they should remove from many of their countrymen and acquaintance, to a place so far distant, they advised thereupon with one Mr. Carloe, late bishop of Chichester, that if he would vouchsafe to take some pains therein, they would make him a fellow of that journey. So

finding him agreeable, they sent with him letters of great thanks to the king and palatine, and also a few principal jewels, (which only they had left of many,) to solicit for them, that the king would vouchsafe under his seal, to assure them of the thing which he so honourably by letters had offered.

That favour, by the forwardness of the Palatine, was as soon granted as uttered. Upon which assurance the said dutchess and her husband, with their family, began their journey, in April, 1557, from the castle of Winheim, where they before lay, towards Frankfort. In which their journey, it were too long here to describe what dangers fell by the way, upon them and their whole company by reason of the Landgrave's captain, who, under a quarrel, pretended for a spaniel of Mr. Berty's, set upon them in the highway with his horsemen, thrusting their boar-spears through the wagon where the women and children were, Mr. Berty having but four horsemen along with him. In which scuffle it happened that the captain's horse was slain under him.

Whereupon a rumour was spread immediately through the towns and villages about, that the Landgrave's captain should be slain by certain Walloons, which exasperated the countrymen the more fiercely against Mr. Berty, as afterward it proved. For as he was motioned by his wife to save himself by the swiftness of his horse, and to recover some town thereby for his rescue, he so doing, was in worse ease than before: for the townsmen and the captain's brother, supposing no less but that the captain had been slain, pressed so eagerly upon him, that he had been there taken and murdered among them, had not he, (as God would have it) espied a ladder leaning to a window, by which he got into the house, and went up into the garret, where, with his dagger and rapier he defended himself for a time: but at length the burgomaster coming thither with another magistrate, who could speak Latin, he was advised to submit himself to the order of the law. Mr. Berty knowing himself to be clear, and the captain to be alive, was the more bold to submit himself to the judgment of the law, upon condition that the magistrate would receive him under safe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promised, he willingly delivered up his weapons, and peaceably surrendered himself into the hands of the magistrates, and so was committed to safe custody till the truth of his cause could be tried.

Then Mr. Berty wrote a letter to the Landgrave, and another to the earl of Erbagh, dwelling about eight miles off, who came early in the morning to the town, where the dutchess was brought in with her wagon, Mr. Berty also being in the same town under custody.

The earl, who had some intelligence before of the dutchess, after he was come and had showed her such courtesy as he thought belonged to her estate and dignity, the townsmen perceiving the earl behave himself so humbly to her, began to consider more of the matter, and farther understanding the captain to be alive, both they and the authors of this stir drew in their horns, shrunk away, and made all the friends they could to Mr. Berty and his lady, beseeching them not to report their doings after the worst manner.

And thus Mr. Berty and his wife, escaping that danger, proceeded in their journey toward Poland, where in conclusion they were quietly

entertained by the king, and placed honourably in the earldom of the said king of the Poles, in Sanogelia, called Crozan, where Mr. Berty, with the dutchess, having the king's absolute power of government over the said earldom, continued in honour, peace, and plenty, till the death of Queen Mary.

*Troubles and deliverance of Dr. Sands, afterwards Archbishop of York.*

Dr. Sands was vice-chancellor of Cambridge at the time that the duke of Northumberland came hither, on King Edward's death, to proclaim Lady Jane queen: and, with others, being sent for to sup with the duke, was required to preach on the morrow. On taking the Bible in his hand, and shutting his eyes, he earnestly prayed to God that it might fall open where a most fit text should be for him to treat of. The Bible, as God would have it, fell open upon the first chapter of Joshua, the three last verses, where he found so convenient a place of scripture for that time, that the like he could not find in the whole Bible. His text was thus: "And they answered Joshua, saying, All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us, we will go. According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee: only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses. Whosoever he be that doth rebel against thy commandment, and will not hearken unto thy words, in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death: only be strong and of good courage."

Whosoever shall consider what was concluded by such as called themselves the state, and likewise the auditory, the time, and other circumstances, may easily see that this text most fitly served for the purpose. And as God gave the text, so gave he such order and utterance, as drew many tears out of the eyes of the greatest of them.

In the time of his sermon, one of the guard lifted a mass-book and a grail up to him in the pulpit, which Sir George Harwood, with certain of the guard, had taken that night in Mr. Hurlstone's house, where Lady Mary had been a little before, and there had mass. The duke, with the rest of the nobility, required Dr. Sands to put his sermon in writing, and appointed Mr. Leaver to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Dr. Sands required one day and a half for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it ready, and Mr. Leaver was ready booted to receive it at his hands, and carry it to London. As he was delivering it, one of the beadles, named Adams, came weeping to him, and prayed him to shift for himself, for the duke was retired, and Queen Mary proclaimed.

Dr. Sands was not troubled thereat, but gave the sermon written to Mr. Layfield. Mr. Leaver departed home, and he went to dinner to one Mr. More's, a beadle, his great friend. At the dinner Mrs. More seeing him merry and pleasant, (for he had ever a man's courage, and could not be terrified,) drank unto him, saying, Master Vice-chancellor, I drink unto you, for this is the last time that I shall see you. And so it was; for she was dead before Dr. Sands returned out of Germany. The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and sent for Dr. Sands to go with him to the market-place to proclaim Queen Mary. The duke cast up his cap with others; but the tears ran down his cheeks with grief. He told Dr. Sands, that Queen Mary was a

merciful woman, and that he doubted not thereof; declaring that he had sent unto her to know her pleasure, and looked for a general pardon. Dr. Sands answered, My life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or said any thing that urgeth my conscience. For that which I spake of the state, I have instructions warranted by the subscription of sixteen counsellors, neither can speech be treason; neither yet have I spoken farther than the word of God and the laws of the realm do warrant me, what God will. But be you assured you shall never escape death; for if she should save you, those that now shall rule will kill you.

That night the guard apprehended the duke; and certain grooms of the stable were as busy with Dr. Sands, as if they would take a prisoner. But Sir John Gates, who lay then in Dr. Sands's house, sharply rebuked them, and drove them away. Dr. Sands, by the advice of Sir John Gates, walked in the fields. In the mean time, the university, contrary to all order, had met together in consultation, and ordered that Dr. Mouse and Dr. Hatcher should repair to Dr. Sands's lodging, and bring away the statute-book of the university, the keys, and such other things as were in his keeping; and so they did: for Dr. Mouse being an earnest protestant the day before, and whom Dr. Sands had done much for, was now become a papist, and his great enemy. Certain of the university had appointed a congregation at afternoon. As the bell rang to it, Dr. Sands came out of the fields, and sending for the beadles, asked what the matter meant, and required them to wait upon him to the schools, according to their duty. So they did. And as soon as Dr. Sands, the beadles going before him, came into the regent house and took his chair, one Mr. Mitch, with a rabble of unlearned papists, went into a by-school, and conspired together to pull him out of his chair, and to use violence unto him. Dr. Sands began his oration, expostulating with the university, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring that he had said nothing in his sermon but what he was ready to justify, and their case was all one with him: for they had not only concealed, but consented to, that which he had spoken.

And thus while he reminded them how beneficial he had been to the university, and their unthankfulness to him again, in came Mr. Mitch with his conspirators, about twenty in number. One laid hands on the chair to pull it from him; another told him, that that was not his place, and another called him a traitor. Whereat he perceiving how they used violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had dispatched some of them as God's enemies, if Dr. Bill and Dr. Blith had not fallen upon him, and prayed for God's sake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patiently to bear that great offered wrong. He was persuaded by them, and after that tumult was ceased, he ended the oration; and having some money of the university's in his hands, he there delivered the same every farthing. He gave up the books, reckonings, and keys pertaining to the university, and withal yielded up his office, praying God to give the university a better officer, and to give them better and more thankful hearts, and so repaired home to his own college.

On the morrow after there came unto him one Mr. Gerningham, and Mr. Thomas Mildmay. Gerningham told him, that it was the queen's pleasure, that two of the guard should attend upon him, and

that he must be carried prisoner to the Tower of London with the duke. Mr. Mildmay said, he marvelled that a learned man would speak so unadvisedly against so good a prince, and wilfully run into such danger. Dr. Sands answered, I shall not be ashamed of bonds; but if I could do as Mr. Mildmay can, I need not fear bonds: for he came down in payment against Queen Mary, and armed in the field; and now he returned in payment for Queen Mary; before a traitor, and now a great friend; I cannot with one mouth blow hot and cold after this manner.

Upon this his stable was robbed of four very good geldings; the best of them Mr. Huddleston took for his own saddle, and rode on him to London in his sight. An inventory was taken of all his goods by Mr. Moore, beadle for the university. He was set upon a lame horse that halted to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a nag. The yeomen of the guard consented. As he departed forth at the town's end, some papists resorted thither to jeer at him, and some of his friends to mourn for him. He came in the rank to London, the people being full of outcries; and as he came in at Bishopsgate, one like a milk-woman hurled a stone at him, and hit him on the breast, with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his horse; to whom he mildly said, Woman, God forgive it thee. Truth is, that that journey and evil entreating so mortified him, that he was more ready to die than to live.

As he came through Tower-hill, one woman standing at her door, cried, Fie on thee, thou knave, thou traitor, thou heretic! Whereat he smiled. Look, the desperate heretic! said she, and laughed at this jeer. A woman on the other side of the street answered, saying, Fie on thee, neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman, railing upon this gentleman whom thou knowest not, nor the cause why he is thus treated. Then she said, Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee strength to stand in God's cause, even to the end. And thus he passed through rough and smooth to the Tower, the first prisoner that entered in that day, which was St. James's day. The yeomen of the guard took from him his borrowed nag, and what else soever he had. His man, one Quinting Suainton, brought after him a Bible, and some shirts and such like things. The Bible was sent in to him, but the shirts and such like served the yeomen of the guard.

After he had been in the Tower three weeks, in a bad prison, he was brought up into Nun's-Bower, a better prison, where was put along with him Mr. John Bradford.

At the day of Queen Mary's coronation their prison door was set open, ever shut before. One Mr. Mitchell, his old acquaintance, who had been prisoner before in the same prison, came in to him, and said, Master Sands, there is such a stir in the Tower, that neither gates, doors, nor prisoners, are looked to this day. Take my cloak, my hat, and my rapier, and get you gone; you may go out of the gates without questioning; save yourself, and let me do as well as I can. A rare friendship! but he refused the offer, saying, I know no reason why I should be in prison; and to do thus were to make myself guilty. I will expect God's good will, yet must I think myself much obliged to you: and so Mr. Mitchell departed.



While Dr. Sands and Mr. Bradford were thus in close prison twenty-nine weeks, one John Bowler was their keeper, a very perverse papist, yet by often persuading of him, for he would give ear, and by gentle using of him, at length he began to mislike popery, and to favour the gospel, and was so persuaded in true religion, that on a Sunday when they had mass in the chapel, he brought up a service book, a manchet,\* and a glass of wine, and there Dr. Sands ministered the communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their son begotten in bonds. When Wyatt was in arms, and the old duke of Norfolk sent forth with a number of men to apprehend him, that room might be made in the Tower, for him and other of his accomplices, Dr. Cramer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Bradford, were cast into one prison; and Dr. Sands with nine other preachers were sent unto the Marshalsea.

The keeper of the Marshalsea appointed to every preacher a man to lead him in the street; he caused them to go far before, and he and Dr. Sands came behind, whom he would not lead but walked familiarly with him. Yet Dr. Sands was known, and the people every where prayed to God to comfort him, and to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the people's minds were altered; popery began to be unsavoury. After they passed the bridge, the keeper said to Dr. Sands, I perceive the vain people would set you forward to the fire. You are as vain as they, if you being a young man, will stand in your own conceit, and prefer your own judgment, before that of so many worthy prelates, ancient, learned, and grave men, as be in this realm. If you so do, you shall find me a severe keeper, as one that utterly disliketh your religion. Dr. Sands answered, I know my years to be young, and my learning but small; it is enough to know Christ crucified, and he hath learned nothing who seeth not the great blasphemy there is in popery. I will yield unto God, and not unto man: I have read in the Scriptures, of many godly and courteous keepers; God may make you one; if not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard usage. Then said the keeper, Are you resolved to stand to your religion? Yes, quoth the doctor, by God's grace. Truly, said the keeper, I love you the better for it; I did but tempt you; what favour I can show you, you shall be sure of, and I shall think myself happy if I might die at the stake with you. He was as good as his word, for he trusted the doctor to walk in the fields alone, where he met with Mr. Bradford, who was also a prisoner in the King's-Bench, and had found the same favour from his keeper: he laid him in the best chamber in the house; he would not suffer the knight-marshal's men to lay fetters on him as others had. And at his request, he put Mr. Sanders in along with him, to be his bed fellow, and sundry times after he suffered his wife, who was Mr. Sands' daughter, of Essex, a gentlewoman beautiful both in body and soul, to resort to him. There was great resort to Dr. Sands, and Mr. Sanders; they had much money offered them, but they would receive none. They had the communion there three or four times, and a great many communicants. Dr. Sands gave such exhortation to the people, (for at that time being young, he was thought very eloquent,)

\* A loaf of fine white bread

that he moved many tears, and made the people abhor the mass, and defy all popery.

When Sir\* Thomas Wyat, with his army, came into Southwark, he sent two gentlemen into the Marshalsea to Dr. Sands, saying, that Mr. Wyat would be glad of his company and advice, and that the gates should be set open for all the prisoners. He answered, tell Mr. Wyat, if this his rising be of God, it will take place; if not, it will fall. For my part, I was committed here by order; I will be discharged by like order, or I will never depart hence. So answered Mr. Sanders, and the rest of the preachers, being there prisoners.

After that Dr. Sands had been nine weeks prisoner in the Marshalsea, by the mediation of Sir Thomas Holeroft, knight marshal, he was set at liberty; Sir Thomas sued earnestly to the bishop of Winchester, Dr. Gardiner, for his deliverance, after many repulses; but he could not prevail, except Dr. Sands would be one of their sect, and then he could want nothing. He wrung out of him at last, that if the queen would grant him his deliverance, he would not be against it; for that was Sir Thomas's last request. In the mean time he had procured two ladies of the privy chamber to move the queen in it; who was contented if the bishop of Winchester would like it. The next time that the bishop went into the privy chamber to speak with the queen, Mr. Holeroft followed, and had his warrant for Dr. Sands's remission ready, and prayed the two ladies, when the bishop should take his leave, to put the queen in mind of Dr. Sands. So they did, and the queen said, Winchester, what think you of Dr. Sands, is he not sufficiently punished! As it please your majesty, saith Winchester. That he spake remembering his former promise to Mr. Holeroft, that he would not be against Dr. Sands, if the queen should like to discharge him. Saith the queen, then, truly, we would that he were set at liberty. Immediately Mr. Holeroft offered the queen the warrant, who subscribed the same, and called Winchester to put to his hand, and so he did. The warrant was given to the knight-marshal again, Sir Thomas Holeroft. As the bishop went forth of the privy chamber door, he called Mr. Holeroft to him, commanding him not to set Dr. Sands at liberty, until he had taken sureties of two gentlemen of this country with him, each one bound in 500*l.* that Dr. Sands should not depart out of the realm without license. Mr. Holeroft immediately after met with two gentlemen of the north, friends and cousins to Dr. Sands, who offered to be bound in body, goods, and lands for him. After dinner, the same day, Mr. Holeroft sent for Dr. Sands to his lodgings at Westminster, requiring the keeper to accompany him. He came accordingly, finding Mr. Holeroft alone walking in the garden. Mr. Holeroft imparted his long suit, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken, to Dr. Sands; much rejoicing that it was his good hap to do him good, and to procure his liberty, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter bonds with his two sureties, for not departing out of the realm. Dr. Sands answered, I give God thanks, who hath moved your hearts to mind me so well, and I think myself most bound unto you. God shall requite, and I shall

\* In old writers, knights are frequently mentioned indifferently, either by the title of *Sir* or *Mr.* as may be seen in many instances in this work, and others of the same period.

never be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will also deal plainly with you. I came a freeman into prison; I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, so will I not hurt them. And if I be set at liberty, I will not tarry six days in this realm, if I may get out. If, therefore, I may not get free forth, send me to the Marshalsea again, and there you shall be sure of me.

This answer Mr. Holcroft much misliked; he told Dr. Sands, that the time would not long continue, a change would shortly come, the state was but a cloud, and would soon shake away. And that his cousin, Sir Edward Bray, would gladly receive him and his wife into his house, where he should never need to go to church, and the Lady Bray was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated popery. Adding, that he would not so deal with him to lose all his labour. When Dr. Sands could not be removed from his former saying, Mr. Holcroft said, seeing you cannot be altered, I will change my purpose, and yield unto you. Come of it what will, I will set you at liberty: and seeing you have a mind to go over sea, get you gone as quick as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to me hither, for so you may undo me. He friendly kissed Dr. Sands, bade him farewell, and commanded the keeper to take no fees of him, saying, let me answer Winchester as I may.

Dr. Sands returning with the keeper to the Marshalsea, tarried all night, and on the morrow he gave a dinner to all the prisoners, to which he invited his bed-fellow, and sworn stake fellow, if it had so pleased God. When he took his leave, he said, Mr. Sanders, farewell, with many tears and kisses, the one falling on the other's neck, and so departed, clearly delivered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the King's Bench, and there talked with Mr. Bradford, and Dr. Farrar, bishop of St. David's, then prisoners. Then he comforted them, and they praised God for his happy deliverance. He went by Winchester's house, and there took boat, and came to a friend's house in London, called William Banks, and tarried there one night. The next night he shifted to another friend's house, and he heard that search was made for him.

Dr. Watson, and Mr. Christopherson, coming to the bishop of Winchester, told him that he had set the greatest heretic in England at liberty, and one that had of all others most corrupted the university of Cambridge, namely, Dr. Sands. Whereupon the bishop, being chancellor of England, sent for all the constables of London, commanding them to watch for Dr. Sands, who was then within the city, and to apprehend him, and whosoever of them should take him, and bring him to him, he should have five pounds for his labour. Dr. Sands suspecting the matter, conveyed himself by night to one Mr. Berty's house, a stranger who was in the Marshalsea prisoner with him awhile; he was a good protestant, and dwelt in Mark-lane. There he was six days, and had one or two of his friends that repaired to him. Then he removed to one of his acquaintance in Cornhill; he caused his man Quinting to provide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Essex to his father-in-law, where his wife was.

At going to bed he found that a pair of hose which he had newly bought were too long for him; he desired the good woman of the house to send for somebody that could cut them two inches shorter.

The wife required the boy of the house to carry them to the next tailor; which he accordingly did: and he chanced (or rather God so provided) to go to the very person that first made them, whose name was Benjamin, a good protestant in Birch-in-lane; and the boy desired him to cut the hose. Said he, I am not thy master's tailor. Said the boy, Because you are our next neighbour, and my master's tailor dwelleth afar off, I came to you, being late in the night, for he must put them on betimes in the morning. Benjamin took the hose, and looking upon them, knew his handiwork, and said, These are not thy master's hose, they belong to Dr. Sands, I made them for him in the Tower. The boy confessed it to be so. Said he, Go to thy mistress, pray her to sit till twelve o'clock, and then I will bring the hose and speak with the doctor for his good.

At midnight the good wife of the house and Benjamin came to Dr. Sands' chamber: the good woman desired him not to be surprised at their coming. He answered, Nothing can be amiss; what God will, that shall be done. Then Benjamin told him that he was the man that made his hose, and that by good chance they now come to his hands. God used the means, he might admonish him of his danger, and advised him how to escape it, telling him, that all the constables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, and some were so greedily set, that they prayed him, if he took him, to let them have the carriage of him to the bishop of Winchester, and he should have the five pounds. It is well known (quoth Benjamin) that your man hath provided two geldings, and that you intend to ride out at Aldgate to-morrow morning, and there then you are sure to be taken. Follow mine advice, and by God's grace you shall escape their hands. Let your man walk all the day to-morrow in the street where your horses stand, booted and ready to ride. The good man's servant of the house shall take the horses, and carry them to Bethnal-green. The good man shall be booted, and follow after, as if he would ride. I will be here with you to-morrow about eight o'clock, it is both term and parliament time, here we will break our fast, and when the streets are full, we will go forth. Look wildly if you meet your brother in the streets, shun him not, but outface him, and know him not. Accordingly, Dr. Sands did, clothed like a gentleman in all respects, and looked wildly, as one that had been long kept in prison out of the light. Benjamin carried him through Birch-in-lane, and from one lane to another till he came to Moregate. There they went forth until they came to Bethnal-green, where the horses were ready, and Mr. Hurlstone to ride with him as his man. Dr. Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leave of his friend Benjamin, with tears they kissed each other; he put his hand in his purse, and would have given Benjamin a great part of that little he had, but Benjamin would take none. Yet since that, Dr. Sands remembered him thankfully. He rode that night to his father-in-law, Mr. Sands, where his wife was: he had not been there two hours, but it was told Mr. Sands, that there were two of the guard which would that night apprehend Dr. Sands, and so they were appointed.

That night Dr. Sands was guided to an honest farmer near the sea, where he tarried two days and two nights in a chamber without company. After that he shifted to one James Mower, a shipmaster, who dwelt at Milton-shore, where he expected wind for the English

fleet ready into Flanders. While he was there, James Mower brought to him forty or fifty mariners, to whom he gave an exhortation; they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, before that he should be apprehended.

The sixth of May, being Sunday, the wind served. He took his leave of his host and hostess, and went towards his ship.

At the shore Dr. Sands met with Mr. Isaac, of Kent, who had his eldest son there, who, upon the liking he had to Dr. Sands, sent his son with him, who afterwards died in his father's house in Frankfort. Dr. Sands and Dr. Coxe were both in one ship, being one Cockrell's ship, and were within the kenning, when two of the guard came thither to apprehend Dr. Sands. They arrived at Antwerp, being bid to dinner by Mr. Locke. And at dinner time one George Gilpin, being secretary to the English house, and kinsman to Dr. Sands, came to him, and whispered him in his ear, and said, King Philip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you. Hereupon they rose from their dinner in great haste, and went out of the gate leading toward Cleve-land. They found a wagon, and hasted away, and came safe to Augsburg, in Cleveland, where Dr. Sands tarried fourteen days, and then travelled towards Strasburgh, where, after he had lived one year, his wife came to him. He fell sick of a flux, which kept him nine months, and brought him to death's door. He had a child which died of the plague. His wife at length fell into a consumption, and died in his arms; no man had a more godly woman to his wife.

After this, Mr. Sampson went away to Emanuel, a man skilful in Hebrew. Mr. Grindall went into the country to learn the Dutch tongue. Dr. Sands still remained in Strasburgh, whose support was chiefly from one Mr. Isaac, who loved him most dearly, and was ever more ready to give than to receive. He gave him in that space above a hundred marks, which sum the said Dr. Sands paid him again, and by his other gifts and friendship showed himself to be a thankful man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurich, and there was in Peter Martyr's house for the space of five weeks. Being there, as they sat at dinner, word suddenly came that Queen Mary was dead, and Dr. Sands was sent for by his friends at Strasburgh. That news made Mr. Martyr and Mr. Jarret then there very joyful; but Dr. Sands could not rejoice, it smote into his heart that he should be called to misery.

Mr. Bullinger and the ministers feasted him, and he took his leave and returned to Strasburgh, where he preached; and so Mr. Grindall and he come over to England, and arrived in London the same day that Queen Elizabeth was crowned.

*Miraculous preservation of the Lady Elizabeth from extreme calamity and danger in the time of Queen Mary, her sister.*

When all hath been said and told, whatsoever can be recited touching the admirable working of God's present hand in defending and delivering any one person out of thraldom, never was there since the memory of our fathers, any example to be showed, wherein the Lord's mighty power hath more admirably showed itself, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole realm, than in the miraculous escape of the Lady Elizabeth in the time of Queen Mary, her sister.

Before she was crowned, Mary would go no whither, but would have her by the hand, and send for Elizabeth to dinner and supper; but after she was crowned, she never dined or supped with her, but kept her apart from her, &c. After this it happened, immediately upon the rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt, that the Lady Elizabeth and Lord Courtney were charged with false suspicion of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rising. Whereupon Queen Mary, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the said Lady Elizabeth her sister, at that time lying in her house at Ashbridge, the next day after the rising of Wyatt, sent to her three of her counsellors, to wit, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hastings, then master of the horse, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troop of horsemen, to the number of two hundred and fifty, who, at their sudden and unprovided coming, found her at the same time sick in her bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, ascending up to her grace's chamber, they desired one of her ladies, whom they met, to declare to her grace, that there were divers come from the court who had a message from the queen.

Her grace having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming; however, being then very sick, and the night far spent, (which was at ten o'clock,) she requested them by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, that they must needs see her, and would so do, in what case soever she were. Whereat the lady being surprised, went to show her grace their words, but they hastily following her, came rushing as soon as she into her grace's chamber unbidden.

At whose sudden coming into her bed-chamber, her grace, being greatly amazed, said unto them, Is the haste such that it might not have pleased you to come to-morrow in the morning?

They made answer, that they were right sorry to see her in that case; and I (said she) am not glad to see you here at this time of the night. Whereupon they answered that they came from the queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect, that the queen's pleasure was, that she should be at London the seventh day of that present month. Whereunto she said, Certainly no creature can be more glad than I to come to her majesty, being right sorry that I am not in a case at this time to wait on her, as you yourselves do see, and can well testify.

Indeed we see it true, said they, that you do say; for which we are very sorry, although we let you to understand, that our commission is such, and so straiteneth us, that we must needs bring you with us, either alive or dead. Whereat she being amazed, sorrowfully said, that their commission was very sore; but yet notwithstanding she hoped it would be otherwise, and not so straight. Yes, verily, said they. Whereupon they calling for two physicians, Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, demanded of them whether she might be removed from thence with life, or no? Whose answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their opinion to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

In conclusion, they desired her to prepare against the next morning, at nine o'clock, to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's litter for her. After much talk, the messen-

gers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, departed to their chamber.

The next morning, at the time prescribed, they had her forth as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such case that she was ready to swoon three or four times between them.

Now to proceed in her journey from Ashbridge. Sick in the litter, she came to Redborne, where she was guarded all night; from thence to St. Alban's to Sir Ralph Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body and comfortless in mind. From thence they passed to Mr. Dod's house at Mims, where they also remained that night; and so from thence she came to Highgate, where she being very sick, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many pursuivants and messengers from the court, but for what purpose I cannot tell.

From that place she was conveyed to the court, where by the way came to meet her many gentlemen to accompany her highness, who were very sorry to see her in that situation. But especially a great multitude of people were standing by the way, who then flocked about her litter, lamenting and bewailing greatly her estate. Now when she came to the court, her grace was there shut up, and kept a close prisoner, a fortnight, which was till Palm-Sunday, seeing neither king nor queen, nor lord, nor friend, all that time, but only the then Lord Chamberlain, Sir John Gage, and the vice-chamberlain, which were attendant unto the doors. About which time Sir William Sentlowe was called before the council. To whose charge was laid, that he knew of Wyatt's rebellion, which he stoutly denied, protesting that he was a true man both to God and his prince, defying all traitors and rebels; but being straightly examined, he was in conclusion committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm-Sunday, the bishop of Winchester, with nineteen others of the council, came unto her grace from the queen's majesty, and burdened her with Wyatt's conspiracy; which she utterly denied, affirming that she was altogether guiltless therein. They being not contented with this, charged her grace with business made by Sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the west country; which also she utterly denying, clearing her innocency therein.

In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the queen's will and pleasure that she should go unto the Tower, while the matter was farther tried and examined.

Whereat she being amazed, said that she trusted the queen's majesty would be a more gracious lady unto her, and that her highness would not otherwise conceive of her that but she was a true woman; declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherein they had hardened her, and desired them therefore to be a farther means to the queen her sister, that she being a true woman in thought, word, and deed, towards her majesty, might not be committed to so notorious and doleful a place; protesting that she should request no favour at her hand, if she should be proved to have consented unto any such kind of matter as they laid unto her charge, and therefore, in fine, desired their lordships to think of her what she was, and that she might not so extremely be dealt withal for her truth.

Whereunto the lords answered again, that there was no remedy for

that the queen's majesty was fully determined that she should go unto the tower. Wherewith the lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes. But not long after, within the space of an hour, or little more, came four of the aforesaid lords of the council, which were the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, the earl of Sussex, with the guard; who warding the next chamber to her, secluded all her gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen: except that for one gentleman usher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber, were appointed in their rooms three other men of the queen's and three waiting women, to give attendance likewise upon her, that none should have access to her grace.

At which time there was a hundred northern soldiers in white coats, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, and a great fire being made in the midst of the hall, two certain lords were watching there also with their band and company.

Upon Saturday following, two lords of the council (the one was the earl of Sussex, the other shall be nameless) came and certified her grace, that she must go forthwith unto the tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarricth for nobody. In heavy mood her grace requested the lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that neither time nor tide was to be delayed.

And when her grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the queen's majesty, he answered, that he durst not permit that; adding, that in his judgment it would rather hurt than profit her grace in so doing.

But the other lord, more courteous and favourable, (who was the earl of Sussex,) kneeling down, told her grace, that she should have liberty to write, and as he was a true man, he would deliver it to the queen's highness, and bring an answer of the same, whatsoever came thereof. Whereupon she wrote, although she could in no case be suffered to speak with the queen, to her great discomfort, being no offender against the queen's majesty.

And thus the time and tide passed away for that season, they privily appointing all things ready that she should go the next tide, which fell about midnight; but for fear she should be taken by the way, they durst not. So they stayed till the next day, being Palm-Sunday, when about nine o'clock these two returned again, declaring that it was time for her grace to depart. She answered, If there be no remedy, I must be contented, willing the lords to go on before. Being come forth into the garden, she cast her eyes towards the window, thinking to see the queen, which she could not. Whereat she said, she marvelled much what the nobility of the realm meant, which in that sort would suffer her to be led into captivity, the Lord knew whither, for she did not. In the mean time commandment was given throughout London, that every one should keep the church, and carry their palms, while in the mean season she might be conveyed without any concourse of people to the tower.

After this, she took her barge, with the two aforesaid lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, and three of her own, her gentleman usher and two of her grooms lying and hovering upon the water a certain space, for that they could not shoot the bridge, the bargemen being



very unwilling to shoot the same so soon as they did, because of the danger thereof: for the stern of the boat struck upon the ground, the fall was so great and the water was so shallow, that the boat being under the bridge, there stayed again awhile. At landing, she first stayed, and refused to land at those stairs, where all traitors and offenders customarily used to land: neither could she well, unless she should go over her shoes. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went back again to her, and brought word she would not come.

Then said one of the lords, (who shall be nameless,) that she should not choose, and because it did then rain, he offered to her his cloak, which she putting it back with her hand with a good dash, refused. She coming out, having one foot upon the stairs, said, Here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs; and before thee, O God, I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone.

To whom the same lord answered again, that if it were so, it was the better for her. At her landing there was a great multitude of their servants and warders standing in their order. What needed all this? said she. It is the use, said some, so to be when any prisoner came thither. And if it be, quoth she, for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed. Whereat the poor men kneeled down, and with one voice desired God to preserve her grace.

After this, passing a little farther, she sat down upon a stone, and there rested herself. To whom the lieutenant then being said, Madam, you were best to come out of the rain, for you sit unwholesomely. She then replying, answered again, It is better sitting here than in a worse place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that her gentleman usher wept; she demanding of him what he meant by using her so uncomfortably, seeing she took him to be her comfort, and not to dismay her, especially for that she knew her truth to be such, that no man should have cause to weep for her. But forth she went into prison.

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which greatly discomfited and dismayed her grace. At which time she called to her gentlewoman for her book, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather should have no power against her. The doors being thus locked, and she close shut up, the lords had great conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing straitly and circumspectly to keep her.

Then one of them, which was the lord of Sussex, swearing, said, My lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commission will bear us out in, whatsoever shall happen hereafter. And farther, let us consider that she was the king our master's daughter; and therefore let us use such dealing, that we may answer it hereafter, if it shall so happen: for just dealing (quoth he) is always answerable; whereunto the other lords agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the tower, within two days commandment was, that she should have mass within her house. One Mr. Young was then her chaplain, and because there were none of her men so well learned to help the priest to say mass, the mass stayed for that day.

It would make a pitiful and strange story here by the way, to recite what examination and rackings of poor men there were to find

out the knife that should cut her throat : what gaping among my lords of the clergy to see the day wherein they might wash their goodly white rochets in her innocent blood ; but especially the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor, who, within five days after, came unto her, with divers others of the council, and examined her of the talk that was at Ashbridge, between her and Sir James Acroft, concerning her removing from thence to Dunnington castle, requiring her to declare what she meant thereby.

At the first, she being so suddenly asked, did not well remember any such house ; but within a while, well advising herself, she said, Indeed I do now remember that I have such a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember.

Then to enforce the matter, they brought forth Sir James Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of her what she said to that man. She answered, that she had little to say to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the Tower : but, my lords, said she, you do examine every mean prisoner of me, wherein methinks you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen's majesty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you, my lords, join not me in this sort with any of these offenders. And as concerning my going unto Dunnington castle, I do remember that Mr. Hobby and mine officers, and you, Sir James Acroft, had such talk ; but what is that to the purpose, my lords, but that I may go to mine own houses at all times ?

The lord of Arundel kneeling down, said, Your grace saith true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have troubled you about so vain matters. She then said, My lords, you do sift me very narrowly : but well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed ; and so God forgive you all.

At their departure, Sir James Acroft kneeled down, declaring he was sorry to see the day in which he should be brought as a witness against her grace. But I assure your grace, said he, I have been marvellously tossed and examined touching your highness, which the Lord knoweth, is very strange to me : for I take God to record, before all your honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I should be driven to so strict a trial.

That day, or thereabouts, divers of her own officers, who had made provision for her diet, brought the same to the outer gate of the Tower, the common soldiers receiving it ; which was no small grief unto the gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they desired to speak with the lord chamberlain, who was then constable of the Tower. On coming into his presence, they declared unto his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring her grace's diet, and to deliver it to such common and desperate persons as those who received it, beseeching his honour to consider her grace, and to give such order, that her viands might at all times be brought in by them, who had been appointed for that purpose. Yea, sirs, said he, who appointed you this office ? They answered, her grace's council. Council ! said he : there is none of them which hath to do either in that case, or any thing else within this place ; and I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be served by the lieutenant's men, as other the

prisoners are. One of the gentlemen on this told him, that they trusted for more favour from his hands, considering her personage : and added, that they imagined the queen and her council would be better to her grace than so ; and showed themselves to be offended at the ungracious words of the lord chamberlain respecting their lady and mistress.

On this he swore by God, striking himself upon the breast, that if they did either frown or shrug at him, he would set them where they should see neither sun nor moon. Thus taking their leave, they desired God to bring him into a better mind towards her grace, and departed from him.

Upon which occasion, her grace's officers made great suit unto the queen's council, that some proper persons might be appointed to bring her grace's diet unto her, and that it might no more be delivered by the common soldiers of the Tower ; which being reasonably considered, was by them permitted ; and one of her gentlemen, her clerk of the kitchen, and her two purveyors, were appointed to bring in her provision once a day ; the warders, however, continued to wait upon them on these occasions.

The lord chamberlain himself being always with them, circumspectly and narrowly watched and searched what they brought, and took care that they should have no talk with any of her grace's waiting servants, and so guarded them both in and out. At the said suit of her officers, were sent, by the commandment of the council, to wait upon her grace, two yeoman of her chamber, one of her robes, two of her pantry and ewry, one of her buttery, another of her cellar, two of her kitchen, and one of her larder, all of which continued with her the time of her trouble.

Here the constable, being at the first not very well pleased with the coming in of such a company against his will, would have had his men still to have served with her grace's men ; which her servants would by no means suffer, desiring his lordship to be contented, for that orders were given, that no stranger should come within their offices. At which answer being sore displeased, he broke out into these threatening words, Well, I will handle you well enough ! Then he went into the kitchen, and there would needs have his meat roasted with her grace's, and said that his cook should come thither and dress it. To that her grace's cook answered, My lord, I will never suffer any stranger to come about her diet, but her own sworn men, as long as I live. He said they should. But the cook said, his lordship should pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble her poor servants grievously ; though afterward he was otherwise advised, and they were more courteously used at his hands. And good cause why : for he had good cheer, and fared of the best, and her grace paid well for it. Wherefore he used himself afterward more reverently toward her grace.

Having been a whole month there in a close prison, and being on that account uneasy, she sent for the lord chamberlain and the lord Chandois to come and speak with her. When they were come, she requested them that she might have liberty to walk in some place, for that she felt herself not well. To which they answered, that they were right sorry that they could not satisfy her grace's request, for that they had commandment to the contrary, which they durst not in

any wise break. She then desired of them, if that could not be granted, that she might but walk in the queen's lodging. No, nor yet that, they answered, could by any means be obtained without a farther suit to the queen and her council. Well, said she, my lords, if the matter be so hard that they must be sued unto for so small a thing, and that friendship be so strict, God comfort me; and so they departed, she remaining in her old dungeon still, without any kind of comfort but only God.

The next day Lord Chandois came unto her grace, declaring unto her that he had applied to the council for farther liberty. Some of them consented thereunto, divers others dissented, for that there were so many prisoners in the Tower. But, in conclusion, they did all agree that her grace might walk into those lodgings, so that he, and the lord chamberlain, and three of the queen's gentlewomen, did accompany her, the windows being shut, and she not suffered to look out at any of them: wherewith she contented herself, and gave him thanks for his good will in that behalf.

Afterwards there was liberty granted to her grace to walk in a little garden, the doors and gates being shut up, which was as much discomfort to her, as the walk in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side were strictly commanded not to speak or look out of their windows into the garden, till her grace was gone out again, having their keepers waiting upon them for that time. Thus her grace with this small liberty contented herself in God, to whom be praise therefor.

The fifth day of May, the constable of the Tower was discharged from his office, and one Sir Henry Benifield placed in his room, a man unknown to her grace, and therefore the more feared; which sudden alteration occasioned her no small surprise.

On Trinity Sunday, being the nineteenth day of May, she was removed from the Tower, and conveyed to Woodstock, where she was inclosed, as before in the Tower of London, the soldiers guarding both within and without the walls, every day, to the number of sixty; and in the night without the walls forty, during the time of her imprisonment there.

At length she had gardens appointed for her to walk in, which was very comfortable to her grace. But always when she recreated herself therein, the doors were fast locked up, in as strict a manner as they were in the Tower, being at least five or six locks between her lodging and her walks; Sir Henry himself keeping the keys, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him her jailor: and he, kneeling down, desired her grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. From such officers, (quoth she,) good Lord deliver me.

And now, by the way, as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawful in so serious a story to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the same; occasion here moveth, or rather inforeth me to touch briefly what happened in the same place and time, by a certain merry conceited man, being then about her grace: who observing the strict and strange keeping of his lady and mistress, by the said Sir Henry Benifield, with so many locks and doors, with such a watch and guard about her, as was strange and wonderful, espied a goat in the ward where her grace was; and whether to refresh her

oppressed mind, or to notify her strait handling by Sir Henry, or else both, he took it upon his neck, and followed her grace therewith as she was going into her lodging.

Which when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, desiring him to let it alone. The man answered, No, by St. Mary, (if it please your grace,) will I not; for I cannot tell, whether he be one of the queen's friends or not. I will carry him to Sir Henry Benifield (God willing) to know what he is: so leaving her grace, he went with the goat on his neck, and carried it to Sir Henry: who when he saw him coming with it, asked him, half angrily, what he had there.

Unto whom the man answered, saying, Sir, I cannot tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my lady's grace was walking, and what talk they have had, I cannot tell. For I understand him not, but he should seem to me to be some stranger, and I think verily a Welchman, for he hath a white frieze coat on his back. And forasmuch as I, being the queen's subject, and perceiving the strict charge committed to you, that no stranger should have access to her without sufficient license, I have here found a stranger (what he is I cannot tell,) in the place where her grace was walking; and therefore for the necessary discharge of my duty, I thought it good to bring the said stranger to you, to examine as you see cause; and so he set him down. At this Sir Henry seemed much displeased, and said, Well, well, you will never leave this gear, I see; and so they departed.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have digressed, after her grace had been there a time, she applied to the council for leave to write to the queen. This at last was permitted: so Sir Henry Benifield brought her pen, ink, and paper; and standing by her while she wrote, (which he strictly observed,) she being sometimes weary, he would carry away her letters, and bring them again when she called for them. When she had finished, he would fain have been messenger to the queen with the same. Whose request her grace denied, saying, One of her own men should carry them, and that she would neither trust him, nor any of his, with them.

Then he answered again, saying, None of them durst be so bold, (he thought,) as to carry her letters for her in her present situation. Yes, said she, I am assured I have none so dishonest as to deny my request in that behalf, but will be as willing to serve me now as before. Well, said he, my commission is to the contrary, and I may not so suffer it. Her grace replying again, said, You charge me very often with your commission. I pray God you may justly answer the cruel dealings you use towards me.

Then he kneeling down, desired her grace to think and consider how he was a servant, and put in trust there by the queen, to serve her majesty; protesting, that if the case were hers, he would as willingly serve her grace, as now he did the queen's highness. For which answer her grace thanked him, desiring God that she might never have need of such servants as he was; declaring farther to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor answerable, but more than all the friends he had would stand by.

To whom Sir Henry replied, and said, that there was no remedy but his doings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moved her grace so

to say, was, for that he would not permit her letters to be carried four or five days after the writing thereof. But, in fine, he was content to send for her gentleman from the town of Woodstock, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the carriage of her grace's letters to the queen, or no: and he answered, yes, sir, that I dare, and will with all my heart. Whereupon Sir Henry, half against his will, took them unto him.

Then about the eighth of June came down Dr. Owen, and Dr. Wendy, sent by the queen to her grace, for that she was sickly; who ministering to her, and letting her blood, tarried there, and attended on her grace five or six days. Then she being well amended, they returned again to the court, making their good report to the queen and council of her grace's behaviour and humility towards the queen's highness. Which her majesty hearing, took very thankfully; but the bishops repined thereat, looked black in the mouth, and told the queen they marvelled much that she submitted not herself to her majesty's mercy, considering that she had offended her highness.

About this time, her grace was requested by a secret friend to submit herself to the queen's majesty, which would be well taken, and to her great quiet and advantage. Unto whom she answered, that she would never submit herself to them whom she never offended. For (quoth she) if I have offended, and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the law, which I am certain I should have had before this, if it could be proved by me. For I know myself (I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies; and then I am assured I should not be so locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him.

About this time there was a great consultation among the bishops and gentlemen, touching the marriage of her grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realm with her portion; some saying one thing, and some another.

A lord (who shall be here nameless) being there, at last said, that the king should never have any quiet commonwealth in England, unless her head was severed from her shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered, saying, God forbid that their king and master should have that mind to consent to such a mischief.

This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their own country. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honour he should never obtain, as he should in delivering the Lady Elizabeth's grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happily released from the same. Here is a plain and evident example of the good clemency and nature of the king and his counsellors toward her grace, (praised be God therefor,) who moved their hearts therein. Then hereupon she was sent for shortly after to come to Hampton-Court.

But before her removing away from Woodstock, we will stay a little to declare in what dangers her life was during the time she remained there; first through fire, which began to kindle between the boards and ceiling under the chamber where she lay, whether by a spark of fire getting accidentally into a crevice, or whether for the purpose

by some that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheless a worshipful knight of Oxfordshire, which was there joined the same time with Sir Henry Benifield in keeping that lady, (who then took up the boards and quenched the fire,) verily supposed it to be done for the purpose.

Furthermore it is thought and affirmed (for truth) of one Paul Penny, the keeper of Woodstock, a notorious ruffian, and a butchery wretch, that he was appointed to assassinate the said Lady Elizabeth; who both saw the man, being often in her sight, and also knew thereof.

Another time, one of the privy chamber, a great man about the queen, and chief darling of Stephen Gardiner, named James Basset, came to Blandenbridge, a mile from Woodstock, with twenty or thirty privy coats, and sent for Sir Henry Benifield to come and speak with him. But as God would, who disposeth all things according to his own will, so it happened, that a little before, the said Sir Henry Benifield was sent for by post to the council, leaving strict word behind him with his brother, that no man, whosoever he were, though coming with a note of the queen's hand, or any other warrant, should have access to her before his return again. By reason whereof it so fell out, that Mr. Benifield's brother, coming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case to come in, otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent lady.

There moreover is to be noted, that during the imprisonment of this lady and princess, one Mr. Edmund Tremaine was on the rack, and Mr. Smithwike, and others in the tower, were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuse the guiltless lady, being in her captivity. Howbeit, all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proved by all examinations, as she the same time lying at Woodstock had certain intelligence by the means of one John Gayer; who, under a colourable pretence of a letter to Mrs. Cleve, from her father, was let in, and so gave them secretly to understand of all this matter. Whereupon the Lady Elizabeth, at her departing out from Woodstock, wrote these lines with her diamond in a glass window:

Much suspected by me,  
Nothing proved can be,  
Quoth ELIZABETH, prisoner.

And thus much touching the troubles of Lady Elizabeth at Woodstock. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of Tame had laboured to the queen, and became surety for her, to have her from Woodstock to his house, and had obtained a grant thereof. Thereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things ready in expectation of her coming. But through the procurement either of Mr. Benifield, or by the advice of Winchester, her mortal enemy, letters came over night to the contrary; whereby her journey was stopped.

Thus this worthy lady, oppressed with continued sorrow, could not be permitted to have recourse to any friends she had, but still in the hands of her enemies was left desolate, and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a doleful heart, fraught full of terror and thralldom. Whereupon no marvel if she, hearing upon a time, out of her garden at Woodstock, a certain milkmaid singing pleasantly, wished

herself to be a milkmaid as she was, saying that her case was better and life more merry than hers, in that state as she was.

Now after these things thus declared, to proceed farther there where we left before, Sir Henry Benifield and his soldiers, with the lord of Tame, and Sir Ralph Chamberline, guarding and waiting upon her, the first night from Woodstock she came to Ricot. In which journey such a mighty wind did blow, that her hood was twice or thrice blown from her head. Thereupon she desiring to return to a certain gentleman's house there near, could not be suffered by Sir Henry Benifield so to do, but was constrained under a hedge to trim her head as well as she could.

After this, the next day they journeyed to Mr. Dormer's, and so to Colbroke, where she lay all that night at the George, and by the way coming to Colbroke, certain of her grace's gentlemen and yeomen met her, to the number of threescore, much to all their comforts, who had not seen her grace for a long time before: notwithstanding they were commanded in the queen's name immediately to depart the town, to both theirs and her grace's no little heaviness, who could not be suffered once to speak with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, saving her gentleman-usher, three gentlewomen, two grooms, and one of her wardrobe, the soldiers watching and warding about the house, and she close shut up within her prison.

The next day following, her grace entered Hampton-Court, and came into the prince's lodging; the doors being shut upon her, and she guarded with soldiers as before, lay there a fortnight at least, before any had recourse unto her; at length came the Lord William Haward, who used her grace honourably. Whereat she took much comfort, requested him to be a means that she might speak with some of the council. To whom not long after came the bishop of Winchester, and the lord of Arundel, the lord of Shrewsbury, Secretary Peter, who with great humility humbled themselves to her grace. She again likewise saluting them, said, My lords, I am glad to see you; for methinks I have been kept a great while from you, desolate and alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a means to the king and queen, that I may be delivered from prison, wherein I have been kept a long time, as to you, my lords, is well known.

When she had spoken, Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, kneeled down, and requested that she would submit herself to the queen's grace, and in so doing he had no doubt but that her majesty would be good to her: she made answer, That rather than she would so do, she would lay in prison all the days of her life; adding, that she craved no mercy at her majesty's hand, but rather desired the law, if ever she did offend her majesty in thought, word, or deed; and besides this, in yielding (quoth she) I should speak against myself, and confess myself to be an offender, which I never was towards her majesty, by occasion whereof the king and queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil opinion; and therefore I say, my lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected by my prince. And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the queen.

On the next day the bishop of Winchester came again unto her grace, and kneeling down, declared that the queen marvelled that she should so stoutly use herself, not confessing that she had offended;



so that it should seem that the queen's majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her grace.

Nay, quoth the Lady Elizabeth, it may please her to punish me as she thinketh good.

Well, quoth Gardiner, her majesty willeth me to tell you, that you must tell another tale before that you be set at liberty.

Her grace answered, that she had as soon be in prison with honesty and truth, as to be abroad suspected by her majesty; and this that I have said, I will stand unto, for I will never belie myself.

Winchester again kneeled down, and said, Then your grace hath the advantage of me and other lords for your wrong and long imprisonment.

What advantage I have (quoth she) you know; taking God to record I seek no advantage at your hands for your so dealing with me, but God forgive you and me also. With that the rest kneeled, desiring her grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked up again.

A seven-night after the queen sent for her grace at ten o'clock at night to speak with her: for she had not seen her for two years before. Yet for all that, she was amazed at the suddenness of the message; thinking it had been worse than afterwards it proved, desired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her; for that she could not tell whether ever she should see them again or no.

At which time Sir Henry Benifield with Mrs. Clarencius coming in, her grace was brought into the garden, unto a stair's foot that went into the queen's lodging, her grace's gentlewomen waiting upon her, her gentleman-usher, and her grooms, going before with torches: where her gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to stay, all, saving one woman, Mrs. Clarencius conducted her to the queen's bed-chamber, where her majesty was.

At the sight of whom her grace kneeled down, and desired God to preserve her majesty, not mistrusting but that she should prove herself as true a subject towards her majesty as ever any did, and desired her majesty even so to judge of her; and said, that she should not find her to the contrary, whatsoever report otherwise had gone of her.

To whom the queen answered, You will not confess your offence, but stand stoutly to your truth: I pray God it may so fall out.

If it doth not, (quoth the Lady Elizabeth,) I request neither favour nor pardon at your majesty's hands. Well, (said the queen,) you stiffly still persevere in your truth. Belike you will not confess but that you have been wrongfully punished.

I must not say so (if it please your majesty) to you.

Why then, (said the queen,) belike you will to others.

No, if it please your majesty, (quoth she,) I have borne the burden, and must bear it. I humbly beseech your majesty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be your true subject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life lasteth: and so they departed with very few comfortable words of the queen, in English; but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It was thought that King Philip was there behind a cloth, and not seen, and that he showed himself a very great friend in that matter, &c.

Thus her grace departing, went to her lodging again, and that day seven-night was released of Sir Henry Benifield, her gaoler, (as she termed him,) and his soldiers, and so her grace being set at liberty from imprisonment, went into the country, and had appointed to go with her, Sir Thomas Pope, one of Queen Mary's counsellors, and one of her gentlemen-ushers, Mr. Gage, and thus strictly was she looked after all Queen Mary's time. And this is the discourse of her highness's imprisonment.

Then there came to Lamhevre, Mr. Jerningham, and Mr. Norris, gentlemen-ushers, Queen Mary's men, who took away from her grace, Mrs. Ashley to the Fleet, and three other of her gentlewomen to the tower; which thing was no little trouble to her grace, saying that she thought they would fetch all away at the end. But God be praised, shortly after was fetched away Gardiner, through the merciful providence of the Lord's goodness, by occasion of whose opportune decease, (as is partly touched in this story before,) the life of this excellent princess, and the wealth of England, was preserved. For this is credibly to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner of Winchester had long laboured his wits, and to this only most principal mark bent all his devices, to take this our happy and dear sovereign out of the way; as both by his words and doings before notified, may sufficiently appear.

But such was the gracious and favourable providence of the Lord, to the preservation not only of her royal majesty, but also of the miserable and woful state of this whole island, and poor subjects of the same, whereby the proud platform and peevish practices of this wicked Ahithophel prevailed not; but contrariwise, both he and all the snares and traps of his pernicious counsel laid against another were turned to a net to catch himself, according to the proverb, "The mischief he designed for another fell upon his own head."

After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also and drooping away of other her enemies, whereby little and little her jeopardy decreased, fear diminished, hope of comfort began to appear as out of a dark cloud; and albeit as yet her grace had no full assurance of perfect safety, yet more gentle entertainment daily did grow unto her, till at length in the month of November, and seventeenth day of the same, three years after the death of Stephen Gardiner, followed the death of Queen Mary.

## BOOK XI.

A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE ATTEMPTS MADE BY THE PAPISTS TO OVERTURN THE PROTESTANT GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND, FROM THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, TO THE REIGN OF GEORGE II.

## SECTION I.

## THE SPANISH ARMADA.

PHILIP, king of Spain, husband to the deceased Queen Mary of England, was no less inimical than that princess to the protestants. He had always disliked the English, and after her death, determined, if possible, to crown that infamous cruelty which had disgraced the whole progress of her reign, by making a conquest of the island, and putting every protestant to death.

The great warlike preparations made by this monarch, though the purpose was unknown, gave a universal alarm to the English nation; as, though he had not declared that intention, yet it appeared evident that he was taking measures to seize the crown of England. Pope Sixtus V. not less ambitious than himself, and equally desirous of persecuting the protestants, urged him to the enterprise. He excommunicated the queen, and published a crusade against her, with the usual indulgences. All the ports of Spain resounded with preparations for this alarming expedition; and the Spaniards seemed to threaten the English with a total annihilation.

Three whole years had been spent by Philip in making the necessary preparations for this mighty undertaking; and his fleet, which, on account of its prodigious strength, was called "The Invincible Armada," was now completed. A consecrated banner was procured from the pope, and the gold of Peru was lavished on the occasion.

All our historical writers relate the particulars of this important event, but a description by an *eye-witness* must possess superior interest with the general reader, although it may be devoid of those graces of style which lend a charm to the narratives of the professed historian; we therefore give "a brief Discourse of the great preparations of the Spaniards, in order to invade England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth," verbatim, as we find it in our author, by whom, however, it was not written, he having died in the preceding year. 1587.

The duke of Parma, by command of the Spaniards, built ships in Flanders, and a great company of small broad vessels, each one able to transport thirty horses, with bridges fitted for them severally; and hired mariners from the east part of Germany, and provided long pieces of wood sharpened at the end, and covered with iron, with hooks, on one side; and 20,000 vessels, with a huge number of fagots; and placed an army ready in Flanders, of 103 companies of foot, and 4000 horsemen. Among these 700 English vagabonds, who were held of all others in most contempt. Neither was Stanley respected or obeyed, who was set over the English; nor Westmoreland, nor any other

who offered their help: but for their unfaithfulness to their own country were shut out from all consultations, and as men maniaously rejected with detestation. And because Pope Sixtus the Fifth in such a case would not be wanting, he sent Cardinal Allen into Flanders, and renewed the bulls declaratory of Pope Pius the Fifth, and Gregory the Thirteenth. He excommunicated and deposed Queen Elizabeth, absolved her subjects from all allegiance, and, as if it had been against the Turks or infidels, he set forth in print a conceit, wherein he bestowed plenary indulgences, out of the treasure of the church, besides a million of gold, or ten hundred thousand ducats, to be distributed (the one half in hand, the rest when either England, or some famous haven therein, should be won) upon all them that would join their help against England. By which means the marquis of Burgau, of the house of Austria, the duke of Pastrana, Amadis, duke of Savoy, Vespasian, Gonzaga, John Medicis, and divers other noblemen, were drawn into these wars.

Queen Elizabeth, that she might not be surprised unawares, prepared as great a navy as she could, and with singular care and providence, made all things ready necessary for war. And she herself, who was ever most judicious in discerning of men's wits and aptness, and most happy in making choice, when she made it out of her own judgment, and not at the direction of others, designed the best and most serviceable to each several employment. Over the whole navy she appointed the Lord Admiral Charles Howard, in whom she reposed much trust; and sent him to the west part of England, where Captain Drake, whom she made vice-admiral, joined with him. She commanded Henry Scimor, the second son to the duke of Somerset, to watch upon the Belgic shore, with forty English and Dutch ships, that the duke of Parma might not come out with his forces; although some were of opinion, that the enemy was to be expected and set upon by land forces, according as it was upon deliberation resolved, in the time of Henry the Eighth, when the French brought a great navy on the English shore.

For the land fight, there were placed on the south shore twenty thousand; and two armies beside were mustered of the choicest men for war. The one of these, which consisted of 1000 horse and twenty-two thousand foot, was commanded by the earl of Leicester, and encamped at Tilbury, on the side of the Thames. For the enemy was resolved first to set upon London. The other army was commanded by the Lord Hunsdon, consisting of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to guard the queen.

The Lord Gray, Sir Francis Knowles, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, men famously known for military experience, were chosen to confer of the land fight. These commanders thought fit that all those places should be fortified, with men and ammunition, which were commodious to land in, either out of Spain or out of Flanders, as Milford-Haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, the open side of Kent, called the Downs, the Thames' mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, &c. That trained soldiers through all the maritime provinces should meet upon warning given, to defend the places; that they should, by their best means, hinder the enemy from landing; and if they did happen to land, then they were to destroy the fruits of the country all about,

and spoil every thing that might be of any use to the enemy, that so they might find no more victuals than what they brought with them. And that, by continued alarms, the enemy should find no rest day or night. But they should not try any battle, until divers captains were met together with their companies. That one captain might be named in every shire which might command.

Two years before, the duke of Parma, considering how hard a matter it was to end the Belgic war, so long as it was continually nourished and supported with aid from the queen, he moved for a treaty of peace, by the means of Sir James Croft, one of the privy council, a man desirous of peace, and Andrew Loe, a Dutchman, and professed that the Spaniard had delegated authority to him for this purpose. But the queen fearing that the friendship between her and the confederate princes might be dissolved, and that so they might secretly be drawn to the Spaniard, she deferred that treaty for some time. But now, that the wars on both sides prepared might be turned away, she was content to treat for peace; but so as still holding the weapons in her hand.

For this purpose, in February, delegates were sent into Flanders, the earl of Derby, the Lord Cobham, Sir James Croft, Dr. Dale, and Dr. Rogers. These were received with all humanity on the duke's behalf, and a place appointed for their treating, that they might see the authority delegated to him by the Spanish king. He appointed the place near to Ostend, not in Ostend, which at that time was held by the English against the Spanish king. His authority delegated, he promised then to show, when they were once met together. He wished them to make good speed in the business, lest somewhat might fall out in the mean time, which might trouble the motions of peace. Richardotus spoke somewhat more plainly, That he knew not what in this interim should be done against England.

Not long after, Dr. Rogers was sent to the prince, by an express commandment from the queen, to know the truth, whether the Spaniards had resolved to invade England, which he and Richardotus seemed to signify. He affirmed, that he did not so much as think of the invasion of England, when he wished that the business might proceed with speed; and was in a manner offended with Richardotus, who denied that such words fell from him.

The 12th of April, the Count Aremberg, Champigny, Richardotus, Doctor Maesius, and Garnier, delegated from the prince of Parma, met with the English, and yielded to them the honour both in walking and sitting.

This conference, however, came to nothing; undertaken by the queen, as the wiser then thought, to avert the Spanish fleet; continued by the Spaniard that he might oppress the queen, being as he supposed unprovided, and not expecting the danger. So both of them tried to use time to their best advantages.

At length the Spanish fleet, well furnished with men, ammunition, engines, and all warlike preparations, the best, indeed, that ever was seen upon the ocean, called by the arrogant title, *The Invincible Armada*, consisted of 130 ships, wherein there were in all, 19,290. Mariners, 8,350. Chained rowers, 11,080. Great ordnance, 11,630. The chief commander was *Perezius Gusmannus*, duke of Medina Si-

douia; and under him Joannes Martinus Rlealdus, a man of great experience in sea affairs.

The 30th of May they loosed out of the river Tagus, and bending their course to the Groin, in Galicia, they were beaten and scattered by a tempest; three galleys, by the help of David Gwin, an English servant, and by perfidiousness of Turks which rowed, were carried away into France. The fleet, with much ado, after some days came to the Groin, and other harbours near adjoining. The report was, that the fleet was so shaken by this tempest, that the queen was persuaded, that she was not to expect that fleet this year. And Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary, wrote to the lord admiral, that he might send back four of the greatest ships, as if the war had been ended. But the lord admiral did not easily give credit to that report; yet with a gentle answer entreated him to believe nothing hastily in so important a matter: as also that he might be permitted to keep those ships with him which he had, though it were upon his own charges. And getting a favourable wind, made sail towards Spain, to surprise the enemy's damaged ships in their harbours. When he was close in with the coast of Spain, the wind shifting, and he being charged to defend the English shore, fearing that the enemies might unseen by the same wind sail for England, he returned unto Plymouth.

Now with the same wind, the 12th of July, the duke of Medina with his fleet departed from the Groin. And after a few days he sent Rodericus Telius into Flanders, to advertise the duke of Parma, giving him warning that the fleet was approaching, and therefore he was to make himself ready. For Medina's commission was to join himself with the ships and soldiers of Parma; and under the protection of his fleet to bring them into England, and to land his forces upon the Thames side.

The sixteenth day, (saith the relator,) there was a great calm, and a thick cloud was upon the sea till noon; then the north wind blowing roughly; and again the west wind till midnight, and after that the east; the Spanish navy was scattered, and hardly gathered together until they came within sight of England, the nineteenth day of July. Upon which day the lord admiral was certified by Flemming, (who had been a pirate,) that the Spanish fleet was entered into the English sea, which the mariners call the Channel, and was descried near to the Lizard. The lord admiral brought forth the English fleet into the sea, but not without great difficulty, by the skill, labour, and alacrity of the soldiers and mariners, every one labouring; yea, the lord admiral himself putting his hand to this work.

The next day the English fleet viewed the Spanish fleet coming along like towering castles in height, her front crooked like the fashion of the moon, the wings of the fleet were extended one from the other about seven miles, or as some say eight miles asunder, sailing with the labour of the winds, the ocean as it were groaning under it; their sail was but slow, and yet at full sail before the wind. The English were willing to let them hold on their course, and when they were passed by, got behind them, and so got to windward of them.

Upon the 21st of July, the lord admiral of England sent a cutter before, called the *Defiance*, to denounce the battle by firing off pieces. And being himself in the *Royal-Arch*, (the English admiral ship,) he began the engagement with a ship which he took to be the Spanish admiral, but which was the ship of Alfonsus Leva. Upon that he ex-

pended much shot. Presently Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, came in upon the rear of the Spaniards which Ricaldus commanded. Upon these they thundered. Ricaldus endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to keep his men to their quarters, but all in vain, until his ship, much beaten and battered with many shot, hardly recovered the fleet. Then the duke of Medina gathered together his scattered fleet, and setting more sail, held on his course. Indeed they could do no other, for the English had gotten the advantage of the wind, and their ships being much easier managed, and ready with incredible celerity to come upon the enemy with a full course, and then to tack and re-tack, and be on every side at their pleasure. After a long fight, and each of them had taken a trial of their courage, the lord admiral thought proper to continue the fight no longer, because there were forty ships more, which were then absent, and at that very time were coming out of Plymouth Sound.

The night following, the *St. Catherine*, a Spanish ship, being sadly torn in the battle, was taken into the midst of the fleet to be repaired. Here a great Cantabrian ship, of *Oquenda*, wherein was the treasurer of the camp, by force of gun-powder took fire, yet it was quenched in time by the ships that came to help her. Of those which came to assist the fired ship, one was a galleon, commanded by *Petrus Waldez*: the fore-yard of the galleon was caught in the rigging of another ship, and carried away. This was taken by Drake, who sent *Waldez* to *Dartmouth*, and a great sum of money, viz. 55,000 ducats, which he distributed among the soldiers. This *Waldez* coming into Drake's presence, kissed his hand, and told him they had all resolved to die, if they had not been so happy as to fall into his hands, whom they knew to be noble. That night he was appointed to set forth a light, but neglected it; and some German merchant ships coming by that night, he, thinking them to be enemies, followed them so far, that the English fleet lay to all night, because they could see no light set forth. Neither did he nor the rest of the fleet find the admiral until the next evening. The admiral all the night proceeding with the *Bear*, and the *Mary Rose*, carefully followed the Spaniards with watchfulness. The duke was busied in ordering his squadron. *Alfonsus Leva* was commanded to join the first and last divisions. Every ship had its proper station assigned, according to that prescribed form which was appointed in Spain; it was present death to any who forsook his station. This done, he sent *Gliclius* and *Anceani* to *Parma*, which might declare to them in what situation they were, and left that Cantabrian ship, of *Oquenda*, to the wind and sea, having taken out the money and mariners, and put them on board of other ships. Yet it seemed that he had not care for all; for that ship the same day, with fifty mariners, and soldiers wounded, and half burned, fell into the hands of the English, and was carried to *Weymouth*.

The 23d of the same month, the Spaniards having a favourable north wind tacked towards the English; but they being more expert in the management of their ships, tacked likewise, and kept the advantage they had gained, keeping the Spaniards to leeward, till at last the fight became general on both sides. They fought awhile confusedly with variable success: whilst on the one side the English with great courage delivered the London ships which were enclosed about by the Spaniards; and on the other side, the Spaniards by valour freed Rical-

dus from the extreme danger he was in; great and many were the explosions, which, by the continual firing of great guns, were heard this day. But the loss (by the good providence of God,) fell upon the Spaniards, their ships being so high, that the shot went over our English ships, and the English, having such a fair mark at their large ships, never shot in vain. During this engagement, Cock, an Englishman, being surrounded by the Spanish ships, could not be recovered, but perished; however, with great honour he revenged himself. Thus a long time the English ships with great agility were sometimes upon the Spaniards, giving them the fire of one side, and then of the other, and presently were off again, and still kept the sea, to make themselves ready to come in again. Whereas the Spanish ships, being of great burden, were troubled and hindered, and stood to be the marks for the English shot. For all that the English admiral would not permit his people to board their ships, because they had such a number of soldiers on board, which he had not; their ships were many in number, and greater, and higher, that if they had come to grapple, as many would have had it, the English being much lower than the Spanish ships, must needs have had the worst of them that fought from the higher ships. And if the English had been overcome, the loss would have been greater than the victory could have been; for our being overcome would have put the kingdom in hazard.

The 21th day of July they gave over fighting on both sides. The admiral sent some small barks to the English shore for a supply of provisions, and divided his whole fleet into four squadrons; the first whereof he took under his own command, the next was commanded by Drake, the third by Hawkins, and the last by Forbisher. And he appointed out of every squadron certain little ships, which, on divers sides, might set upon the Spaniards in the night, but a sudden calm took them, so that expedient was without effect.

The 25th, the *St. Anne*, a galleon of Portugal, not being able to keep up with the rest, was attacked by some small English ships. To whose aid came in *Leva*, and *Didacus Telles Enriques*, with three galleasses; which the admiral, and the Lord Thomas Howard, spying, made all the sail they could against the galleasses, but the calm continuing, they were obliged to be towed along with their boats; as soon as they reached the galleasses, they began to play away so fiercely with their great guns, that with much danger, and great loss, they hardly recovered their galleon. The Spaniards reported that the Spanish admiral was that day in the rear of their fleet, which, being come nearer the English ships than before, got terribly shattered with their great guns, many men were killed aboard, and her masts laid over the side. The Spanish admiral, after this, in company with *Ricardus*, and others, attacked the English admiral, who, having the advantage of the wind, suddenly tacked, and escaped. The Spaniards holding on their course again, sent to the duke of Parma, that with all possible speed he should join his ships with the king's fleet. These things the English knew not, who write that they had carried away the lantern from one of the Spanish ships, the stern from another, and sore mauled the third, very much disabling her. The *Non-Parigly*, and the *Mary Rose*, fought awhile with the Spaniards, and the *Triumph* being in danger, other ships came in good time to help her.

The next day the lord admiral knighted the Lord Thomas Howard,



the Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbisher, for their valour in the last engagement. After this, they agreed not to attack the enemy until they came into the straits of Calais, where Henry Seimor, and William Winter, waited for their coming. Thus with a fair gale the Spanish fleet went forward, and the English followed. This great Spanish Armada was so far from being esteemed invincible in the opinion of the English, that many young men and gentlemen, in hope to be partakers of a famous victory against the Spaniards, provided ships at their own expences, and joined themselves to the English fleet; among whom were the earls of Essex, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brooks, William Hatton, Robert Cary, Ambrose Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Gorge, and other gentlemen of good note and quality.

The 27th day, at even, the Spaniards cast anchor near to Calais, being admonished by their skilful seamen, that if they went any further they might be in danger, through the force of the tide, to be driven into the North Ocean. Near to them lay the English admiral with his fleet, within a great gun's shot. The admiral, Seimor, and Winter, now join their ships; so that now there were a hundred and forty ships in the English fleet, able, and well furnished for fighting, for sailing, and every thing else which was requisite; and yet there were but fifteen of these which bore the heat of the battle, and repulsed the enemy. The Spaniard, as often as he had done before, so now with great earnestness sent to the duke of Parma, to send forty fly-boats, without which they could not fight with the English, because of the greatness and slowness of their ships, and the agility of the English, and entreating him by all means now to come to sea with his army, which army was now to be protected, as it were, under the wings of the Spanish armada, until they should land in England.

But the duke was unprovided, and could not come out in an instant. The broad ships with flat bottoms being then full of chinks must be mended. Victuals wanted, and must be provided. The mariners being long kept against their wills, began to shrink away. The ports of Dunkirk and Newport, by which he must bring his army to the sea, were now so beset with the strong ships of Holland and Zealand, which were furnished with great and small munition, that he was not able to come to sea, unless he would come upon his own apparent destruction, and cast himself and his men wilfully into a headlong danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being a man eager and industrious, and inflamed with a desire of overcoming England.

But Queen Elizabeth's providence and care prevented both the diligence of this man, and the credulous hope of the Spaniard; for by her command the next day the admiral took eight of their worst ships, charging the ordnance therein up to the mouth with small shot, nails, and stones, and dressed them with wild fire, pitch, and rosin, and filled them full of brimstone, and some other matter fit for fire, and these being set on fire by the management of Young and Prowse, were secretly in the night, by the help of the wind, set full upon the Spanish fleet, which, on Sunday, the seventh of August, they sent in among them as they lay at anchor.

When the Spaniards saw them come near, the flames giving light all over the sea; they supposing those ships, besides the danger of fire, to have been also furnished with deadly engines, to make horrible destruction among them: lifting up a most hideous cry, some pull up anchors, some for haste cut their cables, they set up their sails, they apply their oars, and stricken with extreme terror, in great haste they fled most confusedly. Among them the Pretorian Galleass floating upon the seas, her rudder being broken, in great danger and fear drew towards Calais, and striking in the sand was taken by Amias Preston, Thomas Gerard, and Harvey; Hugh Moncada the governor was slain, the soldiers and mariners were either killed or drowned; in her there was found great store of gold, which fell to be the prey of the English. The ship and ordnance went to the governor of Calais.

The Spaniards report, that the duke, when he saw the fire-ships coming, commanded all the fleet to heave up their anchors, but so as the danger being past, every ship might return again to his own station; and he himself returned, giving a sign to the rest by shooting off a gun; which was heard but by a few, for they were far off scattered, some into the open ocean, some through fear were driven upon the shallows of the coast of Flanders.

Over against Graveling the Spanish fleet began to gather themselves together. But upon them came Drake and Fenner, and battered them with great ordnance: to these Fenton, Southwel, Beeston, Cross, Riman, and presently after the lord admiral, and Sheffield, came in. The Duke Medina, Leva, Oquenda, Ricaldus, and others, with much ado in getting themselves out of the shallows, sustained the English force as well as they might, until most of their ships were pierced and torn; the galleon St. Matthew, governed by Diego Pimentellas, coming to aid Francis Toleton, being in the St. Philip, was pierced and shaken with the reiterated shots of Scimor and Winter, and driven to Ostend, and was at last taken by the Flushingers. The St. Philip came to the like end; so did the galleon of Biscay, and divers others.

The last day of this month, the Spanish fleet striving to recover the straits again, were driven towards Zealand. The English left off pursuing them, as the Spaniards thought, because they saw them in a manner cast away: for they could not avoid the shallows of Zealand. But the wind turning, they got them out of the shallows, and then began to consult what were best for them to do. By common consent they resolved to return into Spain by the Northern Seas, for they wanted many necessaries, especially shot; their ships were torn, and they had no hope that the duke of Parma could bring forth his forces. And so they took the sea, and followed the course toward the North. The English navy followed, and sometimes the Spanish turned upon the English, insomuch that it was thought by many that they would turn back again.

Queen Elizabeth caused an army to encamp at Tilbury. After the army had come thither, her majesty went in person to visit the camp, which then lay between the city of London and the sea, under the charge of the earl of Leicester, where placing herself between the enemy and her city, she viewed her army, passing through it divers times, and lodging in the borders of it, returned again and dined in the



*The Gunpowder Plot. Page 508.*



*Cruelties in Ireland. Page 515.*



*Murder of Sir C. Godfrey by five Popish ruffians. P. 531.*

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army. Afterwards when they were all reduced into battle, prepared as it were for fight, she rode round about with a leader's staff in her hand, only accompanied with the general, and three or four others attending upon her.\*

I could enlarge the description hereof with many more particulars of mine own observation (says the author,) for I wandered, as many others did, from place to place, all the day, and never heard a word spoke of her, but in praising her for her stately person and princely behaviour, in praying for her long life, and earnestly desiring to venture their lives for her safety. In her presence they sung psalms of praise to Almighty God, for which she greatly commended them, and devoutly praised God with them. This that I write you may be sure I do not with any comfort, but to give you these manifest arguments that neither this queen did discontent her people, nor her people show any discontent in any thing they were commanded to do for her service, as heretofore hath been imagined.

This account was related by a popish spy, in a letter written here in England to Mendea. The copy of which letter was found upon Richard Leigh, a seminary priest in French and English: which priest was executed for high treason while the Spanish Armada was at sea.

The same day whereon the last fight was, the duke of Parma, after his vows offered to the lady of Halla, came somewhat late to Dunkirk, and was received with very opprobrious language by the Spaniards, as if in favour of Queen Elizabeth he had slipped the fairest opportunity that could be to do the service. He, to make some satisfaction, punished the purveyors that had not made provision of beer, bread, &c. which was not yet ready nor embarked, secretly smiling at the insolence of the Spaniards, when he heard them bragging, that what way soever they came upon England, they would have an undoubted victory; that the English were not able to endure the sight of them. The English admiral appointed Seimor and the Hollanders to watch upon the coast of Flanders, that the duke of Parma should not come

\* The queen made the following animated speech to the troops assembled at Tilbury;

"My loving people, we have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself, that under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects. And therefore I am come among you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die among you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: To which rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and I do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.

out; whilst he himself close followed the Spaniards until they were past Edinburgh Frith.

The Spaniards, seeing all hopes fail, fled again; and so this great navy, being three years preparing, with great expense, was within one month overthrown, and, after many were killed, being chased again, was driven about all England, by Scotland, the Orades, and Ireland, tossed and damaged with tempests, much diminished, and went home without glory. There were not a hundred men of the English lost, and but one ship. Whereupon money was coined with a navy fleeing away in full sail, with this inscription, *Venit, Vidit, Fugit*. Others were coined with the ships on fire, the navy confounded, inscribed, in honour of the queen, *Dux Fœmina Facti*. As they fled, it is certain that many of their ships were cast away upon the shores of Scotland and Ireland. About seven hundred soldiers and mariners were cast away upon the Scottish shore, who, at the Duke of Parma's intercession with the Scotch king, the queen of England consenting, were after a year sent into Flanders. But they that were cast upon the Irish shore came to more miserable fortunes; for some were killed by the wild Irish, and others were destroyed for fear they should join themselves with the wild Irish, (which cruelly Queen Elizabeth much condemned,) and the rest being afraid, sick, and hungry, with their disabled ships, committed themselves to the sea, and many were drowned.

The queen went to public thanksgiving in St. Paul's church, accompanied by a glorious train of nobility, through the streets of London, which were hung with blue cloth, the companies standing on both sides in their liveries; the banners that were taken from the enemies were spread; she heard the sermon, and public thanks were rendered unto God with great joy. This public joy was augmented, when Sir Robert Sidney returned from Scotland, and brought from the king assurances of his noble mind and affection to the queen, and to religion; which as in sincerity he had established, so he purposed to maintain with all his power. Sir Robert Sidney was sent to him when the Spanish fleet was coming, to congratulate and return thanks for his great affection towards the maintenance of the common cause; and to declare how ready she would be to help him if the Spaniards should land in Scotland; and that he might recal to memory with what strange ambition the Spaniards had gaped for all Britain, urging the pope to excommunicate him, to the end that he might be thrust from the kingdom of Scotland, and from the succession in England; and to give him notice of the threatening of Mendoza, and the pope's nuncio, who threatened his ruin if they could effect it; and therefore warned him to take special heed to the Scottish papists.

The king pleasantly answered, That he looked for no other benefit from the Spaniards, than that which Polyphenus promised to Ulysses, to devour him last after his fellows were devoured.

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It may not be improper here to subjoin a list of the different articles taken on board the Spanish ships, designed for the tormenting of the protestants, had their scheme taken effect.

1. The common soldiers' pikes, eighteen feet long, pointed with

long sharp spikes, and shod with iron, which were designed to keep off the horse, to facilitate the landing of the infantry.

2. A great number of lances used by the Spanish officers. These were formerly gilt, but the gold is almost worn off by cleaning.

3. The Spanish ranceurs, made in different forms, which were intended either to kill the men on horseback, or pull them off their horses.

4. A very singular piece of arms, being a pistol in a shield, so contrived as to fire the pistol, and cover the body at the same time, with the shield. It is to be fired by a match-lock, and the sight of the enemy is to be taken through a little grate in the shield, which is pistol proof.

5. The banner, with a crucifix upon it, which was to have been carried before the Spanish general. On it is engraved the pope's benediction before the Spanish fleet sailed: for the pope came to the water side, and, on seeing the fleet, blessed it, and stiled it INVINCIBLE.

6. The Spanish cravats, as they are called. These are engines of torture, made of iron, and put on board to lock together the feet, arms and heads of Englishmen.

7. Spanish bilboes, made of iron likewise, to yoke the English prisoners two and two.

8. Spanish shot, which are of four sorts: pike-shot, star-shot, chain-shot, and link-shot, all admirably contrived, as well for the destruction of the masts and rigging of ships, as for sweeping the decks of their men.

9. Spanish spadas poisoned at the points, so that if a man received the slightest wound with one of them, certain death was the consequence.

10. A Spanish poll-axe, used in boarding of ships.

11. Thumb-screws, of which there were several chests full on board the Spanish fleet. The use they were intended for is said to have been to extort confession from the English where their money was hid.

12. The Spanish morning star; a destructive engine resembling the figure of a star, of which there were many thousands on board, and all of them with poisoned points; and were designed to strike at the enemy as they came on board, in case of a close attack.

13. The Spanish general's halberd, covered with velvet. All the nails of this weapon are double gilt with gold; and on its top is the pope's head, curiously engraved.

14. A Spanish battle-axe, so contrived as to strike four holes in a man's head at once; and has besides a pistol in its handle, with a match-lock.

15. The Spanish general's shield, carried before him as an ensign of honour. On it are depicted, in most curious workmanship, the labours of Hercules, and other expressive allegories.

When the Spanish prisoners were asked by some of the English what their intentions were, had their expedition succeeded, they replied, "To extirpate the whole from the island, at least all heretics, (as they called the protestants,) and to send their souls to hell."—Strange infatuation! Ridiculous bigotry! How prejudiced must the minds of those men be, who would wish to destroy their fellow-crea-

tures, not only in this world, but, if it were possible, in that which is to come, merely because they refused to believe on certain subjects as the Spaniards themselves did.

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## SECTION II.

HORRID CONSPIRACY BY THE PAPISTS FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF JAMES I., THE ROYAL FAMILY, AND BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT; COMMONLY KNOWN BY THE NAME OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

The papists (of which there were great numbers in England at the time of the intended Spanish invasion) were so irritated at the failure of that expedition, that they were determined, if possible, to project a scheme at home, that might answer the purposes, in some degree, of their blood-thirsty competitors. The vigorous administration of Elizabeth, however, prevented their carrying any of their iniquitous designs into execution, although they made many attempts with that view. The commencement of the reign of her successor was destined to be the era of a plot, the barbarity of which transcends every thing related in ancient or modern history.

In order to crush popery in the most effectual manner in this kingdom, James, soon after his accession, took proper measures for eclipsing the power of the Roman Catholics, by enforcing those laws which had been made against them by his predecessors. This enraged the papists to such a degree, that a conspiracy was formed, by some of the principal leaders, of the most daring and impious nature; namely, to blow up the king, royal family, and both houses of parliament, while in full session, and thus to involve the nation in utter and inevitable ruin.

The cabal who formed the resolution of putting in practice this horrid scheme, consisted of the following persons:—Henry Garnet, an Englishman, who, about the year 1586, had been sent to England as superior of the English Jesuits; Catesby, an English gentleman; Tesmond, a Jesuit; Thomas Wright; two gentlemen of the name of Winter; Thomas Percy, a near relation of the earl of Northumberland; Guido Fawkes, a bold and enterprising soldier of fortune; Sir Edward Digby; John Grant, Esq.; Francis Tresham, Esq.; Robert Keyes and Thomas Bates, gentlemen.

Most of these were men both of birth and fortune; and Catesby, who had a large estate, had already expended two thousand pounds in several voyages to the court of Spain, in order to introduce an army of Spaniards into England, for overturning the protestant government, and restoring the Roman Catholic religion; but, being disappointed in this project of an invasion, he took an opportunity of disclosing to Percy (who was his intimate friend, and who, in a sudden fit of passion, had hinted a design of assassinating the king) a nobler and more extensive plan of treason, such as would include a sure execution of vengeance, and, at one blow, consign over to destruction all their enemies.

Percy assented to the project proposed by Catesby, and they resolved to impart the matter to a few more, and, by degrees, to all the



rest of their cabal, every man being bound by an oath, and taking the sacrament, (the most sacred rite of their religion,) not to disclose the least syllable of the matter, or to withdraw from the association, without the consent of all persons concerned.

These consultations were held in the spring and summer of the year 1604, and it was towards the close of that year that they began their operations; the manner of which, and the discovery, we shall relate with as much brevity as is consistent with perspicuity.

It had been agreed, that a few of the conspirators should run a mine below the hall in which the parliament was to assemble, and that they should choose the very moment when the king should deliver his speech to both houses, for springing the mine, and thus, by one blow, cut off the king, the royal family, lords, commons, and all the other enemies of the catholic religion, in that very spot where that religion had been most oppressed. For this purpose, Percy, who was at that time a gentleman-pensioner, undertook to hire a house adjoining to the upper house of parliament, with all diligence. This was accordingly done, and the conspirators expecting the parliament would meet on the 17th of February following, began, on the 11th of December, to dig in the cellar, through the wall of partition, which was three yards thick. There were seven in number joined in this labour: they went in by night, and never after appeared in sight, for, having supplied themselves with all necessary provisions, they had no occasion to go out. In case of discovery, they had provided themselves with powder, shot, and fire arms, and had formed a resolution rather to die than be taken.

On Candlemas-day, 1605, they had dug so far through the wall as to be able to hear a noise on the other side: upon which unexpected event, fearing a discovery, Guido Fawkes, (who personated Percy's footman,) was despatched to know the occasion, and returned with the favourable report, that the place from whence the noise came was a large cellar under the upper house of parliament, full of sea-coal, which was then on sale, and the cellar offered to be let.

On this information, Percy immediately hired the cellar, and bought the remainder of the coals: he then sent for thirty barrels of gunpowder from Holland, and landing them at Lambeth, conveyed them gradually by night to this cellar, where they were covered with stones, iron bars, a thousand billets, and five hundred fagots; all which they did at their leisure, the parliament being prorogued to the 5th of November.

This being done, the conspirators next consulted how they should secure the duke of York,\* who was too young to be expected at the parliament house, and his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, educated at Lord Harrington's, in Warwickshire. It was resolved, that Percy and another should enter into the duke's chamber, and a dozen more, properly disposed at several doors, with two or three on horseback at the court-gate to receive him, should carry him safe away as soon as the parliament-house was blown up; or, if that could not be effected, that they should kill him, and declare the Princess Elizabeth queen, having secured her, under pretence of a hunting-match, that day.

Several of the conspirators proposed obtaining foreign aid previous

\* Afterward Charles I.

to the execution of their design ; but this was over-ruled, and it was agreed only to apply to France, Spain, and other powers, for assistance after the plot had taken effect ; they also resolved to proclaim the princess Elizabeth queen, and to spread a report, after the blow was given, that the puritans were the perpetrators of so inhuman an action.

All matters being now prepared by the conspirators, they, without the least remorse of conscience, and with the utmost impatience, expected the 5th of November. But all their counsels were blasted by a happy and providential circumstance. One of the conspirators, having a desire to save William Parker, Lord Monteagle, sent him the following letter :

“ MY LORD,

“ Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care for your preservation ; therefore I advise you, as you tender your life, to devise you some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament ; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time : and think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into the country, where you may expect the event with safety ; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow, this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm ; for the danger is past so soon (or as quickly) as you burn this letter ; and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you.”

The Lord Monteagle was, for some time, at a loss what judgment to form of this letter, and unresolved whether he should slight the advertisement or not ; and fancying it a trick of his enemies to frighten him into an absence from parliament, would have determined on the former, had his own safety been only in question : but apprehending the king's life might be in danger, he took the letter at midnight to the earl of Salisbury, who was equally puzzled about the meaning of it ; and though he was inclined to think it merely a wild and waggish contrivance to alarm Monteagle, yet he thought proper to consult about it with the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain. The expression, “ that the blow should come, without knowing who hurt them,” made them imagine that it would not be more proper than the time of parliament, nor by any other way likely to be attempted than by gunpowder, while the king was sitting in that assembly : the lord chamberlain thought this the more probable, because there was a great cellar under the parliament-chamber, (as already mentioned,) never used for any thing but wood or coal, belonging to Wineyard, the keeper of the palace ; and having communicated the letter to the earls of Nottingham, Worcester, and Northampton, they proceeded no farther till the king came from Royston, on the 1st of November.

His majesty being shown the letter by the earls, who, at the same time acquainted him with their suspicions, was of opinion that either nothing should be done, or else enough to prevent the danger ; and that a search should be made on the day preceding that designed for the execution of the diabolical enterprise.

Accordingly, on Monday, the 4th of November, in the afternoon, the

lord chamberlain, whose office it was to see all things put in readiness for the king's coming, accompanied by Monteagle, went to visit all places about the parliament-house, and taking a slight occasion to see the cellar, observed only piles of billets and fagots, but in greater number than he thought Wineyard could want for his own use. On his asking who owned the wood, and being told it belonged to one Mr. Percy, he began to have some suspicions, knowing him to be a rigid papist, and so seldom there, that he had no occasion for such a quantity of fuel; and Monteagle confirmed him therein, by observing that Percy had made him great professions of friendship.

Though there were no other materials visible, yet Suffolk thought it was necessary to make a farther search; and, upon his return to the king, a resolution was taken that it should be made in such a manner as should be effectual, without scandalizing any body, or giving any alarm.

Sir Thomas Knevet, steward of Westminster, was accordingly ordered, under the pretext of searching for stolen tapestry hangings in that place, and other houses thereabouts, to remove the wood, and see if any thing was concealed underneath. This gentleman going at midnight, with several attendants, to the cellar, met Fawkes, just coming out of it, booted and spurred, with a tinder-box and three matches in his pockets; and seizing him without any ceremony, or asking him any questions, as soon as the removal of the wood discovered the barrels of gunpowder, he caused him to be bound, and properly secured.

Fawkes, who was a hardened and intrepid villain, made no hesitation of avowing the design, and that it was to have been executed on the morrow. He made the same acknowledgment at his examination before a committee of the council; and though he did not deny having some associates in this conspiracy, yet no threats of torture could make him discover any of them, he declaring that "he was ready to die, and had rather suffer ten thousand deaths, than willingly accuse his master, or any other."

By repeated examinations, however, and assurances of his master's being apprehended, he at length acknowledged, "that whilst he was abroad, Percy had kept the keys of the cellar, had been in it since the powder had been laid there, and, in effect, that he was one of the principal actors in the intended tragedy."

In the mean time it was found out, that Percy had come post out of the north on Saturday night, the 2d of November, and had dined on Monday at Sion-House, with the earl of Northumberland; that Fawkes had met him on the road; and that, after the lord chamberlain had been that evening in the cellar, he went, about six o'clock, to his master, who had fled immediately, apprehending the plot was detected.

The news of the discovery immediately spreading, the conspirators fled different ways, but chiefly into Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby had appointed a hunting-match, near Dunchurch, to get a number of recusants together, sufficient to seize the princess Elizabeth; but this design was prevented by her taking refuge in Coventry; and their whole party, making about one hundred, retired to Holbeach, the seat of Sir Stephen Littleton, on the borders of Staffordshire, having broken open stables, and taken horses from different people in the adjoining counties

Sir Richard Walsh, high sheriff of Worcestershire, pursued them to Holbeach, where he invested them, and summoned them to surrender. In preparing for their defence, they put some moist powder before a fire to dry, and a spark from the coals setting it on fire, some of the conspirators were so burned in their faces, thighs, and arms, that they were scarcely able to handle their weapons. Their case was desperate, and no means of escape appearing, unless by forcing their way through the assailants, they made a furious sally for that purpose. Catesby (who first proposed the manner of the plot) and Percy were both killed. Thomas Winter, Grant, Digby, Rookwood, and Bates, were taken and carried to London, where the first made a full discovery of the conspiracy. Tresham, lurking about the city, and frequently shifting his quarters, was apprehended soon after, and, having confessed the whole matter, died of the strangury, in the tower. The earl of Northumberland, suspected on account of his being related to Thomas Percy, was, by way of precaution, committed to the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth; and was afterwards fined thirty thousand pounds, and sent to the tower, for admitting Percy into the band of gentlemen pensioners, without tendering him the oath of supremacy.

Some escaped to Calais, and arriving there with others who fled to avoid a persecution which they apprehended on this occasion, were kindly received by the governor; but one of them declaring before him, that he was not so much concerned at his exile, as that the powder plot did not take effect, the governor was so much incensed at his glorying in such an execrable piece of iniquity, that, in a sudden impulse of indignation, he endeavoured to throw him into the sea.

On the 27th of January, 1606, eight of the conspirators were tried and convicted; among whom was Sir Everard Digby, the only one that pleaded guilty to the indictment, though all the rest had confessed their guilt before. Digby was executed on the 30th of the same month, with Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, at the west end of St. Paul's church-yard; Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rookwood, and Fawkes, were executed the following day in Old Palace yard.

Garnet was tried on the 28th of March, "for his knowledge and concealment of the conspiracy; for administering an oath of secrecy to the conspirators; for persuading them of the lawfulness of the treason, and for praying for the success of the great action in hand at the beginning of the parliament." Being found guilty,\* he received sentence of death, but was not executed till the 3d of May, when, confessing his own guilt, and the iniquity of the enterprise, he exhorted all Roman Catholics to abstain from the like treasonable practices in future. Gerard and Hull, two Jesuits, got abroad; and Littleton, with several others, were executed in the country.

The Lord Monteagle had a grant of two hundred pounds a year in land, and a pension of five hundred pounds for life, as a reward for discovering the letter which gave the first hint of the conspiracy; and the anniversary of this providential deliverance was ordered to be for ever commemorated by prayer and thanksgiving.

\* Although Garnet was convicted of this horrible crime, yet the bigoted papists were so besotted as to look upon him as an object of devotion; they fancied that miracles were wrought by his blood, and regarded him as a martyr! Such is the deadening and perverting influence of popery!

Thus was this diabolical scheme happily rendered abortive, and the authors of it brought to that condign punishment which their wickedness merited. In this affair Providence manifestly interposed in behalf of the protestants, and saved them from that destruction which must have taken place had the scheme succeeded according to the wishes of a bigoted, superstitious, and blood-thirsty faction.

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### SECTION III.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION IN IRELAND; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE BARBAROUS MASSACRE OF 1641.

The gloom of popery had overshadowed Ireland from its first establishment there till the reign of Henry VIII., when the rays of the gospel began to dispel the darkness, and afford that light which had till then been unknown in that island. The abject ignorance in which the people were held, with the absurd and superstitious notions they entertained, were sufficiently evident to many; and the artifices of their priests were so conspicuous, that several persons of distinction, who had hitherto been strenuous papists, would willingly have endeavoured to shake off the yoke, and embrace the protestant religion; but the natural ferocity of the people, and their strong attachment to the ridiculous doctrines which they had been taught, made the attempt dangerous. It was, however, at length undertaken, though attended with the most horrid and disastrous consequences.

The introduction of the protestant religion into Ireland may be principally attributed to George Browne, an Englishman, who was consecrated archbishop of Dublin on the 19th of March, 1535. He had formerly been an Augustine friar, and was promoted to the mitre on account of his merit.

After having enjoyed his dignity about five years, he, at the time that Henry VIII. was suppressing the religious houses in England, caused all the relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and the other churches in his diocese; in the place of which he caused to be put up the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments.

A short time after this he received a letter from Thomas Cromwell, lord privy-seal, informing him that Henry VIII. having thrown off the papal supremacy in England, was determined to do the like in Ireland; and that he thereupon had appointed him (archbishop Browne) one of the commissioners for seeing this order put in execution. The archbishop answered, that he had employed his utmost endeavours, at the hazard of his life, to cause the Irish nobility and gentry to acknowledge Henry as their supreme head, in matters both spiritual and temporal; but had met with a most violent opposition, especially from George, archbishop of Armagh; that this prelate had, in a speech to his clergy, laid a curse on all those who should own his highness's\* supremacy; adding, that their isle, called in the Chronicles *Insula*

\* The king of England was at that time called *highness*, not *majesty*, as at present.

*Sacra*, or the Holy Island, belonged to none but the bishop of Rome; and that the king's progenitors had received it from the pope. He observed likewise, that the archbishop, and the clergy of Armagh, had each despatched a courier to Rome; and that it would be necessary for a parliament to be called in Ireland, to pass an act of supremacy, the people not regarding the king's commission without the sanction of the legislative assembly. He concluded with observing, that the popes had kept the people in the most profound ignorance; that the clergy were exceedingly illiterate; that the common people were more zealous, in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs had been in the defence of truth at the beginning of the gospel; and that it was to be feared Shan O'Neal, a chieftain of great power in the northern part of the island, was decidedly opposed to the king's commission.

In pursuance of this advice, the following year a parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin, by order of Leonard Grey, at that time lord-lieutenant. At this assembly Archbishop Browne made a speech, in which he set forth, that the bishops of Rome used, anciently, to acknowledge emperors, kings, and princes, to be supreme in their own dominions; and, therefore, that he himself would vote King Henry VIII. as supreme in all matters, both ecclesiastical and temporal. He concluded with saying, that whosoever should refuse to vote for this act, was not a true subject of the king. This speech greatly startled the other bishops and lords; but at length, after violent debates, the king's supremacy was allowed.

Two years after this the archbishop wrote a second letter to Lord Cromwell, complaining of the clergy, and hinting at the machinations which the pope was then carrying on against the advocates of the gospel. This letter is dated from Dublin, in April, 1538; and among other matters, the archbishop says, "A bird may be taught to speak with as much sense as many of the clergy do in this country. These, though not scholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his highness's orders. The country folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, the Blacksmith's Son. As a friend, I desire your lordship to look to your noble person. Rome hath a great kindness for the duke of Norfolk, and great favours for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness."

A short time after this, the pope sent over to Ireland (directed to the archbishop of Armagh and his clergy) a bull of excommunication against all who had, or should own the king's supremacy within the Irish nation; denouncing a curse on all of them, and theirs, who should not, within forty days, acknowledge to their confessors, that they had done amiss in so doing.

Archbishop Browne gave notice of this in a letter, dated, Dublin, May, 1538. Part of the form of confession, or vow, sent over to these Irish papists, ran as follows: "I do farther declare, him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friend or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold, for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil power above the authority of the mother church; or that do or shall obey, for the time to come,

any of her the mother of churches opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here sworn unto: so God, the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Holy Evangelists, help me, &c." This is an exact agreement with the doctrines promulgated by the councils of Lateran and Constance, which expressly declare, that no favour should be shown to heretics, nor faith kept with them; that they ought to be excommunicated and condemned, and their estates confiscated; and that princes are obliged, by a solemn oath, to root them out of their respective dominions.

How abominable a church must that be, which thus dares to trample upon all authority! how besotted the people who regard the injunctions of such a church!

In the archbishop's last mentioned letter, dated May, 1538, he says, "His highness's viceroy of this nation is of little or no power with the old natives. Now both English and Irish begin to oppose your lordship's orders, and to lay aside their national quarrels, which I fear will (if any thing will) cause a foreigner to invade this nation."

Not long after this, Archbishop Browne seized one Thady O'Brian, a Franciscan friar, who had in his possession a paper sent from Rome, dated May, 1538, and directed to O'Neal. In this letter were the following words: "His holiness, Paul, now pope, and the council of the fathers, have lately found, in Rome, a prophecy of one St. Lacerianus, an Irish bishop of Cashel, in which he saith, that the mother church of Rome falleth, when, in Ireland, the catholic faith is overcome. Therefore, for the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own secureness, suppress heresy, and his holiness's enemies."

This Thady O'Brian, after farther examination and search made, was pilloried, and kept close prisoner, till the king's orders arrived in what manner he should be farther disposed of. But order coming over from England that he was to be hanged, he laid violent hands on himself in the castle of Dublin. His body was afterwards carried to Gallows-green, where, after being hanged up for some time, it was interred.

After the accession of Edward VI. to the throne of England, an order was directed to Sir Anthony Leger, the lord-deputy of Ireland, commanding that the liturgy in English be forthwith set up in Ireland, there to be observed within the several bishoprics, cathedrals, and parish churches; and it was first read in Christ-church, Dublin, on Easter day, 1551, before the said Sir Anthony, Archbishop Browne, and others. Part of the royal order for this purpose was as follows: "Whereas, our gracious father, King Henry VIII. taking into consideration the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects sustained, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome; how several fabulous stories and lying wonders misled our subjects; dispensing with the sins of our nations, by their indulgences and pardons, for gain; purposely to cherish all evil vices, as robberies, rebellions, theft, whoredoms, blasphemy, idolatry, &c. our gracious father hereupon dissolved all priories, monasteries, abbeys, and other pretended religious houses; as being but nurseries for vice or luxury, more than for sacred learning," &c.

On the day after the common-prayer was first used in Christ-church, Dublin, the following wicked scheme was projected by the papists:

In the church was left a marble image of Christ, holding a reed in his hand, with a crown of thorns on his head. Whilst the English service (the Common Prayer) was being read before the lord-lieutenant, the archbishop of Dublin, the privy-council, the lord-mayor, and a great congregation, blood was seen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, and to trickle down the face of the image. On this, some of the contrivers of the imposture cried aloud: "See how our Saviour's image sweats blood! But it must necessarily do this, since heresy is come into the church." Immediately many of the lower order of people, indeed the *vulgar of all ranks*, were terrified at the sight of so *miraculous* and *undeniable* an evidence of the divine displeasure; they hastened from the church, convinced that the doctrines of protestantism emanated from an infernal source, and that salvation was only to be found in the bosom of their own *infallible* church.

This incident, however ludicrous it may appear to the enlightened reader, had great influence over the minds of the ignorant Irish, and answered the ends of the impudent impostors who contrived it, so far as to check the progress of the reformed religion in Ireland very materially; many persons could not resist the conviction that there were many errors and corruptions in the Romish church, but they were awed into silence by this pretended manifestation of Divine wrath, which was magnified beyond measure by the bigoted and interested priesthood.

We have very few particulars as to the state of religion in Ireland during the remaining portion of the reign of Edward VI. and the greater part of that of Mary. Towards the conclusion of the barbarous sway of that relentless bigot, she attempted to extend her inhuman persecutions to this island; but her diabolical intentions were happily frustrated in the following providential manner, the particulars of which are related by historians of good authority.

Mary had appointed Dr. Cole (an agent of the blood-thirsty Bonner) one of the commissioners for carrying her barbarous intentions into effect. He having arrived at Chester with his commission, the mayor of that city, being a papist, waited upon him; when the doctor taking out of his cloak-bag a leathern case, said to him, "Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland." The good woman of the house being a protestant, and having a brother in Dublin, named John Edmunds, was greatly troubled at what she heard. But watching her opportunity, whilst the mayor was taking his leave, and the doctor politely accompanying him down stairs, she opened the box, took out the commission, and in its stead laid a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards, and the *knave of clubs* at top. The doctor, not suspecting the trick that had been played him, put up the box, and arrived with it in Dublin, in September, 1558.

Anxious to accomplish the intentions of his "*pious*" mistress, he immediately waited upon Lord Fitz-Walter, at that time viceroy, and presented the box to him; which being opened, nothing was found in it but a pack of cards. This startling all the persons present, his lordship said, "We must procure another commission; and in the mean time let us shuffle the cards!"

Dr. Cole, however, would have directly returned to England to get another commission; but waiting for a favourable wind, news arrived



that Queen Mary was dead, and by this means the protestants escaped a most cruel persecution. The above relation as we before observed, is confirmed by historians of the greatest credit, who add, that Queen Elizabeth settled a pension of forty pounds per annum upon the above mentioned Elizabeth Edmunds, for having thus saved the lives of her protestant subjects.

During the reigns of Elizabeth and of James I. Ireland was almost constantly agitated by rebellions and insurrections, which, although not always taking their rise from the difference of religious opinions between the English and Irish, were aggravated and rendered more bitter and irreconcilable from that cause. The popish priests artfully exaggerated the faults of the English government, and continually urged to their ignorant and prejudiced hearers the lawfulness of killing the protestants, assuring them that all catholics who were slain in the prosecution of so *pious* an enterprise, would be immediately received into everlasting felicity. The naturally ungovernable dispositions of the Irish, acted upon by these designing men, drove them into continual acts of barbarous and unjustifiable violence; and it must be confessed that the unsettled and arbitrary nature of the authority exercised by the English governors, was but little calculated to gain their affections. The Spaniards, too, by landing forces in the south, and giving every encouragement to the discontented natives to join their standard, kept the island in a continual state of turbulence and warfare. In 1601, they disembarked a body of 4000 men at Kinsale, and commenced what they called "*the holy war, for the preservation of the faith in Ireland*;" they were assisted by great numbers of the Irish, but were at length totally defeated by the deputy, Lord Mountjoy, and his officers.

This closed the transactions of Elizabeth's reign with respect to Ireland; an interval of apparent tranquillity followed, but the popish priesthood, ever restless and designing, sought to undermine by secret machinations, that government and that faith which they durst no longer openly attack. The pacific reign of James afforded them the opportunity of increasing their strength and maturing their schemes; and under his successor, Charles I., their numbers were greatly increased by titular Romish archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars-general, abbots, priests, and friars; for which reason, in 1629, the public exercise of the popish rites and ceremonies was forbidden.

But notwithstanding this, soon afterwards the Romish clergy erected a new popish university in the city of Dublin. They also proceeded to build monasteries and nunneries in various parts of the kingdom; in which places these very Romish clergy, and the chiefs of the Irish, held frequent meetings; and, from thence, used to pass to and fro, to France, Spain, Flanders, Lorrain, and Rome; where the detestable plot of 1641 was hatching by the family of the O'Neals and their followers.

A short time before the horrid conspiracy broke out, which we are now going to relate, the papists in Ireland had presented a remonstrance to the lords-justices of that kingdom, demanding the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary; to which both houses of parliament in England solemnly answered, that they would never grant any toleration to the popish religion in that kingdom.

This farther irritated the papists to put in execution the diabolical plot concerted for the destruction of the protestants; and it failed not of the success wished for by its malicious and rancorous projectors.

The design of this horrid conspiracy was, that a general insurrection should take place at the same time throughout the kingdom; and that all the protestants, without exception, should be murdered. The day fixed for this horrid massacre, was the 23d of October, 1641, the feast of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits; and the chief conspirators, in the principal parts of the kingdom, made the necessary preparations for the intended conflict.

In order that this detested scheme might the more infallibly succeed, the most distinguished artifices were practised by the papists; and their behaviour, in their visits to the protestants, at this time, was with more seeming kindness than they had hitherto shown, which was done the more completely to effect the inhuman and treacherous designs then meditating against them.

The execution of this savage conspiracy was delayed till the approach of winter, that sending troops from England might be attended with greater difficulty. Cardinal Richelieu, the French minister, had promised the conspirators a considerable supply of men and money; and many Irish officers had given the strongest assurances that they would heartily concur with their Catholic brethren, as soon as the insurrection took place.

The day preceding that appointed for carrying this horrid design into execution was now arrived, when, happily for the metropolis of the kingdom, the conspiracy was discovered by one Owen O'Connelly, an Irishman, for which most signal service the English parliament voted him 500*l.* and a pension of 200*l.* during his life.

So very seasonably was this plot discovered, even but a few hours before the city and castle of Dublin were to have been surprised, that the lords-justices had but just time to put themselves, and the city, in a proper posture of defence. The Lord McGuires, who was the principal leader here, with his accomplices, were seized the same evening in the city; and in their lodgings were found swords, hatchets, pole-axes, hammers, and such other instruments of death as had been prepared for the destruction and extirpation of the protestants in that part of the kingdom.

Thus was the metropolis happily preserved; but the bloody part of the intended tragedy was past prevention. The conspirators were in arms all over the kingdom early in the morning of the day appointed, and every protestant who fell in their way was immediately murdered. No age, no sex, no condition, was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, and the infirm, underwent the same fate, and were blended in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault; destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends; all connexions were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace, and, as they thought, full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long maintained a con-

tinued intercourse of kindness and good offices. Nay, even death was the slightest punishment inflicted by these monsters in human form; all the tortures which wanton cruelty could invent, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelly derived from no just cause whatever. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmost license, cannot reach to a greater pitch of ferocity than appeared in these merciless barbarians. Even the weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. The very children, taught by example, and encouraged by the exhortation of their parents, dealt their feeble blows on the dead carcasses of the defenceless children of the English.

Nor was the avarice of the Irish sufficient to produce the least restraint on their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle they had seized, and by rapine had made their own, were, because they bore the name of English, wantonly slaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods, there to perish by slow and lingering torments.

The commodious habitations of the planters were laid in ashes, or levelled with the ground. And where the wretched owners had shut themselves up in the houses, and were preparing for defence, they perished in the flames together with their wives and children.

Such is the general description of this unparalleled massacre; but it now remains, from the nature of our work, that we proceed to particulars.

The bigoted and merciless papists had no sooner begun to imbrue their hands in blood, than they repeated the horrid tragedy day after day, and the protestants in all parts of the kingdom fell victims to their fury by deaths of the most unheard of cruelty.

The ignorant Irish were more strongly instigated to execute the infernal business by the Jesuits, priests, and friars, who, when the day for the execution of the plot was agreed on, recommended in their prayers, diligence in the great design, which they said would greatly tend to the prosperity of the kingdom, and to the advancement of the Catholic cause. They every where declared to the common people, that the protestants were heretics, and ought not to be suffered to live any longer among them; adding, that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman than to kill a dog; and that the relieving or protecting them was a crime of the most unpardonable nature.

The papists having besieged the town and castle of Longford, and the inhabitants of the former, who were protestants, surrendering on condition of being allowed quarter, the besiegers, the instant the towns-people appeared, attacked them in the most unmerciful manner, their priest, as a signal for the rest to fall on, first ripping open the belly of the English protestant minister; after which his followers murdered all the rest, some of whom they hung, others were stabbed or shot, and great numbers knocked on the head with axes provided for the purpose.

The garrison of Sligo was treated in like manner by O'Conner Slygah, who, upon the protestants quitting their holds, promised them quarter, and to convey them safe over the Curlew mountains, to Ros-

common. But he first imprisoned them in a most loathsome gaol, allowing them only grains for their food. Afterwards, when some papists were merry over their cups, who were come to congratulate their wicked brethren for their victory over these unhappy creatures, those protestants who survived were brought forth by the white friars, and were either killed, or precipitated over the bridge into a swift water, where they were soon destroyed. It is added that this wicked company of white friars went some time after in solemn procession, with holy water in their hands to sprinkle the river, on pretence of cleansing and purifying it from the stains and pollution of the blood and dead bodies of the heretics, as they called the unfortunate protestants who were inhumanly slaughtered at this time.

At Kilmore, Dr. Bedell, bishop of that see, had charitably settled and supported a great number of distressed protestants, who had fled from their habitations to escape the diabolical cruelties committed by the papists. But they did not long enjoy the consolation of living together; the good prelate was forcibly dragged from his episcopal residence, which was immediately occupied by Dr. Swiney, the popish titular bishop of Kilmore, who said mass in the church the Sunday following, and then seized on all the goods and effects belonging to the persecuted bishop.

Soon after this the papists forced Dr. Bedell, his two sons, and the rest of his family, with some of the chief of the protestants whom he had protected, into a ruinous castle, called Lochwater, situated in a lake near the sea. Here he remained with his companions some weeks, all of them daily expecting to be put to death. The greater part of them were stripped naked, by which means, as the season was cold, (it being in the month of December,) and the building in which they were confined open at the top, they suffered the most severe hardships.

They continued in this situation till the 7th of January, when they were all released. The bishop was courteously received into the house of Dennis O'Sheridan, one of his clergy, whom he had made a convert to the church of England; but he did not long survive this kindness.

During his residence here, he spent the whole of his time in religious exercises, the better to fit and prepare himself, and his sorrowful companions, for their great change, as nothing but certain death was perpetually before their eyes.

He was at this time in the 71st year of his age, and being afflicted with a violent ague caught in his late cold and desolate habitation on the lake, it soon threw him into a fever of the most dangerous nature. Finding his dissolution at hand, he received it with joy, like one of the primitive martyrs just hastening to his crown of glory. After having addressed his little flock, and exhorted them to patience, in the most pathetic manner, as they saw their own last day approaching; after having solemnly blessed his people, his family, and his children, he finished the course of his ministry and life together, on the 7th of February, 1612.

His friends and relations applied to the intruding bishop, for leave to bury him, which was with difficulty obtained: he, at first, telling them, that the church-yard was holy ground, and should be no longer defiled with heretics; however, leave was at last granted, and though the

church funeral service was not used at the solemnity, (for fear of the papists,) yet some of the better sort, who had the highest veneration for him when living, attended his remains to the grave. At his interment, they discharged a volley of shot, crying out, *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*: that is, "May the last of the English rest in peace." Adding, that as he was one of the best, so he should be the last English bishop found among them.

His learning was very extensive; and he would have given the world a greater proof of it, had he printed all he wrote. Scarce any of his writings were saved; the papists having destroyed most of his papers and his library.

He had gathered a vast heap of critical expositions of Scripture, all which, with a great trunk full of his manuscripts, fell into the hands of the Irish. Happily his great Hebrew MS. was preserved, and is now in the library of Emanuel college, Oxford.

In the barony of Terawley, the papists, at the instigation of their friars, compelled above 40 English protestants, some of whom were women and children, to the hard fate either of falling by the sword, or of drowning in the sea. These choosing the latter, were accordingly forced, by the naked weapons of their inexorable persecutors, into the deep, where, with their children in their arms, they first waded up to their chins, and afterwards sunk down and perished together.

In the castle of Lisgool upwards of 150 men, women, and children, were all burnt together; and at the castle of Moneah not less than 100 were put to the sword. Great numbers were also murdered at the castle of Tullah, which was delivered up to M'Guire, on condition of having fair quarter; but no sooner had that base villain got possession of the place, than he ordered his followers to murder the people, which was immediately done with the greatest cruelty.

Many others were put to deaths of the most horrid nature, and such as could have been invented only by demons instead of men.

Some of them were laid with the centre of their backs on the axle-tree of a carriage, with their legs resting on the ground on one side, and their arms and head on the other. In this position one of the savages scourged the wretched object on the thighs, legs, &c. while another set on furious dogs, who tore to pieces the arms and upper parts of the body; and in this dreadful manner were they deprived of their existence.

Great numbers were fastened to horses' tails, and the beasts being set on full gallop by their riders, the wretched victims were dragged along till they expired.

Others were hung on lofty gibbets, and a fire being kindled under them, they finished their lives, partly by hanging, and partly by suffocation.

Nor did the more tender sex escape the least particle of cruelty that could be projected by their merciless and furious persecutors. Many women, of all ages, were put to deaths of the most cruel nature. Some, in particular, were fastened with their backs to strong posts, and being stripped to the waist, the inhuman monsters cut off their right breasts with shears, which, of course, put them to the most excruciating torments; and in this position they were left, till, from the loss of blood, they expired.

Such was the savage ferocity of these barbarians, that even unborn

infants were dragged from the womb to become victims to their rage. Many unhappy mothers were hung naked on the branches of trees, and their bodies being cut open, the innocent offspring was taken from them, and thrown to dogs and swine. And to increase the horrid scene, they would oblige the husband to be a spectator before he suffered himself.

At the town of Lissenskeath, they hanged above 100 Scottish protestants showing them no more mercy than they did to the English.

M'Guire, going to the castle of that town, desired to speak with the governor, when being admitted, he immediately burnt the records of the county, which were kept there. He then demanded £1000 of the governor, which having received, he immediately compelled him to hear mass, and to swear that he would continue so to do. And to complete his horrid barbarities, he ordered the wife and children of the governor to be hung up before his face; besides massacring at least 100 of the inhabitants.

Upwards of 1000 men, women, and children, were driven, in different companies, to Portendown bridge, which was broken in the middle, and there compelled to throw themselves into the water; and such as attempted to reach the shore were knocked on the head.

In the same part of the country, at least 4000 persons were drowned in different places. The inhuman papists, after first stripping them, drove them like beasts to the spot fixed for their destruction; and if any, through fatigue, or natural infirmities, were slack in their pace, they pricked them with their swords and pikes; and to strike a farther terror on the multitude, they murdered some by the way. Many of these poor creatures when thrown into the water endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to the shore; but their merciless persecutors prevented their endeavours taking effect, by shooting them in the water.

In one place 140 English, after being driven for many miles stark naked, and in the most severe weather, were all murdered on the same spot, some being hanged, others burnt, some shot, and many of them buried alive; and so cruel were their tormentors, that they would not suffer them to pray before they robbed them of their miserable existence.

Other companies they took under pretence of safe conduct, who, from that consideration, proceeded cheerfully on their journey; but when the treacherous papists had got them to a convenient spot, they butchered them all in the most cruel manner.

One hundred and fifteen men, women, and children, were conducted, by order of Sir Phelim O'Neal, to Portendown bridge, where they were all forced into the river, and drowned. One woman, named Campbell, finding no probability of escaping, suddenly clasped one of the chief of the papists in her arms, and held him so fast, that they were both drowned together.

In Killoman they massacred 48 families, among whom 22 were burnt together in one house. The rest were either hanged, shot, or drowned.

In Killmore the inhabitants, which consisted of about 200 families, all fell victims to their rage. Some of the protestants were set in the stocks till they confessed where their money was; after which they were put to death. The whole country was one common scene of

butchery, and many thousands perished, in a short time, by sword, famine, fire, water, and all other the most cruel deaths that rage and malice could invent.

These inhuman villains showed so much favour to some as to dispatch them immediately: but they would by no means suffer them to pray. Others they imprisoned in filthy dungeons, putting heavy bolts on their legs, and keeping them there till they were starved to death.

At Cashel they put all the protestants into a loathsome dungeon, where they kept them together for several weeks in the greatest misery. At length they were released, when some of them were barbarously mangled, and left on the highways to perish at leisure; others were hanged, and some were buried in the ground upright, with their heads above the earth, the papists, to increase their misery, treating them with derision during their sufferings.

In the county of Antrim they murdered 954 protestants in one morning; and afterwards about 1200 more in that county.

At a town called Lisnegary, they forced 24 protestants into a house, and then setting fire to it, burned them together, counterfeiting their outcries in derision to others.

Among other acts of cruelty, they took two children belonging to an Englishwoman, and dashed out their brains before her face; after which they threw the mother into a river, and she was drowned. They served many other children in the like manner, to the great affliction of their parents, and the disgrace of human nature.

In Kilkenny all the protestants, without exception, were put to death; and some of them in so cruel a manner, as, perhaps, was never before thought of.

They beat an Englishwoman with such savage barbarity, that she had scarce a whole bone left; after which they threw her into a ditch; but not satisfied with this, they took her child, a girl about six years of age, and after ripping up its belly, threw it to its mother, there to languish till it perished.

They forced one man to go to mass, after which they ripped open his body, and in that manner left him. They sawed another asunder, cut the throat of his wife, and after having dashed out the brains of their child, an infant, threw it to the swine, who greedily devoured it.

After committing these and many other horrid cruelties, they took the heads of seven protestants, and among them that of a pious minister, all which they fixed up at the market cross. They put a gag into the minister's mouth, then slit his cheeks to his ears, and laying a leaf of a bible before it, bid him preach, for his mouth was wide enough. They did several other things by way of derision, and expressed the greatest satisfaction at having thus murdered and exposed the unhappy protestants.

It is impossible to conceive the pleasure these monsters took in exercising their cruelty; and to increase the misery of those who fell into their hands, while they were butchering them, they would cry, "Your soul to the devil!"

One of the miscreants would come into a house with his hands imbrued in blood, and boast that it was English blood, and that his sword had pricked the white skin of the protestants, even to the hilt.

When any one of them had killed a protestant, others would come and receive a gratification in cutting and mangling the body; after

which they left it to be devoured by dogs ; and when they had slain a number of them, they would boast that the devil was beholden to them for sending so many souls to hell !

But it is no wonder they should thus treat the innocent Christians, when they hesitated not to commit blasphemy against God and his most holy word.

In one place they burnt two protestant Bibles, and then said they had burnt hell-fire. In the church at Powerscourt, they burnt the pulpit, pews, chests, and Bibles, belonging to it. They took other Bibles, and after wetting them with dirty water, dashed them in the faces of the protestants, saying, "We know you love a good lesson ; here is an excellent one for you ; come to-morrow, and you shall have as good a sermon as this."

Some of the protestants they dragged by the hair of their heads into the church, where they stripped and whipped them in the most cruel manner, telling them, at the same time, "That if they came to-morrow, they should hear the like sermon."

In Munster they put to death several ministers in the most shocking manner. One, in particular, they stripped stark naked, and driving him before them, pricked him with swords and pikes, till he fell down, and expired.

In some places they plucked out the eyes, and cut off the hands of the protestants, and in that condition turned them into the fields, there to linger out the remainder of their miserable existence.

They obliged many young men to force their aged parents to a river, where they were drowned ; wives to assist in hanging their husbands ; and mothers to cut the throats of their children.

In one place they compelled a young man to kill his father, and then immediately hanged him. In another they forced a woman to kill her husband, then obliged her son to kill her, and afterwards shot him through the head.

At a place called Glasgow, a popish priest, with some others, prevailed on 40 protestants to be reconciled to the church of Rome, under the vain hope of saving their lives. They had no sooner done this, than the deceivers told them they were in a good faith, and that they would prevent their falling from it, and turning heretics, by sending them out of the world ; which they did by immediately cutting their throats.

In the county of Tipperary, a great number of protestants, men, women, and children, fell into the hands of the papists, who, after stripping them naked, murdered them with stones, pole-axes, swords, and other weapons.

In the county of Mayo, about 60 protestants, 15 of whom were ministers, were, upon covenant, to be safely conducted to Galway, by one Edmund Burke, and his soldiers ; but that inhuman monster by the way drew his sword, as an intimation of his design to the rest, who immediately followed his example, and murdered the whole, some of whom they stabbed, others were run through the body with pikes, and several were drowned.

In Queen's county great numbers of protestants were put to the most shocking deaths. Fifty or sixty were confined together in one house, which being set on fire, they all perished in the flames.

Many were stripped naked, and being fastened to horses by ropes



placed round their middles, were dragged through bogs till they expired.

Some were hung by the feet to tenter-hooks driven into poles, and in that wretched posture left till they perished.

Others were fastened to the trunk of a tree, with a branch at the top. Over this branch hung one arm, which principally supported the weight of the body: and one of the legs was turned up, and fastened to the trunk, while the other hung straight. In this dreadful and uneasy posture did they remain, as long as life would permit, pleasing spectacles to their blood-thirsty persecutors.

At Clowes 17 men were buried alive; and an Englishman, his wife, five children, and a servant maid, were all hung together, and afterwards thrown into a ditch.

They hung many by the arms to branches of trees, with a weight to their feet; and others by the middle, in which postures they left them till they expired.

Several were hung on windmills, and before they were half dead, the barbarians cut them in pieces with their swords. Others, both men, women, and children, they cut and backed in various parts of their bodies, and left them wallowing in their blood, to perish where they fell. One poor woman they hung on a gibbet, with her child, an infant about a twelvemonth old, the latter of whom was hung by the neck with the hair of its mother's head, and in that manner finished its short but miserable existence.

In the county of Tyrone no less than 300 protestants were drowned in one day; and many others were hanged, burned, and otherwise put to death.

Dr. Maxwell, rector of Tyrone, lived at this time near Armagh, and suffered greatly from these merciless savages. This clergyman, in his examination, taken upon oath before the king's commissioners, declared, that the Irish papists owned to him, that they had destroyed, in one place, at Glynwood, 12,000 protestants, in their flight from the county of Armagh.

As the river Bann was not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Irish forced thither, at different times, a great number of unarmed, defenceless protestants, and with pikes and swords violently thrust above 1000 into the river, where they miserably perished.

Nor did the cathedral of Armagh escape the fury of these barbarians, it being maliciously set on fire by their leaders, and burnt to the ground. And to extirpate, if possible, the very race of those unhappy protestants, who lived in or near Armagh, the Irish first burnt all their houses, and then gathered together many hundreds of those innocent people, young and old, on pretence of allowing them a guard and safe conduct to Coleraine: when they treacherously fell on them by the way, and inhumanly murdered them.

The like horrid barbarities with those we have particularized, were practised on the wretched protestants in almost all parts of the kingdom; and, when an estimate was afterwards made of the number who were sacrificed to gratify the diabolical souls of the papists, it amounted to 150,000. But it now remains that we proceed to the particulars that follow.

These desperate wretches, flushed and grown insolent with success, (though attained by methods attended with such excessive bar-

barities as perhaps are not to be equalled) soon got possession of the castle of Newry, where the king's stores and ammunition were lodged; and, with as little difficulty, made themselves masters of Dundalk. They afterwards took the town of Ardee, where they murdered all the protestants, and then proceeded to Drogheda. The garrison of Drogheda was in no condition to sustain a siege; notwithstanding which, as often as the Irish renewed their attacks, they were vigorously repulsed, by a very unequal number of the king's forces, and a few faithful protestant citizens, under Sir Henry Tichborne, the governor, assisted by the Lord Viscount Moore. The siege of Drogheda began on the 30th of November, 1641, and held till the 4th of March, 1642, when Sir Phelim O'Neal, and the Irish miscreants under him, were forced to retire.

In the mean time, 10,000 troops were sent from Scotland to the relief of the remaining protestants in Ireland, which being properly divided into various parts of the kingdom, happily suppressed the power of the Irish savages, and the protestants, for several years, lived in tranquillity.

After James II. had abandoned England, he maintained a contest for some time in Ireland, where he did all in his power to carry on that persecution which he had been happily prevented from persevering in in England; accordingly, in a parliament held at Dublin, in the year 1689, great numbers of the protestant nobility, clergy, and gentry of Ireland, were attainted of high treason. The government of the kingdom was, at that time, invested in the earl of Tyrconnel, a bigoted papist, and an inveterate enemy to the protestants. By his orders they were again persecuted in various parts of the kingdom. The revenues of the city of Dublin were seized, and most of the churches converted into prisons. And had it not been for the resolution, and uncommon bravery of the garrisons in the city of Londonderry, and the town of Iniskillen, there had not one place remained for refuge to the distressed protestants in the whole kingdom, but all must have been given up to King James, and to the furious popish party that governed him.

The remarkable siege of Londonderry was opened on the 18th of April, 1689, by 20,000 papists, the flower of the Irish army. The city was not properly circumstanced to sustain a siege, the defenders consisting of a body of raw, undisciplined protestants, who had fled thither for shelter, and half a regiment of Lord Mountjoy's disciplined soldiers, with the principal part of the inhabitants, making, in all, only 7361 fighting men.

The besieged hoped, at first, that their stores of corn, and other necessaries, would be sufficient; but by the continuance of the siege their wants increased; and these at last became so heavy, that, for a considerable time before the siege was raised, a pint of coarse barley, a small quantity of greens, a few spoonsful of starch, with a very moderate portion of horse flesh, were reckoned a week's provision for a soldier. And they were, at length, reduced to such extremities, that they ate dogs, cats, and mice.

Their miseries increasing with the siege, many, through mere hunger and want, pined and languished away, or fell dead in the streets; and it is remarkable, that when their long expected succours arrived from England, they were upon the point of being reduced to this

alternative, either to preserve their existence by eating each other, or attempting to fight their way through the Irish, which must have infallibly produced their destruction.

These succours were most happily brought by the ship *Mountjoy*, of Derry, and the *Phoenix*, of Coleraine, at which time they had only nine lean horses left, with a pint of meal to each man. By hunger, and the fatigues of war, their 7261 fighting men were reduced to 1300, one fourth part of whom were rendered unserviceable.

As the calamities of the besieged were very great, so likewise were the terrors and sufferings of their protestant friends and relations; all of whom (even women and children) were forcibly driven from the country 30 miles round, and inhumanly reduced to the sad necessity of continuing some days and nights, without food or covering, before the walls of the town, and were thus exposed to the continual fire both of the Irish army from without, and the shot of their friends from within.

But the succours from England happily arriving, put an end to their affliction, and the siege was raised on the 31st of July, having been continued upwards of three months.

The day before the siege of Londonderry was raised, the Inniskilleners engaged a body of 6000 Irish Roman Catholics, at Newton, Butler, or Crown Castle, of whom near 5000 were slain. This, with the defeat at Londonderry, so much dispirited the papists, that they gave up all farther attempts at that time to persecute the protestants.

In the year following, 1690, the Irish who had taken up arms in favour of James II. were totally defeated by William the Third; and that monarch, before he left the country, reduced them to a state of subjection, in which they very long continued, at least so far as to refrain from open violence, although they were still insidiously engaged in increasing their power and influence; for, by a report made in the year 1731, it appeared, that a great number of ecclesiastics had, in defiance of the laws, flocked into Ireland; that several convents had been opened by Jesuits, monks, and friars; that many new and pompous mass houses had been erected in some of the most conspicuous parts of their great cities, where there had not been any before; and that such swarms of vagrant immoral Romish priests had appeared, that the very papists themselves considered them as a burden.

But, notwithstanding all the arts of priestcraft, all the tumid and extravagant harangues of Hibernian orators, and the gross and wilful misrepresentations of their self-styled *liberal* abettors in this country, the protestant religion now stands on a firmer basis in Ireland than it ever before did. The Irish, who formerly led an unsettled and roving life, in the woods, bogs, and mountains, and lived on the depredation of their neighbours; they who in the morning seized the prey, and at night divided the spoil, have, for many years past, become comparatively quiet and civilized. They taste the sweets of English society, and the advantages of civil government.

The heads of their clans, and the chiefs of the great Irish families, who cruelly oppressed and tyrannized over their vassals, are now dwindled, in a great measure, to nothing, and most of the ancient popish nobility and gentry of Ireland have renounced the Romish religion.

It is also to be hoped, that inestimable benefits will arise from the establishment of protestant schools in various parts of the king-

dom, in which the children of the Roman Catholics are instructed in religion and literature, whereby the mist of ignorance is dispelled, which was the great source of the cruel transactions that have taken place, at different periods, in that kingdom; and this is sufficiently proved by the fact, that those parts of the country which have been disgraced by the most horrible outrages, are those in which the most profound ignorance and bigotry still prevail.

In order to preserve the protestant interest in Ireland upon a solid basis, it behoves all in whom power is invested, to discharge their respective duties with the strictest assiduity and attention; tempering justice with mercy, and firmness with conciliation. They should endeavour rather to gain the hearts of the people by kindness than to enslave them by fear; and to show them that the ministers of the protestant religion are more estimable, instead of more powerful, than the Romish clergy. A single voluntary proselyte is worth a thousand converts to "the holy text of pike and gun."

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#### SECTION IV.

ACCOUNT OF THE HORRID PLOT CONCERTED BY THE PAPISTS, FOR DESTROYING THE CITY OF LONDON BY FIRE, IN THE YEAR 1666.

STIMULATED by revenge, and prompted by superstition, the papists unceasingly turned their thoughts to obtain their long-wished-for purpose, the overthrow of the protestant religion, and the destruction of its adherents in England.

Having failed in several efforts, they thought of a scheme for destroying the capital of the kingdom, which they flattered themselves might greatly facilitate their intentions; but although, unhappily, their diabolical scheme, in some measure, took place, yet it was not productive of the consequences they hoped and wished for. A great part of the city was, indeed destroyed: the melancholy particulars of which we shall copy from the London Gazette, published at the time:

*Whitehall, September 8, 1666.*

"On the second instant, at one of the clock in the morning, there happened to break out a sad and deplorable fire, at a baker's, in Pudding-lane, near Fish-street, which falling out at that hour of the night, and in a quarter of the town so close built with wooden pitched houses, spread itself so far before day, and with such distraction to the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the farther diffusion of it, by pulling down houses, as ought to have been; so that this lamentable fire, in a short time, became too big to be mastered by any engines, or working near it. It fell out most unhappily too, that a violent easterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that day, and the night following, spreading itself up to Gracechurch-street, and downwards from Cannon-street to the water-side, as far as the Three Cranes in the Vintry.

"The people, in all parts about it, were distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods. Many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it, by pulling down houses, and making great intervals, but all in vain, the fire seizing

upon the timber and rubbish, and so continuing itself, even through those spaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday, notwithstanding his majesty's own, and his royal highness's indefatigable and personal pains to apply all possible remedies to prevent it, calling upon, and helping the people with their guards, and a great number of nobility and gentry unweariedly assisting therein, for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people.

“By the favour of God, the wind slackened a little on Tuesday night, and the flames meeting with brick buildings at the Temple, by little and little it was observed to lose its force on that side, so that on Wednesday morning we began to hope well, and his royal highness never despairing, or slackening his personal care, wrought so well that day, assisted in some parts by the lords of the council before and behind it, that a stop was put to it at the Temple church; near Holborn-bridge; Pie-corner; Aldersgate; Cripplegate; near the lower end of Coleman-street; at the end of Bassinghall-street, by the Postern; at the upper end of Bishopsgate-street, and Leadenhall-street; at the standard in Cornhill; at the church in Fenchurch-street; near Clothworkers'-hall in Mincing-lane; at the middle of Market-lane, and at the Tower-dock.

“On Thursday, by the blessing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguished; but so as that evening it unhappily burst out again afresh at the Temple, by the falling of some sparks (as is supposed) upon a pile of wooden buildings; but his royal highness, who watched there that whole night in person, by the great labours and diligence used, and especially by applying powder to blow up the houses about it, before day most happily mastered it.

“His majesty then sat hourly in council, and ever since hath continued making rounds about the city, in all parts of it where the danger and mischief was the greatest, till this morning that he hath sent his grace the duke of Albemarle, whom he hath called for to assist him on this great occasion, to put his happy and successful hand to the finishing this memorable deliverance.”

During the progres of this dreadful conflagration, orders were given for pulling down various houses in the Tower of London, in order to preserve the grand magazine of gunpowder in that fortress; to the preservation of which, however, the violent easterly wind contributed more than the precaution.

Many thousands of citizens, who by this calamity were deprived of their habitations, retired to the fields, destitute of all necessaries, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, till a sufficient number of tents or huts could be erected for their reception. In order to mitigate the distresses of the people, his majesty ordered a great quantity of naval bread to be distributed among them; and issued a proclamation, commanding the magistrates of the city to encourage the bringing of all kinds of provisions.

By the certificate of Jonas Moore and Ralph Gatrix, the surveyors appointed to examine the ruins, it appeared, that this dreadful fire overran 436 acres of ground within the walls, and burnt 13,200 houses, 89 parish churches, besides chapels; and that only 11 parish churches within the walls were left standing.

To this account of its devastation may also be added the destruc-

tion of St. Paul's cathedral, Guildhall, the Royal Exchange, Custom-house, and Blackwell-hall; many hospitals and libraries, 52 halls of the city companies, and a great number of other stately edifices; together with three of the city gates, and the prisons Newgate and Fleet, the Poultry and Wood-street Compters: the loss of which, by the best calculation, amounted to upwards of ten million sterling. Yet notwithstanding all this destruction, only six persons lost their lives.

Various were the conjectures of the people on the cause of this singular calamity; at first some imagined it to be casual, but, from a train of circumstances, it afterwards appeared to have been done from the malice and horrid contrivances of the papists. Several suspected persons were taken into custody; but although there were very strong presumptions, no positive proof being produced against them, they were discharged.

Thus did this diabolical scheme take place, in a great measure, to the wishes of the infamous contrivers: yet, instead of being prejudicial, it was, in the end, productive of the most happy consequences to the metropolis. It certainly, for a time, occasioned the most poignant distress to the inhabitants, but it afforded an opportunity that never happened before, and in all human probability, never may again, of restoring the city with more attention to uniformity, conveniency, and wholesomeness, than could be expected in a town of progressive growth. The streets were before narrow, crooked, and incommodious; the houses chiefly of wood, dark, close, and ill-contrived; with their several stories projecting beyond each other as they rose, over the narrow streets. The free circulation of the air was, by these means, obstructed; and the people breathed a stagnant, unwholesome element, replete with foul effluvia, sufficient to generate putrid disorders, and disposed to harbour any pestilential taint it might receive. All these inconveniencies were removed, by the streets being made wider, and the buildings principally formed of brick: so that if, either by accident or otherwise, a fire should happen in future, its progress might be soon stopped, and the direful consequences which generally arise from such circumstances rendered trifling.

Besides those already mentioned, the fire of London was certainly productive of one advantage of the most valuable nature, namely, the extirpation of that contagious and destructive distemper, the plague, which, but the year before, had brought thousands to their graves. This horrible disease had made great devastation among the inhabitants, not only of the metropolis, but of different parts of the kingdom, at various periods; but its baneful influence has never been exerted in London, since the great conflagration, and there is therefore reason to conclude that this temporary calamity was employed by Providence as the means of conferring a permanent benefit on the inhabitants of this city, and of defeating the machinations of those miscreants who contrived so diabolical a method of revenge.

To perpetuate the remembrance of this occurrence, a monument was erected in that part of the city in the neighbourhood of which the fire began; and as it still remains in its original state, it may not be improper here to describe it.

The MONUMENT, which is a noble fluted column, is situated in a small square, open to the street, on the east side of Fish-street hill.

It was designed by Sir Christopher Wren, by whom it was begun to be erected in the year 1671, and thoroughly completed by that great architect in 1677. It is esteemed the noblest modern column in the world; and may, in some respects, vie with the most celebrated of antiquity, which are consecrated to the names of Trajan and Antoninus.

This stately column, which is twenty-four feet higher than Trajan's pillar at Rome, is built of Portland stone, of the Doric order, and fluted. Its altitude from the ground is 202 feet, and the diameter of the shaft, or body of the column, is fifteen feet. It stands on a pedestal forty feet high, the ground, plinth, or bottom of which, is twenty-eight feet square. Within is a stair case of black marble, containing 345 steps, each six inches thick, and ten inches and a half broad. Over the capital is an iron balcony, which encompasses a cone thirty-two feet high, supporting a blazing urn of brass, gilt.\* On the cap of the pedestal, at the angles, are four dragons (the supporters of the city arms,) and between them trophies, with symbols of regality, arts, sciences, commerce, &c.

The west side of the pedestal is adorned with curious emblems, by the masterly hand of Mr. Cibber, father to the poet laureate; in which the eleven principal figures are done in alto, and the rest in basso relievo. The principal figure to which the eye is particularly directed, is a female, representing the city of London, sitting in a languishing posture on a heap of ruins: her head appears reclining, her hair is dishevelled, and her hand lies carelessly on her sword. Behind is Time gradually raising her up; and at her side a woman, representing Providence, gently touching her with one hand, whilst, with a winged sceptre in the other, she directs her to regard two goddesses in the clouds; one with a cornucopia, signifying Plenty, and the other with a palm branch, denoting Peace. At her feet is a bee-hive, showing, that by industry and application the greatest difficulties are to be surmounted. Behind Time are various citizens exulting at his endeavours to restore her; and beneath in the midst of the ruins, is a dragon, who, as supporter of the city arms, endeavours to preserve them with his paw. Opposite the city, on an elevated pavement, stands King Charles II., in a Roman habit, with a wreath of laurel on his head, and a truncheon in his hand; who approaching the city, commands three of his attendants to descend to her relief; the first represents the Sciences with wings on her head, and a circle of naked boys dancing upon it, holding nature in her hand, with her numerous breasts ready to give assistance to all. The second is Architecture, with a plan in one hand, and a square and pair of compasses in the other. The third is Liberty, waving a hat in the air, and showing her joy at the pleasing prospect of the city's speedy recovery. Behind the king stands his brother the duke of York, with a garland in one hand to crown the rising city, and a sword in the other for her defence. Behind him are Justice and Fortitude, the former with a coronet, and the latter with a reined Lion. In the pavement,

\* In the place of this urn, which was set up contrary to Sir Christopher's opinion, it was originally intended to place either a colossal statue, in brass, gilt, of king Charles II., as founder of the new city, after the manner of the Roman pillars, which were terminated by the statues of their Cæsars; or a figure erect of a woman crowned with turrets, holding a sword and cap of maintenance, with other ensigns of the city's grandeur and re-erection.

under the sovereign's feet, appears Envy peeping from her cell, and gnawing a heart; and in the upper part of the back-ground, the reconstruction of the city is represented by scaffolding, erected by the sides of the unfinished houses, with builders and labourers at work upon them.

On the east side of the pedestal is the following inscription, signifying the times in which this pillar was begun, continued, and brought to perfection.

" Incepta  
 Richardo Ford, Eq.,  
 pratore Lond.  
 A. D. MDCLXXI.  
 perducta altius  
 Geo. Waterman, Eq. P. V.  
 Roberto Hanson, Eq. P. V.  
 Gulielmo Hooker, Eq. P. V.  
 Roberto Viner, Eq. P. V.  
 Josepho Sheldon, Eq. P. V.  
 perfecta  
 Thoma. Davis, Eq. P. V.  
 urb.  
 Anno Dom.  
 MDCLXXVII.

The north and south sides of the pedestal have each a Latin inscription; one describing the desolation of the city, and the other its restoration. That on the north side has been translated as follows:

"In the year of Christ, 1666, the 2d day of September, eastward from hence, at the distance of two hundred feet, (the height of this column,) a fire broke out about midnight, which, being driven on by a strong wind, not only wasted the adjacent parts, but also very remote places, with incredible noise and fury. It consumed eighty-nine churches, the city-gates, Guildhall, many hospitals, schools, and libraries; a vast number of stately edifices, above thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling houses, and four hundred streets; of the twenty-six wards it destroyed fifteen, and left eight others shattered, and half burnt. The ruins of the city were four hundred and thirty-six acres, from this pillar, by the Thames side, to the Temple-church; and, from the north-east side, along the city-wall, to Holborn-bridge. To the estates and fortunes of the citizens it was merciless, but to their lives very favourable; that it might in all things resemble the last conflagration of the world. The destruction was sudden; for in a small space of time the same city was seen most flourishing, and reduced to nothing. Three days after, when this fatal fire had baffled all human counsels and endeavours in the opinion of all, it stopped, as it were, by the will of Heaven, and was extinguished on every side."

The translation of the inscription on the south side may be given thus:

"Charles the Second, son of Charles the Martyr, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, a most gracious prince, commiserating the deplorable state of things, whilst the ruins



were yet smoking, provided for the comfort of his citizens, and the ornament of his city; remitted their taxes, and referred the petitions of the magistrates and inhabitants to the parliament, who immediately passed an act that public works should be restored to greater beauty with public money, to be raised by an imposition on coal; that churches, and the cathedral of St. Paul, should be rebuilt from their foundations, with all magnificence; that bridges, gates, and prisons, should be new made, the sewers cleansed, the streets made straight and regular, such as were steep levelled, and those too narrow to be made wider. Markets and shambles to be also enlarged, and situated in different parts of the city. That every house should be built with party walls, and all in front raised of equal height; that those walls should be of square stone or brick; and that no man should be longer than seven years building his house. Anniversary prayers were also enjoined; and to perpetuate the memory thereof to posterity, they caused this column to be erected. The work was carried on with diligence, and London is restored; but whether with greater speed or beauty, may be made a question. In three years' time the world saw that finished, which was supposed to be the business of an age."

Under the before-mentioned inscriptions, in one continued line round the base of the pedestal, are the following words:

"This pillar was set up in perpetual remembrance of the most dreadful burning of this protestant city, begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the popish faction, in the beginning of September, in the year of our Lord 1666, in order to execute their horrid plot to extirpate the protestant religion, and the old English liberty, and to introduce popery and slavery."

This inscription, on the accession of James, duke of York, to the throne, was immediately erased; but was restored again soon after the revolution. And the whole fabric is, at present, in the situation above described.

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## SECTION V.

### ACCOUNT OF THE POPISH AND MEAL-TUB PLOTS.

This horrid conspiracy was formed by the papists, and is distinguished in the annals of England by the name of the **POPISH PLOT**. It was said that the design of the conspiracy was, to kill the king, to subvert the government, to extirpate the protestant religion, and to establish popery.

The authors and promoters of this plot were said to be the pope and cardinals, the Romish, French, Spanish, and English jesuits, the seminary priests in England, who at this time came over in great numbers, and several popish lords, and others of that party. The duke of York himself was deeply suspected of being concerned in it, except that part of killing the king; and that point excepted, the king himself was supposed to have favoured the conspiracy. The article of taking off the king appeared to be only the project of a part of the conspirators, to make way for the duke of York to ascend the throne,

who was more forward, active, and less fearful than the king, and consequently more likely to bring the grand design of the conspiracy, the changing of the government and religion, to a speedier conclusion.

The chief discoverer of this conspiracy was one Titus Oates, who had formerly been a clergyman of the church of England, but had now reconciled himself to the church of Rome, or at least pretended so to do, and entered into the number of the English seminaries at St. Omer's. He also went into Spain, and was admitted to the counsels of the Jesuits. By these means he became acquainted with all the secret designs that were carrying on, in order to establish popery in this nation; and then returning to England, he digested the several matters he had heard into a narrative, and by the means of Dr. Tonge, a city divine, got a copy of it delivered to the king, who referred him to the lord treasurer Danby.

These two informers, finding the king did not take much notice of their discovery, resolved to communicate it to the parliament; previous to which Oates went and made oath of the truth of the narrative before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, leaving one copy of it with him, and reserving another for himself.

The affair having now taken wind, it was resolved to bring it before the council, who accordingly sat twice a day for a considerable period to examine into it; and Tonge and Oates had lodgings assigned them in Whitehall, with a handsome allowance to each for their maintenance, and a guard for the security of their persons.

On their informations several persons were apprehended, particularly one Wakeman, the queen's physician, and Coleman, the duke of York's secretary. In the latter's house were found several letters which seemed to concur with Oates's testimony, and gave great weight to what he advanced. This, with the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey soon after, who had taken Oates's oath to his narrative, confirmed the people in their belief of the plot.

Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had been remarkably active in his office against the papists, to whom his murder was immediately ascribed; and the truth was confirmed by the evidence of Bedloe and Prance; the latter of whom deposed, that, "after Sir Edmundbury had several days been dogged by the papists, they at last accomplished their wicked design, on Saturday, October 12, 1678, and under pretence of a quarrel, which they knew his care for the public peace would oblige him to prevent, about nine o'clock at night, as he was going home, got him into the Water-Gate at Somerset-House. When he was thus trepanned in, and got out of hearing from the street, toward the lower end of the yard, Green, one of the assassins, threw a twisted handkerchief round his neck, and drew him behind the rails, when three or four more of them immediately falling on him, there they throttled him; and lest that should not be enough, punched and kicked him on the breast, as sufficiently appeared, when his body was found, by the marks upon it; and lest he should not be yet dead enough, another of them, Girald, or Fitzgerald, would have run him through, but was hindered by the rest, lest the blood should have discovered them. But Green, to make sure work, wrung his neck round, as it was found afterwards on the inspection of the surgeons.

"For the disposal of the body, they all carried it up into a little

chamber of Hill's, another of the murderers, who had been, or was, Dr. Godwin's man, where it lay till Monday night, when they removed it into another room, and thence back again till Wednesday, when they carried him out in a sedan about twelve o'clock, and afterwards upon a horse, with Hill behind him, to support him, till they got to Primrose-Hill, or, as it is called by some, Green-Bury Hill, near a public house, called the White House, and there threw him into a ditch, with his gloves and cane on a bank near him, and his own sword run through him, on purpose to persuade the world he had killed himself. Very cunningly making choice of a place to lay him where they might both think he would be some time concealed, and near where he had been seen walking the same day." The body was accordingly found there several days afterwards.

Thus died that good man, and wise magistrate, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who fell a martyr to the diabolical machinations of some wicked and blood-thirsty papists. His body was interred with great solemnity in the church of St. Martin in the Fields; and he was attended to the grave by an incredible number of lamenting spectators.

This horrid conspiracy engaged the whole attention of the parliament, who addressed the king to remove all popish recusants out of the cities of London and Westminster, and from within ten miles of them: and in another address, they besought his majesty to take care of his royal person; that he would command the lord-mayor, and licutenancy of London, to appoint proper guards of the trained bands during the sitting of parliament; and that the lords-licutenants of the counties of Middlesex and Surry should appoint sufficient guards in Middlesex, Westminster, and Southwark.

The houses attended to no other business but this plot; and so warmly did they enter into the matter, that several days they sat from morning till night examining Oates, and other witnesses. At length, on the 31st of October, 1678, they unanimously resolved, "that the lords and commons are of opinion, that there hath been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by popish recusants, for assassinating and murdering the king, for subverting the government, and rooting out and destroying the protestant religion."

These opinions were farther confirmed by a circumstance which happened soon after: for, about the beginning of May, 1679, the citizens discovered a plot, formed by the Jesuits and other papists, for destroying the city of London a second time by fire. One Elizabeth Oxley, a servant in Fetter-lane, having set fire to her master's house, was apprehended and committed to prison, when she confessed the fact, and declared, that she had been hired to do it by one Stubbs, a papist, who was to give her five pounds as a reward.

Stubbs being immediately secured, confessed that he had persuaded her to it: but that he himself had been prevailed on by one father Gifford, his confessor, who, he said, assured him, that instead of its being a sin, it would be a great service to the "Holy Catholic Church," to burn and destroy all the houses of heretics: saying, that he had conversed many times on that affair with Gifford, and two Irishmen. And the maid and Stubbs jointly declared, that the papists intended to rise in London, in expectation of being assisted by a powerful army from France

Soon after this, a prosecution being commenced against several of the Jesuits who were concerned in the plot, five of them were convicted and executed; and several lords being also impeached of the same, were committed prisoners to the tower.

The parliament meeting on the 21st of October, the Lord Stafford, who was one of those impeached of being concerned in the popish plot, was brought to his trial; and being convicted of high treason, received sentence to be hanged and quartered. The king, however, as is usual in such cases, remitted this sentence, and left Stafford to be beheaded; but the zeal of the two sheriffs of London started a doubt as to the king's power of mitigating the sentence in any part. They proposed queries on this point to both houses; the peers deemed them superfluous; and the commons, apprehensive lest an examination into these queries might produce the opportunity of Stafford's escape, expressed themselves satisfied with the manner of execution, by severing his head from his body.

#### *The Meal-Tub Plot.*

In a very short time after the before mentioned conspiracies, a sham plot was discovered to have been formed by the papists, in order to throw off the odium they had justly acquired, and to place it on the presbyterians.

One Dangerfield, a fellow who had suffered almost every punishment the law could inflict on the most abandoned, was tutored for the purpose. The Catholic party released him out of Newgate, where he was imprisoned for debt, and set him to work. He pretended to have been privy to a design for destroying the king and the royal family, and converting the government into a commonwealth. The king, and his brother, countenanced the tale, and rewarded him for his discovery with a sum of money; but certain papers which he produced in evidence of his assertions, appearing, upon his examination, to be forged by himself, he was put under an arrest. All his haunts were ordered to be searched; and in the house of one Mrs. Collier, a midwife, a Roman Catholic, and an intimate acquaintance of his, was found the model of the pretended plot, written very fair, neatly made up in a book, tied with a ribband, and concealed in a meal-tub, from whence it acquired the name of the MEAL-TUB PLOT.

Dangerfield, finding himself thus detected, applied to the lord mayor, made an ample confession of the imposition, and discovered his employers.

The detection of this contrivance so irritated the populace in general against the papists, that it added much to the whimsical solemnity of burning the effigy of the pope; for, on the 17th of November, the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, the ceremony was performed with the most singular pomp and magnificence; and every mark was shown by the people, that could demonstrate their abhorrence of popery.

Thus were all these diabolical schemes, projected by the papists to injure the protestants, happily rendered abortive; but we must not quit this section without taking notice, that, on the accession of James II. to the English throne, the famous Titus Oates, who was so materially concerned in the discovery of the popish plot, was tried for perjury on two indictments, and being found guilty, was sentenced to be fined

one thousand marks for each; to be whipped, on two different days, from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn; to be imprisoned during life, and to stand on the pillory five times every year. He made the most solemn appeal to heaven, and the strongest protestations of the veracity of his testimony. The whipping was so severe that he swooned several times, and it was evidently the design of the court to have put him to death by that punishment. He was, however, enabled, by the care of his friends, to recover, and he lived till William III. came to the throne, when he was released from his confinement, and had a pension allowed him of 100*l.* per annum.

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## SECTION VI.

PERSECUTIONS OF MANY EMINENT PROTESTANT PATRIOTS IN THE REIGNS OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES II. ; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE BARBARITIES OF JEFFREYS IN THE WEST OF ENGLAND.

During the latter years of the reign of Charles the Second, England was convulsed by the efforts of that monarch (who had been converted to popery) to attain arbitrary power, and the struggles of a patriotic band to defeat his nefarious designs, and to retain the constitution for which their fathers had fought and bled. They succeeded in establishing several salutary checks on the royal prerogative, and their praiseworthy exertions became at length so obnoxious to the king, that he dissolved the parliament in a fit of passion, and determined from that time to rule by his own sole authority. In this resolution he was supported by his brother, the duke of York, whose known papistry had long rendered him an object of just suspicion to the nation; by Louis XIV. king of France, to whom he had basely betrayed the interests of England for money; and by a vile and profligate herd of courtiers, who, slaves alike in mind and body, willingly assisted in the destruction of that freedom of which they were incapable of appreciating the advantages.

The king and his brother, thus upheld at home and abroad, determined to take a severe revenge on those persons who had distinguished themselves by their opposition to popery and tyranny; but as it was still necessary to preserve the forms of law and the appearance of justice, various absurd stories of plots and assassinations were hatched up, and sworn to by a gang of wretches destitute of every feeling of morality, and dead to every obligation of justice. We shall give the particulars of a few of those trials.

### *Murder of Arthur, Earl of Essex.*

My lord of Essex had large interest, a plentiful estate, a great deal of courage, understood the world, and the principles and practices of the papists, as well as any man, having been of several secret committees in the examination of the plot, for which very reason there was as much necessity for his death as for that of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. He was, beside all this, of inflexible honesty, and so true a greatness of mind, that they could no more expect to gain him, than heaven itself, to be on their side.

Accordingly, his throat was cut in the tower the 13th of July, 1683, about eight or nine in the morning, and this was reported at Andover, 60 miles from London, on the 11th of July, the first day of his imprisonment, and was told to a person travelling on the road near the same place, which was witnessed before even Jeffreys, in a public court of judicature. The manner in which the murder was hushed up, must likewise strengthen suspicion: a deputy coroner was present at the inquest, instead of a legal one; none of the deceased's relations attended the inquest; the body was removed from the place where it was first laid, stripped, the clothes taken away, the rooms washed from the blood, and the clothes denied to be shown to the jury. The principal witnesses examined were only Bomeny, his man, and Russel, his warder, who might be justly suspected of being privy to, if not actors in the murder. The jury hastened and hurried the verdict, when so great a man, a peer of the realm, and the king's prisoner, was concerned. And all this at a time when the Lord Russel was to be tried for a share in the plot, in which the earl of Essex was also accused of being concerned; and when the news of his suicide, as pretended, was instantly, with so much diligence, conveyed from the Tower to the Session-House, bench, bar, and jury, and harped upon by the Lord Howard just then, and by others in after-trials, as more than a thousand witnesses, and the very finger of God. After this, the very sentinel, who that day stood near the place, was found dead in the tower-ditch, and Captain Hawley barbarously murdered down at Rochester; and all methods used to prevent the truth from coming to light. Mr. Braddon was harassed, prosecuted, imprisoned, and fined for stirring in it. On the fair and impartial consideration of these things, which are all notorious facts, granted by all sides, what can a man conclude from the whole, but—That this noble lord was certainly murdered by the popish party!

But there is yet more evidence: if he could not murder himself in that manner, who then should do it but those on whom the guilt of it has been just charged? His throat was cut from one jugular to the other, both the jugulars being thoroughly divided. How could any man after the prodigious flow of blood which must necessarily follow on the dividing one jugular, as well as all those strong muscles which lie in the way, how could he ever have strength to go through, all round, and come to the other, without fainting?

Lastly, His character makes it morally impossible that he should be guilty of such an action.

#### *Trial and Execution of William Lord Russel.*

The next who fell under their cruelty, and to whose death that of Essex was but a prologue, was Lord Russel; without all dispute one of the finest gentlemen that ever England bred; and whose pious life and virtue was as much treason against the court, by affronting them with what was so much hated there, as any thing else that was sworn against him. His family was ancient, and early enemies to the Romish superstition, though this brave nobleman only suffered for offences of his ancestors. His first offence, as he himself says, in his last speech, was his earnestness in the matter of the exclusion of the duke. He began sooner than most others to see into the danger we were in from popery, and all those fatal consequences which have since happened; and described them plainly, and almost prophetically.

He was arrested, imprisoned in the tower, and brought to his trial on the 13th of July, 1683, at the Old Bailey, for high treason. He earnestly desired that he might have respite, and not be tried that day, since he had some witnesses that could not be in town till the night, but his enemies were in such post-haste, and so eager for his blood, that they would not stay so much as till the afternoon, pretending it was against precedent, and they could not do it without the attorney general's consent; though it is notorious, that on several occasions it had been done, and the trial been postponed, even till the following sessions.

When he found he must expect neither favour nor justice, as to the delaying of his trial, he excepted against the foreman of the jury, because not a freeholder; which was also over-ruled and given against him; though that practice has been since declared and acknowledged one of the great grievances of the nation.

On the king's counsel opening the evidence, he first says, "He was indicted for no less than conspiring the death of the king's majesty; and that in order to the same, he and others did meet and conspire together, to bring our sovereign lord the king to death, to raise war and rebellion against him, and to massacre his subjects; and in order to compass these wicked designs, being assembled, did conspire to seize the king's guards, and his majesty's person; and this (he tells the jury) is the charge against him."

The attorney general melts it a little lower, and tells them, the meaning of all these tragical words "was, a consult about a rising, about seizing the guards, and receiving messages from the earl of Shaftesbury concerning an insurrection."

Nor yet does the proof against him come up so high even as this, though all care was used for that purpose, and questions put very frequently to lead and drive the evidence; only one of them witnessing to any one point.

The first of the witnesses was Colonel Rumsey, who swore, That he was sent with a letter from Lord Shaftesbury, who lay concealed at Wapping, to meet Lord Russel, Ferguson, &c. at Shepherd's, to know of them what resolution they were come to concerning the rising designed at Taunton. That when he came thither, the answer made was, Mr. Trenchard had failed them, and no more would be done in that business at that time. That Mr. Ferguson spoke the most part of that answer; but my Lord Russel was present, and that he did speak about the rising of Taunton, and consented to it. That the company was discoursing also of viewing the guards, in order to surprise them, if the rising had gone on; and that some undertook to view them; and that the Lord Russel was by, when this was undertaken. But this being the main hinge of the business, and this witness not yet coming up to the purpose, they thought it convenient to give him a jog, to refresh his memory, by asking him, Whether he found Lord Russel averse, or agreeing to it? To which he answered, Agreeing. But being afterwards asked, Whether he could swear positively, that my Lord Russel heard the message, and gave any answer to it? All that he says is this, That when he came in, they were at the fireside, but they all came from the fireside to hear what he said.

All that Shepherd witnessed, was, that my Lord Russel, &c. being at his house, there was a discourse of surprising the king's guards;

and Sir Thomas Armstrong having viewed them when he came thither another time, said, they were remiss, and the thing was seizable, if there were strength to do it; and that upon being questioned too, as Rumsey before him, whether my Lord Russel was there? He says, he was, at the time they discoursed of seizing the guards.

The next witness was Lord Howard, who very artificially began in a low voice, pretending to be so terribly surprised with my lord of Essex's death, that his voice failed him, till the lord chief justice told him the jury could not hear him; in which very moment his voice returned again, and he told the reason why he spoke no louder. After a long harangue of tropes, and fine words, and dismal general stories, by which, as Lord Russel complained, the jury were prepossessed against him; he at last made his evidence bear directly upon the point for which he came thither, and swore, that after my Lord Shaftesbury went away, their party resolved still to carry on the design of the insurrection without him; for the better management whereof they erected a little cabal among themselves, which did consist of six persons, whereof my Lord Russel and himself were two; that they met for that purpose at Mr. Hampden's house, and there adjusted the place and manner of the intended insurrection; that about ten days after they had another meeting on the same business at my Lord Russel's, where they resolved to send some persons to engage Argyle, and the Scots, in the design, and being asked whether Lord Russel said any thing, he answered, that every one knew him to be a person of great judgment, and not very lavish of discourse. But being again goaded on by Jeffreys, with—but did he consent? "We did," says he, "put it to the vote; it went without contradiction; and I took it that all there gave their consent."

West swore, that Ferguson and Colonel Rumsey told him, that my Lord Russel intended to go down and take his post in the west, when Mr. Trenchard had failed them. But this hearsay evidence being not encouraged, Jeffreys told the jury, "they would not use any thing of garniture, but leave it as it was."

It may here be remarked, with respect to Colonel Rumsey, that Lord Cavendish proved on the trial, that Lord Russel had a very ill opinion of him, and therefore it was not likely he would entrust him with so important and dangerous a secret. As to his evidence respecting both branches of the design, seizing the guards, and the rising at Taunton, he says in general, that he was agreeing to one, and spoke about, and consented to the other. For his agreeing to the seizing the guards, he might think, as Lord Howard did, that silence gives consent; for it appears not, nor does he swear, that my lord spoke one word about it. But Lord Russel himself, in his last speech, which we have all the reason in the world to believe exactly true, protests, that at this time of which Rumsey swears, there was no undertaking of securing and seizing the guards, nor none appointed to view or examine them, only some discourse there was of the practicability of it; he heard it mentioned as a thing which might easily be done, but never consented to it as a thing fit to be done.

Now, we may ask, which of these two was most worthy to be believed? Rumsey, who either swore for the saving his own life, or was a trepan, that he was consenting to the seizing the guards, or my Lord Russel, on his death and salvation solemnly affirming, that he was



so far from consenting to any such thing, that there was not so much as any such undertaking mentioned in the company while he was with them; especially when it is observable, that Rumsey never instances the terms in which he gave his consent. The same is to be said of the other branch of his evidence, as to the message of the insurrection, which, he says, he brought into the room, and found my Lord Russel and the rest by the fire: whence they all came to him, and heard his message, and the Lord Russel discoursed on the subject of it, and consented to it. To all which let us again oppose not only what he answered on his trial, wherein he says, that he would swear he never heard or knew of that message, which Rumsey says he brought to them; but also what he says in confirmation thereof in his speech, "I solemnly aver, that what I said of my not hearing Colonel Rumsey deliver any message from my Lord Shaftesbury, was true." And a little before he says, "When I came into the room I saw Mr. Rumsey by the chimney, though he swears he came in after."

One thing more may be observed, that when West came to give in his evidence, he runs farther than Rumsey, and remembers Rumsey had told him, what it seems he himself had forgot, viz. that on Mr. Trenchard's failing them, my Lord Russel was to go in his place, and take up his post alone in the west. And, indeed, had not West missed his cue, and, by imitating Lord Howard's example, began first with hearsay, he had made as formidable an evidence as every one of the others.

For Shepherd, all must grant he said not a syllable to the purpose, or any thing affecting Lord Russel. He can hardly tell whether he was even there when there was the discourse of seizing the guards, but speaks not a word of his hearing, or in the least consenting to the design.

As for my Lord Howard's evidence, we may, without *scandalum magnatum*, affirm, that every lord is not fit to be a privy councillor; and that he does very well to say, "the council of six all chose themselves;" for had not he given his own vote for himself, hardly any body else would have done it, since his character is so notoriously different from that which he himself gives of Lord Russel, whom, he says, "every one knew to be a person of great judgment, and not very lavish of discourse." For his evidence, he, like West, is so happy as to have a better memory than Rumsey; and says, that the duke of Monmouth told him, Rumsey had conveyed my Lord Russel to Lord Shaftesbury, on whose persuasion the insurrection was put off a fortnight longer. Of this Rumsey himself says not a syllable.

He says farther, that when they had inquired how matters stood in the country, and the duke of Monmouth had found Trenchard and the west country failed them, on this it was put off again, and this about the 17th and 18th of October. Now this same action Rumsey speaks of, but takes a large scope as to the time, calling it "the end of October, or the beginning of November," far enough from the 17th or 18th of the month before. Rumsey says, "on this disappointment of the Taunton men and Trenchard, Shaftesbury resolved to be gone:" Lord Howard, that "he was so far from it, that he and his party resolved to do it without the lords, and had set one time and the other, and at last the 17th of November, which also not taking effect, then Shaftesbury went off."

As to that part of his evidence which was closer; the story of the council of six, besides the former improbability, that he among all the men in England should be chosen one of them; it is remarkable, that in their former great consultations at Shepherd's, which he and Rumsey mention, the Lord Howard was never present, nor so much as touches on it in his evidence; though here, if any where, the grand affair of seizing the guards, and the answer to Shaftesbury about Taunton, was concerted. All that appears of truth in the matter, seems to be what my Lord Russel acknowledges, "That those persons named met very often; that there was no formed design, but only loose talk about those concerns; that there was no debate of any such thing as was sworn, nor putting any thing in a method; but my Lord Howard being a man of a voluble tongue, and one who talks very well, they were all delighted to hear him."

Nor indeed does my Lord Howard positively swear, even supposing this story of the consultation to be true, that my Lord Russel actually consented to it; only that he was there, and that "he understood that he did give his consent."

It is a very ill cause that needs either a lie or a cheat to defend it. My Lord Russel being so ingenuous as to acknowledge whatever of truth any one that knew him will believe to be in his part of the design, it would be an injury to his memory to believe more. It appears, then, from his own acknowledgment, that Howard, Armstrong, and such others, had sometimes discoursed of ill designs and matters in his company; and, as he says, "What the heats, wickedness, passions, and vanities of other men had occasioned, he ought not be answerable for, nor could he repress them. Nay more, he did sufficiently disapprove those things which he heard discoursed of with more heat than judgment." But for himself, he declares solemnly again and again, "That he was never in any design against the king's life, or any man's whatsoever; nor ever in any contrivance of altering the government." If this be true, what then becomes of the story of the council of six? It will be still said he was an ill man, being guilty by this very confession of misprision of treason. Supposing this true, that was not punishable with death, and he died, as he says, innocent of the crime he stood condemned for. And besides, "I hope," says he, "nobody will imagine that so mean a thought could enter into me, as to go about to save my life by accusing others. The part that some have acted lately of that kind has not been such as to invite me to love life at such a rate."

But all this does not depend on his mere assertion, since the evidence who swore against him being such as were neither creditable, nor indeed so much as legal witnesses, the accusation of itself must fall to the ground. If legal, they were not credible, because they had no pardons, but hunted, as the cormorant does, with strings about their necks, which West, in his answer to Walcock's letter, ingenuously acknowledges, and says, "It is through God and the king's mercy he was not at the apparent point of death." That is, he was upon trial, to see whether he would do business, and deserve to escape hanging.

Nor indeed was the great witness, Lord Howard, so much as a legal, any more than a credible witness. No man alive has any way to clear himself from the most perjured villain's malice, if he swears

against him point blank, but either by circumstance of time, or invalidating his very evidence. The first of these was precluded; as Rumsey and the rest came to no determinate time, but only *about* such a time; about the end of October, or beginning of November; and others cloud the precise time in so many words, that it is impossible to find it. All then that could be done, was as to the person. Now what thing can be invented, which can more invalidate the evidence any person gives, than his solemn, repeated, voluntary oath, indubitably proved against him, that such a person is innocent of that very crime of which he afterwards accuses him? And let any one judge, on reading the following deposition, whether or no this was the case in the present instance: my Lord Anglesey witnesses, that he was at the earl of Bedford's after his son was imprisoned, where came in my Lord Howard, and began to comfort him, saying, "He was happy in so wise a son, and worthy a person; and who could never be in such a plot as that. That he knew nothing against him, or any body else, of such a barbarous design." But this was not upon oath, but only related to the assassination, as he says for himself in drawing this fine distinction.

Let us see then what is testified by Dr. Burnet, whom Lord Howard was with the night after the plot broke out, "and then, as well as once before, *with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven*, did say, He knew nothing of any plot, nor believed any." Here is the most solemn oath, as he himself confesses, made voluntarily, nay, unnecessarily; though perhaps, in my Lord Bedford's case, good nature might work upon him. Here is no shadow, no room left for his distinction between the insurrection and assassination; but without any guard or mitigation at all, he solemnly swears he knew not of any plot, or believed any!

There is but little subterfuge more, and the case is clear. All this perjury, all these solemn asseverations, he tells us, were only to brazen out the plot, and to outface the thing for himself and party. This he fairly acknowledges; and let all the world judge, whether they would destroy one of the best and bravest men in it, on the evidence of such a person? But there is yet a farther answer. His cousin, Mr. Howard, who was my lord's intimate friend, who secured him in his house, to whom he might open his soul, and to whom it seems he did, he having made application to the ministers of state in his name, that he was willing to serve the king, and give him satisfaction; to him, I say, with whom he had secret negotiations, and that of such a nature; will any one believe that he would outface the thing here too? That he would perjure himself for nothing, where neither danger or good could arise from it? No, certainly, his lordship had more wit, and conscience, and honour; he ought to be vindicated from such an imputation. And yet here he denied it; and Mr. Howard tells it as generously, and with as much honest indignation as possible, in spite of the checks the court gave him. "He took it," says he, "upon his honour, his faith, and as much as if he had taken an oath before a magistrate, that he knew nothing of any man concerned in this business, and particularly of the Lord Russel; of whom he added, that he thought he did unjustly suffer." So that if he had the same soul on Monday, that he had on Sunday, (the very day before,) this could not be true that he swore against the Lord Russel. My lord

Russel's suffering was imprisonment, and that for the same matter on which he was tried, the insurrection, not the assassination. If my Lord Howard knew him guilty of that for which he was committed, though not the other, how could he then say it was unjustly done?

After all this, it would be almost superfluous to go any farther, or insert the evidence given by Drs. Tillotson, Burnet, Cox, and others, not only of his virtues and honourable behaviour, but more especially of his judgment about any popular insurrections, that he was absolutely against them, that it was folly and madness until things came to be properly regulated in a parliamentary way; and he thought it would ruin the best cause in the world, to take any such ways to preserve it.

All this, and more, would not do; die he must, the duke ordered it, the witnesses swore it, the judges directed it, the jury found it; and when the sentence came to be passed, the judge asked, as is usual, what he had to say why it should not be pronounced? To which he answered:

“That whereas he had been charged in the indictment which was then read to him, with conspiring the death of the king, which he had not taken notice of before; he appealed to the judge and the court, whether he were guilty within the statute on which he was tried, the witnesses having sworn an intention of levying war, but not of killing the king, of which there was no proof in any one witness.”

The recorder told him, “That was an exception proper, and as he thought his lordship did make it before the verdict. Whether the evidence did amount to prove the charge, was to be observed by the jury; for if the evidence came short of the indictment, they could not find it to be a true charge; but when once they had found it, their verdict did pass for truth, and the court was bound by it, as well as his lordship, and they were to go according to what the jury had found, not their evidence.”

Now, we may ask, what is the reason of the prisoner's being asked that question, what he has to say for himself? Is it a mere formality? He makes an exception, which the judge confesses to be proper. But who was counsel for the prisoner? Is not the bench? Or, does it not pretend to be so? And why is not this observed by them in their direction to the jury? The recorder seems to grant it fairly, that the evidence did not prove the charge, and says, the court was to go, not according to the evidence, but according to the verdict pronounced; sentence was accordingly passed upon him, and he was removed to Newgate.

While he was there, the importunity of his friends, as he says in his speech, lest they should think him sullen or stubborn, prevailed with him to sign petitions, and make an address for his life, though it was not without difficulty that he did any thing with the view of avoiding death. And all his petitions were rendered fruitless by the inflexible malignity of the duke of York, who prevented the king (whose good nature might probably have been prevailed on) from saving one of the best men in his kingdom.

Dr. Burnet, and Dr. Tillotson, attended him in Newgate the greater part of the time between his sentence and death; where, to the last, he owned that doctrine, which other good men, who were then of another judgment, have since been forced into, namely, *the lawfulness of resistance against unlawful violence, from whomsoever it come.*

After the fruitless application for his pardon: after a farewell and adieu in this world to one of the best of women, who stood by him, and assisted him in his trial, and left him not till now, he, at last, on Saturday, the 21st of July, 1683, went into his own coach about nine o'clock in the morning, with Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet; he was carried to Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, to the scaffold prepared for him, where, among all the numerous spectators, he was one of the most unconcerned persons there, and very few rejoiced at so doleful a spectacle, but the blood-thirsty papists, who, indeed, had sufficient reason; and some of them, to their infinite disgrace, expressed, it is said, a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction. There, after his lordship had again solemnly protested his innocence, and that he was far from any design against the king's person or government; nay, that he did, upon the words of a dying man, profess, that he knew of no plot against either, and delivering an excellent speech to the sheriff, he prayed by himself, and with Dr. Tillotson's assistance; and embracing him and Dr. Burnet, he submitted to the fatal strokes, for the executioner took no less than three before he could sever his head, which when it was held up, as usual, there was so far from being any shout, that a heavy groan was heard round the scaffold. His body was given to his friends, and conveyed to Cheney's, in Buckinghamshire, where it was buried among his ancestors.

*Trial and Execution of Walcot, Hone, and Rouse.*

Captain Walcot, and his fellow sufferers, in order of time, should have been placed first, they being convicted before my Lord Russel, and executed on the preceding day. But my Lord Russel's fate having so immediate a dependence on that of the earl of Essex, it seemed more proper to begin with him. Captain Walcot was a gentleman of a considerable estate in Ireland, remarkable for the rare happiness of having eight children all at once living, but more so for his love to his country, which cost him his life.

The pretended crime for which Walcot suffered, and which West and others witnessed against him, was conspiring the death of the king, and to charge the guards, at his return from Newmarket, while a blunderbuss was to be fired into the coach by Rumbald, or some other. His privacy to discourses about the king's death was but misprision. For his acting in it, they could not have fixed on a more unlikely man to command a party in so desperate an attempt as charging the guards, than one who was sick, and bed-ridden of the gout, as the captain frequently was. Nor does West's pretence, that he refused to be engaged in the actual assassination, because of the baseness of it, but offered to charge the guards, while others did it, seem more probable. This he denies with indignation in his speech, and appeals to all that knew him whether they thought him such an idiot, that he should not understand it was the same thing to engage the king's guards, while others killed him, or to kill him with his own hands?

West and Rumsey were the main pillars, and almost the only witnesses on whom the credit of that action depended, who appear throughout the great and almost sole managers thereof, and who accuse others of being concerned in it. What and how much their credit weighs, we have already hinted, but shall yet confront it with farther testimonies relating to this matter, and those of dying men, who could expect no pardon in this world, nor in the other, for a falsehood. Be-

side Rumbald's solemn protestation, Walcot, in his dying speech, as deeply affirms, as a man can do, that "West bought arms for this villainous design, without any direction, knowledge, or privity of his." West says, in his answer to this, as well as in his evidence, that Walcot joined in the direction about the nature and size of those arms; that he was very intimate and familiar with this Rumbald, who was to be the principal actor in the assassination. But Rumbald's death clears himself and Walcot, and shows what West is.

West, or one of the other witnesses, talks of fifty men being engaged for the assassination. Now it is not easy to believe that there could be so many Englishmen found, and protestants too, who would consent to kill the king: never any one having acknowledged such a design, except Hone, who was so stupid, that he could not give one sensible answer to the questions asked him at his death; so plain a testimony, and dint of fact and reason, leads to the conclusion that the persons here charged were not guilty. And Rouse says, "he was told, they did not intend to spill so much as one drop of blood."

In farther confirmation of this, Holloway says, "he could not perceive that Ferguson knew any thing of the Newmarket design, but Rumsey and West were deep in it." Again, having asked West who was to act the assassination? "He could give but a slender answer, and could or would name but two men, Rumbald and his brother; and they had but few men, if more than two, and no horses, only a parcel of arms which he showed at a gunsmith's." And at another time, "West only named Rumsey and Richard Goodenough as concerned in the assassination, but none seconded him; Rumsey was for the old strain of killing the king, to which not one consented; I could never find above five concerned in it. I heard Walcot speak against it, and knew Ferguson to be against any such design."

Upon the whole, we may conclude, that the dying asseverations of three men, who had nothing to hope from concealing the truth, are more worthy of belief than the testimony of those whose sole hope of life depended on procuring the condemnation of others; and that this was the case, is evident from what West says in the paper written by him. "That he was still in danger of death, though not so imminent as it had been; nor at the apparent point of death." And at the close of the paper, "If it shall please the king to spare my life for my confession, it is a great happiness," &c.

From all which there lies a fair supposition of the innocence of this captain, and others, of what they were accused, found guilty, sentenced, and died for; it being on West's evidence, and such as his, that he and others were arraigned and condemned; the captain's defence being much the same with what he says in his speech.

Captain Walcot denied any design of killing the king, or of engaging the guards, whilst others killed him; and said that "the witnesses invited him to meetings, where some things were discoursed of, in order to the asserting our liberties and properties, which we looked upon to be violated and invaded: That they importuned and perpetually solicited him, and then delivered him up to be hanged: That they combined together to swear him out of his life, to save their own; and that they might do it effectually, they contrived an untruth. That he forgave them, though guilty of his blood; but withal earnestly begged, that they might be observed, that remarks might be set upon

them, whether their end be peace;" and he concluded, "That when God hath a work to do, he will not want instruments."

With him was tried Rouse, who was charged with such a parcel of mad romance, as was scarce ever heard of; and one would wonder how perjury and malice, which used to be sober sins, could ever be so extravagant as to think of it. He was to seize the tower, pay the rabble, head the army, to be pay-master-general, and a great deal more beside.

In his defence he says not much, but yet what looks a thousand times more like truth than his accusation; that "the tower business was only discourse of the possibility of the thing, but without the least intent of bringing it to action; that all he was concerned in any real design, he had from Lee, and was getting more out of him, with an intention to make a discovery." But it seems Lee was before-hand with him and saved his own neck.

Hone was accused, and owns himself guilty of a design to kill the king and duke of York, or one, or neither, for it is impossible to make any sense of him; he was, in fact, either an idiot or a madman.

When they came to suffer, Walcot read a paper, in which was a good rational confession of his faith; he then comes to the occasion of his death; "for which," he says, "he neither blames the judges, jury, nor council, but only some men, that in reality were deeper concerned than he, who combined together to swear him out of his life, to save their own; and that they might do it effectually, contrived an untruth, &c. He forgives the world and the witnesses; gives his friends advice to be more prudent than he had been; prays that his may be the last blood spilled on that account; wishes the king would be merciful to others; says he knew nothing of Ireland, and concludes with praying God to have mercy on him."

He had then some discourse with the clergyman, wherein he told him, that "he was not for contriving the death of the king, nor to have had a hand in it," and being urged with some matters of controversy, told him, "he did not come thither to dispute about religion, but to die religiously."

Hone's behaviour on the scaffold was as ridiculous as on his trial. His replies to the clergyman were so incongruous, that scarcely any thing could be understood from them. But he talked of snares and circumstances, and nobody knows what, and said, at one time, he was to meet the king and duke of York, but he did not know when, where, nor for what. Directly afterwards he says, he was for killing the king, and saving the duke: and when asked the reason, answered, "that he knew no reason; that he did not know what to say to it." And when the dean charged him with the murderous design, he said, "that he knew as little of it, as any poor silly man in the world."

Rouse came next; gave an account of his faith, professing to die of the church of England; told his former employment and manner of life; acknowledged he had heard of clubs and designs, but was never at them, and a perfect stranger to any thing of that nature. He then gave a relation of what passed between him and his majesty on his apprehension; talked somewhat of Sir Thomas Player, the earl of Shaftesbury, "and accommodatng the king's son," as he called it, though not while the king reigned; then spoke of Lee, and the discourse they had together, "who," as he says, "swore against him on

the trial those very words he himself had used in pressing him to undertake the design;" and after some discourse with the ordinary, gave the spectators some good counsel. Then they all three singly prayed; and the sentence of the law was executed upon them.

*Execution of Mr. James Holloway.*

Mr. Holloway was a merchant; but his greatest dealing lay in linen manufacture, which, as appears from his papers, he had brought to such a height in England, as, had it met with suitable encouragement, would have employed 80,000 poor people, and 40,000 acres of land, and have produced £200,000 a year to the public revenues of the kingdom. He seems to have been a person of sense, courage, and vivacity, and a man of business.

He was accused for the plot, as one who was acquainted with West, Rumsey, and the rest; and having been really present at their meetings and discourses on that subject, absconded when the public news concerning the discovery came into the country; though this, as he said in the "Narrative" written by him, "more for fear, that if he was taken up, his creditors would never let him come out of gaol, than any thing else."

After some time, he got to sea in a little vessel, went over to France, and so to the West Indies, among the Caribbee Islands, where much of his business lay; but writing to his factor at Nevis, he was by him treacherously betrayed, seized by the order of Sir William Stapleton, and thence brought prisoner to England, where, after examination, and a confession of at least all that he knew, having been outlawed in his absence on an indictment of treason, he was, on the 21st of April, 1684, brought to the King's Bench, to show cause why execution should not be awarded against him, as is usual in that case; he opposed nothing against it, only saying, "if an ingenuous confession of truth could merit the king's pardon, he hoped he had done it." The attorney general being called for, ordered the indictment to be read, and gave him the offer of a trial, waving the outlawry, which he refused, and threw himself on the king's mercy; on which execution was awarded: and he was accordingly hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn, on the 30th of April.

It seemed strange that a man of so much spirit as Mr. Holloway appeared to be, should so tamely die without making any defence, when that liberty was granted him: it seemed as strange, or yet stranger, that any protestant should have any thing that looked like mercy or favour from the persons then at the helm; that they should be so gracious to him as to admit him to a trial, which looked so generously, and was so cried up, the attorney general calling it "A mercy and a grace," and the lord chief justice saying, "He could assure him it was a great mercy, and that it was exceeding well."

Now all this blind or mystery will be easily unriddled by what Holloway said just after: "My lord," said he, "I cannot undertake to defend myself, for I have confessed before his majesty, that I am guilty of many things in that indictment." Which was immediately made use of as was designed; Mr. Justice Withens crying out, "I hope every body here will take notice of his open confession, when he might try it if he would; surely none but will believe this conspiracy now, after what this man has owned."



So there was an end of all the mercy. A man who had before confessed in order to be hanged, had gracious liberty given him to confess it again in public, because his prosecutors knew he had precluded all manner of defence before, and this public action would both get them the repute of clemency, and confirm the belief of the plot. Now that there had been promises of pardon held out to him, if he would take this method, and own himself guilty without pleading, is more than probable, both from other practices of the same nature used towards greater men, and from some expressions of his which strongly hint at such promises: Thus, in his paper left behind him, "I had," says he, "some *other reasons* why I did not plead, which at present I conceal, as also why I did not speak what I intended."

Now what should those reasons be but threatenings and promises, to induce him to silence, and public acknowledgment of all? Which appears yet plainer from another passage: "I am satisfied that all means which could be thought on, have been used to get as much out of me as possible." These "means" must evidently signify the fallacious promises of pardon made to him, on condition of his confession.

But if he made so fair and large an acknowledgment, it will be asked, why was his life not spared? But this may be easily answered: He was a little tender-conscienced, and would not strain so far as others in accusing men of those black crimes whereof they were innocent: nay, on the contrary, he vindicated them from those aspersions cast upon them, and for which some of them, particularly my Lord Russel, suffered death.

For instance, he says, The assassination was carried on but by three or four, and he could never hear so much as the names of above five for it; that he and others had declared their abhorrence of any such thing; that Ferguson was not concerned in it. And, besides, he speaks some things with the liberty of an Englishman; shows the very root of all those heats which had been raised; says, what was true enough, "That the protestant gentry had a notion of a horrible design of the papists to cut off the king's friends, and the active men in both the last parliaments; that they long had witnesses to swear them out of their lives, but no juries to believe them; that now the point about the sheriffs was gained, that difficulty was over; that the king had persons about him who kept all things from his knowledge; that if matters continued thus, the protestant gentry resolved to release the king from his evil counsellors, and then he would immediately be of their side, and suffer all popish offenders to be brought to justice."

Hence it was plain, no assassination, no plot against the king and government was intended; only treason against the duke of York, and the papists, who were themselves traitors by law. But Holloway said one thing yet bolder than all this: he "prays the king's eyes may be opened, to see his enemies from his friends, whom he had cause to look for nearer home." Was a man to expect pardon after this? No, certainly, which he soon grew sensible of, and prepared for death; "the council," he says, "taking it very heinously that he should presume to write such things."

Mr. Holloway farther declared that Mr. West proposed the assassination, but none seconded him; that he could not perceive that Mr.

Ferguson knew any thing of it; and he said, "It was our design to shed no blood;" then being interrogated by Mr. Ferguson's friend, Mr. Sheriff Daniel, Whether he knew Ferguson? he answered, "That he did know him, but knew him to be against any design of killing the king."

*Execution of Sir Thomas Armstrong.*

The next sufferer had not so fair play, because his enemies knew he would make better use of it. They had this lion in the toils, and did not intend to let him loose again to make sport, lest the hunters themselves should come off ill by it. He had been all his life a firm servant and friend to the royal family, in their exile and afterwards: he had been in prison for them under Cromwell, and in danger both of execution and starving; for all which they now rewarded him by an ignominious death.

He had a particular honour and devotion for the duke of Monmouth, and forwarded his interest on all occasions, being a man of as undaunted courage as ever England produced. He was with the duke formerly in his actions in Flanders, and shared there his dangers and honours. The accusation against him was, his being concerned in the general plot, and in that for killing the king.

The particulars pretended against him, were that Lord Howard witnessed in Lord Russel's trial, of his going to kill the king when their first design failed. But of this there was only a supposition, though advanced into a formal accusation, and aggravated by the attorney-general, as the reason why he had a trial denied him, when Holloway had one offered, both of them being alike outlawed. On which outlawry Sir Thomas was kidnapped in Holland, brought over hither in chains, and robbed by the way into the bargain. Being brought up, and asked what he had to say, why sentence should not pass upon him, he pleaded the 6th of Ed. VI. wherein it is provided, That if a person outlawed render himself within a year after the outlawry pronounced, and traverse his indictment, and shall be acquitted on his trial, he shall be discharged of the outlawry. On which he accordingly then and there made a formal surrender of himself to the lord chief justice, and asked the benefit of the statute, and a fair trial for his life, the year not being yet expired. If ever any thing could appear plain to common sense, it was his case: but all the answer he could get was this, from the lord chief justice, "We don't think so; we are of another opinion." He could not obtain so much justice as to have counsel allowed to plead, though the point sufficiently deserved it, and the life of an old servant of the king's was concerned in it. When he still pleaded, That a little while before, one (meaning Holloway) had the benefit of a trial offered him, if he would accept it, and that was all he now desired; the lord chief justice answers, "That was only the grace and mercy of the king." The attorney-general adds, "The king did indulge Holloway so far as to offer him a trial, and his majesty perhaps might have some reason for it:" the very reason, no doubt, which we have already assigned for it. "But Sir Thomas," the attorney goes on, "deserves no favour, because he was one of the persons that actually engaged to go, on the king's hasty coming from Newmarket, and destroy him by the way as he came to town: which appears upon as full and clear an evidence, and as positively testified

as any thing could be, in the evidence given in of the late horrid conspiracy." Now we may ask, who gives this clear and full evidence in the discovery of the conspiracy? Howard's is mere supposition, and he is the only person who so much as mentions a syllable of it. To this Sir Thomas answers in his speech, "That had he come to his trial, he could have proved my Lord Howard's base reflections on him to be notoriously false, there being at least ten gentlemen, besides all the servants in the house, who could testify where he dined that very day."

Still Sir Thomas demanded the benefit of the law, and no more: to which Jeffreys answered, with one of his usual barbarous insults over the miserable, "That he should have it, by the grace of God;" ordering, That execution be done on Friday next according to law. And added, "That he should have the full benefit of the law;" repeating the jest, lest it should be lost, three times in one sentence!

He then proceeded to tell him, "We are satisfied that according to law we must award execution upon this outlawry:" thereupon Mrs. Matthews, Sir Thomas's daughter, said, "My lord, I hope you will not murder my father;" for which, being brow-beaten and checked, she added, "God Almighty's judgments light upon you!"

On the following Friday he was brought to the place of execution, Dr. Tennison being with him, and on his desire, after he had given what he had to leave, in a paper, to the sheriff, prayed a little while with him. He then prayed by himself; and after having thanked the doctor for his great care and pains with him, submitted to the sentence, and died more composedly, and full as resolutely, as he had lived. It is observable, that more cruelty was exercised on him than on any who suffered before him, not only in the manner of his death, but the exposing his limbs and body; a fair warning what particular gratitude a protestant is to expect for having obliged a true papist.

Another thing worth remembering is, that whereas in Holloway's case, Jeffreys observed, "That not one of all concerned in this conspiracy had dared deny it," absolutely it is so far from being true, that every one who suffered did deny it as absolutely as possible. They were tried or sentenced for conspiring against the king and government; that was their plot; but this they all deny, and absolutely too, and safely might do it; for they consulted for it, not conspired against it, resolving not to touch the king's person; nay, if possible, not to shed one drop of blood of any other, as Holloway and others say. For the king's life, Sir Thomas says, as well as the Lord Russel, "Never had any man the impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to me." Russel and almost all the others say, "They had never any design against the government." Sir Thomas says, "As he had never had any design against the king's life, nor the life of any man, so he never had any design to alter the monarchy."

As he lived he died, a sincere protestant, and in the communion of the church of England, though he heartily wished he had more strictly lived up to the religion he believed. And though he had but a short time, he found himself prepared for death: and at the place of execution he conducted himself with the courage becoming a great man, and with the seriousness and piety suitable to a good Christian.

Sheriff Daniel told him, he had leave to say what he pleased, and should not be interrupted, unless he upbraided the government; Sir

Thomas thereupon told him that he should not say any thing by way of speech, but delivered him a paper, which he said contained his mind, and in which he thus expressed himself, that he thanked Almighty God he found himself prepared for death, his thoughts set upon another world, and weaned from this: yet he could not but give so much of his little time, as to answer some calumnies, and particularly what Mr. Attorney accused him of at the bar.

That he prayed to be allowed a trial for his life according to the laws of the land, and urged the statute of Edward the Sixth, which was expressly for it: but it signified nothing, and it was with an extraordinary roughness condemned, and made a precedent; though Holloway had it offered him, and he could not but think all the world would conclude his case very different, or why should the favour offered to another, be refused to him?

That Mr. Attorney charged him with being one of those that were to kill the king; whereas he took God to witness, that he never had a thought to take away the king's life, and that no man ever had the impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to him; and that he never was in any design to alter the government.

That if he had been tried, he could have proved the Lord Howard's base reflections upon him to be notoriously false: he concluded, that he had lived, and now died of the reformed religion, a protestant in the communion of the church of England, and he heartily wished he had lived more strictly up to the religion he believed; that he had found the great comfort of the love and mercy of God, in and through his blessed Redeemer, in whom he only trusted, and verily hoped that he was going to partake of that fulness of joy which is in his presence, the hopes whereof infinitely pleased him. He thanked God he had no repining, but cheerfully submitted to the punishment of his sins; he freely forgave all the world, even those concerned in taking away his life, though he could not but think his sentence very hard, he being denied the benefit of the laws of the land.

#### *Trial and Execution of Alderman Cornish.*

Although Alderman Cornish, and Mr. Bateman, suffered after the duke of Monmouth, and his adherents, yet, as they were sacrificed under the pretence that they had been concerned in the same plot as Lord Russel and the others, whose fate we have just narrated, they are placed here, that the victims of this infamous design may be contemplated at one view.

Mr. Cornish was seized in October, 1685; and the Monday after his commitment, arraigned for high treason, having no notice given him till Saturday noon. The charge against him was for conspiring to kill the king, and promising to assist the duke of Monmouth, &c. in their treasonable enterprises.

He desired his trial might be deferred, because of the short time allowed him for preparation; and because he had an important witness a hundred and forty miles off, and that the king had left it to the judges whether it should be put off or no. But it was denied him, the attorney-general telling him, "He had not deserved so well of the government as to have his trial delayed." That was, in plain English, because he had been a protestant sheriff, he should not have justice.

The witnesses against him were Rumsey and Goodenough. Rumsey swore, that when he was at the meeting at Mr. Shepherd's, Mr. Shepherd being called down, brought up Mr. Cornish; and when he was come in, Ferguson opened his bosom, and pulled out a paper in the nature of a declaration of grievances, which Ferguson read, and Shepherd held the candle while it was being read; that Mr. Cornish liked it, and said, what interest he had, he would join with it; and that it was merely from compassion that he had not accused Mr. Cornish before.

Goodenough swore, that he talked with Cornish of the design of seizing the tower. Mr. Cornish said, he would do what good he could, or to that effect.

To Goodenough's evidence was opposed Mr. Gospright's, who testified that Mr. Cornish opposed Goodenough's being made under sheriff, saying, that he was an ill man, obnoxious to the government, and he would not trust a hair of his head with him. And is it then probable that he would have such discourses with him as would endanger head and all? Mr. Love, Mr. Jekyl, and Sir William Turner, testify to the same purpose.

As to Rumsey's evidence, the perjury is so evident, that it is impossible to look into the trial without meeting it. If we compare what he says on Russel's trial, and on the present, this will be as visible as the sun. Being asked before, whether there was any discourse about a declaration, and how long he staid, he says, "he was there about a quarter of an hour, and that he was not certain whether he had heard something about a declaration there, or whether he heard Ferguson report afterwards, that they had then debated it." But on Cornish's trial he had strangely recovered his memory, and having had the advantage, either of recollection, or better instruction, remembers that distinctly in October, 1685, which he could not in July, 1683, namely, that "he had been there a quarter of an hour;" the time he states in the Lord Russel's trial, but lengthens it out, and improves it now sufficient to allow of Mr. Shepherd's going down, bringing Cornish up, Ferguson's pulling out the declaration, and reading it, and that, as Shepherd says on Russel's trial, a long one too, as certainly it must be, if, as it were sworn, "it contained all the grievances of the nation," and yet all this still in a quarter of an hour! thus contradicting himself both as to time and matter.

But Shepherd is of such bad credit, that his evidence is scarce fit to be taken against himself. He says, "At one meeting only Mr. Cornish was at his house to speak to one of the persons there; that then he himself came up stairs, and went out again with Mr. Cornish. That there was not one word read, nor any paper seen, while Mr. Cornish was there, and this he was positive of, for Mr. Cornish was not one of their company."

Now who should know best, Rumsey what Shepherd did, or he what he did himself? Could a man hold the candle while a declaration was read, as Rumsey swears Shepherd did, and yet know nothing of it, nay, protest the direct contrary?

All that is pretended, to support Rumsey's evidence, and hinder Shepherd's from saving the prisoner, was, that Shepherd strengthened Rumsey, and proved Cornish guilty of a lie. But if we inquire into the matter, we shall find one as true as the other.

Cornish on his trial is said to have denied his being at the meeting, and discoursing with the duke of Monmouth: which they would have us believe Shepherd swears he was, though not a syllable of it appears. He had been there several times, Shepherd says, but was not of their council, knew nothing of their business, nor can he be positive whether it was the duke of Monmouth he came to speak to that evening. But supposing in two or three years time, and on so little recollection, Cornish's memory had failed him in that circumstance, what is that to Shepherd's evidence against the very root of Rumsey's, which hanged the prisoner?

In spite of all he was found guilty, and condemned, and even that Christian serenity of mind and countenance, wherewith it was visible he bore his sentence, turned to his reproach by the bench.

He continued in the same excellent temper whilst in Newgate, and gave the world an admirable instance of the peace with which a Christian can die, even when his death is what the world considers *ignominious*. His carriage and behaviour at his leaving Newgate was as follows:

Coming into the press-yard, and seeing the halter in the officer's hand, he said, "Is this for me?" The officer answered, "Yes." He replied, "Blessed be God," and kissed it; and afterwards said, "O blessed be God for Newgate! I have enjoyed God ever since I came within these walls, and blessed be God who hath made me fit to die. I am now going to that God that will not be mocked, to that God that will not be imposed upon, to that God that knows the innocency of his poor creature." And a little after he said, "Never did any poor creature come unto God with greater confidence in his mercy, and assurance of acceptance with him, through Jesus Christ: for there is no other way of coming to God but by him, to find acceptance with him; there is no other name given under heaven whereby we can be saved, but the name of Jesus." Then speaking to the officers, he said, "Labour every one of you to be fit to die: for I tell you, you are not fit to die; I was not fit to die myself before I came hither; but, oh! blessed be God! he hath made me fit to die, and hath made me willing to die! In a few moments I shall have the fruition of the blessed Jesus, and that not for a day, but for ever. I am going to the kingdom of God, where I shall enjoy the presence of God the Father, and of God the Son, and of God the Holy Spirit, and of all the holy angels; I am going to the general assembly of the first born, and of the spirits of just men made perfect; O that God should ever do so much for me! O that God should concern himself so much for poor creatures, for their salvation, blessed be his name! for this was the design of God from all eternity, to give his only Son to die for poor miserable sinners." Then the officers going to tie his hands, he said, "What must I be tied then? Well, a brown thread might have served the turn; you need not tie me at all; I shall not stir from you, for I thank God I am not afraid to die." As he was going out, he said, "Farewell, Newgate; farewell, all my fellow prisoners here; the Lord comfort you, the Lord be with you all."

Thus much for his behaviour in the way to his martyrdom. The place of it was most spitefully and barbarously ordered, almost before his own door, and near Guildhall, to scare any good citizen by his example from appearing vigorously in the discharge of his duty for his

country's service. If any thing was wanting in his trial, from the haste of it, for the clearing his innocence, he sufficiently made it up in solemn asseverations thereof on the scaffold: "God is my witness," said he, "the crimes laid to my charge were falsely and maliciously sworn against me by the witnesses: for I never was at any consultation or meeting where matters against the government were discoursed of." He added, "I never heard or read any declaration tending that way. As for the crimes for which I suffer, upon the words of a dying man, I am altogether innocent. I die as I have lived, in the communion of the church of England, in whose ordinances I have been often a partaker, and now feel the blessed effects thereof in these my last agonies."

He was observed by those who stood near the sledge, to have solemnly, and several times, averred his absolute innocence of any design against the government, and particularly that for which he died.

His quarters were set up on Guildhall, *in terrorem*, and for the same reason no doubt, before mentioned for which he was executed so near it.

#### *Trial and Execution of Mr. Charles Bateman.*

The last who suffered for this pretended plot was Mr. Bateman, a surgeon, a man of good sense, courage, and generous temper, of considerable repute and practice in his calling; a great lover and vindicator of the liberties of his country, and of more interest than most persons in his station of life. He was sworn against by Rouse, Lee, and Richard Goodenough, upon the old stories of seizing the tower, city, and Savoy. Had he been able to defend himself, he would, no doubt, have covered his accusers with infamy, and have shown his own innocence; but being kept close prisoner in Newgate, in a dark and loathsome dungeon, with little or no company, he being a free jolly man, and used formerly to conversation and diversion, soon grew deeply melancholy; and when he came on his trial appeared, little less than perfectly distracted; on which the court *very kindly* gave his son liberty to make his defence, the first instance of that nature; and even here their *kindness* was very equivocal, since he himself might, had he been in his senses, have remembered and pleaded many things more, which would have invalidated their evidence against him. But had not the mistaken piety of his son undertaken his defence, certainly even they could never have been such monsters as to have tried one in his condition. Yet had the evidence which his son brought forward been allowed its due weight, he must certainly have been acquitted. For as for Lee, one Baker swore, "He had been practised upon by him in the year 1683, and would have had him insinuate himself into Bateman's company, and discourse about state affairs to trepan him, for which service he should be amply rewarded."

It was farther urged, that three years had elapsed between the pretended commission of treason and the present prosecution; and also that the evidence now produced was insufficient to convict him, even of misprision, much less of the capital crime. However, he was found guilty; and just before his execution very much recovered himself, dying as much like a Christian, and with as great presence of mind, as any of the former sufferers.

*Sufferings of the Rev. Mr. Johnson.*

Much about the same time, the pious, reverend, and learned Mr. Johnson was severely punished for the heinous crimes of being my Lord Russel's chaplain, writing the famous book called "Julian the Apostate," and endeavouring to persuade the nation, not to let themselves be made slaves and papists, when so many others were doing their part to bring them to it. And it is a question whether any man in the world, except his friend the Rev. Dr. Burnet, did more service with his pen, or more conduced to the happy revolution, both among the army and in other places. For these good services he was accused, imprisoned, tried, and condemned to be divested of his canonical habit, and to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn; which was performed, and which he underwent with courage and constancy above a man, and like a Christian and a martyr. He was afterwards imprisoned in the King's Bench, till the coming of the great deliverer of the nation set him at liberty.

*An Account of the Insurrection, Defeat, and Execution of the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Argyle, and their followers.*

The duke of York having ascended the English throne by the title of James II. soon began to manifest his tyrannical intentions against both religion and liberty. He seemed inclined to place himself and his government entirely in the hands of the Jesuits; and such was his zeal for the Roman Catholic religion, that Pope Innocent XI. to whom he had sent Lord Castlemaine as ambassador, cautioned him not to be too hasty. Although, on his accession, he had, in his speech to the privy council, disclaimed all arbitrary principles, and promised to maintain the established government of the nation both in church and state, he soon evinced his insincerity. In a sort of triumph, he produced some papers of his brother Charles II. by which it appeared that he had died a Roman Catholic; and in contempt of the feelings of the people, on the first Sunday of his reign, he went publicly to mass. The duke of Norfolk, who carried the sword of state, stopt at the door of the chapel. "My lord," said the king, "your father would have gone farther."—"Your majesty's father," replied the spirited noble, "would not have gone so far."

While James was proceeding thus, and indulging himself in the prospect of subverting the established religion, the duke of Monmouth, who, on the death of Lord Russel, had gone over to Flanders, trusting to the affectionate regard he had always enjoyed among the protestants, whose cause he had ever espoused, formed the design of bringing about a revolution. To the immediate execution of this rash and unhappy enterprise, which his own judgment led him to wish deferred, he was chiefly instigated by the active spirit of the earl of Argyle. Having prepared a squadron of six vessels, badly manned, and very ill supplied, they divided, and with three each, sailed for the places of their destination: Monmouth landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, on the 11th of June, 1685, with 150 men, and marching thence to Taunton, his army immediately increased to 6000; besides which he was obliged daily to dismiss great numbers for want of arms.

In the meanwhile, the earl of Argyle had landed in Argyleshire, where he found the militia prepared to oppose him. But being immediately



joined by his brave vassals and faithful partizans, he penetrated into the western counties, hoping to be joined by the disaffected covenanters. But his little squadron being captured, and his brave followers having lost their baggage in a morass in Renfrewshire, every hope was extinguished, and they were necessitated to disperse for immediate preservation.

The unfortunate nobleman assumed a disguise, but he was soon taken by two peasants, and conducted to Edinburgh, where he was executed without a trial, on an unjust sentence which had been formerly pronounced on him. At his death he discovered all that heroic firmness which he had formerly manifested in his life, together with a great degree of piety. "Job tells us," said he, "that man that is born of a woman, is of few days and full of trouble; and I am a clear instance of it. I know afflictions spring not out of the dust; they are not only foretold, but promised to Christians; and they are not only tolerable but desirable. We ought to have a deep reverence and fear of God's displeasure, but withal, a firm hope and dependence on him for a blessed issue, in compliance with his will: for God chastens his own to refine, and not to ruin them. We are neither to despise, nor to faint under afflictions. I freely forgive all who have been the cause of my being brought to this place; and I entreat all people to forgive me wherein I have offended, and pray with me, that the merciful God would sanctify my present end, and for Christ's sake pardon all my sins, and receive me to his eternal glory."

The fatal news of the defeat of this nobleman and his followers, no sooner reached the duke of Monmouth than he sunk into despondency. He now began to see the temerity of his undertaking, and endeavoured to provide for his safety and that of his army. He therefore began to retreat till he re-entered Bridgewater, the royal army being in his rear. Here he ascended a tower, from whence viewing the army of Lord Feversham, his hopes again revived, while he meditated an attack. He accordingly made the most skilful arrangements, but unfortunately committing an important post to Lord Grey, that dastardly soldier betrayed him, and, notwithstanding the courage of his undisciplined troops, who repulsed the veteran forces of the king, and drove them from the field, a want of ammunition prevented them from pursuing their advantages, the royal troops rallied, dispersed their unfortunate adversaries, and slew about 1500 of them in the battle and pursuit.

Monmouth, seeing the conflict hopeless, galloped off the field, and continued his flight for twenty miles, until his horse sunk under him, when the unfortunate prince, almost as exhausted as the animal, wandered on foot for a few miles farther, and then sunk down, overcame with hunger and fatigue. He was shortly afterwards discovered, lying in a ditch, exhausted and almost senseless. He burst into tears when seized by his enemies, and being still anxious to preserve his life, for the sake of his wife and children, wrote very submissively to James, conjuring him to spare the issue of a brother who had always shown himself firmly attached to his interest. The king finding him thus depressed, admitted him into his presence, with the hope of extorting from him a discovery of his accomplices. But Monmouth, however desirous of life, scorned to purchase it at the price of so much infamy. Finding all efforts to excite compassion in the

breast of the inexorable James fruitless, he prepared himself for death with a spirit becoming his rank and character; and on the 15th of July was brought to the scaffold, amidst the tears and groans of the people. Previously to his death, he said, that he repented of his sins, and was more particularly concerned for the blood that had been spilt on his account. "Instead," said he, "of being accounted factious and rebellious, the very opposing of popery and arbitrary power will sufficiently apologise for me. I have lived, and now die in this opinion, that God will work a deliverance for his people. I heartily forgive all who have wronged me, even those who have been instrumental to my fall, earnestly praying for their souls. I hope that King James will show himself to be of his brother's blood, and extend his mercy to my children, they being not capable to act, and, therefore, not conscious of any offence against the government."

He conjured the executioner to spare him the second blow; but the man, whose heart was unfit for his office, struck him feebly, on which the duke, gently turning himself round, cast a look of tender reproach upon him, and then again meekly submitted his head to the axe; the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose, and then threw aside the axe, declaring that he was incapable of completing the bloody task. The sheriff, however, obliged him to renew the attempt, and by two blows more the head was severed from the body.

That ambition had a share in moving both Monmouth and Argyle to that step, which ended in their death, cannot be denied; but among their partisans, numbers were doubtless actuated by purer motives, even the love of the cause of truth; and though we cannot but lament that mistaken zeal, which led them to assume the sword, in order to advance the glory of **HIM**, whose weapons are not carnal, but spiritual, we must not refuse to enrol their names with those of the martyrs, as they suffered in the same cause, and with the same heroic constancy.

The victory thus obtained by the king in the commencement of his reign, would naturally, had it been managed with prudence, have tended much to increase his power and authority. But, by reason of the cruelty with which it was prosecuted, and of the temerity with which it afterwards inspired him, it was a principal cause of his sudden ruin and downfall.

Such arbitrary principles had the court instilled into all its servants, that Feversham, immediately after the victory, hanged above twenty prisoners, and was proceeding in his executions, when the bishop of Bath and Wells warned him, that these unhappy men were now by law entitled to a trial, and that their execution would be deemed a real murder. This remonstrance, however, did not stop the savage nature of Colonel Kirke, a soldier of fortune, who had long served at Tangiers, and had contracted, from his intercourse with the Moors, an inhumanity less known in European, and in free countries. At his first entry into Bridgewater, he hanged nineteen prisoners, without the least inquiry into the merits of their cause. As if to make sport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company should drink the king's health, or the queen's, or that of Chief Justice Jeffreys. Observing their feet to quiver in the agonies of death, he cried, that he would give them music to their dancing, and he immediately commanded the drums to beat, and the trumpets to

sound. By way of experiment, he ordered one man to be hung up three times, questioning him at each interval whether he repented of his crime. But the man obstinately asserting, that, notwithstanding the past, he still would willingly engage in the same cause, Kirke ordered him to be hung in chains. One story, commonly told of him, is memorable for the treachery, as well as barbarity, which attended it. A young maid pleaded for the life of her brother, and flung herself at Kirke's feet, armed with all the charms which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could bestow upon her. The tyrant was inflamed with desire, not softened into love or clemency.

He promised to grant her request, provided that she, in her turn, would be equally compliant to him. The maid yielded to the conditions; but, after she had passed the night with him, the wanton savage, next morning, showed her, from the window, her brother, the darling object for whom she had sacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he had secretly ordered to be there erected for the execution. Rage, and despair, and indignation, took possession of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her senses. All the inhabitants of that country, innocent as well as guilty, were exposed to the ravages of this barbarian. The soldiery were let loose to live at free quarters; and his own regiment, instructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, distinguished themselves in a particular manner by their outrages. By way of pleasantry, he used to call them *his lambs*; an appellation which was long remembered, with horror, in the west of England.

The violent Jeffreys succeeded after some interval, and showed the people, that the rigours of law might equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. This man, who wantoned in cruelty, had already given a specimen of his character in many trials where he presided; and he now set out with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death and destruction. He began at Dorchester, and thirty rebels being arraigned, he exhorted them, but in vain, to save him, by their free confession, the trouble of trying them; and when twenty-nine were found guilty, he ordered them, as an additional punishment of their disobedience, to be led to immediate execution.

Most of the other prisoners, terrified with this example, pleaded guilty, and no less than two hundred and ninety-two received sentence at Dorchester. Of these eighty were executed. Exeter was the next stage of his cruelty; two hundred and forty-three were there tried, of whom a great number were condemned and executed. He also opened his commission at Taunton and Wells, and every where carried consternation along with him. The juries were so struck with his menaces, that they gave their verdict with precipitation; and many innocent persons, it is said, were involved with the guilty. And, on the whole, besides those who were butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice. The whole country was strewed with the heads and limbs of traitors. Every village almost beheld the dead carcase of a wretched inhabitant. And all the rigours of justice, unabated by any appearance of clemency, were fully displayed to the people by the inhuman Jeffreys.

Of all the executions during this dismal period, the most remarkable were those of Mrs. Gaunt, and Lady Lisle, who had been accused of

harbouring traitors. Mrs. Gaunt was an anabaptist, noted for her beneficence, which she extended to persons of all professions and persuasions. One of the rebels knowing her humane disposition, had recourse to her in his distress, and was concealed by her. Hearing of the proclamation which offered an indemnity and rewards to such as discovered criminals, he betrayed his benefactress, and bore evidence against her. He received a pardon as a recompense for his treachery; she was burned alive for her charity, on the 23d of October, 1685.

Lady Lisle was widow of one of the regicides, who had enjoyed great favour and authority under Cromwell, who, having fled, after the restoration, to Lauzanne in Switzerland, was there assassinated by three Irish ruffians, who hoped to make their fortune by this piece of service. His widow was now prosecuted, for harbouring two rebels, the day after the battle of Sedgemore; and Jeffreys pushed on the trial with an unrelenting violence. In vain did the aged prisoner plead, that these criminals had been put into no proclamation; had been convicted by no verdict; nor could any man be denominated a traitor, till the sentence of some legal court was passed upon him; that it appeared not, by any proof, that she was so much as acquainted with the guilt of the persons, or had heard of their joining the rebellion of Monmouth; that though she might be obnoxious, on account of her family, it was well known, that her heart was ever loyal, and that no person in England had shed more tears for that tragical event, in which her husband had unfortunately borne too great a share; and that the same principles, which she herself had ever embraced, she had carefully instilled into her son, and had at that very time, sent him to fight against those rebels, whom she was now accused of harbouring. Though these arguments did not move Jeffreys, they had influence on the jury. Twice they seemed inclined to bring in a favourable verdict; they were as often sent back with menaces and reproaches, and at last were constrained to give sentence against the prisoner. Notwithstanding all applications for pardon, the cruel sentence was executed at Winchester, when she made the following speech:—

Gentlemen, friends, and neighbours, it may be expected that I should say something at my death, and in order thereunto I shall acquaint you, that my birth and education were both near this place, and that my parents instructed me in the fear of God, and I now die of the reformed protestant religion; believing that if ever popery should return into this nation, it would be a very great and severe judgment; that I die in expectation of the pardon of all my sins, and of acceptance with God the Father, by the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ, he being the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believes. I thank God through Jesus Christ, that I do depart under the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel; God having made this chastisement an ordinance to my soul. I did once as little expect to come to this place on this occasion, as any person in this place or nation; therefore let all learn not to be high-minded, but fear; the Lord is a sovereign, and will take what way he sees best to glorify himself in and by his poor creatures; and I do humbly desire to submit to his will, praying to

him that I may possess my soul in patience. The crime that was laid to my charge, was for entertaining a non-conformist minister and others in my house; the said minister being sworn to have been in the late duke of Monmouth's army; but I have been told, that if I had denied them, it would not at all have affected me. I have no excuse but surprise and fear, which I believe my jury must make use of to excuse their verdict to the world. I have been also told, that the court did use to be of counsel for the prisoner; but instead of advice, I had evidence against me from thence; which, though it were only by hearsay, might possibly affect my jury, my defence being but such as might be expected from a weak woman; but such as it was, I did not hear it repeated again to the jury; which, as I have been informed, is usual in such cases. However, I forgive all the world, and therein all those that have done me wrong; and in particular I forgive Colonel Penruddock, although he told me, that he could have taken these men before they came to my house. And I do likewise forgive him, who desired to be taken away from the grand jury to the petty jury, that he might be the more nearly concerned in my death. As to what may be objected in reference to my conviction, that I gave it under my hand, that I had discoursed with Nelthorp; that could be no evidence against me, being after my conviction and sentence: I do acknowledge his majesty's favour in revoking my sentence: I pray God to preserve him, that he may long reign in mercy, as well as justice, and that he may reign in peace; and that the protestant religion may flourish under him. I also return thanks to God and the reverend clergy that assisted me in my imprisonment."

The king said, that he had given Jeffreys a promise not to pardon her; an excuse which could serve only to aggravate the blame against himself.

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We shall here conclude our account of the barbarities committed by those monsters, Jeffreys and Kirke, in the west of England; not that we have related the whole, or even a tenth part of them; but an unvarying recital of cruelties is tedious and disgusting, however true; and we therefore pass on to other matters: merely observing, that beside those who were hanged, great numbers were severely whipped, and imprisoned; and almost every gentleman in that part of the country was subjected to enormous fines, to hesitate about the payment of which was construed into high treason; even those who received his majesty's *gracious* pardon, were compelled to purchase it by bribing the court favourites; and, on the whole, there was scarcely a family in Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and the adjoining counties, which had not to mourn the death or the sufferings of some of its members, or was not reduced to comparative poverty by the exactions of the harpies of the court

## SECTION VII.

REBELLIONS AND CONSPIRACIES FORMED BY THE PAPISTS, FROM THE  
REVOLUTION TO THE REIGN OF GEORGE II.

It is now our task to relate another of those horrible plots which will forever disgrace the name of **POPERY**, and render it obnoxious to every one who is not blinded by the specious statements of its supporters—we mean the **ASSASSINATION PLOT**, formed for the destruction of that truly great and good monarch, **William III.**

*The Assassination Plot.*

The papists, whose souls were still anxious to eclipse the power of the protestants, and to subvert the government, had been for some time, projecting another scheme to answer their wished-for purposes, and at length an opportunity offered; but, happily for England, it was providentially frustrated.

The intent of this diabolical scheme was to assassinate **William III.** and to restore **James** to the English throne. It was first projected by the French king, and furthered by the popish emissaries in England.

King **William** had been, for a considerable time, at war with France; and had such success as almost to ruin and depopulate that country. This so enraged the French monarch, that he determined to make one grand and final effort to restore, if possible, **James**, his friend and ally, to the throne; as to the success of which they were filled with the most sanguine hopes, by the death of queen **Mary**, which circumstance, they supposed, had greatly lessened the king's interest in this country.

The scheme of an invasion, and the design of taking off the English monarch, were publicly mentioned in France in the beginning of February, 1695; and it was known that **Louis** had sent an army to Calais, so that nothing but a favourable opportunity seemed wanting to begin the daring attempt.

On the 18th of February, **James** set out for Calais, when the troops, artillery, and stores, were ordered to be put on board the vessels lying there for that purpose; news being hourly expected from England of the assassination being perpetrated.

In the mean time the duke of **Wirtemberg**, alarmed at the reports current in France, despatched an aid-de-camp to England in order to inform **William** of the destruction which awaited him. The prince of **Vaudemont**, then at **Brussels**, despatched messengers with the same intelligence, adding, that he had laid an embargo on all the ships in the harbours of **Flanders**, in order to transport troops into England for his majesty's service. But notwithstanding all the expedition used by the duke of **Wirtemberg**, the king had, some time before the arrival of his messenger, received certain accounts, not only of the intended invasion, but also of the conspiracy against his person.

The principal persons in England concerned in the plot for assassinating the king, were the following: the earl of **Aylesbury**, Lord **Montgomery**, son to the marquis of **Powis**, Sir **John Fenwick**, Sir **William Perkins**, Sir **John Friend**, Captain **Charnock**, Captain **Porter**, and Mr. **Goodman**.

The duke of **Berwick** (an illegitimate son of **James II.**) had come

privately over to England, in the beginning of February, in order to hasten the preparations of the conspirators, whom he assured that King James was ready to make a descent, at the head of twenty-two thousand French troops. At the same time he distributed commissions, and gave directions for procuring men, horses, and arms, for joining him on his arrival. Various rumours were spread, with regard to the nature of these commissions: some said they imported nothing more than to levy war against the prince of Orange and all his adherents, and that King James was totally ignorant of the more detestable part of the scheme; while others asserted that they related to both.

But however that may be, the conspirators, who were several in number, besides those already mentioned, had held various meetings, in order to concert the most proper measures for executing their hellish design. Sir George Berkeley, a native of Scotland, a person of undaunted courage, close, cautious, and circumspect, though a furious bigot to the church of Rome, came over in January with a private commission from King James, by virtue whereof, the party in England were implicitly to obey his orders. This person undertook the detestable task of murdering the king, with the assistance of forty horsemen, furnished by the conspirators. Various methods were at first proposed for effecting this purpose; but it was at last determined to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he usually hunted every Saturday. The place pitched upon was the lane leading from Brentford to Turnham Green. Perhaps a place more likely could not be found; for his majesty generally returning late from the chase, usually crossed the ferry, attended by only a few of his guards, without coming out of his coach; and as he landed on the Middlesex side of the river, the coach drove on without stopping for the rest of the guards, who were obliged to wait on the Surry side till the boat returned to carry them over. So that the king must inevitably have fallen into the hands of the conspirators, before the rest of his guards could have come to his assistance.

Nor were the time and place more artfully contrived, than the disposition and arrangement of the men: for, having secured several places in Brentford, Turnham-Green, and other houses in the neighbourhood, to put up their horses, till the king returned from hunting, one of the conspirators was ordered to wait at the ferry till the guards appeared on the Surry side of the water; and then to give speedy notice to the rest, that they might be ready at their respective posts, while the king was crossing the river. In order to this, they were divided into three parties, who were to make their approaches by three different ways; one from Turnham-Green, another from the lane leading to the Thames, and a third from the road leading through Brentford. One of these parties was to attack the king's guards in the front, another in the rear, while ten or twelve of the most daring and resolute were to assassinate his majesty by firing their blunderbusses at him through the coach windows. It was also agreed, that when the bloody purpose was accomplished, the conspirators should form one body, and continue their route to Hammersmith, and there divide themselves into small parties of three or four, and make the best of their way to Dover, where the sudden landing of the French would secure them from the rage of the populace, and the hand of justice. Sir George Berkeley complaining that the money he had

brought over with him was so nearly exhausted, that the remainder was not sufficient to furnish forty horses, the only necessaries which were now wanting, they agreed that he should find but half the number, and Sir William Perkins, Porter, and Charnock, were to provide the rest.

Saturday, the 15th of February, was fixed for the murder of the king, but his majesty being indisposed, did not go abroad that day. This trivial circumstance struck the assassins with dismay. They immediately concluded that the conspiracy was discovered; but finding that all remained quiet, they again met, and agreed to be in readiness on the Saturday following. Just as they were setting out, they received intelligence from Chambers and Durant, two of their accomplices, that the guards were all come back in great haste, and that there was a whisper among the people, that a horrid plot was discovered. This news put the conspirators into the utmost consternation, and they immediately dispersed.

The conspiracy was discovered in the following manner: Captain Porter, the day before the scheme was to have been put into execution, divulged the whole plot to an intimate friend of his, named Pendergrass, whom he solicited to be one of their number. Pendergrass seemingly complied; but, struck with horror at the atrociousness of the crime, he instantly acquainted the earl of Portland with the scheme, and desired he might be introduced to the king, which being complied with, he fully made known to him all the particulars he knew of this horrid conspiracy, and, after many entreaties from the king, added to a solemn promise that he should not be produced as an evidence without his own consent, he gave in a list of the assassins.

A proclamation was now issued for apprehending the conspirators, and most of them were secured, but Berkeley found means to escape. Admiral Russel was ordered to Chatham, to hasten the fleet out to sea. The rendezvous was appointed in the Downs, to which place all the men of war then in the sea ports, were ordered to sail. This was accomplished with such expedition, that in a few days a fleet of fifty sail had assembled, with which the admiral stood over to the French coast. The enemy, astonished at his sudden appearance, retired with the utmost precipitation into their harbours; and James, perceiving that his design was defeated, returned, overwhelmed with despair, to St. Germain's, where he passed the remainder of his life.

On the 21th of February, the king went to the house of peers, and in a speech to both houses, informed them of the conspiracy, and intended invasion. In a very affectionate and loyal address, they congratulated him on his escape from the designs of his enemies, declared their abhorrence of such villanous attempts, and solemnly promised to assist his majesty, and defend his royal person against all his enemies, declared and private. They likewise drew up an association to the same purpose, which was signed by all the members. From the parliament the association was carried to every part of the kingdom, and signed by all ranks of people. The bishops drew up a particular form, but in the same spirit, which was subscribed to by the greater part of the clergy.

On the 11th of March, Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keys, three of the conspirators, were brought to their trials at the Old



Bailey. The court indulged them with all the liberty they could desire to make their defence: notwithstanding which, they were, upon the fullest and plainest evidence, found guilty of high treason; and sentence being passed upon them, they were, on the 18th of March, hanged and quartered at Tyburn. Their execution was followed by that of several others of the conspirators: a proclamation was issued for apprehending Lord Montgomery, and Sir John Fenwick, suspected to be accomplices in the plot, and the earl of Aylesbury was committed to the tower on the same suspicion.

The case of Sir John Fenwick was, some time after, brought into the house of commons, where, though his guilt was thoroughly proved, he could not be convicted by the common law, on account of one positive evidence only appearing against him; a bill of attainder was, therefore, after some debates, passed by both houses; and, on the 28th of March, he was beheaded on Tower-hill.

Thus was this horrid conspiracy happily frustrated, and the authors of it brought to that condign punishment which their infamy merited. The king's life was the security of his subjects, who heartily rejoiced, as they had reason to do, in being thereby preserved from the miseries of popery and arbitrary government.

*Rebellions and Plots in the Reigns of Anne, George I. and II.*

During the three reigns above named, the papists anxiously sought occasion to disturb the government, and to excite the religious and political prejudices of the people against their sovereigns. In each of these reigns rebellions were raised, which, however, led only to the ruin and death of the conspirators, and strengthened, instead of weakening, the attachment of the British nation to a line of monarchs under whom they enjoyed the blessings of civil and religious liberty. The particulars of these attempts are so well known, or may so easily be learned, that it is quite unnecessary to occupy our pages with the detail; we shall, however, give the particulars of a plot in the year 1722, which, although equally atrocious, readers are not generally so well acquainted with.

*Atterbury's Plot.*

In the year 1722, advice was received from the duke of Orleans, of a most treacherous conspiracy carried on against the British government in favour of the pretender. On this intelligence a camp was formed in Hyde-Park, and the military officers were ordered to repair to their respective commands; some troops were called over from Ireland, and the Dutch states were desired to keep in readiness the guarantee troops, in order to be sent to England in case of emergency.

The conspirators had, by their emissaries, made the strongest solicitations to foreign powers for assistance, but were disappointed in their expectations; notwithstanding which, confiding in their numbers, they resolved to trust to their own strength, and to attempt the subversion of the government. But their intentions being timely discovered, their scheme was rendered abortive.

Several persons were apprehended as parties in this plot. The earl of Orrery, the bishop of Rochester, and the lords North and Grey, were committed to the tower for high treason; and the duke of Norfolk, who had been seized by his majesty's order, was, with the consent of the house of peers, sent to the same prison.

Christopher Layer, Esq. a counsellor, who had been also apprehended on account of this conspiracy, was tried at the King's Bench, Westminster, on the 21st of November. His indictment set forth, "that he had been employed in forming a most traitorous, horrid plot and conspiracy against his majesty and his government, by enlisting men for the Pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion; and also that he had held a correspondence with the Pretender, by carrying letters and treasonable papers to him beyond the seas, and from him to the disaffected in this kingdom." After a trial which lasted seventeen hours, the jury brought him in guilty, and he received sentence of death. He was reprieved from time to time, in the hope of his making discoveries, but he either could not, or would not, satisfy these expectations: he was, therefore, on the 17th of May, 1723, drawn on a sledge to Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered, pursuant to his sentence; after which his head was cut off, and fixed on Temple Bar.

This conspiracy was so artfully carried on under fictitious names, that it required the greatest application to come to the true knowledge of some of the persons concerned. The committee which had been appointed by the house of commons, to examine the papers relative to the conspiracy, delivered it as their opinion, "that a design had long been carried on by persons of distinction abroad, for placing the Pretender on the throne of these kingdoms: that various methods had been attempted, and different times fixed, for carrying their designs into execution: that the first intention was to have procured a regular body of foreign forces to invade these kingdoms, at the time of the late elections; but that the conspirators being disappointed in this expectation, they resolved next, to make an attempt at the time his majesty intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such forces and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved from abroad, under the command of the duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms provided in Spain for that purpose, at which time the tower was likewise to have been seized, and the city of London to have been made a place of arms; but this design being also prevented by the discoveries made in England, and his majesty's putting off his journey; by the encampment of the forces at home, as well as the sending for those from Ireland; by the readiness of his majesty's good allies, the States-General, to assist him in case of necessity; by the orders given in Spain, that the duke of Ormond should not embark; and the like orders issued in France, that he should not be suffered to pass through that kingdom: the conspirators found themselves under the necessity of deferring their enterprise till the breaking up of the camp, during which interval they were labouring, by their agents and emissaries, to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of his majesty's army; and so much did they depend on this defection, as to entertain hopes of placing the Pretender on the throne, though they should not obtain any assistance from abroad, which nevertheless they still continued to solicit."

The house of commons, after a mature deliberation of the whole matter, brought in three several bills to inflict pains and penalties on Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, John Plunket, and George Kelly, as being principally concerned in this diabolical plot; which bills passed both houses, and received the royal assent. The bishop was deprived

of his office and benefice, banished the kingdom, and pronounced guilty of felony if he returned; the power of pardoning him was denied to the king, without the consent of parliament; but he was not to forfeit his goods and chattels. Plunket and Kelly were to be kept in close custody, during his majesty's pleasure, in any prison in Great Britain; and they were not to attempt an escape on pain of death, to be inflicted on them and their assistants.

The duke of Norfolk, the Lord North and Grey, Dennis Kelly, and Thomas Cochran, Esqrs. who had been confined in the tower, were admitted to bail; as was also David du Boyce, confined in Newgate on the same account. A man of war was appointed to convey the bishop of Rochester to France, the place he had chosen for his asylum during his exile; and the royal pardon was granted to Lord Bolingbroke, who owed that indulgence to the earnest solicitation of Lord Harcourt, though it was vehemently opposed at the council board.

Thus did this conspiracy, like the former, fall to the ground; and, excepting the attempt made in the succeeding reign, to overthrow the government, by placing the Pretender on the throne, and thereby again to establish popery, no other *avowed* effort has since been made; and the protestant subjects of this realm have been, and it is hoped ever will be, in an uninterrupted enjoyment of those religious principles which are consistent with, and conformable to, the true gospel of the Redeemer of mankind.

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## SECTION VII.

### OF THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE DURING THE YEARS 1814 AND 1820.

The persecution of this protestant part of France had continued with very little intermission from the revocation of the edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV. till a very short period previous to the commencement of the late French revolution. In the year 1785, M. Rebaut St. Etienne and the celebrated M. de la Fayette were among the first persons who interested themselves with the court of Louis XVI., in removing the scourge of persecution from this injured people, the inhabitants of the south of France.

Such was the opposition on the part of the catholics and the courtiers, that it was not till the end of the year 1790, that the protestants were freed from their alarms. Previously to this, the catholics at Nismes in particular, had taken up arms; Nismes then presented a frightful spectacle; armed men ran through the city, fired from the corners of the streets, and attacked all they met with swords and forks. A man named Astuc was wounded and thrown into the aqueduct; Baudon fell under the repeated strokes of bayonets and sabres, and his body was also thrown into the water; Boucher, a young man only 17 years of age, was shot as he was looking out of his window; three electors wounded, one dangerously; another elector wounded, only escaped death by repeatedly declaring he was a catholic; a third received four sabre wounds, and was taken home dreadfully mangled. The citizens that fled were arrested by the catholics upon

the roads, and obliged to give proofs of their religion before their lives were granted. M. and Madame Vogue, were at their country house, which the zealots broke open, where they massacred both, and destroyed their dwelling. M. Blacher, a protestant seventy years of age, was cut to pieces with a sickle; young Pyerre, carrying some food to his brother, was asked, "Catholic or protestant?" "Protestant," being the reply, a monster fired at the lad, and he fell. One of the murderer's companions said, "you might as well have killed a lamb;" "I have sworn," replied he, "to kill four protestants for my share, and this will count for one." However, as these atrocities provoked the troops to unite in defence of the people, a terrible vengeance was retaliated upon the catholic party that had used arms, which, with other circumstances, especially the toleration exercised by Napoleon Buonaparte, kept them down completely till the year 1814, when the unexpected return of the ancient government rallied them all once more round the old banners.

*The arrival of King Louis XVIII. at Paris.*

This was known at Nismes on the 13th of April, 1814. In a quarter of an hour, the white cockade was seen in every direction, the white flag floated on the public buildings, on the splendid monuments of antiquity, and even on the tower of Magne, beyond the city walls. The protestants, whose commerce had suffered materially during the war, were among the first to unite in the general joy, and to send in their adhesion to the senate, and the legislative body; and several of the protestant departments sent addresses to the throne; but unfortunately, M. Froment was again at Nismes at the moment; when many bigots being ready to join him, the blindness and fury of the sixteenth century rapidly succeeded the intelligence and philanthropy of the nineteenth. A line of distinction was instantly traced between men of different religious opinions; the spirit of the old catholic church was again to regulate each person's share of esteem and safety. The difference of religion was now to govern every thing else; and even catholic domestics who had served protestants with zeal and affection, began to neglect their duties, or to perform them ungraciously, and with reluctance. At the fetes and spectacles that were given at the public expense, the absence of the protestants was charged on them as a proof of their disloyalty; and in the midst of the cries of "*Vive le Roi,*" the discordant sounds of "*Abas le Maire,*" down with the mayor, were heard. M. Castelan was a protestant; he appeared in public with the prefect M. Roland, a catholic, when potatoes were thrown at him, and the people declared that he ought to resign his office. The bigots of Nismes even succeeded in procuring an address to be presented to the king, stating that there ought to be in France but one God, one king, and one faith. In this they were imitated by the catholics of several towns.

*The History of the Silver Child.*

About this time, M. Baron, counsellor of the Cour Royale of Nismes, formed the plan of dedicating to God a silver child, if the Dutchess d'Angouleme would give a prince to France. This project was converted into a public religious vow, which was the subject of conversation both in public and private, whilst persons, whose imaginations were inflamed by these proceedings, run about the streets crying,

*Vivent les Bourbons*, or the Bourbons for ever. In consequence of this superstitious frenzy, it is said that, at Alais, women were advised and instigated to poison their protestant husbands, and at length it was found convenient to accuse them of political crimes. They could no longer appear in public without insults and injuries. When the mobs met with protestants, they seized them, and danced round them with barbarous joy, and amidst repeated cries of *Vive le Roi*, they sung verses, the burden of which was, "We will wash our hands in protestant blood, and make black puddings of the blood of Calvin's children." The citizens who came to the promenades for air and refreshment, from the close and dirty streets, were chased with shouts of *Vive le Roi*, as if those shouts were to justify every excess. If protestants referred to the charter, they were directly assured it would be of no use to them, and that they had only been managed to be more effectually destroyed. Persons of rank were heard to say in the public streets, "All the Huguenots must be killed; this time their children must be killed, that none of the accursed race may remain." Still it is true they were not murdered, but cruelly treated; protestant children could no longer mix in the sports of catholics, and were not even permitted to appear without their parents. At dark their families shut themselves up in their apartments; but even then stones were thrown against their windows. When they arose in the morning, it was not uncommon to find gibbets drawn on their doors or walls; and in the streets the catholics held cords already soaped before their eyes, and pointed out the instruments by which they hoped and designed to exterminate them. Small gallows or models were handed about, and a man who lived opposite to one of the pastors, exhibited one of these models in his window, and made signs sufficiently intelligible when the minister passed. A figure representing a protestant preacher was also hung up on a public crossway, and the most atrocious songs were sung under his window. Towards the conclusion of the carnival, a plan had even been formed to make a caricature of the four ministers of the place, and burn them in effigy; but this was prevented by the mayor of Nismes, a protestant. A dreadful song presented to the prefect, in the country dialect, with a false translation, was printed by his approval, and had a great run before he saw the extent of the error into which he had been betrayed. The sixty-third regiment of the line was publicly censured and insulted, for having, according to order, protected protestants. In fact, the protestants seemed to be as sheep destined for the slaughter.

*Napoleon's Return from the Isle of Elba.*

Soon after this event, the Duke d'Angouleme was at Nismes, and remained there some time; but even his influence was insufficient to bring about a reconciliation between the catholics and the protestants of that city. During the hundred days betwixt Napoleon's return from the Isle of Elba, and his final downfall, not a single life was lost in Nismes, not a single house was pillaged; only four of the most notorious disturbers of the peace were punished, or rather prevented from doing mischief; and even this was not an act of the protestants, but the *arrete* of the catholic prefect, announced every where with the utmost publicity. Some time after, when M. Baron, who proposed

the vow of the silver child in favour of the Dutchess d'Angouleme, who was considered as the chief of the catholic royalists, was discovered at the bottom of an old wine tun, the populace threw stones at his carriage, and vented their feelings in abusive language. The protestant officers protected him from injury.

*The Catholic arms at Beaucaire.*

In May, 1815, a federative association, similar to those of Lyons, Grenoble, Paris, Avignon, and Montpellier, was desired by many persons at Nismes: but this federation terminated here after an ephemeral and illusory existence of fourteen days. In the mean while a large party of catholic zealots were in arms at Beaucaire, and who soon pushed their patrols so near the walls of Nismes, "as to alarm the inhabitants." These catholics applied to the English off Marseilles for assistance, and obtained the grant of 1000 muskets, 10,000 cartouches, &c. General Gilly, however, was soon sent against these partizans, who prevented them from coming to extremes, by granting them an armistice; and yet when Louis XVIII. had returned to Paris, after the expiration of Napoleon's reign of a hundred days, and peace and party spirit seemed to have been subdued, even at Nismes, bands from Beaucaire joined Trestaillon in this city, to glut the vengeance they had so long premeditated. General Gilly had left the department several days: the troops of the line left behind had taken the white cockade, and waited farther orders, whilst the royal commissioners had only to proclaim the cessation of hostilities, and the complete establishment of the king's authority. In vain, no commissioners appeared, no despatches arrived to calm and regulate the public mind; but towards evening the advanced guard of the banditti, to the amount of several hundreds, entered the city, undesired but unopposed. As they marched without order or discipline, covered with clothes or rags of all colours, decorated with cockades, not *white*, but *white and green*, armed with muskets, sabres, forks, pistols, and reaping hooks, intoxicated with wine, and stained with the blood of the protestants whom they had murdered on their route, they presented a most hideous and appalling spectacle. In the open place in the front of the barracks, this banditti was joined by the city armed mob, headed by Jacques Dupont, commonly called Trestaillon. To save the effusion of blood, this garrison of about 500 men consented to capitulate, and marched out sad and defenceless; but when about fifty had passed, the rabble commenced a tremendous fire on their confiding and unprotected victims; nearly all were killed or wounded, and but very few could re-enter the yard before the garrison gates were again closed. These were again forced in an instant, and all were massacred who could not climb over roofs, or leap into the adjoining gardens. In a word, death met them in every place and in every shape, and this catholic massacre rivalled in cruelty, and surpassed in treachery, the crimes of the September assassins of Paris, and the Jacobinical butcheries of Lyons and Avignon. It was marked, not only by the fervour of the revolution, but by the subtlety of the league, and will long remain a blot upon the history of the second restoration.

*Massacre and Pillage at Nismes.*

Nismes now exhibited a most awful scene of outrage and carnage,

though many of the protestants had fled to the Cevennes and the Gardonene. The country houses of Messrs. Rey, Guiret, and several others, had been pillaged, and the inhabitants treated with wanton barbarity. Two parties had glutted their savage appetites on the farm of Madame Frat: the first, after eating, drinking, breaking the furniture, and stealing what they thought proper, took leave by announcing the arrival of their comrades, "compared with whom," they said, "they should be thought merciful." Three men and an old woman were left on the premises: at the sight of the second company two of the men fled. "Are you a catholic?" said the banditti to the old woman. "Yes." "Repeat, then, your Pater and Ave." Being terrified, she hesitated, and was instantly knocked down with a musket. On recovering her senses she stole out of the house, but met Ladet, the old *valet de ferme*, bringing in a salad which the depredators had ordered him to cut. In vain she endeavoured to persuade him to fly. "Are you a protestant?" they exclaimed; "I am." A musket being discharged at him, he fell wounded, but not dead. To consummate their work, the monsters lighted a fire with straw and boards, threw their yet living victim into the flames, and suffered him to expire in the most dreadful agonies. They then ate their salad, omelet, &c. The next day some labourers, seeing the house open and deserted, entered, and discovered the half consumed body of Ladet. The prefect of the Gard, M. Darbaud Jouques, attempting to palliate the crimes of the catholics, had the audacity to assert that Ladet was a catholic; but this was publicly contradicted by two of the pastors at Nismes.

Another party committed a dreadful murder at St. Cezaire, upon Imbert La Plume, the husband of Suzon Chivas. He was met on returning from work in the fields. The chief promised him his life, but insisted that he must be conducted to the prison at Nismes. Seeing, however, that the party was determined to kill him, he resumed his natural character, and being a powerful and courageous man, advanced, and exclaimed, "You are brigands—fire!" Four of them fired, and he fell, but he was not dead; and while living they mutilated his body, and then passing a cord round it, drew it along, attached to a cannon of which they had possession. It was not till after eight days that his relatives were apprized of his death. Five individuals of the family of Chivas, all husbands and fathers, were massacred in the course of a few days.

Near the barracks at Nismes is a large and handsome house, the property of M. Vitte, which he acquired by exertion and economy. Besides comfortable lodgings for his own family, he let more than twenty chambers, mostly occupied by superior officers and commissaries of the army. He never inquired the opinion of his tenants, and of course his guests were persons of all political parties; but, under pretence of searching for concealed officers, his apartments were overrun, his furniture broken, and his property carried off at pleasure. The houses of Messrs. Lagorce, most respectable merchants and manufacturers, M. Matthieu, M. Negre, and others, shared the same fate: many only avoided by the owners paying large sums as commutation money, or escaping into the country with their cash.

#### *Interference of Government against the Protestants.*

**M. Bernis, extraordinary royal commissioner, in consequence of**

these abuses, issued a proclamation which reflects disgrace on the authority from whence it emanated. "Considering," it said, "that the residence of citizens in places foreign to their domicile, can only be prejudicial to the *communes* they have left, and to those to which they have repaired, it is ordered, that those inhabitants who have quitted their residence since the commencement of July, return home by the 23th at the latest, otherwise they shall be deemed accomplices of the evil-disposed persons who disturb the public tranquillity, and their property shall be placed under provisional *sequestration*."

The fugitives had sufficient inducements to return to their hearths, without the fear of sequestration. They were more anxious to embrace their fathers, mothers, wives, and children, and to resume their ordinary occupations, than M. Bernis could be to ensure their return. But thus denouncing men as criminals, who fled for safety from the sabres of assassins, was adding oil to the fire of persecution. Trestailon, one of the chiefs of the brigands, was dressed in complete uniform and epaulettes which he had stolen; he wore a sabre at his side, pistols in his belt, a cockade of white and green, and a sash of the same colours on his arm. He had under him, Truphéany, Servan, Aimé, and many other desperate characters. Some time after this, M. Bernis ordered all parties and individuals, armed or unarmed, to abstain from searching houses without either an order, or the presence of an officer. On suspicion of arms being concealed, the commandant of the town was ordered to furnish a patrol to make search and seizure; and all persons carrying arms in the streets, without being on service, were to be arrested. Trestailon, however, who still carried arms, was not arrested till some months after, and then not by these authorities, but by General La Garde, who was afterwards assassinated by one of his comrades. On this occasion it was remarked, that "the system of specious and deceptive proclamations was perfectly understood, and had long been practised in Languedoc; it was *now too late* to persecute the protestants simply for their religion. Even in the good times of Louis XIV. there was public opinion enough in Europe to make that arch tyrant have recourse to the meanest stratagems." The following single specimen of the plan pursued by the authors of the Dragonades may serve as a key to all the plausible proclamations which, in 1815, covered the perpetration of the most deliberate and extensive crimes:—

*Letters from Louvois to Marillac.*

"The king rejoices to learn from your letters, that there are so many conversions in your department; and he desires that you would continue your efforts, and employ the same means that have been hitherto so successful. His majesty has ordered me to send a regiment of cavalry, the greatest part of which he wishes to be quartered upon the protestants, but he does not think it *prudent* that they should be all lodged with them; that is to say, of twenty-six masters, of which a company is composed, if, by a judicious distribution, ten ought to be received by the protestants, give them twenty, and put them all on the rich, making this pretence, that when there are not soldiers enough in a town for all to have some, the poor ought to be exempt, and the rich burdened. His majesty has also thought proper to order, that all converts be exempted from lodging soldiers for two years.



This will occasion numerous conversions if you take care that it is rigorously executed, and that in all the distributions and passage of troops, by far the greatest number are quartered on the rich protestants. His majesty particularly enjoins, that your orders on this subject, either by yourself or your sub-delegates, be given by word of mouth to the mayors and sheriffs, without letting them know that his majesty intends by these means to force to become converts, and only explaining to them, that you give these orders on the information you have received, that in these places the rich are excepted by their influence, to the prejudice of the poor."

The merciless treatment of the women in this persecution at Nismes was such as would have disgraced any savages ever heard of. The widows Rivet and Bernard were forced to sacrifice enormous sums; and the house of Mrs. Lecointe was ravaged, and her goods destroyed. Mrs. F. Didier had her dwelling sacked and nearly demolished to the foundations. A party of these bigots visited the widow Perrin, who lived on a little farm at the windmills: having committed every species of devastation, they attacked even the sanctuary of the dead, which contained the relics of her family. They dragged the coffins out, and scattered the contents over the adjacent grounds. In vain this outraged widow collected the bones of her ancestors and replaced them: they were again dug up; and, after several useless efforts, they were reluctantly left spread over the surface of the fields.

Till the period announced for the sequestration of the property of the fugitives by *authority*, murder and plunder were the daily employment of what was called the army of Beaucaire, and the catholics of Nismes. M. Peyron, of Brossan, had all his property carried off: his wine, oil, seed, grain, several score of sheep, eight mules, three carts, his furniture and effects, all the cash that could be found, and he had only to congratulate himself that his habitation was not consumed, and his vineyards rooted up. A similar process against several other protestant farmers was also regularly carried on during several days. Many of the protestants thus persecuted were well known as staunch royalists; but it was enough for their enemies to know that they belonged to the reformed communion: these fanatics were determined not to find either royalists or citizens worthy the common protection of society. To accuse, condemn, and destroy a protestant, was a matter that required no hesitation. The house of M. Vitte, near the barracks at Nismes, was broken open, and every thing within the walls demolished. A Jew family of lodgers was driven out, and all their goods thrown out of the windows. M. Vitte was seized, robbed of his watch and money, severely wounded, and left for dead. After he had been fourteen hours in a state of insensibility, a commissary of police, touched by his misfortunes, administered some cordials to revive him; and, as a measure of safety, conducted him to the citadel, where he remained many days, whilst his family lamented him as dead. At length, as there was not the slightest charge against him, he obtained his liberation from M. Vidal; but when the Austrians arrived, one of the aides-de-camp, who heard of his sufferings and his respectability, sought him out, and furnished an escort to conduct his family to a place of safety. Dalbos, the only city beadle who was a protestant, was dragged from his home and led to prison. His niece threw herself on the neck of

one of them and begged for mercy: the ruffian dashed her to the ground. His sister was driven away by the mob; and he being shot, his body remained a long time exposed to the insults of the rabble.

*Royal Decree in favour of the Persecuted.*

At length the decree of Louis XVIII., which annulled all the extraordinary powers conferred either by the king, the princes, or subordinate agents, was received at Nismes, and the laws were now to be administered by the regular organs, and a new prefect arrived to carry them into effect; but in spite of proclamations, the work of destruction, stopped for a moment, was not abandoned, but soon renewed with fresh vigour and effect. On the 30th of July, Jacques Combe, the father of a family, was killed by some of the national guards of Rusau, and the crime was so public, that the commander of the party restored to the family the pocket-book and papers of the deceased. On the following day tumultuous crowds roamed about the city and suburbs, threatening the wretched peasants; and on the 1st of August they butchered them without opposition. About noon on the same day, six armed men, headed by Truphémey the butcher, surrounded the house of Monot, a carpenter; two of the party, who were smiths, had been at work in the house the day before, and had seen a protestant who had taken refuge there, M. Bourillon, who had been a lieutenant in the army, and had retired on a pension. He was a man of an excellent character, peaceable and harmless, and had never served the Emperor Napoleon. Truphémey not knowing him, he was pointed out, partaking of a frugal breakfast with the family. Truphémey ordered him to go along with him, adding, "Your friend, Saussine, is already in the other world." Truphémey placed him in the middle of his troop, and artfully ordered him to cry *Vive l'Empereur*: he refused, adding, he had never served the emperor. In vain did the women and children of the house intercede for his life, and praise his amiable and virtuous qualities. He was marched to the Esplanade and shot, first by Truphémey and then by the others. Several persons, attracted by the firing, approached, but were threatened with a similar fate. After some time the wretches departed, shouting *Vive le Roi*. Some women met them, and one of them appearing affected, said one, "I have killed seven to-day, for my share, and if you say a word, you shall be the eighth." Pierre Courbet, a stocking weaver, was torn from his loom by an armed band, and shot at his own door. His eldest daughter was knocked down with the butt end of a musket; and a poignard was held at the breast of his wife while the mob plundered her apartments. Paul Hérait, a silk weaver, was literally cut in pieces, in the presence of a large crowd, and amidst the unavailing cries and tears of his wife and four young children. The murderers only abandoned the corpse to return to Hérait's house and secure every thing valuable. The number of murders on this day could not be ascertained. One person saw six bodies at the *Cours Neuf*, and nine were carried to the hospital.

If murder some time after become less frequent for a few days, pillage and forced contributions were actively enforced. M. Salle d'Hombro, at several visits, was robbed of 7000 francs; and, on one occasion, when he pleaded the sacrifices he had made, "Look," said a bandit, pointing to his pipe, "this will set fire to your house; and

this," brandishing his sword, "will finish you." No reply could be made to these arguments. M. Feline, a silk manufacturer, was robbed of 32,000 francs in gold, 2000 francs in silver, and several bales of silk.

The small shopkeepers were continually exposed to visits and demands of provisions, drapery, or whatever they sold; and the same hands that set fire to the houses of the rich, and tore up the vines of the cultivator, broke the looms of the weaver, and stole the tools of the artizan. Desolation reigned in the sanctuary and in the city. The armed bands, instead of being reduced, were increased; the fugitives, instead of returning, received constant accessions, and their friends who sheltered them were deemed rebellious. Those protestants who remained were deprived of all their civil and religious rights, and even the advocates and huissiers entered into a resolution to exclude all of "the pretended reformed religion" from their bodies. Those who were employed in selling tobacco were deprived of their licenses. The protestant deacons who had the charge of the poor were all scattered. Of five pastors only two remained; one of these was obliged to change his residence, and could only venture to administer the consolations of religion, or perform the functions of his ministry, under cover of the night.

Not contented with these modes of torment, calumnious and inflammatory publications charged the protestants with raising the proscribed standard in the communes, and invoking the fallen Napoleon; and, of course, as unworthy the protection of the laws and the favour of the monarch.

Hundreds after this were dragged to prison without even so much as a *written order*; and though an Official Newspaper, bearing the title of the *Journal du Gard*, was set up, for five months while it was influenced by the prefect, the mayor, and other functionaries, the word *charter* was never once used in it. One of the first numbers, on the contrary, represented the suffering protestants as "Crocodiles, only weeping from rage and regret that they had no more victims to devour; as persons who had surpassed Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, in doing mischief: and as having prostituted their daughters to the garrison to gain it over to Napoleon." An extract from this article, stamped with the crown and the arms of the Bourbons, was hawked about the streets, and the vender was adorned with the medal of the police.

#### *Petition of the Protestant Refugees.*

To these reproaches it is proper to oppose the petition which the Protestant Refugees in Paris presented to Louis XVIII. in behalf of their brethren at Nismes.

"We lay at your feet, sire, our acute sufferings. In your name our fellow citizens are slaughtered, and their property laid waste. Mised peasants, in pretended obedience to your orders, had assembled at the command of a commissioner appointed by your august nephew. Although ready to attack us, they were received with the assurances of peace. On the 15th of July, 1815, we learnt your majesty's entrance into Paris, and the white flag immediately waved on our edifices. The public tranquillity had not been disturbed, when armed peasants introduced themselves. The garrison capitulated,

but were assailed on their departure, and almost totally massacred. Our national guard was disarmed, the city filled with strangers, and the houses of the principal inhabitants, professing the reformed religion, were attacked and plundered. We subjoin the list. Terror has driven from our city the most respectable inhabitants.

“Your majesty has been deceived if there has not been placed before you the picture of the horrors which make a desert of your good city of Nismes. Arrests and proscriptions are continually taking place, and difference of *religious* opinions is the real and only cause. The calumniated protestants are the defenders of the throne. Your nephew has beheld our children under his banners; our fortunes have been placed in his hands. Attacked without reason, the protestants have not, even by a just resistance, afforded their enemies the fatal pretext for calumny. Save us, sire! extinguish the brand of civil war; a single act of your will would restore to political existence a city interesting for its population and its manufactures. Demand an account of their conduct from the chiefs who have brought our misfortunes upon us. We place before your eyes all the documents that have reached us. Fear paralyzes the hearts, and stifles the complaints of our fellow citizens. Placed in a more secure situation, we venture to raise our voice in their behalf,” &c. &c.

*Monstrous Outrage upon Females.*

At Nismes it is well known that the women wash their clothes either at the fountains, or on the banks of streams. There is a large basin near the fountain, where numbers of women may be seen, every day, kneeling at the edge of the water, and beating the clothes with heavy pieces of wood in the shape of battledoors. This spot became the scene of the most shameful and indecent practices. The catholic rabble turned the women’s petticoats over their heads, and so fastened them as to continue their exposure, and their subjection to a newly invented species of chastisement; for nails being placed in the wood of the *battoirs* in the form of *fleur-de-lis*, they beat them till the blood streamed from their bodies, and their cries rent the air. Often was death demanded as a commutation of this ignominious punishment, but refused with a malignant joy. To carry their outrage to the highest possible degree, several who were in a state of pregnancy were assailed in this manner. The scandalous nature of these outrages prevented many of the sufferers from making them public, and, especially, from relating the most aggravating circumstances. “I have seen,” says M. Durand, “a catholic avocet, accompanying the assassins in the fauxbourg Bourgade, arm a *battoir* with sharp nails in the form of *fleur-de-lis*; I have seen them raise the garments of females, and apply, with heavy blows, to the bleeding body this *battoir* or battledoor, to which they gave a name which my pen refuses to record. The cries of the sufferers—the streams of blood—the murmurs of indignation which were suppressed by fear—nothing could move them. The surgeons who attended on those women who are dead, can attest, by the marks of their wounds, the agonies which they must have endured, which, however horrible, is most strictly true.”

Nevertheless, during the progress of these horrors and obscenities, so disgraceful to France and the catholic religion, the agents of go-

vernment had a powerful force under their command, and by honestly employing it they might have restored tranquillity. Murder and robbery, however, continued, and were winked at, by the catholic magistrates, with very few exceptions; the administrative authorities, it is true, used words in their proclamations, &c. but never had recourse to actions to stop the enormities of the persecutors, who boldly declared, that, on the 24th, the anniversary of St. Bartholomew, they intended to make a general massacre. The members of the reformed church were filled with terror, and, instead of taking part in the election of deputies, were occupied as well as they could in providing for their own personal safety.

*Arrival of the Austrians at Nismes.*

About this time, a treaty between the French court and the allied sovereigns, prohibited the advance of the foreign troops beyond the line of territory already occupied, and traced by the course of the Loire, and by the Rhone, below the Ardeche. In violation of this treaty, 4000 Austrians entered Nismes on the 24th of August; under pretence of making room for them, French troops, bearing the *feudal* title of Royal Chasseurs, followed by the murdering bands of the Trestaillons and Quatre-taillons, who continued their march to Alais, where a fair was to be held, and carried disorder and alarm into all the communes on that route. Nothing now was heard but denunciations of fusillading, burning, razing, and annihilating; and while the catholics were feasting and murdering at Nismes, the flames of the country houses of the protestants, rising 100 feet in the air, rendered the spectacle still more awful and alarming. Unfortunately, some of the peasants, falsely charged with the murder of two protestants, were brought to Nismes while the prefect was celebrating the fete of St. Louis. At a splendid dinner given to the Austrian commanders, and even without quitting the table, it appears, that the French prefect placed the fate and fortune of these unfortunate prisoners at the disposal of Count Stahremberg, who, of course, believing the representations made to him, ordered the accused to be immediately shot. To mortify and exhaust the protestant communes, the Austrians were directed to occupy them, where they completely disarmed the inhabitants without the least opposition. In fact, these foreigners were soon undeceived. They expected to meet the most perfidious and brutal enemies in arms, and in open rebellion against their king: but, on the contrary, they found them all in peace, and experienced the most kind and respectful treatment; and though their duty was a most vexatious and oppressive one, they performed it in general with moderation. On this account they could not refrain from expressing their astonishment at the reports made to them by the authorities at Nismes, declaring, "They had found a population suffering great misfortunes, but no rebels; and that compassion was the only feeling that prevailed in their minds." The commander himself was so convinced of the good disposition of the people of the Cevennes, that he visited those districts without an escort, desiring, he said, to travel in that country as he would in his own. Such confidence was a public reproach on the authorities at Nismes, and a sentence of condemnation on all their proceedings.

As the persecution of the protestants was spreading into other departments, strong and forcible representations were secretly printed

and made to the king. All the ordinary modes of communication had been stopped; the secrecy of letters violated, and none circulated but those relative to private affairs. Sometimes these letters bore the post-mark of places very distant, and arrived without signatures, and enveloped in allegorical allusions. In fact, a powerful resistance on the part of the outraged protestants was at length apprehended, which, in the beginning of September excited the proclamation of the king, on which it was observed, "that if his majesty had been correctly and fully informed of all that had taken place, he surely would not have contented himself with announcing his severe displeasure to a *mised* people, who took justice into their own hands, and avenged the crimes committed against royalty." The proclamation was dictated as though there had not been a protestant in the department; it assumed and affirmed throughout the guilt of the sufferers; and while it deplored the atrocious outrages endured by the followers of the duke d'Angouleme, (outrages which never existed,) the plunder and massacre of the reformed were not even noticed.

Still disorders kept pace with the proclamations that made a show of suppressing them, and the force of the catholic faction also continued to increase. The catholic populace, notwithstanding the decrees of the magistrates, were allowed to retain the arms they had illegally seized, whilst the protestants in the departments were disarmed. The members of the reformed churches wished at this period to present another memorial to the government, descriptive of the evils they still suffered, but this was not practicable. On the 26th of September, the president of the consistory wrote as follows: "I have only been able to assemble two or three members of the consistory pastors or elders. It is impossible to draw up a memoir, or to collect facts; so great is the terror, that every one is afraid to speak of his own sufferings, or to mention those he has been compelled to witness."

#### *Outrages committed in the Villages, &c.*

We now quit Nismes to take a view of the conduct of the persecutors in the surrounding country. After the re-establishment of the royal government, the local authorities were distinguished for their zeal and forwardness in supporting their employers, and, under pretence of rebellion, concealment of arms, non-payment of contributions, &c. troops, national guards, and armed mobs, were permitted to plunder, arrest, and murder peaceable citizens, not merely with impunity, but with encouragement and approbation. At the village of Milhand, near Nismes, the inhabitants were frequently forced to pay large sums to avoid being pillaged. This, however, would not avail at Madame Teulon's: On Sunday, the 16th of July, her house and grounds were ravaged; the valuable furniture removed or destroyed, the hay and wood burnt, and the corpse of a child, buried in the garden, taken up and dragged round a fire made by the populace. It was with great difficulty that M. Teulon escaped with his life. M. Picherol, another protestant, had deposited some of his effects with a catholic neighbour; this house was attacked, and though all the property of the latter was respected, that of his friend was seized and destroyed. At the same village, one of a party doubting whether M.

Hernet, a tailor, was the man they wanted, asked, "Is he a protestant?" this he acknowledged. "Good," said they, and he was instantly murdered. In the canton of Vauvert, where there was a consistory church, 80,000 francs were extorted. In the communes of Beauvoisin and Generac similar excesses were committed by a handful of licentious men, under the eye of the catholic mayor, and to the cries of "Vive le Roi." St. Gilles was the scene of the most unblushing villany. The protestants, the most wealthy of the inhabitants, were disarmed, whilst their houses were pillaged. The mayor was appealed to:—the mayor laughed and walked away. This officer had, at his disposal, a national guard of several hundred men, organized by his own orders. It would be wearisome to read the lists of the crimes that occurred during many months. At Clavisson the mayor prohibited the protestants the practice of singing the psalms commonly used in the temple, that, as he said, the catholics might not be offended or disturbed.

At Sommieres, about ten miles from Nismes, the catholics made a splendid procession through the town, which continued till evening, and was succeeded by the plunder of the protestants. On the arrival of foreign troops at Sommieres, the pretended search for arms was resumed: those who did not possess muskets were even compelled to buy them on purpose to surrender them up, and soldiers were quartered on them at six francs per day till they produced the articles in demand. The protestant church which had been closed, was converted into barracks for the Austrians. After divine service had been suspended for six months at Nismes, the church, by the protestants called the Temple, was re-opened, and public worship performed on the morning of the 24th of December. On examining the belfry, it was discovered that some persons had carried off the clapper of the bell. As the hour of service approached, a number of men, women, and children, collected at the house of M. Ribot, the pastor, and threatened to prevent the worship. At the appointed time, when he proceeded towards the church, he was surrounded: the most savage shouts were raised against him; some of the women seized him by the collar; but nothing could disturb his firmness, or excite his impatience: he entered the house of prayer, and ascended the pulpit; stones were thrown in and fell among the worshippers; still the congregation remained calm and attentive, and the service was concluded amidst noise, threats, and outrage. On retiring many would have been killed but for the chasseurs of the garrison, who honourably and zealously protected them. From the captain of these chasseurs M. Ribot soon after received the following letter.

"January 2, 1816.

"I deeply lament the prejudices of the catholics against the *protestants*, who they pretend do not love the king. Continue to act as you have hitherto done, and time and your conduct will convince the catholics to the contrary: should any tumult occur similar to that of Saturday last, inform me. I preserve my reports of these acts, and if the agitators prove incorrigible, and forget what they owe to the best of kings and the *charter*, I will do my duty and inform the government of their proceedings. Adieu, my dear sir: assure the consistory of my esteem, and of the sense I entertain of the moderation

with which they have met the provocations of the evil-disposed at Sommieres. I have the honour to salute you with respect.

SUVAL DE LAINE."

Another letter to this worthy pastor from the Marquis de Montlord, was received on the 6th of January, to encourage him to unite with all good men who believe in God to obtain the punishment of the assassins, brigands, and disturbers of public tranquillity, and to read the instructions he had received from government to this effect publicly. Notwithstanding this, on the 20th of January, 1816, when the service in commemoration of the death of Louis XVI. was celebrated, a procession being formed, the National Guards fired at the white flag suspended from the windows of the protestants, and concluded the day by plundering their houses. In the Commune of Angargues, matters were still worse; and in that of Fontanes, from the entry of the king in 1815, the catholics broke all terms with the protestants; by day they insulted them, and in the night broke open their doors, or marked them with chalk to be plundered or burnt. St. Mamert was repeatedly visited by these robberies; and at Montmiral, as lately as the 16th of June, 1816, the protestants were attacked, beaten, and imprisoned, for daring to celebrate the return of a king who had sworn to preserve religious liberty and to maintain the charter. In fact, to continue the relation of the scenes that took place in the different departments of the south of France, would be little better than a repetition of those we have already described, excepting a change of names: but the most sanguinary of all seems that which was perpetrated at Uzes, at the latter end of August, and the burning of several protestant places of worship. These shameful persecutions continued till after the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies at the close of the year 1816. After a review of these anti-protestant proceedings, the British reader will not think of comparing them with the riots of London in 1780, or with those of Birmingham about 1793; as it is evident that where governments possess absolute power, such events could not have been prolonged for many months and even for years over a vast extent of country, had it not been for the systematic and powerful support of the higher department of the state.

*Farther Account of the Proceedings of the Catholics at Nismes.*

The excesses perpetrated in the country it seems did not by any means divert the attention of the persecutors from Nismes. October, 1815, commenced without any improvement in the principles or measures of the government, and this was followed by corresponding presumption on the part of the people. Several houses in the Quartier St. Charles were sacked, and their wrecks burnt in the streets, amidst songs, dances, and shouts of Vive le Roi. The mayor appeared, but the merry multitude pretended not to know him, and when he ventured to remonstrate, they told him, "his presence was unnecessary, and that he might retire." During the 16th of October, every preparation seemed to announce a night of carnage; orders for assembling and signals for attack were circulated with regularity and confidence; Trestaillon reviewed his satellites, and urged them on to the perpe-



tration of crimes, holding with one of those wretches the following dialogue :

*Satellite.* "If all the protestants, without one exception, are to be killed, I will cheerfully join ; but as you have so often deceived me, unless they are all to go I will not stir."

*Trestaillon.* "Come along, then, for this time not a single man shall escape." This horrid purpose would have been executed had it not been for General La Garde, the commandant of the department. It was not till ten o'clock at night that he perceived the danger ; he now felt that not a moment could be lost. Crowds were advancing through the suburbs, and the streets were filling with ruffians, uttering the most horrid imprecations. The générale sounded at eleven o'clock, and added to the confusion that was now spreading through the city. A few troops rallied round the Count La Garde, who was wrung with distress at the sight of the evil wick had arrived at such a pitch. Of this M. Durand, a catholic advocate, gave the following account :

"It was near midnight, my wife had just fallen asleep ; I was writing by her side, when we were disturbed by a distant noise ; drums seemed crossing the town in every direction. What could all this mean ! To quiet her alarms, I said it probably announced the arrival or departure of some troops of the garrison. But firing and shouts were immediately audible ; and on opening my window I distinguished horrible imprecations mingled with cries of *Vive le Roi !* I roused an officer who lodged in the house, and M. Chancel, Director of the Public Works. We went out together, and gained the Boulevard. The moon shone bright, and almost every object was nearly as distinct as day ; a furious crowd was pressing on, vowing extermination, and the greater part half naked, armed with knives, muskets, sticks, and sabres. In answer to my inquiries, I was told the massacre was general ; that many had been already killed in the suburbs. M. Chancel retired to put on his uniform as Captain of the *Pompriers* ; the officers retired to the barracks, and anxious for my wife I returned home. By the noise I was convinced that persons followed. I crept along in the shadow of the wall, opened my door, entered, and closed it, leaving a small aperture through which I could watch the movements of the party whose arms shone in the moonlight. In a few moments some armed men appeared conducting a prisoner to the very spot where I was concealed. They stopped, I shut my door gently, and mounted on an alder tree planted against the garden wall. What a scene ! a man on his knees imploring mercy from wretches who mocked his agony, and loaded him with abuse. In the name of my wife and children, he said, spare me ! What have I done ? Why would you murder me for nothing ? I was on the point of crying out and menacing the murderers with vengeance. I had not long to deliberate, the discharge of several fusils terminated my suspense ; the unhappy supplicant, struck in the loins and the head, fell to rise no more. The backs of the assassins were towards the tree ; they retired immediately, reloading their pieces. I descended and approached the dying man, uttering some deep and dismal groans. Some National Guards arrived at the moment, I again retired and shut the door : "I see," said one, "a dead man." "He sings still," said another. "It will be better," said a third, "to finish him and put him

out of his misery." Five or six muskets were fired instantly, and the groans ceased. On the following day crowds came to inspect and insult the deceased. A day after a massacre was always observed as a sort of fête, and every occupation was left to go and gaze upon the victims. This was Louis Lichare, the father of four children; and four years after the event M. Durand verified this account by his oath upon the trial of one of the murderers."

*Attack upon the Protestant Churches.*

Some time before the death of General La Garde, the duke of Angouleme had visited Nismes, and other cities in the south, and at the former place honoured the members of the protestant consistory with an interview, promising them protection, and encouraging them to reopen their temple so long shut up. They have two churches at Nismes, and it was agreed that the small one should be preferred on this occasion, and that the ringing of the bell should be omitted; General La Garde declared that he would answer with his head for the safety of the congregation. The protestants privately informed each other that worship was once more to be celebrated at ten o'clock, and they began to assemble silently and cautiously. It was agreed that M. Juillerat Chasseur should perform the service, though such was his conviction of danger that he entreated his wife, and some of his flock, to remain with their families. The temple being opened only as a matter of form, and in compliance with the orders of the Duke d'Angouleme, this pastor wished to be the only victim. On his way to the place he passed numerous groupes who regarded him with ferocious looks. "This is the time," said some, "to give them the last blow." "Yes," added others, "and neither women nor children must be spared." One wretch, raising his voice above the rest, exclaimed, "Ah, I will go and get my musket, and ten for my share." Through these ominous sounds M. Juillerat pursued his course, but when he gained the temple the sexton had not the courage to open the door, and he was obliged to do it himself. As the worshippers arrived they found strange persons in possession of the adjacent streets, and upon the steps of the church, vowing their worship should not be performed, and crying, "Down with the protestants! Kill them! kill them!" At ten o'clock the church being nearly filled, M. J. Chasseur commenced the prayers: a calm that succeeded was of short duration. On a sudden the minister was interrupted by a violent noise, and a number of persons entered, uttering the most dreadful cries, mingled with *Vive le Roi!* but the gens-d'armes succeeded in excluding these fanatics, and closing the doors. The noise and tumult without now redoubled, and the blows of the populace trying to break open the doors, caused the house to resound with shrieks and groans. The voice of the pastors who endeavoured to console their flock, was inaudible; they attempted in vain to sing the 42d psalm.

Three quarters of an hour rolled heavily away. "I placed myself," says Madame Juillerat, "at the bottom of the pulpit, with my daughter in my arms; my husband at length joined and sustained me; I remembered that it was the anniversary of my marriage; after six years of happiness, I said, I am about to die with my husband and my daughter; we shall be slain at the altar of our God, the

victims of a sacred duty, and heaven will open to receive us and our unhappy brethren. I blessed the Redeemer, and without cursing our murderers, I awaited their approach."

M. Oliver, son of a pastor, an officer in the royal troops of the line, attempted to leave the church, but the friendly sentinels at the door advised him to remain besieged with the rest. The national guards refused to act, and the fanatical crowd took every advantage of the absence of General La Garde, and of their increasing numbers. At length the sound of martial music was heard, and voices from without called to the besieged, "Open, open, and save yourselves." Their first impression was a fear of treachery, but they were soon assured that a detachment returning from mass was drawn up in front of the church to favour the retreat of the protestants. The door was opened, and many of them escaped among the ranks of the soldiers, who had driven the mob before them; but this street, as well as others through which the fugitives had to pass, was soon filled again. The venerable pastor, Olivier Desmond, between 70 and 80 years of age, was surrounded by murderers; they put their fists in his face, and cried, "Kill the chief of brigands." He was preserved by the firmness of some officers, among whom was his own son; they made a bulwark round him with their bodies, and amidst their naked sabres conducted him to his house. M. Juillerat, who had assisted at divine service, with his wife at his side, and his child in his arms, was pursued and assailed with stones; his mother received a blow on the head, and her life was some time in danger. One woman was shamefully whipped, and several wounded and dragged along the streets; the number of protestants more or less ill treated on this occasion, amounted to between seventy and eighty.

#### *Murder of General La Garde.*

At length a check was put to these excesses by the report of the murder of Count La Garde, who, receiving an account of this tumult, mounted his horse, and entered one of the streets, to disperse a crowd. A villain seized his bridle; another presented the muzzle of a pistol close to his body, and exclaimed, "Wretch, you make me retire!" He immediately fired. The murderer was Louis Boissin, a serjeant in the national guard; but, though known to every one, no person endeavoured to arrest him, and he effected his escape. As soon as the general found himself wounded, he gave orders to the gendarmerie to protect the protestants, and set off on a gallop to his hotel; but fainted immediately on his arrival. On recovering, he prevented the surgeon from searching his wound till he had written a letter to the government, that, in case of his death, it might be known from what quarter the blow came, and that none might dare to accuse the protestants of this crime. The probable death of this general produced a small degree of relaxation on the part of their enemies, and some calm; but the mass of the people had been indulged in licentiousness too long to be restrained even by the murder of the representative of their king. In the evening they again repaired to the temple, and with hatchets broke open the doors; the dismal noise of their blows carried terror into the bosom of the protestant families sitting in their houses in tears. The contents of the poor's box, and

the clothes prepared for distribution, were stolen: the minister's robes rent in pieces; the books torn up or carried away; the closets were ransacked, but the room which contained the archives of the church, and the synods, was providentially secured; and had it not been for the numerous patrols on foot, the whole would have become the prey of the flames, and the edifice itself a heap of ruins. In the mean while, the fanatics openly ascribed the murder of the general to his own self-devotion, and said "that it was the will of God." Three thousand francs were offered for the apprehension of Boissin; but it was well known that the protestants dared not arrest him, and that the fanatics would not. During these transactions, the systems of forced conversions to catholicism was making regular and fearful progress.

*Interference of the British Government.*

To the credit of England, the reports of these cruel persecutions carried on against our protestant brethren in France, produced such a sensation on the part of government as determined them to interfere; and now the persecutors of the protestants made this spontaneous act of humanity and religion the pretext for charging the sufferers with a treasonable correspondence with England; but in this state of their proceedings, to their great dismay, a letter appeared, sent some time before to England by the duke of Wellington, stating "that much information existed on the events of the south."

The ministers of the three denominations in London, anxious not to be misled, requested one of their brethren to visit the scenes of persecution, and examine with impartiality the nature and extent of the evils they were desirous to relieve. The Rev. Clement Perrot undertook this difficult task, and fulfilled their wishes with a zeal, prudence, and devotedness, above all praise. His return furnished abundant and incontestible proof of a shameful persecution, materials for an appeal to the British parliament, and a printed report which was circulated through the continent, and which first conveyed correct information to the inhabitants of France.

Foreign interference was now found eminently useful; and the declarations of tolerance which it elicited from the French government, as well as the more cautious march of the catholic persecutors, operated as decisive and involuntary acknowledgments of the importance of that interference, which some persons at first censured and despised: but though the stern voice of public opinion in England and elsewhere produced a reluctant suspension of massacre and pillage, the murderers and plunderers were still left unpunished, and even caressed and rewarded for their crimes: and whilst protestants in France suffered the most cruel and degrading pains and penalties for alleged trifling crimes, *catholics*, covered with blood, and guilty of numerous and horrid murders, were acquitted.

Perhaps the virtuous indignation expressed by some of the more enlightened catholics against these abominable proceedings, had no small share in restraining them. Many innocent protestants had been condemned to the galleys, and otherwise punished, for supposed crimes, upon the oaths of wretches the most unprincipled and abandoned. M. Madier de Montgau, judge of the *cour royale* of Nismes, and president of the *cour d'assizes* of the Gard and Vaucluse, upon one

occasion felt himself compelled to break up the court, rather than take the deposition of that notorious and sanguinary monster Truphéméy: "In a hall," says he, "of the Palace of Justice, opposite that in which I sat, several unfortunate persons persecuted by the faction were upon trial: every deposition tending to their crimination was applauded with the cries of '*Vive le Roi!*' Three times the explosion of this atrocious joy became so terrible, that it was necessary to send for reinforcements from the barracks, and two hundred soldiers were often unable to restrain the people. On a sudden the shouts and cries of '*Vive le Roi!*' redoubled: a man arrives, caressed, applauded, borne in triumph—it is the horrible Truphéméy; he approaches the tribunal—he comes to depose against the prisoners—he is admitted as a witness—he raises his hand to take the oath! Seized with horror at the sight, I rush from my seat, and enter the hall of council; my colleagues follow me; in vain they persuaded me to resume my seat; 'No!' exclaimed I, 'I will not consent to see that wretch admitted to give evidence in a court of justice in the city which he has filled with murders; in the palace, on the steps of which he has murdered the unfortunate Bourillon. I cannot admit that he should kill his victims by his testimonies no more than by his poniards. He an accuser! he a witness! No, never will I consent to see this monster rise, in the presence of magistrates, to take a sacrilegious oath, his hand still reeking with blood.'" These words were repeated out of doors; the witness trembled; the factious also trembled; the factious who guided the tongue of Truphéméy as they had directed his arm, who dictated calumny after they had taught him murder. These words penetrated the dungeons of the condemned, and inspired hope; they gave another courageous advocate the resolution to espouse the cause of the persecuted: he carried the prayers of innocence and misery to the foot of the throne; there he asked if the evidence of a Truphéméy was not sufficient to annul a sentence. The king granted a full and free pardon.

*Perjury in the case of General Gilly, &c.*

This catholic system of subornation and perjury was carried to such an infamous degree, that twenty-six witnesses were found to sign and swear, that on the 3d of April, 1815, General Gilly, with his own hand, and *before their eyes*, took down the white flag at Nismes; though it was proved that at the time when the tri-coloured flag was raised in its room, the general was fifteen leagues from Nismes, and that he did not arrive there till *three* days after that event. Before tribunals thus constructed, even innocence had not the least chance for protection. General Gilly knew better than to appear before them, and was condemned to death for contempt of court. But when he left Nismes, he thought either of passing into a foreign country, or of joining the army of the Loire; and it was long supposed that he had actually escaped. As it was impossible to gain any point, or find any security, his only hope was in concealment, and a friend found him an asylum in the cottage of a peasant; but that peasant was a protestant, and the general was a catholic: however, he did not hesitate; he confided in this poor man's honour. This cottage was in the canton of Anduze; the name of its keeper, Perrier; he

welcomed the fugitive, and did not even ask his name: it was a time of proscription, and his host would know nothing of him: it was enough that he was unfortunate, and in danger. He was disguised, and he passed for Perrier's cousin. The general is naturally amiable, and he made himself agreeable, sat by the fire, ate potatoes, and contented himself with miserable fare. Though subject to frequent and many painful alarms, he preserved his retreat several months, and often heard the visitors of his host boast of the concealment of General Gilly, or of being acquainted with the place of his retreat. Patrols were continually searching for arms in the houses of protestants: and often in the night the general was obliged to leave his mattress, half naked, and hide himself in the fields. Perrier, to avoid these inconveniences, made an under-ground passage, by which his guest could pass to an outhouse. The wife of Perrier could not endure that one who had seen better days should live as her family did, on vegetables and bread, and occasionally bought meat to regale the melancholy stranger. These unusual purchases excited attention; it was suspected that Perrier had some one concealed; nightly visits were more frequent. In this state of anxiety he often complained of the hardness of his lot. Perrier one day returned from market in a serious mood: and after some inquiries from his guest, he replied, "Why do you complain? you are fortunate compared with the poor wretches whose heads were cried in the market to-day: Bruquier, the pastor, at 2400 francs; Bresse, the mayor, at the same; and General Gilly at 10,000!"—"Is it possible?" "Aye, it is certain." Gilly concealed his emotion, a momentary suspicion passed his mind; he appeared to reflect. "Perrier," said he, "I am weary of life; you are poor and want money: I know Gilly and the place of his concealment; let us denounce him; I shall, no doubt, obtain my liberty, and you shall have the 10,000 francs." The old man stood speechless, and as if petrified. His son, a gigantic peasant, 27 years of age, who had served in the army, rose from his chair, in which he had listened to the conversation, and in a tone not to be described, said, "Sir, hitherto we thought you unfortunate, but honest; we have respected your sorrow, and kept your secret: but since you are one of those wretched beings who would inform of a fellow creature, and insure his death to save yourself, there is the door; and if you do not retire, I will throw you out of the window." Gilly hesitated; the peasant insisted; the General wished to explain, but he was seized by the collar. "Suppose I should be General Gilly," said the fugitive. The soldier paused. "And it is even so," continued he; "denounce me, and the 10,000 francs are your's." The soldier threw himself on his neck; the family were dissolved in tears; they kissed his hands, his clothes, protested they would never let him leave them, and that they would die rather than he should be arrested. In their kindness he was more secure than ever; but their cottage was more suspected, and he was ultimately obliged to seek another asylum. The family refused any indemnity for the expense he had occasioned them, and it was not till long after that he could prevail upon them to accept an acknowledgment of their hospitality and their fidelity. In 1820, when the course of justice was more free, General Gilly demanded a trial; there was nothing against him; and the Duke d'An-

gouleme conveyed to Madame Gilly the permission of the king for the return of her husband to the bosom of his country.

But, even when the French government was resolved to bring the factions of the department of the Gard under the laws, the same men continued to exercise the public functions. The society, called *Royale*, and its secret committee, maintained a power superior to the laws. It was impossible to procure the condemnation of an assassin, though the evidence against him was incontestible, and for whom, in other times, there would have been no hope. The Truphémys, and others of his stamp, appeared in public, wearing immense mustachios, and white cockades embroidered with green. Like the brigands of Calabria, they had two pistols and a poniard at their waists. Their appearance diffused an air of melancholy mixed with indignation. Even amidst the bustle of the day there was the silence of fear, and the night was disturbed by atrocious songs, or vociferations like the sudden cry of ferocious wild beasts.

#### *Ultimate Resolution of the Protestants at Nismes.*

With respect to the conduct of the protestants, these highly outraged citizens, pushed to extremities by their persecutors, felt at length that they had only to choose the manner in which they were to perish. They unanimously determined that they would die fighting in their own defence. This firm attitude apprized their butchers that they could no longer murder with impunity. Every thing was immediately changed. Those, who for four years had filled others with terror, now felt it in their turn. They trembled at the force which men, so long resigned, found in despair, and their alarm was heightened when they heard that the inhabitants of the Cevennes, persuaded of the danger of their brethren, were marching to their assistance. But, without waiting for these reinforcements, the protestants appeared at night in the same order and armed in the same manner as their enemies. The others paraded the Boulevards, with their usual noise and fury; but the protestants remained silent and firm in the posts they had chosen. Three days these dangerous and ominous meetings continued; but the effusion of blood was prevented by the efforts of some worthy citizens distinguished by their rank and fortune. By sharing the dangers of the protestant population, they obtained the pardon of an enemy who now trembled while he menaced.

But though the protestants were modest in their demands, only asking present safety, and security for the future, they did not obtain above half of their requests. The dissolution of the National Guard at Nismes was owing to the prudence and firmness of M. Laine. The re-organization of the *Cour Royale* was effected by M. Pasquier, then Keeper of the Seals; and these measures certainly ensured them a present safety, but no more. M. Madier de Montgau, the generous champion of the protestants of Nismes, was officially summoned before the Court of Cassation at Paris, over which M. de Serre, Keeper of the Seals, presided, to answer for an alleged impropriety of conduct as a magistrate, in making those public appeals to the Chamber which saved the protestants, and increased the difficulties of renewing those persecutions of which he complained. The French attorney general demanded the erasure of his name from the list of ma-

gistrates, but this the court refused. Unfortunately, since the law of elections in France has been changed, two of the bitterest enemies of the protestants have been chosen Deputies at Nismes. The future, therefore, is not without its dangers, and the condition of the persecuted may fluctuate with the slightest political alteration; but which, it is to be hoped, may be prevented from any acts that may again disgrace the catholic religion by the powerful expression of the public mind, actuated with better principles, or by the interference of the protestant influence in this or other countries. Happily, since the year 1820, no fresh complaints have issued from the south of France on the score of religion.



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