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A N
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
S U F F E R I N G S
O F
M R . L E W I S D E M A R O L L E S ,
A N D
M R . I S A A C L E F E V R E ,
U P O N T H E R E V O C A T I O N O F T H E E D I C T O F N A N T Z .



✓
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
S U F F E R I N G S

O F
MR. LEWIS DE MAROLLES,

A N D
MR. ISAAC LE FEVRE,
UPON THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTZ.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE TREATMENT OF THE
PROTESTANTS IN THE GALLES OF FRANCE.

Translated from the French about the Beginning of this Century.

AND NOW REPUBLISHED
By JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D. F.R.S.

The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

Ps. cxii. 6.

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MDCCLXXXVIII.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

HAVING reason to think that the account of the sufferings of Lewis de Marolles, and also of those of Mr. le Fevre (both translated from the French) are now very little known, I give this new edition of them. Few works appear to me more instructive, or more interesting; as they shew the actual force of christian principles; and the reading of them tends to dispose the mind to feel, and to act, as becomes christians in all situations, and especially the most trying ones.

In times of peace and tranquility, the pursuits of christians being the same with those of the world at large, they are apt to *conform to the world* more than becomes their character, and to lose sight of those objects which ought chiefly to engage their attention. Not sufficiently considering that we are allowed the enjoyment of our property, our liberty, or even our lives, no longer than the enjoyment of them is consistent with our christian profession, we do not sit so loose to them as we ought to do; and therefore, even while we retain them, we do not enjoy them as christians ought to do, viz. as things that are *not our own*, but only given us as stewards, for purposes respecting chiefly the good of others.

With these sentiments, however, we have, in fact, the truest enjoyment of them, and of ourselves; being unspeakably happier than they who pursue the world and the things of it with the greatest avidity, who retain them with the greatest obstinacy, and who part with them with the greatest reluctance. A christian should at all times *rejoice as though he rejoiced not, and weep as though he wept not, because the fashion of this world passeth away, and the Lord, his judge, is at hand.* He ought to consider nothing as properly his, or deserving his attachment, but that *inheritance which is incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved for him in heaven, in that state which is called the new heavens, and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.*

In time of persecution these christian sentiments are perpetually obtruded upon us. Without any effort of our own, the occurrences of every day will suggest them; and though it is our duty not to court, but to shun, persecution, as well as evils and trials of any other kind, lest we should not be able to acquit ourselves well in them, and might justly draw upon ourselves the punishment of our presumption and vain confidence; we should exert ourselves to do every thing in our power to acquire those sentiments and resolutions which are naturally produced by the circumstances attending persecution. The less our situation does for us, the more we should do for ourselves. Now it appears to me that one of the best methods of doing this is reading the histories of persecutions, and of course contemplating the lives and characters of those who have distinguished themselves as martyrs in the
cause

cause of truth. Next to seeing and conversing with the men ourselves, and our being witnesses of their patient sufferings, this will have the greatest effect to dispose us to feel and act as they did.

Of all the christian martyrs whose histories I have read, I know of none whose behaviour appears to me more worthy of attention than the persons whose sufferings I now bring before the reader; as, though they were not directly put to death, they shewed more real fortitude of mind than those who suffered a violent death in any form. To die by the sword, by wild beasts, or by fire, requires the resolution and exertion of a few hours at most (though certainly the most vigorous and heroic that human nature is capable of) but the horrors of a dungeon, which these men endured, to say nothing of the dreadful punishment of the galleys, as described in this work, required the unremitted exertion of months and years.

In a public execution, more especially, there are many things which contribute to raise a man's spirits, and carry him through the dreadful scene with a good grace; but solitary confinement tends to depress the mind; and in the cases before us, it was attended with every thing that could make men pass their time in the most comfortless and irksome manner. To them death, in any form, must have appeared a happy deliverance. Yet those long sufferings, we see, were borne without any impatience, or a spirit of revenge, but with the greatest meekness and resignation, and with sentiments of good will even towards those who inflicted them.

This circumstance it is that shews an infinite su-

periority in the behaviour of christians suffering in the cause of truth, to that of the North American Indians in braving torture and death. They do it without complaining, indeed, but with the most rancorous and revengeful disposition; comforting themselves with the thought of having inflicted on their enemies the same torments when it was in their power, and wishing to inflict them again. They die with the feelings of a brute beast; but christians with that dignity which is the perfection of human nature. They who, from a hatred of christianity, give the preference to the courage of the Indians, in bearing torture and death, to that of the christian martyrs, shew their utter ignorance of every thing in which true greatness of mind, and dignity of sentiment, consist. This is discovered not by the mere bearing of pain, but by the temper of mind with which it is borne.

The reading of such works as these, besides giving us a lively idea of the power of virtuous principles, and in some measure inspiring us with them, so as to prepare us to act with the same fortitude ourselves, should we be called to it, should make us more sensible of our happiness in being exempted from such trials, and dispose us to distinguish ourselves by *active* services in the cause of truth, when we are not called to do it in the way of *suffering*. As these martyrs promoted the great cause of christian truth in the manner which their times and circumstances required, let us do the same in ours; and though not capable of doing it in the most glorious manner possible, let us acquire all the honour that we can. If we do not give our *lives*, which is unquestionably

questionably of far greater value than any thing else, let us at least give our *time*, and our *labour*.

Much remains to be done to promote the cause of christian truth, which these martyrs left undone, which indeed they had no idea of, and which, through prejudice and mistaken views of things, they would have opposed with the greatest zeal; and there are other ways of shewing our attachment to the cause of truth, and our zeal for the propagation of it, besides dying for it. As far as God has been pleased to open our eyes, let us exert ourselves, by every means in our power, to enlighten the minds of others. We should put no candle under a bushel, and hide no talent in a napkin. Let us, more especially, shew the same firmness of mind (and perhaps it may require no less firmness) in acting against the more gentle, but often more powerful, influence of *fashion*, which the martyrs did against *open violence*.

Let us, by writing, by preaching, or by conversation, as ability and opportunity serve, point out those errors in christian doctrine, discipline, or mode of worship, which we believe yet to remain among professing christians, unmoved by any thing that men may say of us, or do to us; thankful that the power of bigots is now restrained, and that however willing they may be, it is not permitted them to touch the *lives* of the faithful witnesses for the truth. What is our exclusion from stations of honour or profit; what are the greatest calumnies, to which we can be exposed, and every mark of resentment that can now be shewn us, to the dreadful sufferings of the French Protestants, exhibited in this treatise? We may even

even divert ourselves with the reproaches of *our* enemies, but the dungeons of Mr. de Marolles, and le Fevre, were no subjects of pleasantry. What they suffered we should be ready to endure; but being exempted from this, we should not hesitate to expose ourselves to every thing else with the greatest alacrity.

When I am sitting in a cheerful room, by a comfortable fire side, with my family about me, attending without restraint, to any pursuit of philosophy, theology, or general literature, for which I have an inclination, visited by my friends, and corresponding with whom I please; when I see the chearing rays of the sun, and the fair face of nature, and make what excursions I please, and in what manner I please, to distant places, as health, convenience, or pleasure, may require; I think of Mr. Marolles, who after having been accustomed to enjoy all these blessings, voluntarily incurred the loss of them all, and, without repining, thought himself abundantly recompenced by the peace of his mind, and his future prospects. How itrenuously, then, should we exert ourselves to make the best use of the liberty we enjoy. *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*

The liberal minded among the catholics (and there are, I am confident, many who may with great truth be thus denominated among them) will not, I hope, imagine that I republish these tracts with any view to expose them to the odium of protestants. They will reprobate the conduct of Lewis XIV. and his ministers, as much as I can do; and the more as having been of their communion; and they will rejoice with me in such an exhibition of
the

the power of christian principles, and of a regard to truth and conscience. Such examples will be considered by them as edifying to themselves, as well as to us. There is reason to think that the principles of christian moderation have taken as deep root in many of the members of popish establishments, as in any protestants, and I should now think myself as safe in France or in Italy, as in England. The zeal for an establishment will, in general, be in proportion to the interest men have in keeping it up, and their opposition to sectaries in proportion to the dread they conceive of their influence. And that self-deception, under the secret influence of which men contend for their *interest*, when they persuade themselves that they are contending for *truth*, is that to which all men, in all countries, are equally subject.

Let no man, merely because he is a dissenter from all civil establishments of religion, conclude that he has nothing of the antichristian spirit by which they are actuated. It may be owing to nothing but the accidental circumstances of birth and education, that he is not a member of the most rigid establishment. This is certainly the case with the great mass of all dissenters, since it is so with the generality of other men; and the surest way of judging of ourselves, is not by what we imagine we should think or do in given situations, but by what we see others do in them.

If any man continue in the same class in which he was born, if he hold the same opinions in which he was educated, and if he discourage all dissent from his own doctrines and mode of worship as
much

much as is in his power, whatever that be (which is the case with many dissenters) he is not, in his temper and disposition, which is that which constitutes *the character*, to be distinguished from an inquisitor; and in the same circumstances he would have as little scruple to employ torture, as he now has to employ censure, to gain the same ends. They differ only in the mode of expressing their resentment against those who differ from them.

We ought also to consider that the most violent persecutors have often had as good *intentions*, with respect to the cause of truth, and of God, as any of us can boast. Their primary error was that of their judgment, first in imagining that to be truth which was not so, and then in conceiving that it was their duty to promote truth by external force, an opinion which a very honest man may happen to entertain; for such was the serious and avowed opinion of Luther, Calvin, and in some measure of Socinus too. We see, however, in their example of what importance it is to form just *opinions*, when we see them to have such serious consequences; and let it be considered that other speculative opinions may have important consequences, though not of this particular nature, in preventing bloodshed, and securing the lives, the liberties, and the property, of honest men.

Farther to lessen our unchristian resentment against persecutors, and to lead us to feel as becomes christians with respect to them, and to all men, let it be considered that a man who has nothing of the spirit of antichrist within him, who truly thinks for himself, uninfluenced by any external circumstance,

is still deficient in the true spirit of christianity, if he promote the cause of truth with intemperate heat, and indulge himself in any asperity of language, and abuse, with respect to those who do not think as he does; and unless, with all candour, he endeavour to show to others the light that he has gained.

To assist us in acquiring this temper of christian forbearance towards those who oppose us, we should reflect that it is the result of a wise part of our constitution, that the bulk of mankind should not hastily change their opinions or practices, and that innovations should be opposed; because this makes us more cautious in propagating what appears to be truth, and gives it the firmest establishment when it is once received. And we should not deny to error the benefit of that general law of nature which is ultimately favourable to truth: and it only requires *time* for all truth to establish itself in the place of all error, and consequently to gain any advantage of which error may for a time be possessed.

Lastly, should we be possessed of all those requisites of a christian temper (which is more than any man can boast) should we be actuated by the purest love of truth, without any sinister motive whatever to embrace it, and should we exert ourselves to promote it with the purest zeal, and good will to all men, making all due allowance for their misconceptions, and their opposition to ourselves, always ascribing it to the best motives that can be supposed to actuate them, and in the midst of our sufferings praying for our greatest enemies and persecutors,

secutors, we should still consider that it is ultimately of God that we have been led to think and feel as we do, as much as that we were born and educated in the circumstances in which we were. With a better disposition than that of the proud Pharisee, yea with the humility of the publican himself, we should say, *God we thank thee that we are not as other men are.* For in other circumstances (which depend on the providence of God) we should have been other men.

When all these considerations are duly attended to, I hope that such books as these with which I now present the reader, will not contribute to inflame our resentment against any set of men whatever; but only shew us in a stronger light the great importance of truth, and the value of christian principles, which alone can raise men above the world and all its terrors, and not diminish our candour and moderation, in promoting what we deem to be truth. We may abhor particular dispositions, and particular measures, but we must love *men*, all men, the worst of men, and endeavour, by all the means in our power, to make them wiser and better. But from these means we must exclude every kind of force, or restraint.

Notwithstanding what is here said, with a view to promote a truly christian spirit towards all men, of the laudable moderation of many members of the church of Rome (and the same might be said with respect to many of them in all ages, as well as the present) I have no doubt but that the papal power is Antichrist, the mystical Babylon, described in the book of Revelation, which was to prevail
over

over the saints, to be drunk with the blood of the martyrs, and which is doomed to destruction. The persecutions occasioned by the supporters of papal power have far exceeded all the persecutions by heathens. In no country of equal extent with France, was there ever so much real misery produced by any of the Roman emperors, as was occasioned by Lewis XIV. and certainly with no other view than to extirpate what he thought to be *heresy*. But the church of England, though dissenting from the church of Rome, yet agreeing with it in many particulars, especially in the conjunction of civil and ecclesiastical power, and in having employed its power to extirpate heresy (as in the reigns of Elizabeth, and the Stuarts) cannot expect to escape, when the time shall come that, not only the great antichristian power itself, but all that *partake of her sins, shall receive of her plagues*.

Some perhaps may wonder that I chuse to exhibit to this advantage persons who appear to have thought very differently from myself, considering Jesus Christ as the supreme God, and addressing prayers to him. But that was the error of the times, and not of those particular men, who, moreover, were not by profession theologians; and their opinion concerning Jesus Christ had no influence whatever in enabling them to bear their sufferings. Those were the principles of christianity in general, such as are common to Trinitarians, Arians, and Unitarians. Accordingly, we find that persons of all these denominations have borne persecution with equal firmness.

I hope

I hope that my zeal for any particular tenet relating to christianity will never make me lose sight of those great principles which are common to all christians, the catholics themselves included, many of whom have also borne persecution as well as any protestants, though, at the same time, from mistaken views of things, they would not have scrupled to persecute others. I am not, I hope, so bigotted to my own opinions, as not readily to allow that many of those who think the worst of me, and who would think they did God service in destroying me, if it were in their power, are as good men as myself. Though they think me certainly doomed to hell, they would rejoice to find me in heaven.

In reprinting these treatises I have made no alterations excepting of a few words, and phrases which were become obsolete, and sometimes in the division of sentences and paragraphs. The style in general is not changed. It appeared to me to be sufficient to express what was intended to be expressed in such a manner as would not disgust a serious reader, and for a fastidious one this publication is not intended. Serious men will respect serious things. I have likewise reprinted the *Prefaces*, and every thing else that was prefixed to the publications, though several things in them will be found to be repetitions, and therefore unnecessary. I wish them to appear to others just as they appeared to me, and what I might have been disposed to cut off, others might have wished to retain.

T H E
C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

Account of the Sufferings of the Protestants Aboard
the Gallies.

THAT *the inhumanity of the modern, as well as an-
cient persecutors, exceeds the rage of the most savage
beasts* - - - - - page 25

*That the propagation of religion is the cloak with papists
for such inhuman barbarities* - - P. 25

*That the barbarous usage of protestants, on board the
gallies, is one method, among many others, of such cruel
usage; concerning which, the author was very well
qualified to give an account, as having been sometime
chaplain on board the gallies, and therefore an eye-wit-
ness* - - - - - p. 26

*The description of the galley, and of the common miseries
of all slaves on board the same, from* P. 27 to 32

*The more peculiar sufferings of the protestants, and more
particularly by the bastinado, on board the gallies, from
p. 36 to the end.*

The CONTENTS of the particular Sufferings of
Mr. LEWIS DE MAROLLES.

- I. **T**HE *introduction, shewing that it is the lot of the righteous to be exposed to sufferings, and the wisdom of providence in so ordering it.*
- II. *Monsieur de Marolles, a person eminent as well for his birth and employments, as the greatness of his sufferings.*
- III. *That he was a good philosopher and mathematician, and particularly skilled in Algebra.*
- IV. *That he made it his chief business to instruct himself in religion, and to grow and advance in piety; concerning which, and the former attainments here is to be seen his character.*
- V. *That endeavouring to get out of the kingdom, he was persuaded by the intendant to settle in Alsace. In which section there is a curious disquisition concerning the place of the famous battle with Attila.*
- VI. *That the assurances of the intendant, proved a false security.*
- VII. *The whole family of the Marolles proved eminent confessors.*
- VIII. *Our martyr being apprehended and imprisoned at Strasburgh, was strongly solicited to change his religion. But in the several conferences with him for that purpose,*
he

he bravely stood his ground. His wife and children imprisoned at Chalons, and at length banished.

IX. *His friends of the Romish religion assure him that his peace and pardon was to be had on no other terms, than the change of his religion.*

X. *He is removed from Strasburgh to the prison of Chalons, where he is visited by the bishop who treated him with much humanity; but remaining firm in his religion, is condemned to the gallies.*

XI. *After his condemnation he is removed from Chalons to Paris, and from thence to La Tournelle, where persons condemned to the gallies remain till the departure of the chain.*

XII. *Here he is alternately used with mercy and rigour, by one or other, to induce him to apostatize, but without effect, though once he staggered, yet again recovered; and when it was proposed to him to be sent to the Bishop of Meaux to be instructed, he refuses, and with good reason.*

XIII. *From La Tournelle the court belonging to the parliament of Paris, where criminals are tried, he is removed to Le Tournelle where prisoners condemned to the gallies are sent till their departure; where in the dungeon, and with a chain on his neck of thirty pounds weight, he suffered great extremities; and though tempted not only with a release but preferment, yet would not abjure his religion; whence also he writes many comfortable letters to his friends.*

- XIV. *Writes to, and is visited by his wife, who washes his wounds. And she acquainting him with an infamous fraud, contrived by the papists to allay the wonder of his constancy, namely that he was besides himself, he proposed to the learned a mathematical problem.*
- XV. *He departs in the chain from Paris, though ill of the fever, and arriving at Marseilles, is put into the hospital as an invalid.*
- XVI. *He is removed on board the galleys, and designed to be embarked for America; on which sorrowful occasion he wonderfully comforts his wife, lessening instead of aggravating that, and his other sufferings.*
- XVII. *At first indeed he is treated in the galleys with some lenity and respect, which whether from design, or the compassion of some general officers, is hard to determine.*
- XVIII. *They now begin to treat him with rigour, and he is much deprived of the liberty of writing; finds however some opportunity of writing to his wife, and congratulates her escape out of the kingdom, concerning which he had been extremely solicitous.*
- XIX. *Has several conferences and disputes with the bishop of Marseilles, and others of the clergy, in all which he stands firm.*
- XX. *He doth with wonderful dexterity acquaint his wife with the particularities of his state and treatment.*
- XXI. *It happened to our martyr, as before it had to Mr. Le Fevre, to be worse handled after his conferences; for*

to break his constancy by orders from the court, he is removed from the galley to the dungeon, which he describes, and where he continues six years till his death; of the three first of which we have no account.

XXII. *In the three last years it appears by some letters from him, into what an abyss of misery he was cast, and how great was the strength of his faith and hope; and how greatly he comforted his companions in sufferings.*

XXIII. *The rigours he endured seemed to be greater than the king loaded him withal.*

XXIV. *Mr. Marolles and another confessor, do by their letters mutually comfort each other.*

XXV. *Writes his last and most admirable letter to his wife, acquainting her with his spiritual conflicts, and their happy issue.*

XXVI. *The account of his death, with some particulars of his life not known before.*

XXVII. *The conclusion, with most edifying reflections upon the whole.*

T H E
S U F F E R I N G S
O F
M R. L E F E V R E.

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A
S P E C I M E N
O F
P A P A L A N D F R E N C H
P E R S E C U T I O N,

EXHIBITED

In the sufferings of some of the more eminent CONFESSORS and
MARTYRS, who have signalized their faith and patience with-
in the long and dismal reign of

L E W I S X I V.

PARTICULARLY OF
LEWIS DE MAROLLES, &c.



T O
M O N S I E U R H E I N S I U S ,
C O U N C E L L O R A N D P E N S I O N A R Y
O F
H O L L A N D A N D W E S T - F R I E Z L A N D .

S I R,

A Friend of my Father's, to whom I have communicated some letters written with his own hand, would needs take the pains to put in order the history of his sufferings and martyrdom, with which it has pleased God to crown him. I take the liberty, Sir, to dedicate it to you, and I hope you will not take it ill. I thought that the history of the many evils and sufferings, which the most cruel violence could invent, wherewith to triumph over his faith and constancy, might serve to fortify and strengthen those who are persecuted for the truth, and to awaken those who are negligent in the exercise of piety. I have also been persuaded, that the history of a martyr which hath made so much noise in the world (if I may say it without vanity) could not be better dedicated than to the premier minister of a commonwealth, no less charitable than powerful, and which affords subsistence and support to so many millions of persons, who have forsaken all to preserve that fidelity which they owe to God. Every one, Sir, is acquainted with the weight, and influences which your counsels have in all the deliberations of the state. And the refugees are not ignorant of the obligations, which engage them to publish their acknowledgments. It is for this reason that in acquitting myself of so just a duty, I intreat you to grant me the honour of your protection, and to permit me to stile myself, with a most profound respect.

S I R,

Your most humble, and
most obedient servant,

D E M A R O L L E S .

THE
PUBLISHER
TO THE
READER.

IT is universally acknowledged that no reading is more useful than the lives of great and good men, and of all lives those are most edifying which represent to us the noble conflicts, and eminent sufferings of confessors and martyrs. For these are the principal leaders in the armies of the living God, standing firm against all the batteries of the powers of darkness: and to behold their courage and constancy, is not more entertaining, than it is truly edifying, as it animates us to follow the example of such heroes in the christian warfare.

But many will be apt to say, what need we examples of this sort in these latter ages, since the church is come under the protection of christian princes, who have been nursing fathers and nursing mothers to it. The primitive christians they readily extol, and the faith and patience of the first martyrs they hear and read of with admiration. But of the modern martyrdoms, these seem to understand little of the necessity, and as slightly to esteem their sufferings. But this is a prejudice which, with submission, I shall presume to say, arises from too great an inadvertancy of what is both predicted in scripture, and recorded in ecclesiastical history, concerning the state of the church of God in the middle, and these latter ages.

As to the Scripture accounts of this matter, what more evident than that its state was to be militant, and particularly that under the antichristian domination it should suffer a long and dismal oppression, and even an extermination in some places, so as to be forced to take her flight into the closest coverts? what else can mean these words of St. John, Rev. xii. 6. That "the woman should fly into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days," which in the prophetic stile means twelve hundred and sixty years, and that there she should "prophecy in sackcloth," Rev. xi. 3. The wilderness does most aptly denote the place of her chief residence

dence in the middle ages especially, and her being in sackcloth presignifies the sadness of her heart, and her low condition during that whole time.

And as for evidence from ecclesiastical history, if our protestant readers would vouchsafe with the same diligence and regard to peruse the histories of the old Albigenes and Waldenses, and of the protestant churches their successors, especially those of Piedmont and France, as they usually do the histories of popish writers, they would discern those and other prophecies verified to a tittle, as to the sufferings of both, under the Roman antichrist, during that long tyranny, drawing now, it is much to be hoped, towards its final period. And as in the primitive persecutions they find the last, namely, that of Dioclesian, to exceed all the former in duration, the numbers of the persecuted, and the variety of their sufferings; so in this of the churches of France and Piedmont, carried on by the power and influence of another Dioclesian, they will find, as e'er long will be made appear, a like proportion with respect to all the former, in every of these particulars.

It was in this last that our noble confessor and martyr, Mr. Lewis de Marolles, shone so gloriously in this christian warfare, it was in this that he stood so immoveable, when thousands fell on all sides him, in Courts, in prisons, in conferences, himself remaining equally unshaken with either menaces or entreaties; and it was in this that he bore up afterwards with a great and elevated soul, both in the gallies and in the dungeon. And what a long and dismal night must this latter of six years continuance have been to any other, who had not been possessed of such a clear conscience, and a joyous mind, as God vouchsafed to him! The cordials of divine comfort must have been very strong that could support him under the load of his chains, and in such horrid circumstances so long! and indeed it appears through his whole history, that as his sufferings were uncommon, so his consolations were exceedingly great. But I could not have formed so strong an idea of them, had it not been for one of the darkest passages in his story. in page 61, upon his first coming to La Tournelle, you will find him expressing himself thus; "I meet here
"with something more agreeable and more grievous than
"the dungeon, but we must submit to all." This period wherein he speaks of what he felt in the dungeon, to be both agreeable and grievous at the same time, seemed to me

at first to be inconsistent, till waiting upon that learned mathematician, Mr. de Moivre, to put right the following problem; in discourse upon Mr. de Marolles, that gentleman told me, that in the five or six times he was with him in his confinement, he always found him, though with a chain upon his neck, and in a place and company most horrid, yet with a chearful look, and smile upon his countenance, such as spake more than a bare serenity of mind, even a joy in his heart; so that this period must intimate that there was that which was agreeable to his inward mind, as the discordant sounds of oaths and execrations from his wretched company, was more, much more grievous to his sanctified ears, than the very dungeon itself. And this period being so understood, is very edifying, as it shews the ineffable supports from the spirit of God, which holy souls do meet with in their extremest sufferings. But they are not the memoirs of Mons. de Marolles alone, whose life did shine in the dungeon, as a diamond in the dark, which may be produced; but I have others by me of equal lustre, and which shall be likewise communicated to the world, if these shall meet with that kind acceptance, they seem to me to deserve.

I had once indeed designed to have inserted them in the Martyrology which is already far advanced in the press. But besides that my other materials for that history will more than fill the number of sheets proposed; I have been induced to publish these lives separately, that coming into more hands they might convey their edification farther. And if I may judge of others advantages by mine own, the benefit they will reap by the reading of such lives will not be small, there being no sort of reading that I have yet experienced, which, next to that of holy scriptures, tends more to nourish our faith, hope, and charity, to beget that meekness and humility, and to impregnate the soul, with such an heavenly disposition, and such an absolute submission and resignation to the divine will, as these accounts do.

And indeed when we see others with so entire a resignation to the Divine pleasure, sacrifice their lives, and their all in a chearful obedience to his commands; how can any of us repine under any of the common sufferings of this human life, be they indignities, losses, pain, sickness, or other afflictions, none of which are to be named with those of Martyrs! and surely "man being born to afflictions" as
naturally

naturally "as the sparks fly upwards;" as for our imitation in other parts of christian duty, so especially on this latter account, no sort of reading seems to me of more general use than this of the sufferings and conflicts of these christian heroes.

But why should I speak only of the use of these memoirs as encouraging us to bear up under common afflictions? for alas! we, no more than other protestant churches, can be so secure and safe (so long as the Roman Antichrist, and his vassal of France, continue in power to persecute) but that we ourselves may be, some time or other, called forth to the like athletic exercises of heroic religion; and this kind of reading would have its more immediate use to this purpose, being no less apt to animate us to strive for victory, than the histories of the noble achievements in secular wars, wonderfully stimulate military men to contend for worldly glory. And to this purpose let us hear that great Eusebius in the introduction to his history of the famous martyrs of Lyons, the same country where ours have so gloriously contended for immortal crowns*. "From these kind of narratives says he, not only the knowledge of transactions are to be sought, but what is more valuable, such documents as promote piety too. Other historians indeed, says he, have wholly made it their business to record in their works, trophies erected against their conquered enemies; the valour of generals, and brave exploits of soldiers, besmeared with blood, and polluted with innumerable slaughters in defence of their children, countries, and estates; but we who set forth the history of a divine society of men, will record upon immortal monuments, inscribed with indelible characters, the most peaceable wars waged for the obtaining spiritual peace; and the valiant acts of those persons who in such rencounters contended more for the truth, than for their country, and for religion rather than their dearest relations; publishing for the perpetual remembrance of posterity, the continued earnestness of those champions who fought for piety, their fortitude in undergoing manifold torments, their trophies erected against the devil, the victorious conquest obtained over invisible adversaries, and last of all their crowns." Behold herein most elegantly described the bravery of the soldiers of Jesus Christ in their spiritual warfare against the powers of darkness; and the reading indeed of such must as

* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. Proæm.

well naturally, as in virtue of a divine energy, animate us to a like gallantry in like conflicts, should we by divine Providence be ever called forth to such combats.

It was with these views that the primitive christians took care to collect the acts of the confessors and martyrs of those early times; and had not the wicked monks in latter ages spoiled these accounts, by adulterating them with a thousand legendary tales, and mere anile fables, thereby to countenance their own futilities, and to introduce and maintain their idolatries, and superstitions, those precious remains transmitted to us in their own native simplicity and sincerity, would have been valued by us as the most considerable pieces of antiquity. And it is enough to inspire us with a just value of them, as sincerely delivered to us, when we read the story of the martyrs of Lyons, and more particularly that of Attalus and Blandina in Eusebius (book v. chap. 1) in whose conflicts for three days (the judges and executioners, even tiring themselves in torturing their very weak bodies) we may behold that constancy and magnanimity, that is rarely to be met with in the bravest heroes. And indeed it is a spectacle worthy of God and angels, much more of us mortals, to behold these glorious confessors and martyrs, *magno elatoque animo* stemming the tide of obloquy and contempt, charging bravely through wounds and tortures, marching undauntedly through the legions of the prince of darkness, and vigorously to lay hold on the crowns of glory held forth to them by their once suffering, but now triumphing mediator and redeemer.

And it is really so affecting and edifying a piece of history viz. that of Eusebius, concerning the martyrs of Lyons, that had I not a more proper place for it, I should have prefixed it to this specimen of modern persecutions in France; that by having in our view the ancient and late persecutions in one and the same country, we might the more easily compare them together, and see that there is nothing of difference but of name only, between Rome and Gaul pagan, and Rome and France antichristian, the same diabolical spirit reigning in both.

Our forefathers of the reformation also had the like just value for these sort of memoirs, so that no sooner had Mr. Fox that great Martyrologist (never to be sufficiently valued for his industry and fidelity, notwithstanding the detractions of the enraged enemy, too easily imposing upon
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such as are but cold friends to the reformation) published his historical collections of the acts and sufferings of our glorious martyrs, but the piety of our ancestors had them chained in our churches for the edification of the people; and the people from the experience of the benefit they received by them took them into their houses, and read them on Sunday nights to their families. And this with the greatest reason, since (as that great man, Archbishop Tillotson, speaks of it as a true observation) “catechising, and the history of the martyrs, have been the two great pillars of the protestant religion.” SERM. fol. p. 619

But alas! we seem to think we want no such pillars; we can fondly imagine our church is safe, though numberless popish priests are among us, with innumerable intrigues, perpetually labouring to undermine or overturn us, first to divide and then inflame us. I do indeed as readily and heartily, believe, as any one, that humanly speaking, we are safe, so long as God lends us so excellent a Queen to reign over us. And it is well we are so safe, for it may sufficiently appear from this specimen of papal and French tyranny, in what a miserable condition we should be, had we lately, or should we yet fall under so severe a scourge as French popery. It is hardly to be conceived what can be invented by the malice of devils more torturous, than after a bastinado in the galleys, which has left the body one entire wound, to be thrown into a dungeon, there to be devoured by vermin engendered in the putrefaction of their sores, and there again to lie in filth and ordure, and to be pined to death with famine, and starved with cold, and all this during a dismal night of many years, as has, and is still the case of many of these confessors: though I say, nothing can be imagined more exquisitely cruel, yet I am persuaded, if the most inventive malice of Rome or France could have it in their power to inflict more, we of all protestants in christendom, should be sure to feel the fury of it; the consideration of which, God grant it may be so a warning to us, as to remove the danger at the greatest distance from us!

Our neighbours and sister nation of Ireland, who have within the memory of man, sorely felt the rage of popery, as men awakened, seem to be intent upon this; and are taking the most wise and pious measures in the world, to remove for ever all danger from them; namely, after having removed the bloody instruments of massacres and rebellions,
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the popish priests, out of their country, by taking the most christian and effectual measures to instruct the misguided people in true religion. The smart of those fores they have felt, may have perhaps influenced them to these precautions; but we having felt for late generations little but deliverances, whilst others have felt nothing but sufferings, have need of being warned by others experiences; for which consideration of safety also, as well as of edification, it is that this specimen of popish cruelty is here presented.

Nor is it only our safety from the more immediate scourge of popery, that is herein consulted: for though God should still continue to save us, and that even against our wills, from such an unspeakable misery, as that would bring upon us; yet there is great reason we should bethink ourselves that God has otherwise left him to chastise us; especially since death, in the most dismal of all its shapes, that of the plague, has for these five years come stalking from the East and North towards us, and is now come near us. and though God should not be provoked by our unparalleled ingratitude for that inestimable blessing, his preservation of us from popery, and his continuance of the best religion in the world among us, to deliver us over to the scourge of papal tyranny; yet we may have just reason to apprehend that he should at length visit this sinful nation and city, for its crying sins of infidelity profaneness and immorality, and particularly for its debaucheries and abominations not to be named, yet too much connived at, or rather worse, by such magistrates as discourage the execution of our good laws against such pernicious offenders; as also for that vile hypocrisy of so many pretending a mighty zeal for the best of churches, when they live so as would be a dishonour to the worst.

God indeed seems to deal with us as anciently with his own people the Israelites, whom notwithstanding their intolerable provocations, and particularly in looking back towards, and longing for the leeks and onions of Egypt, he seemed loath to give up to be destroyed by the heathen nations, but rather took them under his own immediate chastisements, lest in their destruction his holy name should be blasphemed among the gentiles. And if for the sake of our religion, not of ourselves, and that the true religion might not be blasphemed among the paganised romanists, he should not deliver us to the desolations of popery, "letting us fall into the hands of men whose mercies

cies are cruel," and in mercy should rather let us fall under his own hands, by visiting us with the plague; this to me seems an awakening consideration, and to call loud upon us to prepare ourselves by such meditations, and such reading as will best enable us to bear so severe a visitation.

And indeed, to acquaint ourselves with the faith and patience, and constancy of martyrs, will be alike useful under both these calamities. Both persecution and pestilence do present death unto us in the nearest view, and with the most ghastly countenance; both put us upon the exercise of the most heroic virtues, constancy and resignation; and both require the most noble examples of the same to be laid before us. And therefore such reading may, at least, be of use to those who may think it their duty to keep their stations, should the plague come among us; since to stand our ground in such a case, will itself require a spirit of martyrdom.

Not that I would be thought to despond, as if we were already so abandon'd to iniquity, as to leave no room for hopes of mercy. On the contrary, there are as promising signs of divine favour, as tokens of the plague, to portend his high displeasure. And among the multitudes of bad, there may perhaps, be many as good christians among us, as in most ages before us. We have had, of late years, societies of young men rais'd among us, who have not only encreas'd our numbers at daily prayers and monthly communions, and have been greatly instrumental to found and maintain the same, but to whom also we are to acknowledge it, that according to our rubric, we have them on all our festivals. We have, moreover, an heroic set of worthy gentlemen and others, the society for reformation of manners, who with the courage of confessors, have expos'd themselves to a thousand indignities, ignominies and dangers, and some of them have actually sacrific'd their lives, in a noble opposition to profaneness and debauchery. We have other societies, some for the propagation of our holy religion abroad by sending and supporting missions in the West, and others are making towards the East Indies; and we have another like society meeting weekly to consult, and to give their assistance to, the instruction and christian education of the children of our ignorant and profligate poor at home, by raising of charity schools; and at the recommendation of our most pious queen to her parliament, we are to have a great addition to our churches for the worship of God, which is a more public and national charity; not to mention

tion some other consultations, because not yet so well known, of equal tendency perhaps, to some of the former, for diffusing the light of the gospel, and the conversion of flagitious sinners, and by both for the salvation of many souls. And all these great and glorious designs having been formed in these two last happy reigns, and that in a time of war; it may be hoped, that as they have been none of the least means to procure us such glorious successes; so if continued and encouraged, they may be equally powerful with God, to avert whatever judgments may seem otherwise to be impendent over us.

But if through the frowns of any in magistracy, in contempt of laws both divine and human, and the neglect of the inferior officers, though sworn to execute such laws, (and yet, who with an uncommon air of assurance, shall assume to themselves the title of the only true sons and friends of the church, and of a church too, whose principles and doctrines, of any in the world, are the most opposite to, and give no manner of salvos for impiety and immorality) our crying sins shall not only be connived at, but mere libertinism shall be again let loose upon us; if again these noble heroes in the cause of God, who in perfect subserviency to the laws of our land, have heretofore so successfully and visibly suppressed the overflowings of ungodliness, so that open cursings and swearings were no more heard in places of resort, lewd women did not openly walk in our streets, houses of bawdry were prosecuted and put down, sodomites were frighted out of their nasty places of retreat, and the Lord's day rendered sacred among us; if these brave christians, who have so visibly weakened the power of satan's, and so successfully advanced the conquests of Christ's kingdom, shall be discouraged and overborn by noise and clamour, and the sins of Sodom, and other high debaucheries and impieties shall be permitted to get head again: And farther yet; if regardless of the afflictions of Joseph, we should be insensible of our brethren's sufferings, of their unspeakable sufferings, I say, in prisons, gallies, and dungeons, and postponing, once more, their deplorable case, should mind only our own security and ease at home; upon such high provocations, there may be too much reason to fear that God will renew his controversy with us, and let in for our chastisement, either popery or pestilence upon us; and upon this consideration it may behove us, to prepare ourselves for the day of affliction,

tion, by being conversant in such reading, and by employing our thoughts in such meditations, as those herein recommended.

To sum up this whole matter; this sort of reading seems to me the most useful and edifying, as it nourishes in our souls the most divine and heavenly dispositions, as it prepares our hearts to bear with resignation the more common afflictions, and the most extraordinary and terrible dispensations, and as it tends to beget in our minds a spirit of martyrdom. And I might also enlarge on its useful tendency to create in us a more catholic charity towards our protestant brethren abroad, together with such a fellow feeling of their miseries, and sufferings, as it becomes those to have, who believe there ought to be a "communion of saints," in all the members of the "church militant; it is useful in an high measure to raise in us the highest esteem for such noble confessors and glorious martyrs, and to make us glorify God in their faith and constancy; not to insist how the consideration of such their fore and unpeakable trials should render us most highly sensible of God's mercies, in the many and almost miraculous deliverances from the like cruelties, from which he has so signally saved us; and this the rather, because we cannot be certain whether we could have borne up with so much admirable constancy, and unhaken perseverance, under such tremendous trials. But above all, I consider it as peculiarly useful in the present juncture, as it may excite such as may have it in their power, to extort from the grand oppressor, a deliverance at last of our brethren, those great confessors, groaning under such horrible and dreadful sufferings.

And, indeed, to be plain, it is not so much the benefit of ourselves at home, that I design by this publication, as of the sufferers themselves abroad, who are said not to be a few. I am credibly informed, that (besides the multitudes forced into convents and prisons) there are still alive in the gallies and dungeons of France, little less than four hundred; and these latter must have suffered by many years a much longer night, even than Mr. de Marolles (and his dear friend and companion in sufferings, Mr. le Fevre was locked up, and lived in his dungeon sixteen years). And if the notice of these things could be conveyed to the great ones, who are to manage the protestant negociations, wherever, and whenever they shall be set on foot; it were a crime to doubt, whether their hearts would be touched with that compassion, as to make them exert themselves for
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their brethren's enlargement out of so long and dismal a captivity. And as the enemy's power seems to be brought to a much lower ebb, than at the peace of Ryswick (her Majesty and her allies having carried their conquests beyond his barriers, and even to his very frontiers) so it is to be hoped that there is nothing farther wanting, but that upon the next treaty there ministers should accordingly exert themselves for the deliverance of those both within, and without the gallsies and dungeons; for which there seem to be many reasons, that may be fetched, as well for mere interest, as religion.

I shall not presume to enter into the politic consideration of this matter, and to plead how far the restitution of the French protestants to their legal rights, as irrevocably established by the edict of Nants, may be reckoned among the best expedients to restrain the grand monarch, as his admirers vainly think him, from disturbing any more, after another peace, the repose of Europe; but shall rather leave the reader for satisfaction in that point, to the ingenious author of the interest of Europe, with respect to peace or war, lately published, and printed for S. Popping, at the Raven, Pater-noster-Row, 1712. And from him I think, they may find it. But if I may have leave to speak my sentiments in the case, as a divine, I presume to say, that it may be worthy our reflection, whether it can be expected that the all-wise Providence should better prosper the present than it did the last peace, should the deliverance of his suffering servants be again postponed, now that the obstacles seem not, at the pass to which matters are brought, to be half so great, nor his power of refusing, near so strong. And, indeed, since Providence has brought us, with such wonderful successes, to the very door of France; and should we enter it, it is highly probable, there would be found many thousands, even of the old Papists, who by having so long viewed the admirable constancy of the French confessors and martyrs, have entertained a quite different opinion of their religion than they formerly had, as may be partly seen in the following account of the conversation of a popish priest from his cruel religion, upon that very score; nay, and these very papists throughout France, as we are credibly informed, are now grown so sick of popery, that but for the tyranny they are under, they would abandon it. Since, I say, these things are so, what pity is it, that some vigorous efforts should not be made, to restore at

least our protestant brethren there to their liberty and religion, and especially when their full liberty would, in all probability, be our firm security? Not to concern ourselves in their rescue, when things are brought to so promising a prospect, would be to serve only our own selves of the indulgent mercies of Providence, and then to let its more peculiar concerns, as far as in us lies, shift for themselves.

I presume to say, his more peculiar concerns, even in these secular turns and revolutions. For those who read the histories of the world, with those higher and nobler views, which sacred writ does abundantly give them, do consider even profane and civil histories, as well as sacred and ecclesiastical, as no other than the histories of Providence. And such may be able to produce, from both ancient and modern story of either kind, many instances wherein the greatest politicians, acting upon mere secular maxims, with a slight to God's government of human affairs, have been fatally mistaken in the issue; when others acting with an eye to the interest of his kingdom, have succeeded beyond all human expectation. And it seems worthy the divine wisdom to permit the wise men of the world to be so miserably disappointed in their schemes, as instead of putting an end to, to lay the foundation of far greater, and more lasting calamities to their country; when postponing the interests of his servants they shall mind only their own. Whereas on the contrary, if with due submission we may speak it; it does as much as humanly can be done, to engage the divine Providence to give an happy issue to such endeavours and measures, wherein they fairly consult, not only their own, but the interests of him to whom they owe, and to whom they are accountable for all their power.

But that I may not be thought, by what has been said of postponing the restoration of our protestant brethren, at the treaty of Ryfwick, to reflect in the least on the memory of a prince, to whose glorious memory we owe the greatest respect, as he was both ours and Europe's great deliverer; as if he was wanting, in doing what was practicable to be done for the deliverance of the persecuted in the former treaty; and that others may not pretend from so great an example, their own excuse, should the same persecuted persons in France be now for ever abandoned; give me leave to offer something in apology for that omission in the former, which seems not so easily to be admitted in the latter negotiation. And the best apology that can be made, is to be taken from the

the far greater impracticableness of the great work than than appears to be in it in the present circumstances.

And here it may be observed, that such as seem to have as little real concern for the restoration and liberty of the French protestants, and others of our brethren under oppression and persecution, as they have little love and honour for our late great deliverer, King William of glorious memory, are mighty forward in censuring his want of sincerity and zeal for the protestant interest, because their interests both in France and elsewhere, were so abandoned, as they think in the treaty of Ryswick; not considering the then power of the enemy, and the hard circumstances both of him, and his allies, when such articles were concluded, not only to their seeming neglect but to their great disadvantage. But the state of the case being so well summed up by the ingenious author of the interest of Europe; now mentioned, p. 44. I shall give it partly in his words.

“ They (the refugees) were indeed then big with expectation, that the protestant princes, concerned in the last war, would have stipulated their re-establishment at the treaty of Ryswick. I cannot doubt of King William’s zeal for the protestant interest, but many circumstances did then concur to force him to wave that article. The Duke of Savoy had relinquished the alliance. The Emperor’s war with the Turk, added to the ordinary dilatoriness of the German nation, rendered the assistance of the empire very precarious. The feeble administration of Spain had exposed that monarchy to the greatest dangers. Barcelona was taken, and almost all Catalonia was reduced. In the Low Countries, Mons, Charleroy, Aeth, and several others of the Spanish towns were fallen into the French hands. In America they had plundered Carthagen. Some of the towns in Holland began to flag, and King William well remembered the fatal effects of the French intrigues with some of the Dutch Magistrates at the treaty of Nemequen. His own title to the crown of Britain had not been acknowledged by the French; and he had enemies not a few to struggle with at home. He knew what a precarious state the King of Spain’s health was in at that time, and perhaps he did not care to deprive himself and his allies of the service of the French refugees that were in their armies, in the war, which no doubt, he foresaw would again break out upon the catholic King’s death. And for those, among other reasons, it may be believed, that the
“ interest

“interest of that people was overlooked.” Thus does our author apologize, and I think very justly, for what was omitted in the treaty of Ryswick, in behalf of our suffering brethren in France. And he might have added, the bigotry of the Emperor Leopold, then at the head of the alliance, as another unfavourable circumstance to the protestant interest; who, though he might have had Straßburgh, the very key of Germany, delivered up to the Empire, was thought to choose Brisack, that so considerable a city as the former, might not, by being delivered to France, enjoy the free exercise of the protestant religion.

But the case seems to be now extremely altered, to the advantage of the protestant interest, both as to power and circumstances. For as to power, have we not now passed; are we not now in possession of his impregnable? and have we not foraged even in Old France? and as to other circumstances, instead of an Emperor at the head of the alliance, as well able as bigotted enough to oppose any terms for the restoration and security of protestants, the present Emperor knows himself to be too much dependent upon the protestant princes of the alliance, to give them the least obstruction in so just an article, as shall not only reclaim all our suffering brethren from the galleys and dungeons, but restore to the rest through France, the protection and benefit of their edicts; so that upon the whole, Providence seems to have given to the protestant powers both opportunity and capacity, at the next treaty, which was wanting at that of Ryswick, to render themselves, and her Majesty of Great Britain more especially, for ever famous throughout Christendom, for one of the most glorious acts that was ever accomplished by peace or war; even such as Constantine the Great did glory in, and was applauded for, by the primitive church, beyond all his other triumphs.

We know, indeed, how inexorable hitherto that persecutor hath been, and how perfectly deaf to all remonstrances in their favour, he has showed himself; and he seems to design to let us farther know, how inflexible he still intends to continue, if it be true what we hear of the renewing the bastinado, that tremendous torture! aboard the galleys, which for mere shame, for some years, has been intermitted; as also, that the persecutions are begun again in the principality of Orange. These seem to be very ominous presages, that at the same time he speaks such inclinations to have peace with his enemies abroad, he designs nothing less than

a cessation of cruelties to these the most distressed of his poor subjects at home. And, indeed, it has been his former practice, particularly after the peace of Ryfwick, partly out of that insolence peculiar to himself, and to shew his contempt of the protestant powers, and partly from the instigation of his native cruelty towards his protestant subjects, to renew with greater violence their persecution, after he has been sufficiently humbled in war by princes of their persuasion. But God be for ever praised, who by the many wonderful successes lately granted over him, has now put it in the power of the protestant allies, more than at the former peace, to extort from him, what of all things in the world he would not willingly grant; and no doubt but that in gratitude to God for such successes, they will make it their first care to procure an entire freedom to these his confessors, to serve him; to serve him, I say, who has granted them such successes against so sworn an enemy to themselves. So that could a perfect and full knowledge of these things reach them, as we should have no reason to fear that we should again hear of our glorious confessors from the same gallies they are now in, after another peace; so neither should we have cause to doubt of the deliverance of the many hundred thousands besides, of their brethren in France; who, though their bodies are free, yet their consciences are miserably enslaved to popish tyranny.

Her Majesty's pious inclinations at least, to obtain their deliverance, we very well know, want no incitements; nor shall we have reason to doubt the zeal of her ministers; especially if fully acquainted with the methods of cruelty, which for many years, even to this day, we hear are exercised on those confessors, more particularly on board the gallies; for which reason I shall prefix to this life of Mr. Marolles, the relation of an eye witness, among us concerning them, who is ready to attest the truth of it; and such is the generosity of English protestants that upon due information, none are so courageous, none more ready to risque the greatest dangers to rescue the miserable.

This was the noble and heroic temper in the Queen Elizabeth-times. No sooner did she and her wise ministers hear of the oppression of the protestant churches in any part of Europe, but she interposed with her full power, and all her interest, to snatch them out of the jaws of the Roman lion, just ready to devour them. And for this, as one of the principal of her royal qualities, it was that her name is to this day so highly honoured, and will be precious among
 protestants

protestants to future ages. Nor let any that serve her present majesty, who fills the throne with equal glory, defraud her through their indifference in so important an article, of that the chief garland in all her triumphs, and which will last longest, and smell sweetest, even down to latest generations; which is her being the great protectress of protestants, and the restorer of their liberties, wheresoever, or how far soever they are invaded; and may this pious and generous spirit be ever the glory of the English nation; now especially, since it had never a greater occasion to shew its compassions to its protestant brethren (whose sufferings, if we consider them both as to length and rigour, have been such as are not to be paralleled in any histories, from the foundation of christianity) than it has at this time, and being such do loudly cry out to us come and help us. And to excite such a laudable and truly christian spirit in us, is the great design of this specimen of papal and French persecution.

However, should the issue be otherwise than what we so earnestly wish, than what we so strongly hope for, which God forbid! I am persuaded the knowledge of their deplorable case will both multiply and invigorate the prayers of all good men for them to the throne of grace; and from God we may be assured they will thereupon be either relieved, or supported. And to his compassions therefore, let us devoutly recommend them. And his compassions, though all other fail, will be sufficient.



AN
A C C O U N T
OF THE
T O R M E N T S
WHICH THE
FRENCH PROTESTANTS
ENDURE ABOARD THE
G A L L E Y S.

By J O H N B I O N,

SOMETIME PRIEST AND CURATE OF THE PARISH OF
URSY IN THE PROVINCE OF BURGUNDY, AND CHAP-
LAIN TO THE SUPERBE GALLEY IN THE FRENCH
SERVICE.



T H E

P R E F A C E.

AS I purposed in this work, only to make the sufferings of the protestants condemned to the gallies for the sake of religion, known to the world, people will be apt to think that when I speak in general of the different sorts of forcats, or slaves, which are among them, I go besides the rules I prescribed to myself. But, if it be considered, that it is no little torment to the protestants to be amongst malefactors, and lewd and profligate villains, whose continual blasphemies and cursings have no parallel but among the damned in hell, it will not be thought besides my purpose to have given to the world a particular account of the various sorts of those men who live in the gallies.

Besides there is a block, which those who never saw the gallies but in the port of Marseilles, will infallibly stumble at, if not removed, and it is this; that whereas the galley-slaves during the time they are in that wretched condition, whilst at sea and tugging at the oar, are allowed to keep shop about the port, and there to work and sell all manner of commodities; and sometimes have leave to walk in the town, giving only one penny to the Algoufin, as much to the Turk, with whom each of them must then be coupled, and five pence to the Pertuisenier, or partizan-bearer who guards them; and there are some besides that even have their wives at Marseilles, and all are permitted to hear from their friends and receive money from their relations; yet all such comforts and favours, as well as all manner of correspondence with friends are utterly denied the protestant.

I have not descended to particulars in what relates to the usefulness of gallies in sea-fights, for the keeping of the coasts, or convoying of merchant ships when there is danger of their being taken or set upon by the brigantines, which the Duke of Savoy keeps commonly for that purpose during the war, in Villa Franca, St. Hospitio and Oneglia. Nor do I take notice in this work, how the gallies in an engagement, wherein there are men of war, serve to keep off, and sink with their cannon-shot out of the courfier (a gun so called) the fire-ships the enemy sendeth to set the ship on fire;

and to tow away such as are disabled in the fight. I might also have observed how in every galley there are five guns upon the fore deck, viz. four, six, or eight pounders, and a fifth called the courfier, which carries a six and thirty pound ball; as also that when an enemy's ship is becalmed, a galley, which with her gears can do what she pleaseth, may attack that ship fore or aft to avoid her broadsides, and ply her with courfier; so that sometimes if she happeneth to give her a shot which cometh between wind and water, she forceth her to surrender; which however happeneth seldom enough; for a ship needs but a little wind to make nothing of overthrowing five or six gallies.

Neither did I think fit to give here an account of the number of gallies in France, which is twenty-four at Marfeilles, and six upon the ocean; nor to speak of the six small rooms in every galley under the deck, wherein ammunition and provisions are kept, and which they call Gavon, the Scandclat, the Campaign, the Paillot, the Tavern, and the Fore-room. All these particulars would have carried me too far out of my way and besides my purpose, which is only to give a plain and faithful account without amplifying, of the sufferings of the protestant galley-slaves.

If there be any thing omitted in this relation, it will not be found as to any material point; and as my sole aim in it hath been to work a fellow feeling in other men's hearts, I shall not find myself at all disappointed, although their curiosity should not be fully satisfied. The Lord in his mercy pour out his blessing upon this work, and favourably hear our prayers and supplications, which we shall never cease to make unto his divine Majesty, for the deliverance of our poor distressed brethren.

T H E
S U F F E R I N G S
O F T H E
P R O T E S T A N T S
I N T H E
F R E N C H G A L L E Y S.

THE dismal accounts handed down to us by historians, of the torments inflicted on christians by the heathen emperors in the first ages of the church, might justly be suspected, if the woeful experience of our own, did not put the truth of them out of dispute. For though it be not easy 'o conceive how men can put off all that is tender and generous in their natures, and degenerate into the fierceness of brutes; yet it is but looking on the world around us, and we shall be convinced that they can even out-do their fellow animals in cruelty to one another, nay, we may see many professing christianity, under the specious pretence of zeal for its interest, commit such barbarities as exceed, at least equal, the rage of the persecutors of the primitive christians. History abounds in instances that shew the nature of a spirit of persecution, and how boundless is its rage and fury; but the sad effects it hath of late years produced in France, as they are still fresh, and but too obvious, are scarce to be paralleled in any age or nation. All the world knows the protestants there lived under the protection of the edict of Nantes, a treaty as full and solemn as any ever was. It was at first religiously observed, but in time several breaches were made in it; many of its branches were by degrees lopped off, till at last under the present King, at the continual teasing, and sollicitation of the Jesuits, those restless busy insects, it was perfidiously broke, or as they please to term it, revoked.

But religion, and its propagation, must be the cloak under which those crafty silver-smiths intend to play their game, and therefore having first confidently taught that the King hath a despotic power over their consciences, as well as estates, and consequently his will the rule of their religion, they, by several arts and methods, but chiefly by dreadful punishments,

ments, force weak people to play the hypocrite, and embrace a religion which in their hearts they detest. Such as are too good christians to prostitute their consciences to vile worldly interests are denied the benefit of retiring into foreign countries; and punished, if discovered, often with death, or reserved for more cruel usage, and condemned to spin out their wretched lives in the galleys.

Of these last I design to give the public an account, as being of all men the most miserable. The barbarities committed in those horrid machines exceeding all that can possibly be imagined; the ingenuity of the famous Sicilian tyrants in inventing torments, deserves no longer to be proverbial, being far excelled in this pernicious art by the modern enemies of religion and liberty.

I shall endeavour to satisfy the curiosity of those who desire to be informed of the treatment the slaves (and particularly the protestants) in the galleys meet with; and to convince such as are loth to harbour any hard thoughts of the French court, and justify its proceedings by pretending, that what they suffer is not on the account of religion, but a just lawful punishment for rebellion and disobedience.

My being several campaigns chaplain aboard one of the galleys called *La Superbe*, gave me sufficient opportunity of informing myself of the truth of the following relation; and I hope my integrity will not be called in question by any body who hears, that during my stay in that service I never received the least disgust, or met with any disobligation. However the certificates I have from Monsieur de Montolieu, chief flag-officer of the French galleys, and Monsieur D'Autigny, captain of the aforesaid galley, whose chaplain I was, a reward also for my services conferred on me by the French King, in the year 1704, at the recommendation of Monsieur de Pontchartrain; with the several good offices done me by the general, and other officers who knew me; these will I hope screen me from the suspicions, or calumny of such as through malice, or perhaps interest, might be inclined to misrepresent me.

Neither shall a blind zeal for the protestant religion, which I have lately embraced, hurry me beyond the strict bounds of truth, or make me represent things in any colours but their own. I should be an unworthy professor of that holy religion, if on any consideration I should in the least deviate from the strictest truth; to which end I shall

relate nothing by hearsay, but like the apostle, confine myself to those things my eyes have seen.

But before I proceed to shew the sufferings and misery the wretches in the gallies labour under, I shall give a short description of that vessel.

A galley is a long flat one-decked-vessel; and though it hath two masts, yet they generally make use of oars, because they are built so as not to be able to endure a rough sea, and therefore their sails for the most part are useles, unless in cruising, when they are out of sight of land; for then, for fear of being surpris'd by ill weather they make the best of their way. There are five slaves to every oar, one of them a Turk, who being generally stronger than christians, are set at the upper end to work it with more strength; there are in all three hundred slaves, and an hundred and fifty men, either officers, soldiers, seamen, or servants.

There is at the stern of the galley, a chamber shaped on the outside like a cradle, belonging to the captain, and solely his at night, or in foul weather, but in the day time common to the officers, and chaplain; all the rest of the crew (the under officers excepted, who retire to other convenient places) are expos'd above deck to the scorching heat of the sun by day, and the damps and inclemencies of the night. There is indeed a kind of tent suspended by a cable, from head to stern, that affords some little shelter; but the misfortune is, this is only when they can best be without it, that is in fair weather; for in the least wind, or storm, it is taken down, the galley not being able to endure it for fear of oversetting. In the two winters in 1703, 1704, that we kept the coasts of Monaco, Nice, and Antibes; those poor creatures after hard rowing, could not enjoy the usual benefit of the night, which puts an end to the fatigues and labours of the day, but were expos'd to the wind, snow, hail, and all other inconveniencies of that season. The only comfort they wish'd for was the liberty of smoaking; but that on pain of the bastinado, the usual punishment of the place, is forbid.

When we consider that the vessel being but small for the number, the men consequently crowd'd, the continual sweat that streams down from their bodies, whilst rowing, and the scanty allowance of linen, one may easily imagine that this breeds abundance of vermin; so that in spite of all the care that can be taken, the gallies swarm with lice, &c.
which

which nesting in the plates and lappets of their clothes, relieve by night the executioners who beat and torment them by day.

Their whole yearly allowance for clothes is two shirts made of the coarsest canvas, and a little jerkin of red serge, slit on each side up to their arm holes; the sleeves are also open, and come not down so low as their elbows, and every three years a kind of a coarse frock, and a little cap to cover their heads, which they are obliged to keep close shaved as a mark of infamy. Instead of a bed, they are allowed, sick or well, only a board a foot and a half broad; and those who have the unfortunate honour of lying near the officers, dare not presume (though tormented with vermin) to stir so much as a hand for their ease; for fear their chains should rattle and awake any of them, which would draw on them a punishment more severe than the biting of those insects. It is hard to give an exact description of the pains and labours the slaves undergo at sea, especially during a long campaign. The fatigue of tugging at the oar is extraordinary, they must rise to draw their stroke, and fall back again; insomuch that in all seasons, through the continual and violent motion of their bodies, the sweat trickles down their harrassed limbs; and for fear they should fall (as they often do through faintness) there is a gangboard (which runs through the middle of the ship) on which are posted three comites (an officer somewhat like a boatswain in her Majesty's ships) who, whenever they find, or think that an oar does not keep touch with the rest, without ever examining whether it proceeds from weakness or laziness, they unmercifully exercise a tough wand on the man they suspect; which being long, is often felt by two or three of their innocent neighbours, who being naked when they row, each blow imprints evident marks of the inhumanity of the executioner; and that which adds to their misery is, that they are not allowed the least sign of discontent, or complaint, that small and last comfort of the miserable; but must on the contrary, endeavour with all their might to exert the little vigour that remains, and try by their submission to pacify the rage of those relentless tigers, whose strokes are commonly ushered in, and followed by a volley of oaths and horrid imprecations.

No sooner are they arrived in any port, but their work (instead of being at an end) is increased, several laborious things,

things, previous to casting anchor being expected from them, which in a galley is harder than in a ship. And as the comite's chief skill is seen in dexterously casting anchor, and that they think blows are the life and soul of all work, nothing is heard for some time but cries and lamentations; and as the poor slaves arms are busy in the execution of his commands, his are as briskly exercised in lashing them.

To support their strength under all those hardships, during the campaign, every morning at eight of the clock, they give each man his proportion of biscuit, of which indeed they have enough, and pretty good; at ten a poringer of soup made with oil, pease, or beans, often rotten, and commonly musty. I call it soup according to their use, though it be nothing but a little hot water, with about a dozen pease or beans floating on the top; and when on duty, a pichione of wine (a measure containing about two thirds of an English pint) morning and evening. When at anchor in any port, all who have any money are allowed to buy meat; and the Turk that commands the oar, and is not chained, is commonly the person employed for this purpose, as also to see it dressed in the cook-room. But I have often seen the captain's cook, a brutal passionate man, take the poor men's pot, under pretence that it troubled him, and either break or throw it over-board; whilst the poor wretches were fainting for want of that little refreshment, without daring so much as to murmur or complain. This indeed is not usual, but where the cook happens to be a villain, of which sort of men there is plenty in the gallies.

The officers table is well furnished both for plenty and delicacy, but this gives the slaves only a more exquisite sense of their misery, and seems to brave their poverty and hunger. Whilst we spent the carnival of 1704 in the port of Monaco, our officer frequently treated the prince of that place aboard the galley; their entertainments were splendid, music and all things that could promote mirth were procured; but who can express the affliction of those poor creatures, who had only a prospect of pleasure, and whilst others revelled at their ease, were sinking under a load of chains, pinched with hunger in their stomachs, and nothing to support their dejected spirits; nay, and what is worse they are forced to add to the pomp and honour done to great men who visit their officers, but in such a manner as moves the compassion of all who are not used to such dismal solemnities.

solemnities. When a person of quality comes on board, the comite gives twice notice with his whistle; the first time they are all attentive; and the second the slaves are obliged to salute (as they call it) three times; not with a cheerful huzz, as in an English man of war, but by howling in a pitious tone, making a lamentable complaining outcry.

When the badness of the weather hinders the gallies from putting to sea, such as have trades work in the galley, such as have none learn to knit coarse stockings; the comite, for whose profit they work, gives them yarn, and pays them about half the usual price; and this not in money, but some little victuals, or wine, which they are obliged to take out of the ship's cellar (of which the comite is the keeper) though it be generally bad, and dashed with water; for though they had as much gold as they could carry, they durst not on pain of a bastinado, send for any wine from the shore. The most moving spectacle of all is to see the poor souls that have no trade; they clean their comrades clothes, and destroy the vermin that torment their neighbours; who in return give them some small share of that scanty pittance they purchase by working.

One may imagine that such ill-treatment, diet, and infection; must needs occasion frequent sickness: in that case their usage is thus. There is in the hold a close dark room, the air being admitted only by the scuttle about two foot square, which is the only passage into it. At each end of the said room there is a sort of a scaffold called taular, on which the sick are laid promiscuously without beds, or any thing under them; when these are full, if there be any more they are stretched all along the cables, as I saw in the year 1703, when being on the coast of Italy, in winter time, we had above threescore sick men; in this horrid place all kind of vermin rule with arbitrary sway, gnawing the poor sick creatures without disturbance. When the duties of my function called me in among them, to confess, advise, or administer some comfort, which was constantly twice a day, I was in an instant covered all over with them, it being impossible to preserve ones self from their swarms; the only way was to go in a night gown, which I stripped off when I came out, and by that means rid myself of them by putting on my cloaths; but when I was in, methought I walked in a literal sense in the shades of death: I was obliged notwithstanding to make considerable stays in this gloomy.

gloomy mansion, to confess such as were ready to expire; and the whole space between the ceiling and the taular being but three feet, I was obliged to lie down and stretch myself along their sides, to hear their confessions; and often when I was confessing one, another expired just by my side. Though this relation may fall into the hands of some nice persons, yet I cannot omit one aggravating circumstance; which is, that they are deprived of all convenience of doing the necessities of nature, except a little pail always so nasty, that they are but little better for it, and are besides so weak, that they are not able to go to it, the stench consequently is most intolerable, insomuch that no slave, though ever so weak, but will rather chuse to tug at his oar, and expire under his chain, than retire to this loathsome hospital. There is a surgeon to take care of the sick. At the first setting out of the galley, the King lays in drugs for the use of the crew, which are always very good, and therefore the surgeon makes money of them in the several places we arrive at, so that the persons they are intended for, have the least benefit of them.

During sickness, the King orders each man in the room we have described, a pound of fresh bread, and the same quantity of fresh meat, and two ounces of rice a day. This is the steward's province, and he discharges his office in such a manner that five or six campaigns make his fortune. We have frequently had in our galley threecore and ten sick men, and the quantity of flesh allowed for that number never exceeded twenty pound weight, and that bad meat too; though (as I have observed) the King's allowance is one pound for every man, the rest going into his own pocket. Once out of curiosity I tasted it, and found it little better than hot water. I complained to the surgeon and steward, but being great together, and commensals, they connive at one another. I complained to the officers also, but for what reason I can only guess, they did not regard me, and I have too much respect for the captain, to say that he had any reason or interest to wink at so great a piece of injustice; though he could by his own authority do these wretches justice, who often refuse that water, made only more loathsome by the small quantity of meat put into it, and the little care used about it. I enquired of other chaplains, whether the same was practised aboard their gallies, they frankly confessed it was, but durst own no more.

After

After the campaign of 1704, having occasion to go to Versailles, I thought myself obliged when there, to give an account to *Monf. de Pontchartrin*, one of the King's ministers, whose peculiar province the sea affairs are. I offered him a short memorial, and some advices which I thought most proper to prevent the like abuses for the future; and he was pleased to be so well satisfied, and found them so agreeable to some intimations given him before, that he regarded my advice and offered me his interest. The King was pleased to order me a gratuity; and I left the warrant with *Monf. Thome* treasurer general of the galleys, living at the *Marias du Temple*, to serve as an acquittance for the several payments he has made me.

This is a brief account of the galley, and the government thereof. I now proceed to shew what sort of people are condemned there.

There are in a galley five several sorts of people, under the notion of slaves, besides seamen and soldiers, viz. Turks, such as are called *diserters**, criminals, and protestants. The King buys the Turks to manage the stroke of the oars, as I have already shewn, and they are called *Vogueavants*, and they together with such as are on the seats called *Banc du quartier, de la Conille, & les espalliers*, have the same allowance with the soldiers. They are generally lusty strong men, and the least unfortunate of the whole crew; being not chained, but only wear a ring on their foot as a badge of slavery. When they arrive at any port they have liberty to trade, and some of them are worth three or four hundred pounds; they frequently send their money to their wives and families, and to the shame of christians be it spoken, there is a great deal more charity among them than is to be found among us. I had taken one called *Tripoli* for my servant, and he was a most religious observer of his law; during the *ramadan* (a fast kept by them the first moon of the year) he never eat nor drank from sun rising to sun setting in spite of all the toil and fatigue of the oar, nor did he ever seem uneasy, though ready to faint through weakness. I could never so much as persuade him to take a little wine, though I have often urged him merely out of compassion. The officers made use of no other servants, and they are so trusty that they are never found out in any theft or roguery. If any by chance do

* *Faussoniers.*

commit a fault, all the Turks importune their respective masters, to intercede for him with the captain. If any be sick, they are all busy about him, to do him all the kind offices in their power; they club to buy him meat, or to purchase any thing that may refresh him or do him good. In short, in the gallies one would think that the Turks and the christians had made an exchange of principles, and that the latter had abjured the precepts of their Saviour, and that the others had taken them up; and accordingly preach up Christ to a Turk in the gallies, and his answer presently is, he had rather be transformed into a dog than be of a religion that countenances so much barbarity, and suffers so many crimes.

I cannot omit one remarkable instance of their constancy, and firm adherence to their religion. One of them who spoke French fell sick, I found him stretched on the cable in the place I have already described, I had done him some services, and seeing me do the duties of my function to some of his neighbours, he called me to him, bid me farewell, telling me that he found he could not possibly live four hours longer. I ventured to talk to him of God, our Saviour Christ, the principles of his religion, and told him that through him alone he was to expect salvation; I found what I said made some impression, whereupon I embraced him, and told him, I would answer for his soul, if he would renounce Mahomet, who was but an impostor, and believe in Jesus Christ, the only redeemer and saviour of mankind, whose excellent doctrine he had heard me so often preach. He told me then he would do what I thought fit. I answered that all that I desired was his consent to receive baptism, without which I told him, he could expect no salvation. I explained in a few words the nature and design of it; and having induced him to consent, I went for some water, and secretly told the Captain what had happened; but unluckily another Turk, a friend of his, who also understood French, and had understood all that had past; whilst I was away, said something to my profelyte in his own language, so that by the time I came back he had quite altered his resolution, so that I could by no means persuade him to perform the promise he had made me. Nay, his friend threw himself over him, and exhorted him to continue true to the prophet Mahomet, in spite of the comite who was present, and threatened severely to beat him if he desisted not; he prevailed in despite of
D all,

all, for the poor wretch died in my presence in his error. Had I understood religion as well as I do now, I should not in that extremity have insisted so much on the absolute necessity of baptism, but having given him a general notion of the principles of the christian religion, I should have admonished him to repentance, and to implore the divine mercy for pardon of his sins through the merits of Christ, and so in saving his soul from death, I should have hid a multitude of my own sins. The reader I hope, will excuse my former error.

Though, as appears from what has been said, the Turks in the galleys are treated somewhat better than the christians; and though they be in no wise molested on the score of religion (for whilst mass is saying, they are put into the caique, or long-boat, where they divert themselves by smoking, and talking) yet there is not one of them but would give all the world to be at his liberty, for the very name of a galley is terrible to them; because, notwithstanding their treatment is pretty easy, yet they are slaves during life, unless when they are very old, and unferviceable, they meet with friends who are willing to lay out a large sum of money for their ransom; which shews how little those persons are acquainted with the affairs of that nature, who say that there are in the galleys men who would not accept of their freedom though it were offered them. It is just like talking of a battle which one never saw, unless at a great distance, or knows nothing of but by hearsay.

Those who are called *Faussoniers* are generally poor peasants who are found out to buy salt in provinces where it is cheap; such as is the country of Burgundy, or the country of *Dombe*. In France what they call a pint of salt, weighing four pounds, costs 3s. 6d. and there are some poor peasants, and their whole families, who, for want of salt eat no soup sometimes in a whole week, though it be their common nourishment. A man in that starving languishing condition ventures to go abroad to buy salt in the provinces where it is three parts in four cheaper, and if discovered he is certainly sent to the galleys. It is a very melancholy sight to see a wife and children lament their father whom they see loaden with chains, and irrecoverably lost, and that for no other crime but endeavouring to procure subsistence for those to whom he gave birth. These indeed are condemned only for a time, perhaps five, six, or eight years, but the misfortune is, that having served out their
time,

time, if they out live it, they are still unjustly detained; for penance or masses avail nothing in this purgatory, indulgences are here excluded, especially if the man be unfortunately strong and robust, let his sentence be what it will. The King's orders are that when the time of the sentence is expired they should be set at liberty, and sent home; but in this, as in many other cases, his orders are not duly put in execution; which indeed does not excuse him, since a good prince is obliged to have an eye on the administration of his ministers and officers.

As for deserters, their sentence runs during life. Formerly they used to cut off their nose and ears, but because they stunk, and commonly infected the whole crew, they only now give them a little slit. Though these are inexcusable, because desertion is upon several accounts dangerous, and base; yet it moves one's pity to see young men, who often happen to descend from good families condemned to so wretched and so miserable a life.

Such as are condemned for crimes are generally felons, sharpers, or highwaymen; and the most notorious villains are least daunted, and take heart soonest. They presently strike up a friendship with those of their own gang; they tell over their old rogueries, and boast of their crimes, and the greatest villain passes for the greatest hero. The misery they have reduced themselves to, is so far from working any amendment, that it makes them more desperate and wicked; insomuch, that if any stranger chances to come aboard, though it were but an handkerchief, or some such trifle, they will certainly steal it if they can. Their common employment is to forge titles, to engrave false seals, and counterfeit hand writing, and these they sell to others as bad as themselves, who often come in, sometime after to bear them company; but though they feel no remorse, yet they feel the comite, who, with a rope's-end often visits their shoulders; but then instead of complaining, they vomit out oaths and blasphemies enough to make a man's hair stand an end. There was one, who shewing me the mark the rope had made about his neck, bragged, that though he had escaped the gallows, he was not thereby grown a coward; but as soon as ever he had been at liberty, he had robbed the first person he met with; and that having been taken and brought before a judge who knew him not, he had been only condemned to the gallies, where he thanked God, he was sure of bread and good company the remain-

der of his days. It is certain that how terrible and hard soever the usage of such may be in the gallies, yet it is too mild for them; for in spite of all the misery they endure, they are guilty of crimes too abominable to be here related; over which we shall draw a veil, and go on to the protestants who are there purely because they chose rather to obey God than man, and were not willing to exchange their souls for the gain of the world. It is not the least aggravating circumstance of their misery, to be condemned to such hellish company. For they who have so great a value for the truth of religion as to prefer it to their worldly interest, must be supposed to be indued with too much virtue not to be in pain, and under concern for the open breach of its rules, and the unworthiness of its professors.

The protestants now in the gallies have been condemned thither at several times. The first were put in after the revocation of the edict of Nantes; the term prefixed for the fatal choice of either abjuring their religion, or leaving the kingdom was a fortnight, and that upon pain of being condemned to the gallies; but this liberty by many base artifices and unjust methods was rendered useles, and of none effect; for there were often secret orders by the contrivance of the clergy, to prevent their embarking, and hinder the selling of their substance; their debtors were absolved by their confessors when they denied a debt; children were forced from their fathers and mothers arms, in hopes that the tenderness of the parent might prevail over the zeal of the christian. They indeed were not massacred as in Herod's time, but the blood of their fathers was mingled with their tears; for many ministers who had zeal and constancy enough to brave the severest punishments, were broken alive upon wheels without mercy, whenever surprized in discharging the duties of their function. The registers and courts of justice where the sentences were pronounced against them, are recorded, and the executioners of them are lasting monuments of the bloody temper and fury of popery.

The laity were forbid, on pain of the gallies, to leave the kingdom on any pretence whatsoever; but what posterity will scarce believe, the protestants of all sexes, ages, and conditions used to fly through deserts and wild impracticable ways; committing their lives to the mercy of the seas, and running innumerable hazards, to avoid either idolatry or martyrdom. Some escaped very happily in spite of the vigilance of the dragoons and bailiffs, but
many

many fell into their hands; whereby the prisons were filled with confessors. But the saddest spectacle of all, was to see two hundred men at a time chained together going to the gallies, and above one hundred of that number protestants; and what was barbarous and unjust to the last degree was, that they were obliged, when there, on pain of bastinado, to bow before the host, and to hear mass; and yet that was the only crime for which they had been condemned thither. For suppose they were in the wrong in obstinately refusing to change their religion, the gallies were the punishment; why then were they required to do that which had been the cause of their condemnation? especially since there is a law in France, that positively forbids a double punishment for one and the same fault, viz. (*Non bis punitur in idem*). But in France, properly speaking, there is no law, where the King's commands are absolute and peremptory: and I have seen a general bastinado on that account, which I shall describe in its proper place. It is certain that though there was at first a very great number of protestants condemned to the gallies, the bastinado and other torments hath destroyed above three parts of four, and most of those who are still alive are in dungeons; as Mess. Banfillion, De Serres, and Sabatier, who are confined to a dungeon at Chateau d' If (a fort built upon a rock in the sea, three miles from Marseilles). But the generous constancy of this last, about eight or ten months ago, deserves a place in this history, and challenges the admiration of all true protestants.

Monfieur Sabatier, whose charity and zeal equals that of the primitive christians, having a little money, distributed it to his brethren and fellow sufferers in the gallies; but the protestants being watched more narrowly than the rest, he could not do it so secretly, but he was discovered and brought before Monf. de Monmort, intendant of the gallies at Marseilles. Being asked, he did not deny the fact; Monf. de Monmort not only promised him his pardon, but a reward, if he would declare who it was that had given him that money. Monf. Sabatier modestly answered, that he should be guilty of ingratitude before God and man, if by any confession he should bring them into trouble who had been so charitable to him; that his person was at his disposal, but he desired to be excused as to the secret expected from him. The intendant replied, he had a way to make him tell, and that immediately; whereupon he sent for

some Turks, who at his command stripped Sabatier stark naked, and beat him with ropes ends and cudgels during three days, at several times; and seeing this did not prevail over this generous confessor, he himself (which never happened to an intendant before) turned executioner, striking him with his cane, and telling the bystanders, "see what a devil of a religion this is." These were his own expressions, as is credibly reported by persons that were present; and indeed, the gazettes, and public letters give us an account of the same. At last, seeing he was ready to expire, he commanded him into a dungeon, where, notwithstanding all torments, Providence hath preserved him to this day.

But though most of the protestants of the first date are destroyed, yet the wars in the Cevennes have furnished them with more than enough to fill the vacant places. These wars may be properly called a second persecution, because the cruelty and inveterate malice of a popish priest was the occasion and first cause of them.

One of the most bitter and passionate enemies of the protestants was the Abbot du Chelas, whose benefice was in the Cevennes. He kept an exact account of the protestants in his district, and whenever he missed them at mass, he used to send for them under some pretence or other to his house, and used to make his servants tie them (whether men, women, or maidens) to a tree, stripped down to their waist, and then with horse whips, scourged them till the blood gushed out. This the papists themselves do not deny, who own that this du Chelas was a bad man, and yet this his proceeding against the protestants being meritorious at court, he had encouragement to hope for a reward; but at last his protestant neighbours perceiving that there were no hopes of pacifying this monster, by submission and fair means, grew desperate, and one night invested his house. He leaped out of his window into his garden, but not being able to get out he begged quarter; but as he had never granted any, they served him as he had served them, by killing him; and because they were sure of being pursued they kept the country, and by degrees their numbers encreased; whereupon all who were tormented for not going to mass made a body and joined them. They had good success for some time, but at last they fell a sacrifice into the hands of their enemies; and not only they, but the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, as the Viverrois, and Languedoc. And upon

upon a bare fuspicion of being in their intereft, thofe with whom any arms were found, thofe who refufed to frequent the mafs were either hanged or broken on the wheel; and that infurrection was made ufe of as a pretence to fend to the gallies feveral rich proteftant merchants. There is fince that time, a gentleman, Monf. Salgas by name, who, before the repeal of the edict of Nantes, enjoyed a plentiful eftate in the Cevennes; in order to keep it he abjured his religion, and promifed to go to mafs; but his fpoufe, a worthy lady, with whom I have often converfed at Geneva, where ſhe now lives, refufed and generously rejected all propofals on that fubject. Seeing they threatened her with a cloifter, ſhe endeavoured to gain time; but at laſt her husband told her that there was a pofitive order from court to confine her if ſhe did not comply and go to mafs. This courageous lady, who deferves to be a pattern of piety and zeal to pofterity, having by prayer and other acts of devotion implored the divine aſſiſtance, refolved to quit her country, her husband, children, and eftate, and all that is dear and precious here below. She took her opportunity one day when her husband was gone a hunting, without communicating any thing of her deſign to any body, but to ſuch as were inſtrumental in her eſcape; and ſhe retired to Geneva, where ſhe might have the liberty to make an open profeſſion of her religion, and bemoan the miſfortune of her family.

Some time after the wars of the Cevennes broke out, Monf. de Salgas was accused of aſſiſting the Camiſars with proviſion; and in ſpight of his hypocrify, and pretended zeal for his new religion, he was ſent to the gallies. But here we muſt admire the wiſdom of Providence, very remarkable in this diſpenſation; for this has proved the means of opening his own eyes, and letting him ſee his error; as appears from the penitential letters he writes to his friends, his chriſtian like behaviour under his ſufferings, his exhortations to his fellow ſufferers, and the noble and pious example he ſhews them. He has had frequent offers made him, of being reſtored to his eftate on the ſame conditions he had preſerved it before, but he has hitherto been proof againſt all their attempts. He was ſome years ago put into the Hoſpital-general for the gallies at Marſeilles. This is a kind of manufactory, where their treatment is ſomewhat eaſier than in the gallies; but at the ſiege of Thoulouſe, he, and all his brethren, were taken out of that hoſpital and re-

duced to their old station and former miserable condition; and besides was plundered of a dozen or fourteen louis d'ors, which he had procured to purchase such necessaries as might keep up and support his spirits under the hardships he endured. This account came to Geneva to his lady while I was there, who is, as one may easily imagine, in an unexpressible concern for the miseries her husband groans under.

But it is time to bring this sad relation to a conclusion, in order whereunto, I shall, according to my promise, give an account of the general bastinado at which I was present, and it was not the least means of my conversion. God grant it may be effectual to my salvation.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and three, several protestants out of Languedoc and the Cevennes were put on board our galley, they were narrowly watched and observed, and I was mightily surprized on Sunday morning, after saying mass on the bancasse (a table so placed, that all the galley may see the priest when he elevates the host) to hear the comite say, he was going to give the huguenots the bastinado because they did not kneel, nor shew any respect to the mysteries of the mass; and that he was going to acquaint the Captain with it. The very name of bastinado terrified me, and though I had never seen this dreadful execution, I begged the comite to forbear till the next Sunday, that in the mean time I would endeavour to convince them of what I then thought their duty and my own. Accordingly I used all the means I could possibly think of to that effect, sometimes making use of fair means, giving them victuals, and doing them other good offices; sometimes using threats, and representing the torments that were designed them, and often urging the King's command, and quoting the passage of St. PAUL, that "he who resists the higher power resists God." I had not at that time any design to oblige them do any thing against their consciences; but what I did chiefly proceeded from a motive of pity and tenderness. This was the cause of my zeal, which had been more fatal to them, had not God endued them with resolution and virtue sufficient to bear up against my arguments, and the terrible execution they had in view. I could not but admire at once both the modesty of their answers, and greatness of their courage; "the King," say they, "is indeed master of our bodies, but not of our consciences." But at last the dreadful day being come, the comite narrowly observed them, to see the fruit

fruit of my labours. There were only two out of twenty that bowed their knee to Baal, the rest generously refused it, and were accordingly by the captain's command, served in the manner following:

Here like another Æneas, with regret calling to mind the miseries and ruin of his own country, the very memory whereof struck his soul with horror, I may truly say, *Infandum regina jubes renovare dolorem.*

In order to the execution every man's chains were taken off, and they were put into the hands of four Turks who stripped them stark naked, and stretching them upon the courfier (that great gun we have described in the preface) there they are so held that they cannot so much as stir, during which time there is a horrid silence throughout the whole galley; and it is so cruel a scene that the most profligate obdurate wretches cannot bear the sight, but are forced to turn away their eyes. The victim thus prepared, the Turk pitched upon to be the executioner, with a tough cudgel, or knotty ropes-end, unmercifully beats the poor wretch, and that too the more willingly, because he thinks that it is acceptable to his prophet Mahomet. But the most barbarous of all is, that after the skin is flead off their bones, the only balsam they apply to their wounds is a mixture of vinegar and salt; after which they are thrown into the hospital already described. I went thither after the execution, and could not refrain from tears at the sight of so much barbarity. They quickly perceived it, and though scarce able to speak through pain and weakness, they thanked me for the compassion I expressed, and the kindness I had always shewn them. I went with a design to administer some comfort, but I was glad to find them less moved than I was myself. It was wonderful to see with what true christian patience and constancy they bore their torments; in the extremity of their pain never expressing any thing like rage, but calling upon Almighty God, and imploring his assistance. I visited them day by day, and as often as I did, my conscience upbraided me for persisting so long in a religion, whose capital errors I long before perceived, and above all that inspired so much cruelty, a temper directly opposite to the spirit of christianity. At last their wounds, like so many mouths, preaching to me made me sensible of my error, and experimentally taught me the excellency of the protestant religion.

But it is high time to conclude, and draw a curtain over this horrid scene, which presents us with none but ghastly sights

fights and transactions, full of barbarity and injustice, but which all shew how false it is, that they pretend in France for detaining the protestants in the gallies, viz. that they do not suffer there upon a religious, but a civil account, being condemned for rebellion and disobedience, the punishments inflicted on them when they refuse to adore the host. The rewards and advantages offered them on their compliance in that particular, are a sufficient argument against them, there being no such offers made to such as are condemned for crimes. It shews the world also the almost incredible barbarity used against the French protestants, and at the same time sets off in a most glorious manner their virtue, constancy, and zeal for their holy religion.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
S U F F E R I N G S
OF THE
B L E S S E D M A R T Y R,
L O U I S D E M A R O L L E S.

IT is certain that the wisdom of God under the gospel dispensation, hath chosen the voice of afflictions, and the cry of the blood of martyrs to manifest the power and victories of faith; and in consequence of this, the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, having given some examples of the surprizing effects of faith furnished by the martyrs, from thence draws this conclusion, or rather exhortation, “wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us; looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is sat down at the right hand of the throne of God. For consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds.”

To copy therefore after the divine oracles, and to imitate in particular this author, I shall lay before the eyes of christians the sufferings of some later confessors and martyrs, to the end that being animated and encouraged by those great examples, they may preserve to God that fidelity which they owe him, in the midst of the most sharp and severe trials. Jesus Christ who hath redeemed us, and who shall judge the world, doth prescribe us our duty when he says, *MAT. iii. 32. whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall*

shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my father which is in heaven. Now we must not imagine, nor flatter ourselves that the rigour of this command doth regard only those who shall renounce Jesus Christ as saviour of the world, to receive the Alcoran; this precept doth likewise extend to the salutary truth which God hath made known to us; since in St. MARK viii. 38. it is declared by the son of God in these express words, *whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, &c. of him shall the son of man be ashamed when he cometh in the glory of the Father, with the holy angels.*

From thence it is that the first christians, jealous of the honour of God, and of the purity of their faith, chose to expose themselves to all manner of miseries, rather than to do any thing which bore the least resemblance of idolatry, or which might be liable to sinister interpretations, as appears by the writings of the first doctors of the church, and particularly of Tertullian. They likewise ranked among the apostates those cowards who gave money to the commissioners to be comprehended in the number of those who had obeyed the ordinances made against the christians, although they had done no such thing.

But as they exercised this rigour towards feeble christians, they likewise took great care to collect the acts and monuments of the martyrs, as appears by a letter of the church of Smyrna* occasioned by the death of St. Polycarp their bishop, who had seen the apostle St. John. And if time had not robbed us of those precious relations, one might more exactly see both the number and constancy of all those martyrs, of whom now we hardly know the names.

They celebrated the day of their death, as being that of their birth, they made encomiums upon them on the score of their sufferings, insomuch that at length the christians in prosperity, being inwardly convinced of the vast and infinite difference betwixt theirs and their own zeal and piety, between theirs and the lives of those illustrious martyrs, began to invoke them, and worship their relicks; but in the beginning it was not so†. The faithful of Smyrna say in their letter that they had gathered together the bones of the martyr Polycarp, “ which they valued and prized above
“ gold or precious-stones, to reposit them in a suitable and
“ convenient place, to the end that, meeting and assembling
“ there as much as they possibly could, they might cele-
“ brate the day of his martyrdom, or of his birth, as well

* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 1. p. 4.

† Ibid lib. 1 p. 17.

“in memory of those who have sustained this glorious fight, as to instruct and confirm posterity by their example.” This place where they reposed the bones of those happy men, was, as is confessed by the learned, the church yard where they buried them, and where the first christians met to celebrate the memory of the martyrs. It is very certain by this letter, that they did not as yet invoke those martyrs, since making reflections upon the proceedings of the Jews, who solicited the proconsuls to hinder the christians from collecting the bones of Polycarp, for fear, said they, that they should worship him instead of him that was crucified; those faithful answer, that the Jews were ignorant, that they might worship and serve no other than him who died for the salvation of men, whom they adore as the son of God*; but that they loved and honoured, as it was just they should, the martyrs, as disciples and imitators of him. It appears from another passage of St. Irenæus, alleged by Eusebius, that the christians were grieved that they could not inter the bodies of the martyrs†. He observes that moreover the Pagans caused them to be burnt, to expose their ashes to the wind, or cast them into the Rhone, thereby making a mock and derision of the hopes which the christians had of the resurrection‡. Eusebius further informs us, that in his time, under the persecution of Maximilian§, they hindered the christians from burying their martyrs, as if that, saith he, had been of some importance.

When the church enjoyed some repose under the christian emperors, they began every where to seek for the bodies of the most famous and illustrious martyrs, to erect tombs and monuments to them. Their dreams then served instead of proofs to discover and distinguish them; and they began to have too great an esteem, and regard for their relicks. We read in the fourth tome of the great Bibliotheca of the fathers, some treatises attributed to Eusebius by the Jesuit Sirmond; among which in the 2d book which treats of the resurrection, there is mention made of St. Romain martyr of Antioch; and it is observed there that an apostate surgeon being ordered to cut out his tongue, he reserved and kept by him for a proof against those who would have accused him of not performing his commission. Upon which Eusebius makes this reflection, that he did not throw

* Ἀλατῶμεν ἀξίως.

† Γρυθαί τῆ γῆ

‡ History Martyr. Palest. cap. 9.

§ Οἶον τι σπυδῆς ἀξίον.

that which he had cut away, but preserved it at his house against his resurrection, as the weak and infirm faithful were wont to do, that they might honour those fragments of the bodies of the martyrs which they could recover and procure. There are two things remarkable in this history, the growing custom of worshipping the relics, but withal, that custom disapproved and rejected by wise and knowing persons. The people had so strong a bias and inclination to superstition*, that in the time of Theodosius the younger, the Novatians, those of them at least, who made a particular fest upon the account of Easter day†, assembled near to the tomb of Sabbatius in the isle of Rhodes, where he died in exile, to pray over his sepulchre. Bishop Atticus caused the body to be conveyed away by night to take them off from this superstition.

It is therefore true, according to the sentiments of the greatest part of christendom, that we are to collect the acts of the martyrs, only to be instructed and encouraged by their example. It is with this view and consideration that the first christians, and our fathers at the time of the reformation, compiled, and left us as much as they could of the history of those who have suffered for the faith. And we their successors should be wanting to our duty, and to that care which posterity expects and requires from us, if we should neglect to acquaint future ages, how great and violent have been the efforts of the persecution, which under a great and powerful King hath been unjustly carried on against us; and with the greatness of the strength and constancy of so many faithful, who by their admirable patience have sustained the combat without falling, or who have piously and courageously recovered from their lapses. One shall see them by thousands forsake their country, their goods, their friends, to go out of the kingdom, at the peril of being condemned to the galleys, or confined in some prison or cloister, and in each exposed to all the temptations, and all the secret miseries, which it is very difficult to give a lively representation of. We have seen persons of birth and quality, as M. the Marquis of Monbetton descended from the family of la Force, of 74 years of age, also men of learning and study, under the chain, or upon the bench of galley-slaves with the oar in their hand, under the inspection of a severe comite.

* Hist. Socrat. lib. 7. c. 25.

† *Επι τω ταφῶ εὐχεσθαι.*

We have seen Monsieur Muffon, a famous counsellor in the parliament of Paris, depart with all his family to come and give glory to God at the Hague, where he lived with the approbation of all honest persons; we have seen, I say, this celebrated magistrate condemned to the gallies, without any regard to the dignity of his character, which could not exempt him from the apparent infamy of that arrest, which will in future ages be his and his family's glory. Would not one who sees and considers this inflexible rigour be apt to say that to serve God according to the convictions of a man's heart, and the motions of his conscience, was the greatest of all crimes, and the most unpardonable of all trespasses? well, God be praised, that in an age so infected with the love of the world, wherein piety is on all sides exposed to the attacks of impiety and libertinism, the reformed churches of France, will be able to furnish and afford the succeeding ages, great examples of fidelity, and perseverance in the midst of the most dangerous, and most sensible afflictions; and indeed every one ought to contribute their assistance towards the publication of the history of those noble and worthy confessors and martyrs of Jesus Christ.

II. And truly it must have been thought a great neglect of this duty, to have deprived the public of the knowledge which it ought to have of the blessed martyr Louis de Marolles, who hath filled the Louvre, the Parliament, France, and all Europe with the sweet odour of his sufferings and afflictions. To perpetuate this we might here produce several letters which he wrote with his own hands, and others likewise which were wrote to him by several persons, and even by some of his Roman Catholic friends, to which he hath answered; only that to do this would require a volume. It shall therefore suffice to give some brief idea of his sufferings, and of the invincible firmness of his faith during so sharp and tedious a trial; and the names of the persons concerned shall be suppressed and concealed, that they may not be exposed to resentment.

Monsieur Louis de Marolles was born about the year 1629, as appears by one of his letters a little before his death, which happened in the year 1692, saying, "that he had almost accomplished 63 years. He was born at Champagne, of an ancient family, very noted for their skill in the law. He dwelt at St. Menehoult, where he exercised the office of the King's counsellor, and receiver of consignments

ments, his religion making him incapable of any other post. His eldest brother was slain by a cannon-ball, which broke his leg at the taking St. Menehoult by the King; and he went thither by orders of the court, to direct where to apply the batteries for the attack of the weakest part of the place. He was brought back to Chalons, where the King sent him his surgeons; who having cut off his thigh four fingers too low, they were forced to begin the operation a-new, in which he died.

III. Our Lewis de Marolles was loved and esteemed by all those who knew him, because he was of a sweet and easy temper, and of a pleasant and agreeable conversation. He was endued with a perfect good judgment, inasmuch that upon the first mention of the new philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes, founded upon experience, he applied himself to study them, and did of himself make a great progress and proficiency therein. I have seen some remarks and observations which he made upon the vacuum with quills full of quicksilver, in which there appeared as much justice in his reasonings, as exactness and accuracy in his observations. He applied his experience to the study also of physic, as far as philosophy and his own natural sense and understanding could enable his mind to find out some medicines proper to heal the sick; and his children have several receipts written with his own hand. Having learned of Monsieur Claude de Marolles of Vitry in France, his relation, the grounds and fundamentals of Algebra; those two friends advanced so far in this science, that they were both of them the prime artists of their age. They held a correspondence, by letters, with all those who were excellent in this science, especially with P. de Billy, a learned jesuit, who hath presented the public with *Diophantes Redivivus*. There is in manuscript a treatise of Algebra, composed by our Lewis de Marolles, with the solution of a great number of very difficult and curious problems. As he was endued with a clear and perspicuous genius, he delivered and explained himself after so plain and intelligible a manner, that one might easily apprehend the meaning of what he said. Those also who desired to profit by his conversation, became in a short time skilful in this science; as, among others, a certain honest man who lived with the Duke of Main, and who faithfully maintained that friendship with him which he owed him, having done all that in him lay to procure

procure him some ease and refreshment. One may say, that if Monsieur de Marolles had loved the world, he would have appeared among the learned with great distinction.

IV. But he was contented to lead a quiet and obscure life in the place of his nativity, amongst his relations, who are the most noted persons in St. Minehault, and made it his chief business and occupation to instruct himself in religion, and to grow and advance in piety. This virtue was in him a truly christian grace, founded upon the knowledge and a lively persuasion of the truth, and of his duty. It was not the effect of a phlegmatic and melancholic temper, which sometimes puts on the appearance of piety, the better to judge and censure all mankind. Never was any man more agreeable and pleasant in every thing wherein piety was not concerned. He made use of music for his recreation, and sometimes of hunting, to preserve his health by that exercise. In a word, he was esteemed by all the world, and affectionately loved by his friends; always of a smooth and equal temper, always shewing an honest and becoming gravity, without being crabbed and troublesome; always of a light and cheerful humour, supported by the beauty and good disposition of his mind, having a heart satisfied and contented with his condition.

The pastor of his church, a man of great merit, and strict probity, his intimate friend, and one in whom he placed his most entire confidence, doth thus speak of him in one of his letters. "Monsieur de Marolles was of a
"very happy constitution; his temper was free from va-
"pours of melancholy, and did not carry him into any op-
"posite or contrary passion: he was endued with a solid
"spirit, capable of vast application, with an exact judgment
"and discerning quality; he never filled his mind with
"vain cares and sollicitudes, but maintained a great steady-
"ness and constancy in misfortunes; this was not a bare
"natural disposition in him, but he had strengthened it by
"study, meditation and piety; he had a good heart, and a
"firm resolution never to be wanting in any of his duties;
"all this gave him a fund of peace and tranquility, so that
"he was scarce ever seen to be in the least passion; he
"knew how to be seasonably serious, and merry in conversa-
"tion, and rendered himself so pleasant and agreeable in
"society, that I have seen but few people like him. He
"had attained a sufficient light and knowledge in the
"history of the church, so as very much to ground and
"confirm

“ confirm him against the romish religion; he perfected and
 “ compleated his knowledge by diligently reading the dis-
 “ putes betwixt Mr. Claudius and Mr. Arnaud upon the
 “ Eucharist, and Mr. Larroque’s history of the Eucharist;
 “ and he likewise read the other books of the time, when
 “ they fell into his hands. After the reading of the Holy
 “ Scriptures, and some other books which he made use of
 “ to feed and nourish his devotion, he employed his time
 “ in the study of the mathematics, and particularly of Al-
 “ gebra, and recreated himself with music. You know
 “ that he had a great desire to bring up his family well;
 “ one of his chief maxims with relation to that, being, that
 “ it is necessary to restrain children from trifles, in order
 “ to render them of a just mind, and never to fill them with
 “ vain fears nor vain hopes. The cares and distractions
 “ which followed upon his marriage did sometimes create
 “ him some cares and uneasiness; but he contented him-
 “ self therewith out of a principle of duty. When the
 “ affairs of religion began to be taken in hand, he did often
 “ declare to me that he feared nothing so much as to see
 “ his wife and children suffer, and that if he could find the
 “ means to send them out of the kingdom, he was in no
 “ fear for himself. In all our affairs he maintained a free
 “ spirit, and I never saw him embarrassed but once in a
 “ nice and critical conjuncture. He during all that time
 “ afforded me more succour and consolation than I am
 “ able to express; and I do believe that I did often con-
 “ tribute to strengthen and confirm him in his good reso-
 “ lutions, which affords me at present a true joy and
 “ comfort. He remained a long time unresolved in his
 “ choice of a retreat into foreign countries; I was at first
 “ in a mind to go to Switzerland, and I had proposed to
 “ M. the late Count d’E—— to sell his land, and purchase
 “ others there, to which he was well enough inclined; I
 “ endeavoured to engage Monsieur de Marolles to take the
 “ same course and not to separate. He testified some
 “ inclination thereto for some time, but in a journey which
 “ we made together to Vitry; M. the doctor le T—— per-
 “ suaded him to go with M. Beck as being a man able to
 “ make a good shift, and one who could find out the
 “ means to procure a good settlement any where; and since
 “ that time he wholly laid aside his thoughts of travelling
 “ into those parts, and we each of us took different mea-
 “ sures. A little while after the exercise of religion was taken
 “ away

“away from us; and at length they expelled me from
“Ep——. Monsieur de Marolles came to me to Neuv——,
“and the day following to Helm——, where we had our last con-
“versation together, which was very tender and affect-
“ing.”

V. In order to comprehend the reason which drew Monsieur de Marolles into Germany, you must know that some protestants going from Champagne to Lorraine, bordering upon the Duchy of Deux Ponts, the inhabitants of the county of Sarbruck and Alsatia had been prevailed upon by Monsieur the intendant of Goupellier to settle themselves in that country, assuring them with an oath, that no person should be molested or disturbed, and that the exercise of religion which was established at Lixim and Bourbac should be preserved, because the King had a mind to populate and re-establish that desolate and ruined country. Several discoursed with me about it, to whom I answered that we must consider that country, just as we do a tree in a large campaign field, when we are overtaken and surprized by a storm, and one retires thither only to find shelter a while under its branches. That moreover it would be more easy to go out of the kingdom, being upon the frontiers thereof. Thus did Monsieur de Marolles and I reason when we were together at Helmauru near to Vitry, on Easter-day, in the year 1685, which was the last time that I ever saw him.

I shall observe, in going along, that this village derives its name from another which is called Maura; and they say Helmauru, instead of Les Mauru. The little river of Moivre gives them both their name. From whence it must be concluded, that the famous battle of Attila was fought in Champagne near to Chalons, at a place called Mauriacum. There is a village called Pogny, derived from the latin word pugna, which signifies a fight or battle. The river of Moivre does in this place discharge itself into the Marne, and Vitry, perhaps took its name from this victory. This may serve to determine authors upon this point, which is very much perplexed and embarrassed in history.

VI. All the promises and assurances of Monsieur de la Goupellier were but weak and slender securities, as had been foreseen; and a few days after the revocation of the edict of Nants, some archers were sent to compel those who had been solicited and invited to settle themselves in those quarters, to abandon them and return home.

VII. Monsieur Bartholemi de Marolles, a young nephew of our illustrious martyr, was stopped at Biche, notwithstanding

standing that he had a certificate from the Grand Bailiff of the county of Sarbruck, as having about six months since preached in the church of Bourbac. He continued three months a prisoner in that fort, and was at length conveyed to Chalons. They took him out of the prison of the town, to remove him into the Bishoprick, in order to make room for his uncle, whom they had brought thither. This young man, who was then but nineteen years of age, continued three years in the prisons of the Bishoprick: and after having sustained their disputes, promises, and threatenings, he was at length set at liberty as a confessor, and came to continue his studies with success at Utrecht, where he now is.

One cannot, without injustice, refuse to the name of de Marolles those praises and encomiums which he deserves. I shall not stop with observing that that family is invested with ancient titles of honour and nobility; as the wardship of noblemen's children; which according to the custom of Vitry, belongs only to gentlemen. I chuse rather to insist upon the praises which piety hath procured them; for besides our Martyr and his nephew, who have been just mentioned, there is still at Amsterdam Mr. Thierride Marolles an advocate, whom together with his whole family, we are to look upon as so many confessors. He retired at first to Mets, from whence he was forbid to depart. At length the Count de Byssi caused him to come before him, the 28th day of January, 1686, and ordered him to quit the city the same day with his family, consisting of eight persons. He retired to the castle of Clemery upon Seille, where he spent the winter. The 8th day of May, 1686, the Grand Provost of Nancy took them all prisoners, and committed them to his archers, and the next day had them all stript into their shirts, being the husband, the wife, three young damsels, and three boys, in the presence of the judge, and the mayor of Clemery. They took away all the money which was sewed up in their cloaths; and at length they covered them one after another with the Provosts morning gown, to search them all over their bodies. Would not one say that they treated them at discretion, as if they had been prisoners of war, assassins, or poisoners. They were all of them at length carried prisoners to Chalons, where they were separated. The mother and daughters were put into different convents, the boys who were very young, with scriveners or notaries. The maids imitated these brave examples, each of them continuing firm and stedfast in their religion. They were all of them set at liberty and sent out of the kingdom the first of March

1688, together with M. de Beauchamp an elder of Charenton, M. de Marolles student in divinity, of whom we have spoken before.

VIII. As for our martyr, with Madam Mary Gommeret his wife, the daughter of M. Gommeret, formerly a famous and noted magistrate of Sedan, and very high in the esteem of M. the Marthal de Febere, they settled themselves at Lixim. He had four children; two daughters are with their mother in a society of ladies of quality at Harlem, from whom they receive all manner of kindness and consolation. The two sons are in the service; the eldest who had his leg broke twice, once at the battle of Landen, and another time by an unfortunate accident, is an officer in the Earl of Allermarle's regiment, and the youngest ensign of the regiment of M. de St. Amand, both of them loved and esteemed by those that know them. They were very young when their father endeavoured to go out of France, since he saw he could no longer stay there with liberty of conscience. But God who called him to glorify his name, and to carry along with his chains the good odour of the reformation even into the Prætorium, suffered him to be stopped with his whole family on Sunday the second day of December in the year 1685, upon the territories of France, two leagues on this side the Rhine, by one M. Bourbon and aid-major of Strasbourg, accompanied with two Cavaliers. They were all of them conveyed to one of the prisons of the city, and put into a square tower which stands in the middle of the river. He observed that this tower is twenty-six feet in front, and 106 in height. We must in this place hear what he saith himself. "A little while (says he) after he had
 " been there, Mr. the Marquis de Chamilly governor,
 " Mr. de la Grange the intendant, together with the
 " Major and aid-major, Bourbon, came to interrogate
 " and examine me. I told them the naked truth of things
 " without disguise or dissimulation; after which they de-
 " parted. The next morning Madam the governess gave
 " herself the trouble to visit us. After having told us that she
 " sympathized in our misfortune she said that there was a re-
 " medy to be had, that it lay in our power, and that we must
 " obey the King's orders and get ourselves instructed, that
 " she would send us some father jesuits for that purpose.
 " I answered her, that as for my part, I found myself suffi-
 " ciently instructed, but that I would not refuse to hear
 " those whom she should do me the honour to send to me.

“ The same day in the afternoon came P. Dez, rector, accompanied with another Jesuit to visit us. There passed nothing but civility, making me a thousand offers of service, and desiring me freely to let him know if I wanted any thing out of, their house, or any of their books seeing I had no other book besides our psalms; and because I proposed to set myself as fair as possibly I could in his esteem, I prayed him to send me Thomas-a-Kempis de Imitatione Christi, which he did together with some others, and particularly Mr. de Condon’s exposition of the catholic faith. He came again to visit me, and asked me what scruples I might have concerning my religion; I answered that I had none, but that I was very well persuaded that it was the good and true one. He replied, that my discourse shewed me to be prejudiced. Upon this we entered into debates, and the subject of this first conversation ran upon this, viz. our acknowledgment of the protestants of the Aufbourg confession for brethren, and upon the Eucharist.”

One may by these first steps discover the sincerity and dove-like simplicity of this blessed martyr. He was arrested in the kingdom, and if he had had a mind to say that he was going to Strafbourg, as he was solicited and desired to do, there was nothing which could prove, or convince him of the contrary; and they would not then have condemned him, but have been contented to send him back to Champagne. But being always faithful to his God, and ever careful to preserve his innocence and integrity, he used neither deceit nor equivocation. “ I told them,” saith he, “ the true state of things without disguise or dissimulation;” that is, as he expresses himself in another letter, that he declared sincerely that his design was to go out of the kingdom, and seek in foreign countries the liberty of serving God according to the motions and directions of his conscience. It would be a curious thing to know what reflections the equivocating doctors made in private upon this sincerity. But to this his christian sincerity, must be joined the prudence and moderation with which our martyr behaved himself, to the end that even *his good might not be evil spoken of*, according to the precept of St. Paul. I propose however, saith he, to set myself as fair as I possibly could in his esteem.

I shall not relate all those conferences and conversations in which this faithful christian discovered his knowledge, and the solid foundations of his faith. He confirmed his sentiments

sentiments by reason, the word of God, and some passages of the fathers. Some days after the visit of father Dez, he received another from father Robine, and their discourse was concerning the authority of the church in explaining the meaning of the scripture. "Mr. de Marolles said that the scripture was explained by itself, and the maxims of good sense. Upon which the jesuit asked him, if he was infallible. To which having replied that he had not presumption enough to believe himself such; the jesuit concluded, that I must therefore doubt of all my decisions. To which I answered, that because I might be mistaken, it did not at all follow that all my judgments must be dubious, and that his maxim was good for nothing but to establish infidelity." They discoursed about councils and their pretended infallibility. They examined what was meant by the word church; our martyr affirming that the true church to which Jesus Christ communicates and imparts his graces, could not be composed of hypocrites, impious, and profane persons. He observes, that in another visit this same priest engaged him in a dispute, about the pretended schism, with which they charge and reproach us, telling him that we must rather suffer and endure all than give such a scandal to the church. He answered that so soon as we find ourselves forced to a worship which we esteemed disagreeable to God, we can no longer hold and join in communion with those who would oblige us to such worship; and that besides they had driven us out of it by excommunications, by torments, and cruel deaths. He alleged the example of Elias, and of those 7000 men who had not bowed their knees to Baal, and asked the jesuit whether he believed that those 7000 persons did separate from the true church, by joining themselves to Elias; to which the father jesuit returned no answer, but went away a little after.

Mr. and Madam de Chamilly came to visit him attended by P. Rector, and M. Sev. minister of Bourbon, who either had, or was ready to make his abjuration; which however he hath since detested and abhorred, having left France, as I have been informed, to lament his fall: their conversation was like to the former. And as M. Marolles went about to speak of what had passed in the ninth century, as concerning Paschasius and Ratramus, he observes that they stopped his mouth by saying that it was one of minister Claudius's fables, which plainly shews that those doctors

spend but very little study in controversies, to attribute that to Claudius, which all our authors have taken notice of before him. M. de Marolles proceeds in his relation, and says; “when I saw myself treated after that manner, I did exactly keep that silence, which they imposed upon me, and the rector began to read again out of those books which he had brought; and after a lecture, which lasted a very long while, M. the Marquis de Chamilly bid M. Sev——, tell me his opinion; but he made no other answer but that he shared in our misfortune. After which they all went out, and P. Rector never came more to see me since that time, but P. Godinet and another came several times. As in the first conversation he repeated part of the same things which P. Dez had told me before, I made him the same answers.”

In another, this jesuit undertook to prove to him that a *sign* may be the *thing signified*. “You know,” saith he, “the noble actions which the King of Poland did at the raising of the siege of Vienna. Is it not true that one or two years afterwards the same King might himself have represented his exploits upon a theatre. It would therefore be himself, which representd himself, and he, I say, would have been both the *sign* and the *thing signified* together,” to which piece of sophistry, our martyr replies; “That I found his example very strange, and his proof very weak, and that his proposition proved nothing else, but that the King of Poland might represent his past by his present actions, and that his present actions were only signs and representations of his past actions, and not the actions themselves; and that to prove what he said, it was sufficient only to observe that any other person besides the King might have made the like representations.”

In another visit the discourse happened to be upon the words of Jesus Christ, *this is my body*, which the jesuit called operative, that is, that they converted the bread into the proper body of Christ, by expressly declaring that it was so, and M. de Marolles affirmed that they were significative, that is, that they did express what was already done. Father Godinet to prove what he said, alleged this example. “If the King should say to Mr. de Chamilly, you are Marshall of France, no one would question but that he was so.” Our martyr replied, “That it was not to be doubted but that if the King would make Mr. de Chamilly
“ Marshall

“ Marshal of France he would speak in the common phrase of the whole world, and say, I make you Marshal of France.” This dispute was very long, I only take notice by these two circumstances of it, to shew the presence, and freedom of mind, of this illustrious prisoner.

IX. During the time of the confinement of Monsieur de Marolles at Strasburgh, he received several letters from his friends of the roman catholic religion. I have read one from a magistrate of St. Minehoud, his relation and his friend; and two others from that generous friend of his, who was with the Duke of Main, “ in one of which he told him, “ after having represented, that a cousin german of Mr. de Saumaize, having tried if he could deliver a petition to the King to obtain leave to go out of the kingdom, upon condition of leaving all his estate in his hands consisting of 708000 livres of rents, thinking that clause would further the reception of the proposal, and that it would be received in favour of so near a relation, a man of merit, and one to whom they actually seek occasion to do good. But they answered that it would be a mark of great consideration, and favour to the person who should meddle with it, if upon a like demand, he was not sent to the bastinado.” At length, he directs his discourse to his friend. “ Nevertheless, our ancient friendship obliges me to conjure you to have pity upon your dear wife, your children and yourself, and not expose yourself to the fatal and miserable consequences which might happen, if you were so ill advised as to think of making your escape*. The very thoughts of it make me tremble with horror. I must speak plain, dear Sir, not all my credit, and that of all my friends, nor our alliance would be able to save you from the gallies, nor the rest of your family from perpetual imprisonment. They will thereupon make use of a severity, which nothing can be able to mollify, especially at first, when they will support the laws by examples.” This friend wrote this in answer to Monsieur de Marolles, who had written to him from Lixim, desiring to procure leave for him to depart out of the kingdom, and promising in his favour to make him a donation of all his estate, upon condition of receiving only 5000 franks. The fear of falling into the hands of the dragoons, was the cause that he did not stay for the answer, and that he did not receive this letter till he was in the pri-

* Monsieur de Marolles was then at liberty at Lixim,

son of Chalons. It was easy for him to conclude from the answer of this generous friend of his, that he was not to promise himself any favour or moderation, but that he must look to be treated with the utmost severity.

X. It is probable that Monsieur de Chamilly wrote to the court much about the time that our martyr was maintaining the truth of his faith against the jesuits. The 17th of January 1686, he was removed from Strasbourg to Chalons with his family, where he arrived on Monday the 28th of January. They carried them in a waggon attended by Monsieur Bourbon the aid-major, who had stopped them, together with an officer and five troopers. He was put into the prison of the city of Chalons, where, he observes he continued just six weeks.

He was immediately visited by the bishop of Chalons, who is now archbishop of Paris. We must do him justice, and say, that the zeal which he hath for his religion, is as conformable to his character, as the persecuting spirit of several other bishops is far from it. He wrote to Monsieur de Chamilly, in favour of Mr. de Marolles, as soon as he knew of his confinement at Strasbourg; and in the visit which he made him at Chalons, he told him that if he could he would conceal him under his robe.

XI. During the four first weeks that our martyr continued at Chalons, he had liberty enough. The ecclesiastics who believed themselves able to cope with him, at first were eager to signalize themselves; but when they found his constancy to be invincible, they locked him up in a dungeon without suffering him to see any person for the space of 15 days. After which he was brought to judgment the 9th of March, and his sentence pronounced against him by torch light. Here follows a copy of his sentence.

Upon the perusal of the process extraordinarily made at the request of the attorney-general, in the Bailiwick, and presidial court of Chalons against Lewis Marolles of the pretended reformed religion, formerly receiver of the monies deposited in the Bailiwick of St. Menehoud, who stands accused, and is prisoner in the royal gaol of the city of Chalons, viz. A letter written from the Marquis de Louvois to Mr. de Miromenil, intendant in the province of Champagne, dated December 14, 1685, at the bottom of which there is written; a copy whereof the original is in our hands, signed Miromenil: by which among other things, the said Sieur de Miromenil is first commanded from his Majesty, that process be made, and perfected against the
said

faid de Marolles, accused by the officers of this court, according to the rigour of his edicts and ordinances. Secondly, the interrogatory of the prisoner of the 28th of January last past, at the bottom whereof are the requests of the said attorney-general, requiring that the witnesses who deposed in the said informations taken, and the decree of the criminal Lieutenant in this court. Thirdly, the information taken the said day of January 29th last past. Fourthly, the requests of the said attorney-general, requiring that the witnesses who deposed in the said information, may be further examined as to their depositions, and be confronted with the said de Marolles, prisoner. Fifthly, a judgment of the said day of January 29th for the examination, and confronting of the said witnesses. Sixthly, the examination of the said witnesses, and confronting of the same with the prisoner of the same day. Seventhly, and the conclusions, and desires of the said attorney-general, the said prisoner being heard at the bar in the open court: we adjudge that the said de Marolles is declared, proved, and convicted of having been apprehended, endeavouring to go out of the kingdom with his family, contrary to his Majesty's edicts, and declarations; for reparation whereof we have condemned, and do condemn the said de Marolles, prisoner, to serve the King for ever as a slave on board the gallies, and his personal goods, and chattels forfeited to the King, by this our sentence, judgment, and decree. Done in the council chamber, or open court, the 9th of March, 1680, signed at the bottom Seville. C. Jourdain, J. Jourdain Baugier, le Vautrel, Deu du Vieux Dampierre, Rambourg, all counsellors to the King in the bailiwick, and presidial court of Chalons, the year and day above-mentioned. Signed Dompmartin.

Signified and delivered the present copy to the said Lewis de Marolles, prisoner in the royal gaol of Chalons, nominated in the sentence above transcribed, speaking to himself that he may not plead ignorance.

Whereas the serjeant had forgot Monsr. de Marolles's appeal to the parliament of Paris, he caused him to be put in mind of it, and the serjeant corrected that mistake.

XI. This 9th of March, when sentence was pronounced against Monsieur de Marolles, was on a Saturday; and the Monday following they took him out of the dungeon to convey him in a waggon to Paris, attended by three archers from Chalons, the youngest of Mr. de Marolles's sons, (the eldest

eldest being gone from Chalons) presented himself upon the way without the city, to accompany his father, the archers suffered him to ride in the waggon with him, and treated the prisoner with as much civility, as could be expected from those sort of persons. They had a certain respect for him, which virtue begets in the hearts of the most barbarous; they told him that they did not fear he would make his escape out of their hands, and did not mind to guard him with that severity and exactness which they generally use towards galley-slaves.

He arrived at the Conciergery upon Thursday the 14th of March, 1686. His son went with him into the chamber, where they immediately put the prisoners that came from all parts, till such times as they have informed themselves of the nature of their condemnation. The night approaching, he asked if he might return the next day to see his father, they told him he might. But coming thither the next morning, he was told that he might see him no more; and I find a bill of his hand wherein he hath written as follows. "I was put into a dark dungeon, where I have been these two months without seeing any body. On Saturday the 11th of May, 1686, I was brought before my judges at the court, where criminal causes are tried, and contrary to what is usual, my judgment was deferred till Tuesday the 14th of the same; and my condemnation of Chalons was confirmed the same day. About two o'clock in the afternoon, they put the irons upon my hands, put me into a coach, and I was carried to La Tournelle where I entered, making the 26th galerian." La Tournelle was a palace in Henry the Second's time, but now they send the persons thither who are condemned to the galleys, until the departure of the chain.

XII. Thus is our martyr entered upon one of the first theatres in the world, where he maintained the profession of his faith in opposition to the threats, and promises of the world with courage and mildness, and to the edification of all good persons. As soon as he was arrived at La Tournelle, and loaded with chains, having some spare moments to write to his family and his friends, he employed those moments in comforting and rejoicing them, by giving them an account of the state of his soul, and the tranquillity of his heart, putting his trust in God, and counting himself happy in that he suffered for the glory of his name, and of his truth. We have all his letters written with his own hand,

hand, which I shall not give to the public, because it would require a volume to contain them; it being my design only to give the history of his sufferings, which are undeniable proofs of the most notable effects which hope, piety, and the grace of God can produce.

He says in one of his letters, dated from La Tournelle, the 6th of May, 1686. "I was put into a dark dungeon in the Conciery where I have been buried for these six months. On the morning of my arrival, I was twice brought before the procurator-general in a chamber of the conciergery, and I returned such answers to the questions which he put to me, as Jesus Christ inspired me with according to his promise. He made me another visit, and gave me this testimony, that it was admirable to see me do that for error, which none of them perhaps would do for the truth. A little while after the chief president had me brought out of the dungeon, with the greatest honour in the world; when I was come to the chamber where he waited for me, he caused all his attendants, consisting of six or seven persons of merit, to go out, and honoured me with a private conference for the space of two hours. He expressed towards me much goodness and desire to serve me, and as soon as he was gone out he betook himself to his company again, and said (as I was informed by one of my friends who was present) I come from discoursing with a good man. These are only words, but yet they afford some comfort. I did likewise receive several marks of the favour, and goodness of the president of the court of justice where I was condemned. He talked with me at the door of the dungeon, and after some discourse, he told me that it was with great grief and sorrow that he saw me there; that he wished that I might be seized with some light sickness, to have an occasion to take me out from thence, and put me into the infirmary; that whenever I desired to speak with him I needed but to tell the gaoler, who should acquaint him with it, and he would not fail to come to the conciergery to see me. All these gentle methods had their end and view, but they were, I thank God unsuccessful. God having put it into my heart to continue faithful to him even unto death, if need required."

In another letter, dated from La Tournelle, the 2d of July, he informs us of a combat in which he had yielded up against his own heart and mind. He confesses that being

in the prison of Chalons, “ the tears of a wife, and a family, “ which are dear to me, faith he, and which were not able “ to move me at Strafbourg, joined to those of two brothers- “ in-law, who came to see me at Chalons, induced me to “ accept of certain proposals which were made me, by two “ of the most eminent and considerable persons of the pro- “ vince.” I have been informed that those proposals were to desire his liberty, in order to instruct himself more fully, in the controversies which occasion our separation from the church of Rome. “ But a few days after God having given “ me to understand my fault, and having afforded me an “ opportunity of repairing it, I embraced it with joy, fer- “ vency and tears; and that father of mercies who knows “ how to produce light out of darkness, made use of my “ infirmities thereby to give me that strength, and stead- “ fastness which I have since had. This gives me reason to “ hope, that he will continue this favour to me unto the end, “ and, that he will always proportion his gifts, and graces “ to the trials to which it shall please him to expose me. “ For the former, missing of their end, they did at length “ make me new offers, which affected me yet less than the “ former, and I rejected them all without deliberating upon “ them; at which they were so enraged that I was next day “ put into a dungeon, where I lay thirteen days before my “ condemnation. This passed at Chalons. Being in the “ conciergery at Paris, one of my friends, tutor to the “ children of the King and Madame Montespan, came with “ his Majesty’s permission to see me. He proposed to me “ to go for eight or ten months to the Bishop of Meaux, “ to get myself instructed (this is their way of speaking) I “ returned him thanks, and assured him that it was not in the “ power of time to change my light and knowledge, and that I “ was persuaded that the bishop of Meaux, could not satisfy me “ any more than the other bishops which I had already seen.”

XIII. We must not pass over without animadversion, this uprightnes of soul, this niceness of conscience in our martyr, notwithstanding that his conscience might have solicited him by his present miseries, and by the fear of future calamities, by the sincere affection which he bore to his wife and family; notwithstanding this, I say, he rejects and silences all that the love of the world, and of this life, whatever the bonds of flesh and blood could represent unto him to suppress his fidelity, and tarnish the lustre and glory of his sufferings and confession. They offer him from the

King his liberty for eight or ten months, during which time he might hope not only to go out of his dungeon, but also expect some happy change, or some favourable opportunity to escape the chain and the gallies to which he was condemned forever. How would a heart less filled with the love of God, and the knowledge of its duty in all its extent, have invented specious pretences, and captious arguments to free itself from such dreadful miseries. But our martyr having regard to nothing but his duty, opposes the very first assault of the temptation, and tramples it under his feet.

It must not be imagined, that this invincible constancy is in any manner the effect of stubbornness and obstinacy. The jesuits of Strasbourg, and the ecclesiastics of Chalons are convinced that the faith of our Martyr, was accompanied with light and knowledge. This great man knew how to distinguish between the reasons, which may engage us to seek some new instruction, and those secret motives of the heart which are not to be hearkened unto. When there arise of themselves reasons for some doubts and scruples about the faith, then a man is necessarily, and indispensably obliged to get himself instructed and informed. In such a case this care and pains is a debt which a man owes to himself; and negligence therein can proceed from nothing else, but either an unreasonable stubbornness, or a criminal indifference. A man must likewise enquire into the religion of his neighbours, and his countrymen, either to reap advantage from their light and knowledge, or to communicate and impart ours to them, and help forward their salvation as much as possibly we can. But when one enjoys a full and entire persuasion of his faith, especially by its opposition to a doctrine whose false foundations one knows, and that the motive which puts us upon seeking instruction proceeds only from a heart desirous to free itself from those afflictions which are occasioned by its religion, then this secret motive whereof a man is convicted within himself, cannot doubtless be acceptable to God, nor procure his blessing. This is a crime, this is to tempt God, because it is to put a secret cheat upon one's self, and to call in question a known truth. Besides, as things stood in France, to talk of getting one's self instructed, was tacitly to engage one's self to renounce one's religion. Mr. de Marolles knew this very well, which made him reject all those offers, without bestowing a moment's deliberation up-

on them. They likewise made him the same proposals, just when he was ready to depart for the galleys. We follow the order and course of time, and therefore when we come to speak of that we shall hear his answer. But is it not much to be wondered at, that the bishop of Meaux would not venture himself with this illustrious prisoner to instruct him, either whilst he was in the conciergery, or at La Tournelle? Were not they as convenient places to apply himself to the conversion of Mr. de Marolles in, as Meaux or Gornilly, the country-house of that prelate? What reason could hinder him from exercising his charity in those places of misery and affliction? This is easily known, that bishop would run no hazard. He thought it concerned his reputation, not to enter the lists with this learned person, without being first assured of the victory; as if the instruction which we owe to our neighbours was like a theatrical combat, wherein all the spectators should know the party that was to be vanquished. This brings to my mind the saying of a certain minister to a courtier, being at Fountain-bleau, at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nants. This courtier would needs engage him to take a dinner with him, to enter into conversation with the bishop of Meaux, and father Le Chaize. The minister's answer to his importunities was that he might do what he pleased; but he let him know that it was his humour to answer with civility and assurance to their arguments; that therefore he must consider what he designed to do, adding with a smile, that he believed it was not the humour and inclination of those gentlemen to follow the chase in the plain and open field, they would be for having the beast shut up in a park, that they might be sure of the prize.

XIV. Let us return to the history of our martyr. After having languished two months in a dungeon, he was brought before the court on Saturday the 11th of May, 1686. We are informed of what passed there by a letter which he wrote to his sister-in-law, dated from La Tournelle, the 17th of May. "I have been two full months with seven miserable
 " wretches condemned either to the galleys, or to be hanged
 " and broken alive upon the wheel, in a dungeon so dark,
 " that I could not well discern their faces. They have all
 " been troubled with Rheums and Fluxes which God hath
 " preserved me from, although I am old, and they all of them
 " young. The 11th current I was taken out of the dungeon
 " contrary to my expectation, for I expected that they
 would

“ would let me rot there, and brought to the criminal
“ court to be judged. Mr. the president of the house, who
“ was at the head of my judges, ordered me to sit down
“ upon the prisoners stool, and took my oath to speak the
“ truth. I answered to all whatsoever he desired to know
“ of me, after which he made me an exhortation, and bid me
“ think seriously with myself, that it was not they that should
“ judge me, and that the declaration of the King did ex-
“ pressly mention my condemnation. I returned him thanks
“ for his goodness which he expressed to me, and told
“ him that I was in no great trouble to deliberate; that
“ my resolution was fixed long ago, and that I resigned my-
“ self to the court, and was ready to suffer the penalties to
“ which they should think fit to condemn me; that how
“ great and severe soever they may be they would be less
“ uneasy to me, than to act against the lights of my con-
“ science, and live like a hypocrite. They ordered me
“ thereupon to withdraw, and I was conveyed back to my
“ dungeon. I expected to be conducted in the afternoon
“ to La Tournelle, but they deferred my judgment till
“ Tuesday following, the 14th of May, and three or four
“ hours after they came to carry me away; they put the
“ manacles upon my hands, and so conducted me in a
“ coach to La Tournelle.” It is not known for what rea-
son they delayed contrary to what is usual, to pronounce
the sentence of Mr. de Marolles. It is probable that the
court designed to inform the King of the constant resolution
of our martyr, and make some new attempts in his favour.
Indeed I find in a letter of recommendation written from
Paris to Mr. de Courfelles governor of Toulon, in favour
of Mr. de Marolles, that his sentence of condemnation to
the gallies had been confirmed at the parliament of Paris,
but after such a manner, as had procured pain and trouble
to all the judges; that the chief president and procurator
general, did intend to represent to the King all the circum-
stances of the affair, and the merit of the person: but as
the declarations were formal, the King would make no ex-
ception. If the truth of the matter was known, perhaps
one might find the clergy hastening his condemnation,
whilst an august parliament deferred it in order to solicit
his pardon. So true it is that the genius and disposition of
the Roman catholic religion in its most trusty ministers, is a
barbarous, and unmerciful genius, which breaths forth
nothing but blood and violence, always contrary to christian
charity

charity and moderation. But be that as it will, he was at length sentenced, and the sentence of the presidial of Chalons was confirmed.

Let us hear the following part of his letter: “The governor of Tournelles knowing who I was, and being informed of my crime, caused me to be treated with as much gentleness as can be expected in that place. They were contented to put a fetter upon one foot. But the next morning he came to tell me that he had just received orders which very much afflicted him, which was, that the king had commanded that the chain should be put upon my neck. I thanked him for his goodness which he expressed to me; and told him that I was ready to pay a respectful obedience to the orders of his Majesty. I laid aside my hat, they took the chain from off my foot, and put me on another about my neck, which doth not I believe weigh less than 30 pounds. Thus you see, my dear sister, the state and condition which the wise Providence of God hath chosen and allotted for me, out of a thousand others in which he might have placed me. I expect from his mercy, strength, and constancy, to suffer all for his glory and my own salvation. Do not afflict yourself at my condition, my dear sister, it is more happy than you think for. Weep not for me: keep your tears for so many miserable wretches who live not so contentedly as I do. Grant me the assistance of your prayers: I assure you that I do not forget you in mine.” And in another letter of the 16th of May, i. e. the day, when the chain was put about his neck, he says after such another relation as that before mentioned. “Thus, sir (I suppose he wrote to M. Jurieu) you have an abridgment of my misery, and to speak more truly, of my glory, for I continually give thanks to God for the honour, which he doth me in not thinking me unworthy to suffer for his name-sake. Let your prayers accompany mine, to obtain from the mercy of God his succour and assistance so long as it shall please him to continue my sufferings and afflictions.”

Nine days after that the procurator general went thither, and we are informed by a note written with our martyr's own hand, what passed between that famous magistrate and himself. “The 24th of May, 1636, the procurator general came to visit those who were condemned to the galleys. He addressed himself to me, and seeing the chain upon
“my

“ my neck, he told me that it was with grief, that he saw
“ me in so miserable a condition, and that he did greatly
“ desire to deliver me out of it; that I was so much the
“ more worthy of pity and compassion, because it was my
“ prejudices which plunged both myself and family into
“ misery. I answered him that I should be very much to
“ blame if that were so, but that it was my opinion, that
“ in cases which concern our salvation, we must despise
“ and neglect whatsoever relates only to this life, and that
“ it was this thought and consideration which induced me
“ to bear my evils with patience. He replied, that he was
“ persuaded that I was right as to my intentions, that I
“ had a sincere zeal for the glory of God and my own sal-
“ vation, but wanted knowledge; and that he would come
“ again to see and talk with me within a little time, that
“ there was nothing which he would not either do or
“ give to deliver me out of my misery. I told him that I
“ did with much thankfulness and respect, receive the to-
“ kens of his goodness which he was pleased to shew me,
“ after which he departed.”

Three days after he received another visit, of which we
have likewise an account written with his own hand;
“ Monday the 27th of May, 1686, between seven and eight
“ o'clock in the evening, a counsellor belonging to the
“ court of La Tournelle, who sat the next to, and on the
“ right hand of the president of the house, when I was
“ brought into the court before my trial, came to visit the
“ prisoners at La Tournelle. And after he was gone out
“ Mr. Le Roi, our head keeper, took me out of the place
“ where we are, and brought me into a chamber which is
“ called the council chamber, where the counsellor waited
“ for me: I had my chain about my neck. He told me
“ with all the ingenuity and candour in the world: all our
“ assembly, sir, are touched with grief for the misery, to which
“ they know you are reduced, and I come to solicit you to
“ deliver yourself out of it. We know that you have lived
“ like a very honest man, and that you proceed from a
“ good family; consider with, and examine yourself by the
“ rules both of policy and conscience. Before seven or
“ eight months are at an end your religion shall be no more
“ mentioned in France. Even at present there are very se-
“ vere edicts against the new converts who do not do their
“ duty: and in other places your religion hath been ex-
“ tinguished this 130 years. But I do not come hither to
“ dispute

“ dispute with you about it. You know that it hath subsisted and continued in the kingdom only upon sufferance and toleration, and out of a necessity of appeasing and putting an end to the troubles. It lies wholly in your power to advance yourself higher than you have ever yet been, and to procure peace to your family.”

“ I answered, that I was very much obliged to their illustrious assembly, for passing so favourable a judgment upon me, and for the goodness which they expressed towards me; and to himself in particular, for the marks which he gave me of his good will, that I did return them all a thousand thanks, but that nothing should ever be able to make me do any thing against my conscience, and that I had but little regard for all the advantages of this life. That if it were true that I was in an error, and it should please God to convince me of it by giving me new lights and knowledge, I should not fail to follow them with much zeal and joy, out of a sole view to the glory of God. I said, moreover, that the edict of Nantz, was to reward the good services which that King (Henry IV.) had received from the protestants, rather than to appease the troubles which were then allayed, the arms being laid down, and the King in the peaceable possession of the crown. I said nothing of religion because of what he had said to me, that he was not come to dispute with me about it. This good counsellor went away a little after, desiring me to think seriously upon what he had said unto me. Mr. Le Roi told me as he carried me back, that this counsellor was sent as commissioner by the court of La Tournelle, to speak to me from the part of that famous society, who were never touched with so much trouble and compassion for any person as they were for me.” The counsellor’s name was Mr. Reynaud. I must advertise the reader that the chamber of La Tournelle, is a chamber or court belonging to the parliament of Paris, where criminals are tried, to the end that it may not be confounded with La Tournelle, or rather les Tournelles, whither they send the persons condemned to the gallies until their departure. There is at present in that parliament la Tournelle civil, and la Tournelle criminal.

Mr. Marolles wrote several letters from la Tournelle to his wife, children, and friends. He sent one dated the 16th of May to Monf. Jurieu, to which that pastor returned an answer the 27th of the same month. He received an answer
from

from our martyr the 2d of July, 1686, who assures him that his letters did tend to the consolation of himself, and all those to whom he could communicate them. And after having returned him thanks for his good advice, he tells him. "The manner of my suffering, and the good eye with which God makes me regard all my sufferings, persuades me that he will give me the grace to continue faithful unto him even unto death. I do not fix my eyes upon the condition in which I am, which troubles and afflicts those that see it, much more than it does myself. I place them solely upon the rewards which God has promised to all those that fear his name. I am certain that the light afflictions with which he is pleased to visit me, will produce in me, according to his divine promises, an eternal weight of exceeding great glory. I comfort myself because the sufferings of this present time, are not to compare with the future glory, which is to be revealed in us; and I put my trust in what St. JAMES says, *Blessed is the man who endures temptation, for when he shall have been tried, he shall receive the crown of incorruptible glory and immortality, which God reserves for his elect.* I rejoice in that our Saviour doth pronounce those *blessed who suffer for righteousness sake.* Thus, sir, I make all my glory and happiness to consist in this, that my redeemer doth not count me unworthy to suffer for his name sake. I fix my confidence upon the eternal rock. I put all my trust in him. I expect help and succour from him alone. I persuade myself that nothing shall be able to move me, fixed upon so solid a foundation." He put in practice what he so well wrote in an excellent little treatise of his own hand writing upon providence, and which he composed without doubt in the time of his confinement. This whole letter may be seen inserted in the pastoral letter of Mons. Jurieu, in the year 1686, I proceed to what concerns the history of his sufferings. He says, a little lower: "That, sir, is my usual occupation, as much as the infamous place wherein I am confined, will permit. I call it infamous, because there is not an honest or virtuous word to be heard there; it resounds with nothing but filthiness and execrable blasphemies. They make such a noise, and tumult all day, and for the greatest part of the night, that I could scarce heretofore meet with one happy moment, to lift up my heart to God. I was so overwhelmed with drowsiness, that I often fell asleep before I had made an end of my prayer:

“ when I awaked about three or four o’clock of the morn-
 “ ing, I endeavoured to keep myself awake, that I might,
 “ whilst the place was free from noise, pay my homage to
 “ God with some attention. I have more liberty since
 “ these ten or twelve days: for when it is fine weather, they
 “ suffer the chain to go out and abide in a court all day, ex-
 “ cept it be six of us who are kept locked up. I spend one
 “ part of this time in reading, meditation and prayer, and
 “ I do likewise take the liberty to sing some psalms, as I
 “ have done, in all the places of my imprisonment
 “ without ever being complained of for it. Thus you
 “ see in two words an abridgment of our misery. We
 “ lie 53 of us in a place, which is not above 30 feet in
 “ length, and nine in breadth. There lies on the right
 “ side of me a sick peasant with his head to my feet, and my
 “ feet to his head. There are likewise others. There is
 “ scarce one among us who doth not envy the condition
 “ of several dogs and horses. This makes us all desire that
 “ the chain may quickly depart. They conceal this from
 “ us, but as far as we can judge, it will depart next Satur-
 “ day. We were yesterday 95 condemned persons in num-
 “ ber, but two of them died that day, and one to day. We
 “ have still fifteen or sixteen lick, and there are but few who
 “ escape it. I have had five fits of the tertian fever: but
 “ I thank God I am very well recovered of it, and in a
 “ disposition to make the journey to Marseilles. We shall
 “ take in some of our brethren at Bourgogne, who are con-
 “ demned to the chain for the same cause for which I am,
 “ who have the honour to be the first condemned by the
 “ parliament of Paris.”

We likewise meet with two other letters, which a Ger-
 man minister wrote to him, in the latin tongue, full of in-
 struction and consolation. In one of the answers which our
 martyr made him, he begs the assistance of his prayers,
 “ hoping,” saith he, “ that by means of the powerful assist-
 “ ance, which several other servants of God as well as you
 “ do afford me, my sufferings will end in the glory of our
 “ creator, the edification of our brethren, and my own
 “ salvation. When I reflect,” saith he, “ on the merciful
 “ providence of God towards me, I am ravished with admi-
 “ ration, and do evidently discover the secret steps of Pro-
 “ vidence, which hath formed me from my youth, after a
 “ requisite manner to bear what I suffer. I have always
 “ had but little love for those things which worldlings
 “ esteemed

“ esteem and admire, and more care to provide for my
 “ soul than my body. Although I do acknowledge to my
 “ shame and confusion, that I have not served God so faith-
 “ fully as I ought to have done, and that I have not been
 “ so thankful as I ought to have been for so many benefits,
 “ and favours which he hath conferred upon me. I have
 “ always had a zeal for his glory and his truth: and these
 “ are those holy seeds which he hath had the goodness to
 “ preserve in my heart, which in this time of desolation
 “ begun to produce in me the excellent truths, the sweetness
 “ of which affords me a pleasure, which I am not able to
 “ utter and express to you. It is this happy condition in
 “ which I am, which assures me that God will finish the
 “ work which he has begun in me: and I believe I may say
 “ with his faithful apostles, that I am confident, that
 “ *neither angel, nor principality, nor power, nor height, nor*
 “ *depth, nor things present, nor things to come, nor any other*
 “ *creature shall ever be able to separate me, from the love which*
 “ *God hath shewn me in his Son Jesus Christ.* I can truly and
 “ sincerely say, sir, that the prisons, and dark dungeons
 “ in which I have been confined for above these six months,
 “ and the chain which I now carry about my neck, have
 “ been so far from shaking the holy resolution which God
 “ hath put into my heart, that it hath only strengthened
 “ and confirmed it. I have sought God in a quite different
 “ method in my afflictions, than ever I did in a state
 “ of worldly prosperity, and I may say that he hath
 “ suffered himself to be found by me. He hath very de-
 “ lightfully communicated himself to me by the sweetness
 “ of his consolations. In the midst of the transitory afflic-
 “ tions which it is his will that I should suffer, he hath
 “ made me to taste of solid good things. The evils
 “ with which I am threatened do not at all terrify me. If
 “ they are violent, I am not in a condition to bear up long
 “ against them, and so a christian death will put an happy
 “ period thereto; if they are moderate I shall have reason
 “ to bless our God for it, who shall continue his fa-
 “ vour and goodness towards me. These considerations
 “ make me look upon the time to come with the eye
 “ of constancy and assurance.” It appears by these few
 extracts which we give of the letters of that blessed
 martyr, how great was the tranquillity, and assurance of that
 christian and heroic soul.

It was therefore to no purpose to renew the attack to pervert and stagger a heart so full of knowledge, fervour, and piety. We have already observed that it had been proposed to him to spend eight or ten months with the Bishop of Meaux. They renew the charge by proposing an unlimited time. How great and dangerous was that temptation! Our martyr is under the chain, and has a prospect of a dreadful futurity; he is solicited not only by his own flesh, but also by the sight of his afflicted wife, and by his fatherless children which he leaves in the midst: insomuch that the natural love of life, the scene of afflictions, the prospect of the dreadful miseries which his condition represented to him, conjugal love, and paternal affection, did all of them combine to induce, and constrain him to accept a proposal, which seemed at first to oblige him to nothing. They offer him his liberty only upon condition that he would promise to endeavour to get himself instructed, without setting any limited time. He might flatter himself that they would open him a door for his deliverance without complying with the King's orders. But his soul faithful to his God, filled with his holy resolutions, looks upon it as a crime to accept a proposal, from which there might be drawn the least consequence prejudicial to the certainty of his faith. He is in the presence of his enemies, the combat is begun, he is resolved to win the victory, without so much as hearing talk of returning into his tent. He tramples the world under his feet, and will not allow that enemy time to recover new strength.

One of his friends did first make this proposal to him, from *Monf. Morel* a rich partisan, or farmer of the King's revenues at *Vitry*, "Who promised to procure his deliverance from the chain the next day, if he would take even an unlimited time, to apply himself in good earnest to get instruction. He assured him what should be promised him, should be faithfully observed and performed:" This passed about the end of *June*. Other persons renewed the attack on the first day of *July*, as he informs us by a note written with his own hand, wherein he gives us the reasons for his refusal.

"At *La Tournelle*, *Wednesday* the 17th of *July*, 1686. Ten or twelve days before our departure from thence, an advocate of the court of parliament came to see me, accompanied with a lady who was unknown to me; and
"Madam

“ Madam Lambliu who had done me the honour of a visit in
“ the prison at Chalons. She was the wife of a treasurer of
“ France; she testified by her tears, that she was sensibly
“ touched with the condition in which she saw me,
“ and that she wished with all her heart that she
“ could procure my deliverance out of the misery which
“ I suffered. The discourse fell upon the proposal which
“ had been made me some days before, viz. to go to the
“ bishop of Meaux to be instructed; this is their way
“ of speaking. The advocate began to speak upon this
“ point, and employed all his rhetoric to prove that I
“ ought to accept of that offer, and said, that he did
“ not believe that I could offer any sufficient reasons to
“ the contrary. When he had made an end of his discourse,
“ and given me place to speak, I answered that I thought
“ myself very much obliged to do as I did for the following
“ reasons. I said that in the conferences which I had with
“ the R. R. P. P. jesuits at Straßbourg, they had not given
“ me any manner of satisfaction in my objections which I
“ made to them. That the same answer, or much to the
“ same purpose at least, had been given me at Chalons, and
“ that I had read the same things in the works of the famous
“ Mr. Arnaud, and since they had not satisfied in that
“ author, they could not afford me more satisfaction else-
“ where.—That I was very strongly persuaded of the
“ truth of my faith, about which I had no manner of doubt,
“ and that I feared it was tempting of God to accept the
“ offer which they made me. That on the other hand, the
“ space of eight months that I had been confined, had en-
“ dured me to sufferings, that by that means God had dis-
“ covered to me the vanity of this life, and all that is here
“ below; that thereby he had broken asunder most of the
“ bands and ligaments which engaged me to the world,
“ and had put into my heart a great disrelish for the earth,
“ and an ardent desire after heaven. That I esteemed this
“ state sufficiently happy to think seriously to preserve it.
“ I added that all the civilities which I was persuaded I
“ should receive from so famous and noble a prelate, and
“ the considerable alteration which would happen to my
“ condition, would make me within a few days forget all
“ my miseries, and would root in my heart the love of the
“ world, and pleasures of life more strongly perhaps than
“ ever, to plunge me again into misery without any
“ certainty

“certainty of receiving so much favour, and assistance from God therein as I have already received till this present. That for those reasons I was resolved to follow my vocation and to end my days in suffering, if it was the will of God. That as to the rest I did with very great acknowledgments, and thankfulness receive the tokens which he gave me of his charity and affection.”

“Since then he came several times to see me, always backing what he had advanced with the strongest arguments he could. The last time that he saw me, which was on Monday the 15th of July, 1686, he told Mr. Le Roy our head keeper, that he came by orders of the procurator-general.”

“And the next day, the procurator-general honoured me with a visit, and told me that he came to try yet again, if before our departure for Marfeilles, there were yet any room left to rescue me from the chain and misery, and asked me if there were no alteration in me. And when I had returned him the thanks due to his civility, I told him that all my misfortune had wrought no change upon the disposition of my heart, no more than upon that of my mind: he then departed.”

The chain is to depart next Saturday the 20th of this month.

The more one reflects upon the condition of our martyr, for the space of two months since his condemnation, till his departure from Paris, the more shall one admire his virtue, strength, and piety in this so dangerous and obstinate a combat, which he had with the world. I do not find that any ecclesiastic in all that great city sought to have any conference with Mons. de Marolles. This is to be wondered at, that whilst the members of Parliament express so much pity and compassion for that illustrious prisoner, the clergy should look upon him with so much indifference. But there is a great deal of reason to believe that they were afraid of this holy and learned man.

XIV. We have given an idea of his piety, and his conflicts, we must lay him open on all sides, and consider this great soul in all the different occurrences and concerns of life. His God possessed, and wholly filled him: after which the cares of his family succeeded in their order. Upon his first coming to La Tournelle, he acquainted his wife with that freedom of spirit which he generally used, the 14th of May,

1686: "I informed you, my dear child, that my judgment
 " was confirmed this morning by sentence of the court,
 " and that I am at present at La Tournelle with Mr. Le
 " Favry, which is no small comfort to me. Although I
 " have a great desire to see you, yet it is so hot that I ad-
 " vise you to stay till to-morrow morning, but send to me
 " immediately de Marolles and his brother, that I may have
 " the satisfaction to see them, and receive a true and exact
 " account of your state and condition. I meet here with
 " something more agreeable and more grievous than the dun-
 " geon, but we must submit to all."

His wife under the greatest affliction that can be imagined, visited him as often as she could, and put her hands through the grate to wash the wounds which the chain had made upon him, with water in which musquet balls had been steeped. She heard one day that the clergy had spread a report in Paris, that he was besides himself. This infamous fraud was contrived to allay the wonder, and admiration which the constancy of our martyr, raised in all that great city. So soon as he was informed of it, he proposed a problem to the learned, to the end that they might exercise themselves in the solution of it, and thereby judge of the situation of his mind, and of the nature of the calumny which had been forged against him. I have not this problem at present, but it appeared by a letter of his dear friend, and scholar, who was then with the Duke of Main, that our martyr being always free in his chains, always of an even temper, and like to himself, answered to the questions which were proposed to him, just as if he had been at ease in his closet. This friend of his said to him; "I perceive there is an error in the solution of the problem
 " which I sent you, upon the condition which I pretended
 " to add to yours. It is true my four numbers have all
 " the requisite and necessary conditions; but it is not true
 " that their sum being made equal to a number given,
 " would produce the same effect with respect to the con-
 " ditions annexed. Nevertheless I am well enough satisfied
 " that your problem is resolved thereby; I am going to
 " reduce it into lines, and make a geometrical proposition
 " of it to puzzle the Archimedes of our time. Thus I in-
 " tend to propose it.

"To divide a line given into four lines commensurable
 " among themselves, and to the whole, and which may be
 " of

“ of such a nature, that the difference of any two, taken at
 “ pleasure, may likewise be commensurable, and moreover
 “ between the difference of any two parts taken at pleasure,
 “ and the difference of any two other parts taken likewise
 “ at pleasure, to assign a mean proportional, which may
 “ be commensurable to all the lines mentioned in the pro-
 “ blem.” One may conclude from these words, as also
 from the report of *Monf. de Moivre* belonging to the
 royal college at London, who was acquainted with *Mr.*
de Marolles during his confinement, that the problem
 which he proposed was that which *Mr. Ozanam* printed
 in these words. “ To find out four numbers, whose num-
 “ ber may be equal to a number given, and such that the
 “ difference of any two of them whatsoever may be a square
 “ number.” Those who know what application of mind
 this science requires, will be able to judge of the strength
 of our martyr. But he had taken the good course, and
 thrown himself into the arms of Providence, and peaceably
 submitted to the will of his God.

XV. At length the chain departed from Paris, on Satur-
 day the 20th of July. *Monfieur de Marolles* had then the
 fever. He had dreaded the sorrowful separation from his
 wife; and his wife, cast down, and sick with affliction could
 not be present at this sorrowful departure. They had not
 above the breadth of a key to cross, to enter into the boat.
 The galerians go two by two, carrying a long chain which
 passes through their particular chains in rings, our martyr
 was permitted by favour to be in the last rank: in those few
 steps which he had to take, he met his children, who cast
 themselves upon his neck, and embraced him. It is hard to
 represent this sorrowful adieu without grief and emotion.
 One may easily imagine that this famous galerian, who
 some months since made so much noise in Paris, drew a
 great concourse of people; every one seemed touched with
 his misery, and an ancient roman catholick merchant break-
 ing through the throng, came and embraced, and encour-
 aged him, offering him his purse. This man hath since
 given glory to God, and retired with his family to London,
 there to make profession of the truth.

Monfieur de Marolles wrote from Dijon to one of his
 friends at Paris; the letter is dated the 30th of July, ten
 days after his departure from La Tournelle. “ Our treat-
 “ ment,” saith he, “ is extremely prejudicial to me: I dis-
 fembled

“sembled my condition as much as possible at my departure. I had the fever on Thursday the 18th of July, which continued on Friday, and was more violent on Saturday. I set out therefore in this condition after having resigned myself to the will of God, and I have not yet wholly got rid of this fever, which hath been continual, and without intermission: I may tell you, my dear sister, that it brought me even to death’s door, but God in his infinite goodness hath raised me up again, and I am now past danger. Our Captain had compassion on me, and the second day he had me loosed from the chain, and kept me always in his chamber, or in the boat with him. I must confess that in this voyage it was, that I perceived in good earnest that I suffered. But notwithstanding this, my dear sir, bless God with me that he was pleased to grant me such a speedy deliverance.—I perceive my strength sensibly to return, and I hope that before I arrive at Marseilles I shall be perfectly well recovered.” It did appear by all the letters of this holy man, that he was so far from augmenting, that he lessened his miseries, that he might not aggravate the affliction of his wife; so that when he speaks of his miserable condition, one must be persuaded, that it was much harder than he speaks of. Of this we have a proof in a letter which he wrote from Marseilles, a little while after his arrival; it is dated the 25th of August. “As I left Paris sick of a fever, it hath accompanied me to this place, I have undergone incredible fatigue, and have been twice at the point of death; in which condition I lay upon planks without any straw under me, and my hat for a pillow. When we left the water it was much worse with us. We were forced to be jumbled fourteen hours a day in a waggon (for all those roads are very rough and stony) and thrust into dungeons. Thus my dear and true friend, God having thus proved me and furnished me with necessary assistance, he hath at length brought me hither pretty free from the fever, but very weak. It is a pitiful sight to see my leanness: and what is terrible at my arrival, for want of examining into my condition, they sent me away into the galley. I was conducted by two of our guards who supported me, and I was no sooner come thither but I was chained as the other galley slaves were. But several officers coming to see our chain had compassion
“ on

“ on me, especially Monsieur P—— from whom I received
 “ infinite favours. They spake to the major who sent a
 “ surgeon to see me, upon whose report I was let loose,
 “ and sent to the hospital where I now am. It is a fine
 “ place, admirably well ordered; I live almost wholly at
 “ my own charges. We are very well served in it, and in
 “ short I am very well satisfied with it. I begin to eat, and
 “ to recover my strength by degrees, and with God’s assist-
 “ ance there is hopes of my perfect recovery within a short
 “ time.” I know not if it hath pleased God to hear the ar-
 dent prayers which I have put up to him for the success of
 the journey of Versailles, and I wait with extreme impatience
 to hear about it. By this journey of Versailles, he meant
 his family’s departure out of the kingdom, which gave
 him great uneasiness; I am, saith he, in a letter of the
 30th of September, in daily concern for my poor family,
 may it please God to put a speedy end to the uneasiness
 which I have about it.

He was about three weeks in the galley-slave’s hospital. He
 wrote a letter the 15th of September, by which it appeared
 that he was there still. “ The miserable journey which I
 “ have made, hath learnt me what it is to suffer. It is there
 “ that I begin to feel my sufferings. Let us therefore com-
 “ fort ourselves, my dear child, since they are past and gone,
 “ and I am in a place of rest. I live very contentedly in the
 “ company of Mons. La Fevre. This Mr. La Fevre is like-
 “ wise a famous martyr who was advocate at Chatel Chinon
 “ in Nivernois.—We are always together, our beds join to
 “ one another; we make use of but one pot. Fresh supplies
 “ are daily offered to Mons. Fevre and myself. One M. M.
 “ a banker hath offered us money, if we have occasion for
 “ it. Mons. La F. hath likewise written to me twice to
 “ offer me some: But I thank God we do not yet want it.
 “ M. P. hath my little treasure in his hands. He hath pro-
 “ vided me a steward at the hospital, to take care to buy me
 “ whatsoever I want, and who reckons with M. P. for his
 “ expences. Thus you see, my dear heart, that I have no
 “ thing else to do, but to pray to God, and be cheerful.”
 We see how much this great man made of that little rest and
 ease, which he had to comfort his poor wife. He proceeds;
 “ Let this comfort you, and give you occasion not to trou-
 “ ble yourself at my condition; for it is easy by the grace of
 “ God. I have further to tell you that in a visit, which was
 “ made

“made here a little after our arrival, I was declared invalid,
“in regard to the infirmities which you know I am subject
“to.—Mons. de Seignelai sent eight or ten days since 300
“pardons for galley-slaves.

XVI. One would wonder to see, that among so great a number of pardons, there was not one for our martyr, although great intercession was made for him, and his condemnation had troubled his judges and all honest men. But it seems as if they had made it their business, and were in honour obliged to triumph over his constancy and piety. He tells us a little above that he was declared invalid upon the account of his known and secret infirmities. Nevertheless we find him a few days after on board the galleys: there are letters of his which he wrote on the 23d and 30th of September, from on board the old galley St. John, where he says, “It is designed next week to embark 150 invalid galley
“slaves for America. I was ranked in this number; but
“one of my friends told the intendant, that I was re-
“covered from three great fits of sickness, which I have had
“since my departure from La Tournelle. This is what he
“said to his son.” He proceeds in the letter of which we give some extracts. “The favour which he grants me is
“that he reserves me for a second embarkation which is to
“be made towards the middle of November. The advan-
“tage which I shall gain by this delay is, that he who spoke
“to the intendant for me, hath the direction of the vessel
“in which I shall make the voyage: fear not sir, this is not
“able to shake my constancy: God by his grace hath fixed
“it upon too solid foundations. I can sincerely assure you
“that I heard this news with as little emotion as I am now
“in about it.” It must nevertheless be acknowledged, that this kind of persecution was a terrible temptation; so long as one is in the kingdom, one flatters ones self, one hopes, one receives a little succour and comfort from ones friends and relations. The church, whose eyes is upon us, the edification of our brethren, and all things conduce to animate and encourage us to the conflict. But to see ones self deprived of all those powerful motives at once, to go into a new world, there to be buried as it were, separated from the rest of mankind, in a state worse than that of a slave, abandoned to the discretion of a man, who goes to the end of the world in quest of riches, and who, without any regard to humanity, treats his slaves in proportion to their labour,

and the profit which he reaps thereby. Good God! What an Egypt is this to those faithful martyrs who are transported thither? Monsieur Marolles, notwithstanding, received this dreadful news without any emotion. "It is no matter to me," saith he, "whether I die by land or by sea, in Europe or America. I am persuaded that all kinds of death of God's children is precious in his eyes. I do likewise believe that my death would be more edifying, and more glorious, if it should happen during my bonds. I have fully resigned myself to the will of God: I am persuaded that all states and conditions in which it shall please him to put me are those states, in which he judges I shall glorify him better than in an infinite number of others which he might allot me." Speaking to his son concerning his embarking towards the middle of November, he saith, "You must not be afflicted; this was decreed in heaven before it was appointed on earth, and we must all be persuaded that it is for our good that God is thus pleased to order it."

He spoke in this letter of *Monf. Le Fevre* his companion in bonds, and it were to be desired that some one would give us the history of his sufferings. Those two famous martyrs did comfort and encourage each other. I have read a letter of *Monf. de Marolles*, in which he says of *Monf. Le Fevre* that he wrote like a divine: they separated them at their departure out of the hospital to put them on board of different galleys. *Monf. de Marolles* tells his son to acquaint *Monf. Le Fevre's* relations, "that he was last Saturday (the letter is dated the 30th of September 1686) removed from the reale where he was since our coming out of the hospital, and put on board an armed galley, called the *Magnifique*. He is distinguished from other galley-slaves, and placed in the stern."

In his letter of the 23d of September to his wife, he diverted himself with giving her the description of his galley slave habit. We shall make no difficulty of giving some extracts of it, which shew his great soul in his natural state, and in the familiarity of a husband who opens his breast to his wife. "I live at present altogether alone: they bring me food from abroad, bread and meat at the rate of nine sous per day. I am furnished with wine in the galley for nothing, and with some of the King's bread. He that supplies me with wine eats with me, and he is a very

“ honest man: I am treated with civility by all on board
“ the galley, seeing that the officers visit me. I am getting
“ a quilt made to day. I intend to buy sheets, and am
“ going to work to procure my ease. You will say perhaps
“ that I am an ill manager; but I have had enough of lying
“ upon the hard boards ever since Tuesday until this time.
“ If you were to see me in my fine galley-slave habit, you
“ would be ravished with admiration. I have a fine little
“ red jacket, made just after the fashion of the carrier’s
“ frocks of Ardennes. It is put on like a shirt, for it is
“ open but a half way before. I have likewise a fine red cap,
“ two pair of breeches, two shirts with threads as big as my
“ finger, and stockings: my cloaths of liberty are not lost;
“ and if it would please the King to shew me favour, I would
“ take them again. We have the honestest patron of all
“ the galleys. He treats me with all manner of civility and
“ respect: he will put me into what place of the galley I
“ please: and he hath promised me that when it is cold, he
“ will let me lie in his cabbin. Let all these succours which
“ God affords me, comfort and rejoice thee. I am already used
“ to the place where I am, as if I had been there all my life
“ time.—I am better here than in the hospital. We enjoy
“ a good air, for there is none of us sick, neither are we
“ pestered with ill scents.” He mentions at the bottom, his
uneasiness about the voyage of Versailles. One may judge
by the cheerfulness, with which he describes his misery, of
the greatness of his soul, the liberty of his mind, and the
tranquility of his heart.

We must likewise conclude, that in speaking of his afflictions and suffering, he doth rather lessen than aggravate them: insomuch that when he gives a description of his misery, we ought to believe it upon his bare word although there wanted other testimonies.

XVII. True it is he had been represented to the governor, the intendant, the captain of the galleys, and the chief of the squadrons. They had been acquainted with the merit of Mont. de Marolles, and were touched with his virtue. Every one would have been glad to enjoy his company.

Much about that time when the report was spread in Holland, of his embarkment for America, a pastor, one of his relations and friends, wrote to him upon this subject, and entreated him at the bottom of his letter to send him the problem which he had sent to Paris, because several

learned and curious persons, and particularly amongst others the famous *Monf. Huygens* desired to have it: He returned this friend of his an answer after the most christian and edifying manner. After which he spoke to him about the problem, and gave him two or three solutions of it, desiring them to excuse him that he did not find out more, by reason of the noise which the galley slaves made in the galley. But this letter is lost.

We have taken notice that our martyr lessened the account of his miseries, instead of aggravating it; of this we find an unexceptionable proof in a letter which he wrote to his wife the 6th of October, he declares to her his trouble because the report of the ill usage which he received had been spread abroad. “It would (saith he) have troubled me very much to have tarried any longer in the hospital; the corrupted air which one sucks in there, would perhaps have flung me into a relapse: and I enjoy here a very healthful air. I am exceedingly more strong than I was at my entrance here, I am sincere in what I write to you, and I disguise nothing from you: for a proof of which I am going to tell you that which will give you trouble, whereas it ought to afford you joy, for the remembrance of past evils is agreeable. I tell you ingenuously, that the iron which I wear on my foot, although it doth not weigh three pounds, troubled me much more at first than that which you saw about my neck at *La Tournelle*. This proceeded only from my great leanness at that time: but now that I have almost recovered my former good state, it is nothing so with me; besides that we learn every day to place it so as it may give us the least uneasiness.”

And in another letter which he wrote to his son the next day, being the 17th of October, 1686. “I know not,” saith he, “my dear child what *M—* thought of when he gave an account of the ill treatment which they give us. At least I am certain that he ought not to have comprehended me therein, for certainly I have been used very well in the hospital. I was visited almost daily by *Monf. F—*, controller-general of the gallies, a man of understanding and credit. He came about seven days ago, to see me in the galley where I am, and we continued in discourse together for the space of almost two hours in the stern. He always offered me money upon his own credit, and from his friends, as likewise did *M. Jam—* and *M. Sel—* another officer.

You

“ You see therefore that one must be very hard to be satisfied, if in the condition in which one is, one is not contented therewith. You will see by the letter which I wrote to your mother, on the 2d of September, that I am very well here. I have not met with any trouble, excepting the two or three first days, that I was chained upon a bench with two galley-slaves day and night. But there are at first certain rules to be observed, and I thank God they did not last long. For since that time I have been let loose all the day, and have had liberty to walk to and fro as much as I would on the galley.” M. de Marolles spake with discretion, not to cast his family into the excess of affliction; but this is no argument that one should not reflect upon the rigour which they exercised towards him. He had been declared invalid, when he was in the hospital, and incapable to serve because of his secret infirmities. They had put him in the list for an embarkment for America. Nevertheless a few days after this, they take him out of the hospital, to chain him day and night for the space of three days, upon a form in the galley. It is hard to penetrate into the mystery of so unequal a conduct. We cannot at present give the reason of this change, nor know if it were by a secret order from court, which intended to tire out this blessed martyr, or whether it was the compassion of some general officers, who would exempt him from the embarkment for America, which was to be made in November.

Although it should be so, our martyr himself was not able to see into this mystery, and did not then understand this good intention, if there were any in it. For he says to his son in the same letter; “ Take special care, not to speak to your mother of the embarkments for America. I am at present very well; I live with him that sells the wine in our galley; I am very well fed, I lie in his chamber, and we have each of us our bed.” We see the care which this good husband and father took to give an account of those few conveniencies which he enjoyed, for the consolation of his family, the sorrowful condition of which afforded him the most sensible occasion of his uneasiness. “ You afford me,” he proceeds, “ the greatest satisfaction in the world, in sending me word, that your aunt hath put your business of Versailles in a good forwardness, and that your mother is with God’s assistance, in continual hopes to finish it.” I have already observed that by this business,

ness, he meant their going out of the kingdom. Fail not to let me know what she hath done in it, upon your first knowledge of it.— I beseech God with all the powers of my soul to grant you a happy issue to this affair.

XVIII. We have a while ago put it as a question, whether the inequality of the conduct, which we observed with respect to M. de Marolles proceeded from a spirit of rigour, or from a good intention. But one cannot any longer doubt, but that they did it for no other end, but to sink and depress with the weight of affliction both him and Mons. Le Fevre, his illustrious companion in sufferings and glory. This is what he wrote to his wife fifteen days after that of which we have just now spoken: it is dated from la Tierre the 24th of October, 1686. “ You must not disturb and dis-
 “ quiet yourself for me. I am at present in perfect health,
 “ but in order fully to persuade you, that I will conceal no-
 “ thing of my condition from you; I give you to understand
 “ that Mons. le Fevre, and I are not any more set loose from the
 “ chain, neither day nor night, and that we are not any longer
 “ allowed the liberty of going on shore, nor suffered to receive
 “ letters, nor write any which are not seen. Wherefore if you
 “ do not meet with any more trifles in mine, by which
 “ I endeavoured to divert thee in thy trouble, be not af-
 “ flicted at it, and do not impute any thing to me for it.
 “ He meant without doubt by these trifles, that which he had
 “ written to her concerning his seaman’s habit. M. Le
 “ Fevre had the honour to appear before the bishop of Mar-
 “ seilles, and exactly at the time they tell us when the
 “ orders were come down from the court, to reduce us to
 “ the condition, which I have just told you I am in. I
 “ have, and must again, within a little while, pass into dif-
 “ ferent conditions. I have changed my galley thrice in
 “ one week, from la Grande S. Jean, I have been removed
 “ to la Petit, and from thence to La Grande Royal, from
 “ whence I was conducted with several other galley-slaves
 “ to the parc, a place where they divide them. Lastly, I was
 “ put on board an armed galley, which is called la Fierce.
 “ —The intendant told me I must prepare myself for a
 “ second embarkment for America, which is to be about the
 “ middle of November next. If I happen to be one of the
 “ number, let not this afflict you, my dear child. Let us
 “ resign ourselves to the Providence of God, who does all
 “ things with an infinite wisdom, and with a most noble
 “ end

“ end for his children. We are not able to make a good
 “ choice, because we know not what is best for us. Let us
 “ therefore leave it to him, who knows how to bring light
 “ out of darkness, and to call the things that are not, as if they
 “ were; and let us be persuaded that he will do nothing
 “ but what will be for his own glory, and our salvation.
 “ Let us not oppose his will, by impatience, or fruitless
 “ tears. We cannot be ignorant of his divine will; it evi-
 “ dently appears to us by the effects. Our separation,
 “ which, to consider it in itself, is the most hard and bitter
 “ thing in the world for us, is not so if we consider it as it is the
 “ will of God, since it is from thence that it doth proceed.
 “ And since the judgment of men doth only pronounce
 “ the decrees of Providence, let us lay our hand upon our
 “ mouths, let us with profound submission and obedience,
 “ adore the hand which smites us. Let us say with Eli, *it*
 “ *is the Lord let him do what seemeth him good*. Let us not doubt
 “ but that he will shew us by a happy experience, that all work-
 “ eth together for the good of those that love and fear him.
 “ Let us profit by his discipline; let us not regard our state
 “ with the eyes of the body; let us not confine our sight to
 “ to the miseries of this life; let us carry it to the glorious
 “ recompences which God promises his children. Let us
 “ be persuaded that if we weep and mourn now, there will
 “ come a day when we shall be comforted. They are
 “ these considerations, my dear wife, which support
 “ me, and which make me swallow and digest all my
 “ misery without much trouble. Believe what I am going
 “ to tell you, and practise it. Do not disquiet yourself for
 “ me, for all my changes are for the better. I protest to
 “ you that I never yet have been so well, as I now am.
 “ There are two little cabins at the head of the galley, of
 “ which I have one. This favour was procured me by a
 “ young officer, whom I teach Algebra. It is four or five
 “ days ago, since I was visited by a certain head of a squa-
 “ dron, called M. de I——, I should perhaps have received
 “ as much from another chief head of the squadron, if he
 “ were not absent.” This makes me to be considered by the
 “ sub-officers of our galley. Let this comfort thee.

I know not what so many honest persons may think, who
 could not refuse their esteem to the merit of M. de Marolles,
 nor their admiration of his patience, to see so resolute a pro-
 ceeding in the persecution which was made against him. I am,

for my part, persuaded, that it is impossible, but that this spirit of cruelty and violence which the Romish religion inspires, must leave great prejudices in the minds of all those who are able to judge of the fury of the persecutors, and the patience, and constancy of the martyrs. One sees an honest man ready to be snatched out of the land of the living as I may say, ready to be confined for ever, and without any hopes of returning in those remote and unknown climates, where cruelty and barbarity have a full scope, to exercise their fury upon the miserable. What tranquillity nevertheless do we see in the heart of our martyr, what trust in the providence of his God! What resignation, what submission to his will!

As he was deprived of the liberty of writing with that ease that he formerly did, as he observes in the foregoing letter, we find no letter from him for the space of a whole month.

Nevertheless, it appears that his good friend, who was with the Duke of Maine, was in that time to present a petition for Mr. de Marolles to the King, from which he expected no good success, any more than his friend. This letter is dated from the galley la Fiere the 26th of November, 1686. "He acquaints his wife with the joy which he had "for her voyage of Versailles, that is, her departure out "of France, which makes me," saith he, "daily pour out "my soul before my God, to thank him for all the mercies "and favours, which he has bestowed upon us all; the "other letter was delivered to me the 6th current, together "with another excellent one from our good relation and "friend." This was that pastor who wrote to him upon the news of his transportation into America, and who desired him to send him his problem.

"I wish I were able to send him an answer, and return "him all thanks, which so many marks of his precious friend- "ship, which he affords me, deserve: But I dare not "undertake it, and you must acquit me of that duty towards "him, you must assure him, and all his family, of the sincer- "ity of my affection; that his good letter afforded me "great consolation, that it strengthened my faith, and "settled my hopes, and that it hath produced excellent "fruits in my soul. He notwithstanding, returned him "an answer a little while after. Desire him always to afford "me the assistance of his good prayers. My support per- "haps is owing to the supplication of so many good souls, "who

“ who pray for me both in private and in public, for of
“ myself I am altogether nothing else but weakness and in-
“ firmity; nevertheless by the grace of my God I still stand,
“ and I hope that I shall persevere faithful unto him, even
“ unto death; and that in recompence he will give me the
“ crown of life.—Whatsoever hazard I run to write to
“ thee, I will not forbear to do it, as often as God shall
“ give me opportunity. It is the only happiness which is
“ left us in our sorrowful separation to be able to confer
“ with and comfort one another. But I shall likewise con-
“ fine myself to write to thee alone for the future. Ac-
“ quaint our intimate friend in particular with it, and de-
“ sire him not to take it ill that I use him thus.” It is cer-
“ tainly Mons. Jurieu that he means, from whom he received
“ notable service, and great consolations.

“ Let him know likewise, that I received his last and his
“ first at the same time, for which I return him thanks, and
“ desire that he will always assist me with his prayers. If the
“ letters that I shall write to you are intercepted, and im-
“ puted to me as a crime, it shall be a crime which I shall always
“ take pleasure and delight in confessing, before all those who
“ shall question me about it. I do not think that person of a
“ just and equitable spirit, who can think ill of, and blame a
“ husband for endeavouring to comfort his wife, in such
“ sorrowful conjunctures as these are, to which it has
“ pleased God to reduce us. This, my dear heart, is my
“ resolution upon that point. Notwithstanding, let us
“ both of us do all things with a christian prudence, so that
“ we may give no handle against us to those who only wait
“ for an opportunity; and as to the rest, let us rely upon
“ the providence of God, the singular favours and mercies
“ of which we daily experience.” A little lower after hav-
“ ing exhorted her, “ to offer up their bodies and souls to
“ God as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable which is
“ our reasonable service,” he says, “ this is what I daily
“ study to do. I can truly tell you, that there passes but
“ few nights, but I water my bed with my tears. I do not
“ say this, my dear heart, to afflict thee, I do on the con-
“ trary imagine, that this news may afford thee matter of
“ joy, and an holy occasion to join with me in blessing
“ God for it. For these tears are not the effects of a worldly
“ sorrow which bringeth forth nothing but death. But
“ they proceed from the grace of God, some of them from
“ that

“ that godly sorrow which *bringeth forth repentance to salvation,*
 “ never to be repented of, others from the joy which I feel
 “ when I consider with admiration, how great the mercies
 “ and favours are which God doth, and hath bestowed upon
 “ you all, and upon myself. I likewise reflect with extreme
 “ joy and satisfaction upon the sacrifice, which thou hast
 “ offered up to God, of the goods which he had given to
 “ thee and me. Thou mightest have enjoyed them, if
 “ thy heart had been turned and inclined that way. But
 “ thou hast made thee a *treasure of them in heaven, where rust*
 “ *and thieves spoil it.* This treasure will provide for the time
 “ to come, for thee and our children, a solid foundation for
 “ eternal life. Thou has esteemed the precious liberty
 “ of serving God of much greater worth, than the riches
 “ of this world. Thou hast like Mary chosen the good
 “ part, which shall not be taken from thee. I assure you
 “ my dear, that thou couldest not have made a choice more
 “ to my mind. I praise God with all the powers and fa-
 “ culties of my soul, who hath given me a wife truly
 “ christian, who will in my absence do her endeavour to
 “ teach our children to be christians.”

XIX. During the month of December, our martyr had
 several conferences, and disputes with clergymen at the
 bishop of Mevailles'. The effects of those conferences were
 to be feared, because they often served only to render their
 condition worse, as it is thought it happened to Monsi. La
 Fevre, who had been with the bishop of Mevailles before
 Monsi. de Marolles; He acquaints us in a letter written to
 his wife, with all that happened to him. It is dated from
 the galley La Fiere, the 20th of January, 1687. “ He be-
 “ gins with wishes for the new year, and advises her not
 “ lightly to give credit, to all the greivous reports, which
 “ were spread abroad of his condition, and to believe no-
 “ thing of it, but what he should write himself:” speaking
 of this public report, he saith; “ all that is false of which you
 “ sent me word, except two things, namely, that for above
 “ three months since, I have been confined to the chain
 “ day and night, and that I have not been free from thence,
 “ only to be conveyed to the bishop of Mevailles. I assure
 “ thee, that I have not as yet received orders from any one
 “ to employ myself in work. I sat very quietly in my place
 and saw it done before the short days, and it is at present
 done almost every day before I am removed from my
 “ place

“ place; praise God therefore with me, for this merciful
“ treatment which he affords me, and beseech him that so
“ long as he shall think good to continue my sufferings, my
“ condition may not become worse.” They, it is probable
judged him unable to bear the fatigue, by reason of his
weakness and secret infirmities. “ I assure you,” he pro-
ceeds, “ I have not so much reason to complain as you
“ imagine, and that the time slips away very quickly. The
“ week is no sooner begun, but I find myself at the end of
“ it. When I am up, after having presented my petitions
“ to God, I read six, seven, or eight chapters of holy scrip-
“ ture; I make such reflections and observations thereon as
“ I am able. I draw from this divine source, all the con-
“ solations which I stand in need of. God himself doth
“ most plentifully furnish me with them, and with his pre-
“ cious balm of gilead, he gently anoints and supples all
“ the wounds which my sufferings may make in my heart.”

—All those letters of which we give extracts, are written
with his own hand. “ The good *Monf. le Fevre*, he pro-
ceeds, “ my dear companion in bonds, hath been taken a
“ month since out of the *Magnifique*, where he was very
“ well, and was removed to *la Grand Royal*, where they
“ put fetters and two chains on his foot. This sad con-
“ dition did not long continue thus. A galley-slave be-
“ longing to our galley, was the day before yesterday on
“ board the same galley where he was, and informed me at
“ his return, that he did not any longer wear his chains,
“ and fetters but in the night only.” It would be a difficult
matter, rightly to fathom the mystery of all those changes
and alterations. *M. de Marolles* says nothing of it. Was
it not that when those blessed martyrs, had met with some
scene of humanity in the galley wherein they were, and
their virtue had procured them some compassion, then the
zealous missionary, always cruel, always implacable, caused
them to be removed elsewhere, to try if they could not at
length meet with barbarous officers, and fit to do the work
of executioners! The rigour perhaps was likewise augmented
against these famous confessors, when the conferences had not
succeeded to the honour of the missionaries. It seems that this
was the opinion of our martyr, when he adds, “ I tell thee in-
“ genuously, my dear child, that I was afraid that the end of
“ the conferences, which I had at the bishop of *Marseilles*,
“ would cast me into a very bad condition. But my fears
“ are

“ are dissipated, and they are ended as well and as happily
 “ as I could desire them. I have therein followed the advice
 “ of St. PETER; I have thereat *rendered a reason with mild-*
 “ *ness, and reverence of the hope that is in me.* I made an end
 “ of those affairs at the 6th interview. I have had the hon-
 “ our to dispute more than once before that illustrious
 “ prelate; but the strongest debate was, between a divine
 “ come from Paris, and myself. Last Tuesday the 7th day
 “ of this month, was the last time that I was there. After
 “ having told this almoner, that the answers which he made
 “ to my propositions could not give me satisfaction, we
 “ parted good friends. When I came down, I desired to
 “ pay my respects to the bishop, they told me that he was
 “ at maïs, and that if I would stay for him, he would not
 “ fail to return. I asked leave of one of our patrons who
 “ attended me, which he granted. I had the honour
 “ to speak to him, he caused me to come up into his cham-
 “ ber: We came thither and several clergymen with us,
 “ and after having told him that his almoner and I had
 “ finished our conferences, I returned him thanks for the
 “ goodness and charity which he expressed towards me in
 “ this conference; and I assured him, that I should be al-
 “ ways ready to acknowledge it. He answered me in the
 “ most obliging manner in the world, telling me that he
 “ was sorry that he could not make me a catholic, and
 “ that all that they were able to do, was to pray to God for
 “ me. At my departure he told me that he would willingly
 “ serve me if opportunity should offer. I believe that it
 “ will please you very much to hear this little account.”

XX. I shall not make any difficulty to discover the pretty confidences, wherewith he entertained his wife in her forlorn estate, notwithstanding, he desires her to communicate his letter to nobody. He gives her an account of the little respects which he received, but it is easy to discover through this little account, that he enters upon it, with a design to allay by all manner of means, the trouble of a wife overwhelmed with grief. The greatness of his soul, who making his duty his principle care, knew how in other matters to accommodate himself without difficulty to his sorrowful condition. “ My paper is full,” saith he to her,
 “ and I find that I have yet a long story to tell you; I am
 “ lodged in one of the extremities of the galley, which is
 “ called the prow or beak, in a little cabin, which is about
 “ seven

“ seven or eight feet square. Its cieling is so high, that
“ I cannot stand upright in it. We generally lie four of
“ us therein, two gallerians and two slaves. I commonly boil
“ the pot twice or thrice a week, in which is put five quarters of
“ a pound of mutton. This does not make a full pound
“ of our country weight. There is but little beef here, and
“ almost no veal. the gallerian and I eat together, though
“ I alone pay for it, but he does me service enough for it
“ otherways. The bread is dear here, I have sometimes
“ eat of the King’s.—As to the rest of the food that which
“ the King allows the galley-slaves, is always, and for the
“ whole day a good half porringer full of beans dressed in
“ oil. I eat none at all of it, so my usual food is bread,
“ with which I have of late eat a few dried raisins, a pound
“ of which cost me 18 deniers, and that serves me for three
“ or four meals. The wines here are so gross, that they
“ breed very much gravel. I lie upon a mattress of a galley
“ which they call Strapontin. It is made of three or four
“ old coats which are brought hither. I had it from a
“ gallerian belonging to my bench, who went off with the
“ first embarkment for America; it cost me four sols and a
“ half. I have about a month since begun to lie undressed,
“ and in sheets. If the cold which we feel doth very much
“ increase, I will again lie in my cloaths. They have lent
“ me a quilt, which together with my great coat, serve
“ me for a coverlet. I have bought coals, which are very
“ dear, and I make a little fire in our apartment. Our
“ officers come to warm themselves, and talk with me at
“ my fire, I mean those who have the command of the gal-
“ lerians, and I always receive civility enough from them.
“ They denied entrance into our galley to some officers of
“ other gallies who came to see me.” Would not one
imagine that *Monf. de Marolles* was a prisoner of state, to
whom they might have communicated some secret of impor-
tance? But who would not admire to see the zealous perse-
cutors, so circumspect with respect to those whom they per-
secute? they must of necessity mistrust the goodness of their
cause, since the voice, and discourse of the confessors, and
martyrs is so formidable to them. The inquisition leads
them with the gag in their mouths, when it celebrates that
tragicall procession of its act of faith; and in France they beat
upon drums, to hinder the people from hearing the words
of the faithful whom they lead to punishment. Cruel reli-
gion!

gion! Barbarous piety! Thy language, thy carriage makes thee sufficiently known to all those who are persuaded there is a God, who calls men to his knowledge to save them.

Let us hear the latter part of our martyrs letter. “The second embarkment for America is made: but I believe that the vessel is yet in the port. They have apparently laid aside the thoughts of sending me thither. There arrived here a chain of 150 men, the beginning of last month, without reckoning 33 who died by the way. Mr. Garnier is one of this number, with a nephew of Mr. Varnier, doctor of physic. These two came from Vitry in France. Mr. Changuinon de Vassy and his brother-in-law, he went by the name of Chemet. There were seven or eight of them protestants. The four first are in the hospital. I divert myself after my morning and evening acts of piety and devotion, either with algebra or geometry. I have been told that there is in this city, a man who pretends to algebra, if this be so, we may teach each other something, but he is gone five or six weeks since to Paris.—Let not any person whatsoever see this letter, because of all the trifles which are in it, with which I was obliged to satisfy you.”

XXI. It hath been heretofore observed that Mr. Le Fevre was more rigorously handled, after the disputes about religion which he had at the bishop of Marseilles. It was the sentiment of Mr. de Marolles, concluding it from the civility of the bishop, that nothing more grievous would happen to him: notwithstanding about six weeks after his conferences, he was taken out of the galleys to be shut up in a kind of dungeon, which was made purposely for him in the citadel of Marseilles. It is highly probable that these orders came down from the court upon the report of this ecclesiastic of Paris, of which he makes mention in his letter; for it must be observed that all the different persecutions, all the augmentations and additions, to the pains of our martyr, were done by express orders from the court. He had made such a noise in the world, that they endeavoured at Versailles to triumph over his patience.

The world will doubtless be very glad to know the labours of this holy man, upon this last theatre, where he maintained the conflict for the space of six years against nakedness, hunger, cold, and darkness. He wrote to his wife a letter date the 25th of October 1687. He speaks under

the

the name of a third person, but to my knowledge it is written with his own hand. One may conclude from the date of this letter, with what severity he was handled, and with what what frainness and vigilance he was kept, because he could not let any one hear from him till seven months after he was shut up.

“ You desire Madam,” saith he to her, “ to hear from
 “ your husband. This is what we learn from the report of
 “ the city. The 12th of last February he was taken out of
 “ the galley, and put into the citadel. He is thrust into a
 “ little room, which served for a foldier’s lodge. But they
 “ have made such an alteration in it, that the most of
 “ the light that is there comes in by the chimney.
 “ The King allows him five sols a day for his subsistence,
 “ he lives upon that; he is committed to the custody of
 “ the major, who the better to secure him places a sentinel
 “ day and night at the out gate of his chamber, and another
 “ at the top of his chimney. They say that he is not
 “ grieved at it, but doth very patiently suffer his affliction.
 “ This is what we learn from the report of the city. Be
 “ not afflicted at his condition, he is endued with con-
 “ stancy enough to put him above all. We are all
 “ more apt to complain than he, and we have great reason
 “ to say with David.

O Lord, how long———

How long, O God of hostes.

“ Farewell, Madam. I recommend both yourself and
 “ family to the grace and mercy of the Lord.

“ Be pleased to pardon me if I do not tell you my name.
 “ I am no less your servant.”

XXII. I have met with no letter of the three following-
 years, but we see by those which he wrote in the year 1691,
 1692, into what abyss of misery they cast and confined him,
 and how great was the strenght of his faith and hope. He
 comforted his companions in service and affliction, and as-
 sured them of the fidelity which he was resolved to keep to
 his faviour. I find a note without date, which is written
 with a trembling hand, but it is the hand of our martyr. It
 is an answer to another confessor, who had written to him,
 wherein he says,

“ I know not how to express to you, my most honoured
 “ and dear friend, how agreeable were the things which you
 “ have, and do still communicate unto me. You have fully
 “ satisfied

" satisfied my desires. I praise God that he hath heard the
 " prayers, which I offered up for your re-establishment.
 " I beseech him with all the powers of my soul, that he
 " would carefully preserve you, both for your own sake, and
 " for the sake of those, to whom you afford great consolation.
 " It was not without a great sense of grief and sorrow, that I
 " heard of all that you suffer, and our brethren with you. Let
 " us all comfort ourselves with the cause of our sufferings.
 " Let us always fix our eyes upon the recompences which
 " God reserves for us. Let us assure ourselves that all that
 " we suffer is a certain sign that our names are written in the
 " book of life. Let us count it all our happiness, that
 " God doth not think us unworthy to suffer for his name.
 " I have not time to say more now, therefore wait always
 " patiently.

" I am sorry that they have given themselves the trouble
 " to procure a pension for me. Write to them that they
 " trouble themselves no more about it: I am contented to
 " live on bread and water."

They had made it their endeavours to procure him some re-
 lief, but they were unsuccessful, by reason of the cruel se-
 verity of those, who had the management of him. This is
 what he tells us in a letter of the 31st of August 1691,
 which he wrote to his friend. " I confess with you that
 " *Monf. le Fevre* is an excellent man; he writes like a
 " complete divine, and that which he is to be most esteemed
 " for, is, that he practices what he says; may the Lord
 " bless, preserve, and strengthen both yourself and him, and
 " this will afford me great and singular consolation. I
 " thank you both for the encouragements which you give
 " me: the Lord will give me grace to profit thereby. Do
 " not turn your eyes upon me, but regard yourselves, and
 " the rest of our brethren, and it will be there that you will find
 " occasion to bless the Lord. Assure them all that I daily
 " pour out my soul before God several times a day, to pro-
 " cure for them the success and assistance, which they stand
 " in need of. To come to the question which you so ear-
 " nestly put to me concerning my nourishment; I acquiesce
 " and content myself with every thing, and I had not op-
 " posed it, but because I know I have to do with a major,
 " who gets me my food, who will pocket the money which
 " shall be given, and will always treat me very ill. Though
 " I should have my diet from the ordinary, it would be the
 " same

“ same thing. I have already passed through their hands.
“ Let the Lord preserve, and fill with his favours and blessings all those holy souls, who interest themselves in my behalf. If I ever have the opportunity to answer you again, it shall be in a more ample manner than I have at present done, when I did it precipitately, and without well considering what things I was to answer to. My lamp gives but little light, my eyes fail me, I make use of broken spectacles: all this is not proper to dispatch business.” It appeared by some letters, that our martyr would not meddle with any great sum of money, for fear it should be thought, that his design was to corrupt his guards therewith.

We likewise see by others, the strictness with which they kept him, to hinder him from receiving any letter from his friends, or sending any news to them concerning himself. But of this we see enough in a letter written with his own hand, the 6th and 16th of December 1691, to make us on the one hand groan with horror to behold the condition to which this holy man was reduced; and on the other, to admire his patience, and confidence in his God. This letter is written to his wife, whom he chides, for troubling herself at his condition to that degree, as to impair her health. “ It is not above two hours ago, my dear heart, that I received a letter, which gives me more sorrow than joy. I received it when I was in the midst of my offering up my evening sacrifice to God on the sabbath day. Thou believest that I hide the condition and place in which I am, from thee: but I have much more reason to believe that thou dost conceal thine from me: And I know that my judgment is but too true, by what you confess to me of it. That which grieves me is that you make me an occasion of your indisposition. If it is I that put the sword to your heart, then I do very innocently stab myself. My spirit, my heart is too deeply engaged to thee, not to be sensibly affected with the evil which thou sufferest. Be not disturbed at this new cross which God lays upon me by thy means: Do not fear it will prejudice my health, I will bear it like a christian, and always with the submission which I owe to the orders of my God and Father, full of tenderness and compassion towards me. Imitate me in that, my dear and well beloved widow, and not in the many failings which you have known in me. Love me
“ always

“ always tenderly as thou hast done, but let this love which
 “ I desire of you, be always regulated by divine love, as
 “ that which I have for thee is never separated from it.
 “ Although I have great reason to bless myself for thee, and
 “ although I daily pour out my soul in praises to God,
 “ for the singular favour which he hath done me, in joining
 “ me to so christian a wife (for thou hast contributed very
 “ much to the moderating of my suffering, by saving thy-
 “ self and our dear family from the deluge of this age) yet I
 “ always feared that you did not receive with submission
 “ enough the affliction, by which it pleases God to prove
 “ us. Let us imitate Eli, and say with him in all our suf-
 “ ferings, *it is the Lord let him do what seemeth him good.*
 “ What reason have you to fear lest evil should befall me?
 “ Dost thou question the Omnipotence of God? Oughtest
 “ thou to imagine that God would desert me at last, after
 “ several years miraculous preservation of me, though I
 “ should lose my life, to preserve my fidelity which I owe
 “ to my favour. Do not think that this is the way to lose
 “ it. It is on the contrary the true way to save it. *He* (we
 “ are told by Jesus Christ) *who will save his life shall lose it,*
 “ *but he that will lose it for my sake, shall save it.* Remember
 “ in order to give thee more confidence in the goodness of
 “ God that

The Angels have pitched, ——— .

After some such like exhortations, he gives her an account
 of his miseries in these words. “ I must at present satisfy
 “ thy curiosity. I have so many things to tell thee there-
 “ upon, that I cannot tell thee them without disguise, and
 “ without an imaginary and borrowed name. May the
 “ Lord who favours us in so eminent and miraculous a man-
 “ ner grant, if it be his pleasure, that no inconvenience may
 “ happen thereupon. But I desire of thee before hand, that
 “ thou wilt not make it a subject of affliction, but that you
 “ will take occasion thereby to bless the Lord. The place
 “ in which I am, served formerly for a lodging for soldiers :
 “ But since that, they have converted it into a dungeon ;
 “ they have made so much alteration therein, that there
 “ doth not so much light come in at present, as to hinder me
 “ by day from running myself against the walls. After I
 “ had been there three weeks, I was assaulted with so many
 “ inconveniencies, that I thought I could not live there
 “ four months to an end : and it will be five years the 11th
 “ of

“ of next February, that God doth preserve me therein.
“ About the 15th of October in the first year, God who
“ never sends me evils but for my good, afflicted me with
“ a painful defluxion, which fell to the elbow of my right
“ arm and shoulder. I could not undress myself, I spent
“ the night sometimes upon my bed, sometimes walking
“ backwards and forwards in my usual darkness. I set my-
“ self to reflect upon the occasion of my disease, concluded
“ that it proceeded from the cold and moistness of winter,
“ and that to remedy it, I must drink my wine pure and un-
“ mixed, which I did for two days following. At length
“ perceiving my pains to increase, I took the contrary
“ course and drank water: And finding myself well after it,
“ I have ever since continued it. The defluxion which I
“ was just now speaking of, was so bad, that I felt it for
“ near a year. The Lord hath tried me with several other
“ inconveniencies, but he hath delivered me out of them
“ all. I forgot to tell thee my dear to give thee a complete
“ description of my little sanctuary, that it is ten of my
“ feet in length and twelve in breadth. All my goods is a
“ bed from the hospital, which was brought there about
“ five or six months before my entrance therein. I lie up-
“ on one of the hospital quilts, with a straw-bed under it,
“ and in this respect I am much better than in the galley.
“ This is the fourth winter which I have spent there almost
“ without fire. The first of these four I had none at all.
“ The second they began to give me some the 28th of Ja-
“ nuary, and took it away from me before February was out.
“ The third they gave me some for about fourteen or fif-
“ teen days. I have not yet seen any this winter, and I
“ will not ask for any at all. The major might give me
“ some if he would, for he hath money of mine, but he
“ will not give me a double of it. I have sensibly felt the
“ cold, nakedness, and hunger; but all this I thank God
“ is passed and gone. I have lived on five sols a day, which
“ is the subsistence which the King hath appointed for me.
“ I was at first fed by an ordinary, who treated me very
“ well for my five sols. But another which succeeded
“ him, fed me for the space of five months, and cut me
“ off daily three sols in my food. The major at length un-
“ dertook to feed me in his turn, which he did at first very
“ well, but at length he left off to do well. He opens my dun-
“ geon but once a day, and hath caused my dinner several times
“ to be brought, at nine, ten, and eleven o'clock at night,

“ and I did not receive any bread from him once for the
 “ space of three days, and at other times twice in twenty-
 “ four hours. Let not so many miseries afflict thee, my
 “ dear. Consider as I have done, that this diet was ap-
 “ pointed me by the sovereign physician of my body and
 “ soul, to whom I have resigned myself, and that he would
 “ not have appointed it, if he had not judged it necessary.
 “ It is by this means, and the sparing manner after which
 “ I have lived for all this present year, that God hath pre-
 “ served me in life and health. Beware therefore of falling
 “ into regret, whereas you ought to bless God for his mer-
 “ ciful conduct towards me. I have just told you that I
 “ have suffered nakedness, I have been almost a year with-
 “ out shirts, my cloaths are more torn and ragged than those
 “ of the poorest beggars, which stand at the church doors.
 “ I have gone bare-foot, till the fifteenth of December, I
 “ say bare-foot, for I have had stockings which had no feet,
 “ and a pair of old shoes unsewed on both sides, and bored
 “ through the soles. An intendant who came into this city
 “ three years ago, saw me in this magnificent dress, and
 “ though he promised me much, yet he left me ten months
 “ in this condition, at the end of which God raised me
 “ up succour, which there was no room to expect. He put
 “ it into the heart of a charitable and pious person, the Al-
 “ moner of the citadel to visit me; this without doubt was
 “ done with the agreement of the King’s lieutenant, who is
 “ likewise very charitable. And having seen me in the sor-
 “ rowful condition in which I was, he went out immedi-
 “ ately to fetch me some of his linen, but I hindered him.
 “ But at length he did solicit so well for me, that he pro-
 “ cured me a whole galley-slave’s suit, and obliged the ma-
 “ jor to buy me a pair of shoes, and a close pair of breeches
 “ out of my own money. So that by the care of this good
 “ person, I am better clothed than I have ever been in all
 “ my captivity. He procured me likewise a most notable
 “ advantage, which is that ever since this year and a half,
 “ the King’s lieutenant gives me every day a lamp full of
 “ oil, which gives me light for six, seven, and eight hours.
 “ This gives me an opportunity to read the holy scripture
 “ more than I did before. They gave me but a little can-
 “ dle for a liard a day. I believe that this is enough to sa-
 “ tisfy thy curiosity. I must further add, that I have been
 “ for these five or six months, troubled with an oppression
 “ of the lungs, which almost took away my breath. I have
 “ likewise

“ likewise been troubled with giddiness, and have fallen
“ down so as to break my head. This giddiness I impute
“ to the want of food. But I am now by the grace of God
“ in more perfect health than I have been these forty years.
“ I speak, my dear, sincerely as in the presence of God.
“ It is two or three months that they give me regularly
“ three little loaves, and often soup, since which time my
“ head is almost settled, and I sleep much better, and my
“ giddiness is almost over. After the comfortable news
“ which I tell you think no more but to rejoice at it, and to
“ praise God for it, and labour after thy health which shall
“ always be mine. This I conjure you in the name of God,
“ and let not your suspicions any more trouble the rest
“ and satisfaction, which I find in the possession of my
“ God.”

XXIII. That major of the citadel, from whom our martyr received such ill treatment, is called Lambert. He cannot allege the King's orders in excuse. He was not commanded to be sure to keep back his money, to make his advantage out of the King's five sols, not to send him his dinner till ten o'clock at night, and to let his cloaths rot upon the body of his prisoner, and to refuse him fire in the winter. However rigorous the orders might be, one might execute them like an honest man, or like an executioner. One may likewise judge of it by a letter of our martyr written on the first day of the year 1692, to one of his companions in affliction. After having acquainted him with the situation of his soul, and assured him that through the grace of God, flesh and blood had never harrassed him, to yield to any of their pernicious councils. He gives him an account of his little necessities, and says, “ I entreat you with my usual boldness, to buy me if you
“ can, for three sols and a half, some thread which is not
“ dyed, to mend my linen, and as much brown thread, for
“ my breeches and other cloaths, and to cause the whole
“ to be bound up into two bottoms. That will be enough
“ to serve me the remainder of my days. It is above six
“ weeks since the serjeants have asked the major every day
“ for some for me, without ever obtaining any. Thus do
“ I fare in all things with him. He has for these three
“ months, refused to get my linen washed.” Must he not be very cruel, to use him after this manner.

XXIV. In the following letter may be seen how those two famous confessors comfort and encourage each other,

M. de Marolles tells his friend, "You speak just to my mind, my dear brother, when you say that we alone shall be the persons, whom the King will not make to feel the effects of his clemency. We are brought upon the stage in order to strike a terror into the whole kingdom, and upon whom must fall that vengeance, which the King makes those to feel, who do not acquiesce, and submit to his orders. But, if we have had the misfortune to disobey our great monarch, let this be our comfort that we did it out of an indispensable necessity to which we were reduced, of disobeying him. We have preferred the obedience which we owe to the Divine, to that which we owe to human majesty. This is the laudable crime for which we suffer so many miseries. Let us always fix our eyes upon the glorious recompences, which God reserves in Heaven for us, for that very crime for which the God of this world will perhaps never forgive us. Let us wait the will of the Lord, and be always faithful to him." It must be observed that in this letter, there are certain proofs that some of our martyrs letters had been communicated to the King.

XXV. He wrote again to his wife on the 24th of March, 1692, and acquaints her with the sole trouble that had afflicted him during the whole time of his captivity. He begins with his joy that her letter of the 16th of December had been delivered to him; after which he advertised her that the pleasure of this correspondence might be interrupted, and that she must prepare herself for it. At length he tells her; "The christian manner in which, my dear wife, you received the account of my sufferings, engages me to hide nothing thereof from you. All that you know is but very little in comparison of what I am going to tell you. I know very well that I cannot perform what I propose to myself, without making an open confession of my infirmities, and the narrowness of my spirit: but I have always been sincere, and will continue so to the end. I will endeavour to make myself pass for no other than for a man of very common endowments. When I was taken out of the galley and brought hither, I found at first a great deal of pleasure in this change. My ears were no longer offended with the horrid and blasphemous sounds, with which those places continually echoed. I had the liberty to sing at every turn the praises of my God. I
" could

“ could prostrate myself before him as often as I pleased.
“ Moreover I was discharged from that uneasy chain, which
“ was infinitely more troublesome to me than that of thirty
“ pounds weight which you saw me carry. But notwith-
“ standing all these troubles, the Lord who had a mind to
“ make me experience his succour and assistance in a rare
“ and extraordinary manner, suffered me to fall into a terri-
“ ble trial. The solitude and perpetual darkness in which
“ I spent my days presented my narrow soul with such a
“ frightful and terrifying idea, that they made a very fatal
“ impression thereon. It was filled with a million of false
“ and vain imaginations which did very often transport
“ it into deliriums and idle fancies, which lasted sometimes
“ for the space of two whole hours. My prayers were no
“ remedy against this evil. God was pleased that it should
“ continue for some months. I was plunged into a pro-
“ found abyss of affliction. When I considered together
“ with this sorrowful condition my little bodily rest, I con-
“ cluded from thence it was the high road to distraction, and
“ that I should never escape falling into it. I incessantly im-
“ plored the succours of my God. I begged of him, that he
“ would never suffer mine enemies to triumph over me and
“ my sufferings in so sorrowful a manner as that was. At
“ length after much prayer, sighs and tears, the God of
“ my deliverance heard my petitions, and after so many
“ tempests sent a perfect calm and serenity. He dissipated
“ all those illusions which gave me so much trouble. After
“ having delivered me out of so sore a trial, never have any
“ doubt, my dearest wife, that God will not deliver me out
“ of all others in general. Do not therefore disquiet yourself
“ any more about me. Hope always in the goodness of
“ God, and your hopes shall not be in vain. I ought not,
“ in my opinion, to forget to take notice of a considerable
“ circumstance which tends to the glory of God. The du-
“ ration of so great a temptation, was, in my opinion, the
“ proper time for the old serpent to endeavour to cast me
“ into rebellion and infidelity. But God always kept him
“ in so profound a silence, that he never once offered to in-
“ fest me with any of his pernicious councils, and I never felt
“ the least inclination to revolt. Ever since these sorrowful days
“ God hath always filled my heart with joy. I possess my
“ soul in patience. He makes the days of my affliction
“ speedily to pass away. I have no sooner begun them but I
“ find myself at the end of them. With the bread and wa-

“ter of affliction, with which he tries me, he affords me
“continually most delicious repasts.”

XXVI. This is the last letter of this blessed martyr which hath been put into my hands. We must believe that they doubled the strictness with which they kept him, to deprive him of this consolation. We are likewise informed by the letter of a faithful confessor who was on board the gallies, and who hath always run all hazards, to do our martyr all the services that he could, that the extreme weakness of his body and eyes hindered him from reading and writing, a month or two before his death. Which happened on the 17th of June, in the year 1692, and he was buried by Turks in the same place where those infidels were buried. There is an extract of a letter written from Marseilles of the 20th of June, 1692, which says, “The subject of this present, is
“chiefly to acquaint you with the death of Mons. de Marolles,
“that famous confessor of Christ, who hath been so long shut
“up in a dungeon in the great citadel, where they have made
“him to suffer very much. He was pressed to the last to change
“his religion, but he hath always persevered in his own. He
“died the day before yesterday, being buried by Turks
“among the Turks. They must make an end as they had begun. Thus is he out of his misery, and crowned with glory
“in Abraham’s bosom. We ought to desire to end our days
“as holyly as he did, who died a true martyr with great
“constancy and resignation. Thus shall he enjoy an eternal recompence, whereas his persecutors shall have a great
“account to give to the sovereign judge.” I pass by other circumstances for fear of discovering the author of this letter, who is perhaps a roman catholic, smitten with the sufferings of our martyr. “If you do not know Mons. de
“Marolles’s relations, communicate, if you please, what I
“write to you to Mr. Barnard, who hath sometimes asked
“me about him. May God comfort the afflicted who
“ought to be glad to hear that he is at rest. He had nothing to hope for but sufferings in this world.”

There is still another letter of the 20th of June written to his wife, by that generous confessor who was on board the gallies, and who rendered our martyr all manner of services and consolations, as appears by the answers which Mons. de Marolles returned to his letters. He saith, among other things, that this dear martyr of the Lord resigned his spirit into the hands of his father on the 17th day of the present month, and was the next day laid in his last
grave

grave by six Turks, as it is the custom here to bury those who die faithful to their saviour. I cannot, he proceeds, give you an exact account of his last hours, nor his last words. But I will tell you in a few words that which hath been known. You have already learned by the letters of this dear martyr, that after having groaned for some time under irons, he was removed to a dungeon dreadful for its obscurity, and much more so for its stench. You know that they fed him but very ill there; and that he often laboured under hunger, not having enough even of bread and water; which was his common diet. This great austerity made him very weak, and flung him into great vertiges, so that he fell down about two months since with very weakness; and dashed his head against the wall in which he made several wounds. He hath been continually languishing ever since that moment, and his life hath been nothing else but a living death. Those who had the management of him, were insensible of all his pains excepting that for these six weeks past, they gave him a little better, and a little greater quantity of victuals. But his body was weakened, and his nature brought so low, that it could not recover its strength. This faithful servant of the Lord had almost lost his sight about a month since: and although I had sent him your last letters, he could neither read them nor return any answer. He likewise returned me those which I from time to time wrote to him. He was forced to be contented with hearing by word of mouth from me, and caused me to be told that he recommended himself to the prayers of his good friend, and that he thought of nothing else but his departure. God hath at length disposed of him, and he shall return to us no more. He hath gone through the most cruel torments which inhumanity in its utmost extent could inflict; but yet God hath never suffered them to make a prize of his innocence.—I must tell you for your consolation, that from the time that they saw this dear martyr begin to grow weak and decay, he was often visited by doctors of the contrary communion; but this firm and immoveable servant of God was not moved by their visits. He heard without trouble that which he rejected, and did not return railing for railing. He blest his enemies to the last. His glory will never be blotted out neither in heaven nor in the earth.

XXVII. Let us follow the thoughts of this confessor of the truth, and say with him, that the glory of Mons. de

Marolles will never be extinguished in the eyes of God or men. One may without exaggeration say that he was one of the most famous martyrs that the church ever knew. He hath undergone all the most formidable afflictions that the world, that the fury of persecution could invent. He hath sustained every thing which was able to shock human nature! But he sustained it like that house built upon a rock which Jesus Christ speaks of in the gospel, which the most violent storms could not overthrow. He seemed to be engaged to the world by the strongest bonds of flesh and blood; he had an estate, he had a wife and children who were dear to him. How often have they laid before him, by flattering promises, the advantages of the world, since such great and frequent efforts were made to triumph over his fidelity? they could not say that a morose and conceited humour had produced any thing like obstinacy in his soul. His constancy was well founded, it was enlightened and grounded upon good reasons. He always gave a reason of his hope with modesty. This is a testimony, which all the doctors who have had any conference with him cannot refuse to give him. One year on board the galleys, five years in a dungeon, perplexed with darkness, and stench, always exposed to cold, nakedness, and hunger! Imagination itself cannot without horror, form a just idea of all those sufferings.

Notwithstanding, this blessed martyr informs us, that during the whole time of so tedious and dreadful a combat, in which he was besieged by all the horrors of this life, in which the world presented him with its riches and honours, this soul faithful to his God, always kept his flesh in a respectful silence to the adorable providence of that great God, who would be glorified in his afflictions. What a treasure of consolation and instruction would it be to all the faithful, if we had the thoughts, the meditations, the prayers, the private conferences of this holy soul with his God, during those five years in which his body lay *buried in the deep mire*, to speak in the language of the royal prophet.

But since we cannot have an account of the effects which this eminent faith produced, we ought to make many useful and salutary reflections upon so famous an example. Those libertines who despise piety, and ridicule its promises, ought to tremble and stand in awe of the judgments of God. They believe neither heaven nor hell, nor the resurrection, nor life eternal. What assurance have they of this annihilation

tion, which should make them expect death with such a brutal security, as if they had certain demonstrations of this pretended future annihilation? Our martyr was endued with a solid judgment, a piercing spirit; he was enlightened, and was a good philosopher. He had time often to reflect upon eternity: and the reward appeared to him so certain, that his hope gave him the victory over all the most dreadful evils which were able to shake and stagger the heart of mankind. Such a steady, such an unshaken fidelity wants but very little of being as forcible and convincing as the testimony of a soul, which had already enjoyed the blessed vision of God.

This martyr should likewise awaken those christians lulled a sleep in error, who flatter themselves that they are not liable to those penalties with which Jesus Christ has threatened those who shall deny him before men, because they have not abjured the gospel to receive the alcoran. Our martyr being convinced of the truth, which God had made known unto him, was persuaded, that the fidelity which God expected from him, obliged him, not to suffer the truth by any means to be prejudiced, nor any breach to be made in his faith. He would preserve it pure and inviolable, as he had received it from his God.

He likewise teaches those sluggish christians, who live in the world as the rest of men do, contented with performing the exterior service which religion prescribes; our martyr, I say, teaches them to work out their salvation with an holy fear. For if we must be faithful to him when he calls us to suffering, we do not owe him less obedience in the things which he commands us to do, and which the gospel requires of us.

His example likewise instructs us to put our trust in God, in the most sorrowful conjunctures of this life. Did we but know his secret soliloquies, how often should we find him strengthening, and comforting himself with those words of his saviour, *Let not your heart be troubled, and be not fearful; ye believe in God, believe also in me.* And with those of his Apostle. *I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded, that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him, inasmuch that neither death nor life, shall ever separate me from the love which God hath shewed me in Christ Jesus. If God is for us who shall be against us.*

LASTLY, This cruel inhumanity with which our martyr was so long persecuted, ought to give us just ideas of the
Romish

Romish religion. For where truth is, there also must humanity and charity of necessity be. By consequence a religion which ends disputes by fire and faggot, cannot without dispute, have any share in the salutary truths which Jesus Christ delivered, nor that spirit of the gospel, which is a spirit of mildness, which *doth good to all men, but especially to those of the household of faith.*

God grant that those of this communion who sincerely seek to work out their salvation, may seriously think thereupon; and may the sight of so much violence and barbarity, which this religion inspires and exercises; may the voice and groans of so many afflicted persons, because they would not betray their conscience, rouse them out of their stupidity to read the word of God, that they may search out the truth therein, and openly profess it after they have found it, in giving glory to God. Amen.

AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

SUFFERINGS AND DEATH

OF THE

FAITHFUL CONFESSOR AND MARTYR,

M. ISAAC LE FEVRE,

AN ADVOCATE OF PARLIAMENT,

WHO, AFTER EIGHTEEN YEARS IMPRISONMENT, DIED
A SLAVE IN THE FRENCH KING'S GALLIES.

TOGETHER

WITH A PARTICULAR RELATION OF THE CONDITION
OF THE OTHER MISERABLE PRISONERS THERE.

Extracted out of his own, and other Confessors Letters, and
authentic Memoirs.

DONE INTO ENGLISH FROM THE FRENCH.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A PREFACE BY THE EDITOR.



THE
P R E F A C E
OF THE
E D I T O R.

IT is a fixed and unalterable maxim with me, “ that the “ church, or body of christians, who are for promoting “ their interest by the spirit of persecution, i. e. by laying any violence on the consciences of men, are not, and “ cannot be a true part of the church of Christ. I need not enlarge on this point, since the whole tenour of the gospel, that is, the whole christian dispensation, breaths forth nothing but love and an universal charity even towards those, who are so unhappy as still to persist in the wrong; and would have no other force offered to them, but such as proceeds from the strength of a cogent argument. The nature of man is such, as not to be dragged, but led by gentle and rational methods to his duty; and whenever any violence is offered to him, he is apt to break out into a passion, and by that very means to be prejudiced against the truth itself.

To set this matter in a clear light, let us take a short view of the method which the apostles and their immediate followers pursued in converting persons to christianity. St. PETER in his discourses to the Jews and profelytes, makes use only of such arguments to convince them as were convictive, and pricked them to the heart; and the greatest instance of his severity was by virtue of his spiritual authority against Ananias and Sapphira, who lied against the Holy-Ghost, which cannot be drawn into consequence to justify the practice of any future ages. That famous synod of the apostles, recorded Acts xv. was so far from rigour, and imposing upon the consciences of the new converted gentiles, that it only enjoined them such things as natural reason would have dictated to them. St. Paul the great apostle of the gentiles, though truly zealous in the cause of Christ
and

and his religion, though he pronounced his anathema's and Maranatha's very frequently, yet was he so very far from the spirit of persecution, that he was for reducing men from the error of their ways by the spirit of meekness. And when he had passed the most dreadful sentence of excommunication against the incestuous person, with what tenderness does he express himself upon that person's repentance? I need not insist upon the practice of the other apostles, since it is plain, that the severest of them were not for committing delinquents in points of conscience to the secular power, but condemned them by their own ecclesiastical jurisdiction and censures.

What has been said of the apostolical times, may with a great deal of reason be applied to their immediate followers, who were so far from being of a persecuting spirit, that they endeavoured by the force of arguments to reconcile men unto God: and to the belief of a crucified saviour, and in these their endeavours suffered the greatest of persecutions themselves from their most implacable enemies the gentiles.

If this be matter of fact, as it certainly will appear to be, to all who will enquire into the acts of the apostles, and into the writings of the fathers, of the first three centuries; then what judgment shall we pass on the proceedings of the present Romish church, which by contrary methods endeavours to gain proselytes to her communion? Are inquisitions and dragoons proper means of making new converts to the truly christian catholic and apostolical faith? If not, how justly may we blame the whole conduct of the papists in their endeavouring to bring over to their communion such as in conscience differ from them by violence and unheard of barbarities?

There is something so frightful and terrible in the very genius and spirit of popery, that would make an honest man quite out of conceit with it, though he were never so much inclined to hold communion with it upon other accounts. It gives a shock to human nature, and makes it start within itself, to think that that, and only that, can be the true church, which supports its interest not only by fraud and cunning, but by open oppression and cruelties, offered not only to the estates and bodies, but also to the souls and consciences of men. To pass by the former method of propagating the roman catholic religion, of which their missionaries, both of the jesuitical and other orders, are great masters;

masters; we shall only insist upon the latter means, which they not only allow of, but even prescribe to be used for the regaining of those that are departed from their communion: that is, to speak in their own words, for extirpating of heresy and heretics.

And here a modest heathen would blush for them, to hear with what confidence and effrontery they prevaricate with God and man. They tell you indeed that their church is all love and charity, that it breaths forth nothing but meekness and gentleness, and that the rigours it makes use of towards others, are the pure effects of its zeal for the good and welfare of their souls. All this sounds very well, and it were to be wished that their practice were consonant to their profession; but alas, when we come to enquire into it, we shall soon perceive how the one runs quite counter to the other.

From the very first rise of popery, that is, from the very time that the pope set up for universal bishop, and claimed a supremacy over all the other churches, it is well known what methods were used by the church, and especially by the court of Rome, to support the holy father in his unjust and antichristian usurpation. Hence it came to pass, those bishops who would not submit to this tyrannical upstart hierarchy, were excommunicated, declared heretics, delivered over to the secular power, and where the popish party prevailed, were sometimes deprived of their sees, sometimes banished, and sometimes put to death. This was the first step made to advance the papal chair.

But this was not all, nor did matters stop here. The popes wanted one jewel more to compleat their triple crown, they aimed at joining St. Paul's sword to St. Peter's keys, and affected the supremacy in temporal as well as in spiritual affairs. The christain Princes opposed the usurpation for some time, and the pope was forced to drop his point, till at last taking the advantage of their mutual contests, which no question were under-hand kept up by him, he gained his end. For some of those princes he by promises wheedled, and others he by threatenings huffed into a compliance with his ambitious ends.

Now the papal court was arrived to its greatest height, and what violence and force, what cruelties and oppressions it has exercised from that time hitherto in order to keep up its spiritual and temporal grandeur, is notorious to all who know any thing of church-history. St. Peter's keys have

not

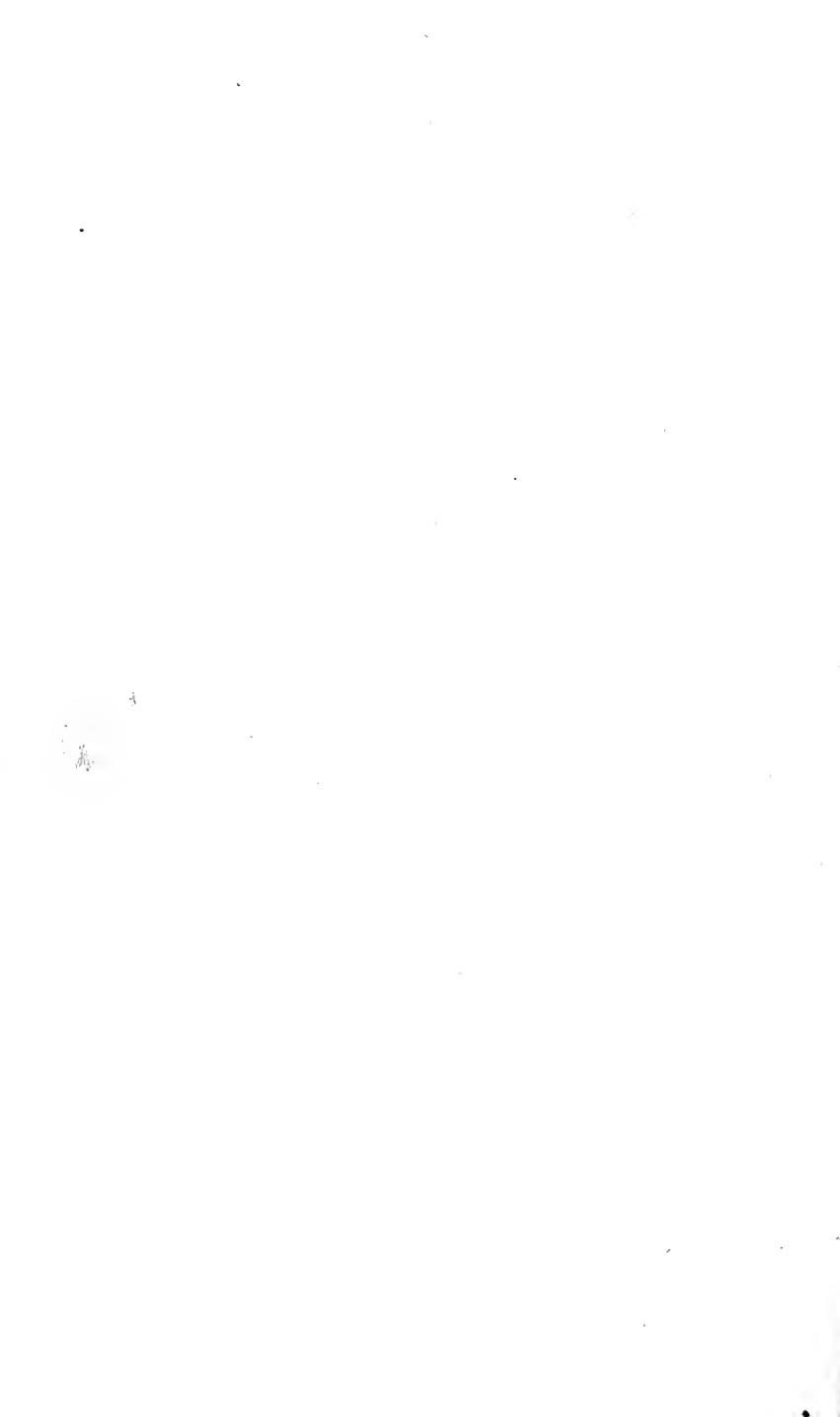
not been so useful to support the papal throne, as St. Paul's sword. So that if any prince has been so resty as to call in question this new acquired authority, not only bulls and excommunications, but even fire and sword, depositions and massacres, have been the effects of putting the affront on this universal monarch. Hence it has come to pass, that subjects have been discharged of their allegiance to their lawful sovereigns, their kingdoms disposed of to others, armies and fleets raised, invasions encouraged, plots and massacres countenanced and blessed by the roman pontiff, especially if this has been against heretical princes, or princes that seemed to favour heretics. To this spring we owe the doctrine of not keeping faith with hereticks, of the lawfulness of deposing and killing kings, with the like. To this we owe the crusades raised, and inquisitions set up, against those that opposed the papal tyranny, both before and since the reformation began in Luther's time. In short, if we survey popery from top to bottom, we shall find a black spirit of persecution running through all its parts; and that it may well be styled the great whore, which makes itself drunk with the blood of the saints.

Need we rake into the history of past ages to justify the charge? No, we have one nearer home within our own memory, nay, within our present knowledge, and which proves but too well the truth, or at least the probability of what is contained in the following relation of the sufferings and death of M. le Fevre. One would have thought that so soft and polite a nation, as France pretends to be, would never have acted with so much fury against its own members. But the diabolical spirit of Antichrist has infused its venom into that as well as into other nations. The prince actuated with a popish zeal, and to shew he deserved the character given by the court of Rome of most christian, was resolved to have but one religion in his kingdom. Hence was the edict of Nants repealed, and the protestants oppressed on all hands: their ministers and principal men banished, and the rest left to be converted by missionary dragoons. Under this oppression they have long groined, and the gallies, prisons, and dungeons, have been their last refuge.

Now will you say that such persecutions of men for the sake of religion alone is consonant to the gospel? Do not such men, and such a church, as act upon such bloody principles shew, by what spirit they are led, viz. not by that of
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the meek-spirited Jesus, but by that of the devil, who was always a hater of the brethren, and a murderer from the beginning? How does this their practice fly into their very faces, and upbraid them with the falshood of their profession? But to conclude: a jew, a heathen, or a mahometan, may with as good a grace pretend to christianity, as he who professes himself a christian, and yet acts with such a persecuting temper of mind, as is diametrically contrary to the genius of the christian religion.

A word or two with respect to the following papers, and we have done. It is unknown who was the collector of them, and therefore we shall not trouble ourselves with guessing at random about the author. That which is most certain is, that they contain in them an account of the sufferings and death, not only of le Fevre, but also of many others, who were his companions, and bore up with patience, constancy, and faith, under all the pressures of their cruel enemies, some on board the gallies, and others in the nastiness of some loathsome dungeon. To consider the variety of torments which they endured, should melt our hearts with compassion: to consider their stedfastness in adhering to the profession of the christian faith, should teach us to prepare ourselves against the fiery trial; and to consider the unwearied malice and cruelty of their persecutors, should put us upon praying, to be delivered from such inhumane principles, and such inhumane practices, as popery infuses into, and teaches its disciples.



A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
S U F F E R I N G S A N D D E A T H
O F T H A T
F A I T H F U L C O N F E S S O R A N D M A R T Y R,

Mons. ISAAC . L E , F E V R E ,

Of Chatel-chinon, in the Nivernois, Advocate in Parliament.

IT is a wonder to me, that our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles, having foretold in all the sacred books of the New Testament, that the condition of the faithful, and of the church, should be exposed to persecutions and the cross in this life, as they themselves were exposed to it in the whole course of their ministry: I say, it is amazing, that the church of Rome has placed the temporal prosperity and glory of those that defend it among the marks and characters of its truth and faith; and which the famous Cardinal Bellarmin makes his 15th and last characteristic mark of the true church: it further surprises me that she glories in it, as if she designed to fulfil the prediction of the Holy Ghost, concerning the mystical Babylon, who says, *I am queen and shall see no sorrow.*

But it is yet more astonishing, that St. John having foretold in his Revelation, that the true church should not only suffer great persecutions from the Pagans, its professed enemies, but also from the false or antichristian church, of which he that calls himself the head, sits in the temple of God, shews himself to be God, and exalts himself above all that is called God; it is a wonder to me, I say, that she should make it her business to oppress and persecute those christians who have separated themselves from her, and

those that will not come into her communion, with fire and sword; and which for divers ages, that is to say, since she has acquired that power and authority in the world, which the spirit of God foretold us, that the beast and her false prophet would usurp, has exercised all manner of fury and cruelties against them, as appears by what has been done within the last five or six centuries against the Waldenses, Albigenes, Bohemians, Lutherans, and the Calvinists, as they are called, and this in all countries that are unhappily subjected to her jurisdiction; where the kings, princes, and states have unjustly assisted that murders of saints with their forces; as appeared in the foregoing ages in Italy, France, England, and in Germany; and as has been seen in the last, and in our age in all parts of Europe, where that beast is adored, and exercises its dominion; and as it is yet particularly to be seen in our France, by this late and extraordinary persecution, that was raised there some years ago by that antichristian church, her clergy, and her prelates, and where unhappily the prince that reigns there answers but too much to the designs and solicitations of that cruel and persecuting society, and which he makes one of his chief supports. It is a persecution, that perhaps has not been guilty of so many massacres, nor spilt so much blood as those that have preceded it, but which has in its proceedings larger characters of inhumanity, cruelty, and barbarity, than have been seen from the beginning of christianity, down to our times; a persecution, wherein the devil and his agents have displayed more cunning, and craft, which the Holy Ghost calls the depths of Satan, than were ever seen in all the former. This may give us great reason to believe that the kingdom of Satan, and of the antichristian beast is not far from its end, and that as their time is but short, they employ also their utmost strength to compass their damnable designs; that is, to exterminate the true church, and if possible to destroy the elect of God.

But I do not here pretend to write a history, or make a description of this dreadful and terrible persecution. There is already enough written on that subject, and doubtless time will produce yet more complete histories of it. I shall only speak of the sufferings of a blessed martyr, who finished his course gloriously on the gallies, in the prisons, and dungeons of Marseilles; sufferings that lasted 17 years. I shall only give the church, and the faithful, the admirable exam-
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ples of faith, patience, piety, charity, and of all kind of virtues, which that herald of God supplied us with, during that long continuance of conflicts and trials which he maintained so gloriously. There have been illustrious and generous champions, who before, and like him have signalized their faith and courage by a happy death, which confounded their persecutors, and edified all good people. But it must be confessed that there was something particular in this man, either for the length of his sufferings, or for the example of all kind of virtues that he made appear in it, or for so many excellent and holy exhortations which he gave to his brethren, to all the confessors in the prisons, and on the gallies, and which made him to be looked upon by the persecutors as the minister of those galley-slaves and prisoners of Jesus, whom they called their Calvin; and who, for that reason was kept closer, and treated more cruelly, as will appear by the history which I give of it to the public. And in short, for the many fine letters, and divers other writings in prose and verse, addressed to his friends and relations in France, and in foreign countries, that would make large volumes if they could be collected together.

The name of this martyr is Isaac le Fevre, at present known every where; his bonds having rendered him famous in France, and in all protestant countries. By profession he was an advocate, or counsellor at law, aged about 37 years, when he was condemned, and 54 years of age when he died, in June 1702. He was born at Chatel-chinon in the Nivernois, of honourable parents, and one of the most considerable families of that country, whom I have known and conversed with, and of whom I can justly give this character; that they were the best people among us, and whose eulogy our happy martyr gives us in one of his letters, written in the prisons of Marseilles, which I think it my duty to insert here, and the rather because I was a witness of the greatest part of what he says of them; where, after having spoke of the sufferings and the perseverance of his dear sister, who was at that time in a convent at Nevers, and who glorified God there by her courage and patience, and who died afterwards in the faith of Jesus Christ, without ever having done any thing against her conscience, piety, and fidelity, being as it were natural and hereditary to that holy family. He speaks thus of them:

“ What God works in her, charms me. That great God
 “ hath been mindful of his promise, in favour of the children
 “ of those that fear him. My predecessors, my father and
 “ mother, were of that number. P. le Fevre, and M.
 “ Elignard, having walked before him in christian simplicity,
 “ and performed their duty, died both in a good old age,
 “ in the communion of the true church. God took her to
 “ himself betimes, whom he had made the instrument of
 “ bringing me into the world; but I know her piety was
 “ exemplary, and her life edifying, and very remote from
 “ the vain amusements of the age. You know what was the
 “ probity, the zeal, the patience of my deceased father.
 “ I cannot mention him without tenderness, but his me-
 “ mory is too dear to me to pass it over in silence. You visited
 “ him on his death bed, or rather on his bed of life, and I
 “ remember that in coming away, you gave him this testi-
 “ mony; I came to edify and comfort a sick person, but
 “ he edifies and comforts me. Such you saw him then, and
 “ such he was in all the course of his sickness, which was
 “ very long, and very severe, always resigned, patient,
 “ and very willing to give up his soul into the hands of
 “ his creator and his God. He was naturally haughty and
 “ passionate, but the grace of God raised him so much
 “ above himself, that it made him the most patient man in
 “ the world, in the extremest and most violent pains of the
 “ stone and the cholic, which racked his reins and entrails.
 “ He being struck with the dead palsy on one side, I carried
 “ him often from one bed to another, because it gave him ease.
 “ All my little services were so pleasing to him, and he com-
 “ mended them so much, that he could not endure me out
 “ of his sight. His palsy degenerated into an apoplexy.
 “ He was four days and nights in an agony, his eyes always
 “ cast up to heaven, not with the face of a dying man, but of
 “ one in an extasy, shewing always, when they roused him
 “ with causticks out of that lethargic slumber, that his heart
 “ and mouth breathed after nothing but his God. I praise
 “ God, the God of my fathers, for the spirit of meekness
 “ wherewith he had endued his servant, for the patience of
 “ a martyr which he had given him, and for the sincere and
 “ internal piety with which he had inspired him. And as
 “ long as I live I shall bless the Lord God of all flesh, the
 “ father of spirits, who granted me the favour to be pre-
 “ sent at that change, terrible indeed to the reprobate, but
 “ sweet

“ sweet and full of consolation for his children ; and because
“ in that moment when he took the soul of his servant to
“ himself he put these words into my mouth, which I pro-
“ nounced with an elevated voice, “ Lord Jesus receive his
“ spirit into thy hands.” May the blessed Jesus put them
“ again into my heart and mouth at the last moment of my
“ life, and say himself to my soul, come good and faithful
“ servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord ; and may
“ he say to my soul, I am thy saviour ! I cannot live, much
“ less die without my God ; neither the world nor the
“ devils shall ever separate me from him ; I will be faithful
“ to him unto death.”

I could not forbear publishing this testimony of our martyr, in favour of such a pious father, and also because it shews singular marks of the son's piety and charity.

But I return to his history. This martyr had been very well educated. He had learning and ingenuity. He was sent to Geneva in 1663, where he went through the course of philosophy. A little while after he went to study the law at Orleans, where he maintained Theses, and took his degrees. Afterwards he went to Paris, where having shewed his testimonials to Mr. Talon, who was at that time advocate-general, he was admitted as one of the advocates of the court of parliament. But since I intend only to describe his martyrdom here, and what immediately preceded it, I shall say nothing of his youth, nor of his behaviour within his paternal family, only that it was always wise and well regulated. He lived sometime in Paris, from whence he returned into Provence, and was employed in the concerns of the marchioness of St. Andrew Mombrun, on which occasion he took a journey into Poitou and Staintonge to settle her affairs, which he performed as well as could be done. Being in that country, he was brought into question by the intendant of Rochfort concerning his religion, on false informations that had been given him. Being cited before him, he appeared there though he was sick of an hectic fever, which left him while he was in the intendant's house. He was dismissed and discharged. From thence he came to Paris just at the same time that the edict of Nantz was revoked, which caused him to depart from thence again immediately for Burgundy, to give the Marchioness of St. Andrew an account of her business, and afterwards to dispose himself for a retreat for the quiet of his conscience, and

to serve God at liberty in a foreign country. This is the relation that he gave himself of what passed in that lady's house, and how they treated her, and all those of that place. That letter written from a galley of Marseilles in 1686, deserves to be entirely inserted here, since it contains the relation of what happened to him until his going from thence, and the recital of the persecutions that were carried on in those parts, wherein he had the share which he mentions in his letter.

“ I received your letter most fortunately in a time when
 “ I am more observed and closer kept than ever. Nobody
 “ dares come near, or speak to me; and they refuse any that
 “ asks to see me to come into the galley wherein I am. All
 “ the letters that are sent to me are detained from me and
 “ carried to the intendant. Other galley-slaves have the li-
 “ berty of being freed from the great chain by giving some
 “ money, but that liberty is absolutely denied me. They
 “ will neither let me write, nor read; and notwithstanding
 “ all those obstacles your consolations are come to my
 “ hands, I have deceived the vigilance of my keepers, and
 “ read that fair letter equally strong and comfortable with
 “ inexpressible delight. I find it full of tenderness and
 “ charity, which penetrates my heart with love and acknow-
 “ ledgment. Some passages in it make me enter into the
 “ joys of the blessed, and to consider the glory that is laid
 “ up for us in the heavens, as if it were present. I am
 “ touched to the quick, and feel my most honoured father
 “ (permit me to call you so, as I have the honour to be
 “ your disciple and pupil in Jesus Christ) and am very sen-
 “ sible that God who made use of your ministry to form
 “ the true faith in my heart, continues to make use of it
 “ to this day for my confirmation and perseverance in
 “ that faith, and to strengthen me in my pious design and holy
 “ resolution to die rather a thousand times, than to forsake
 “ so great a salvation. My soul discouraged and tired
 “ with the voice of the stranger, rejoiced with great joy at
 “ that of its dear shepherd. The tears which you draw out
 “ of my eyes serve for aliment to that inward joy, and do
 “ but increase my tranquillity. Faithful minister of Jesus
 “ Christ, you discharge the office of a good pastor well, and
 “ your reward will be great in heaven. I owe you a large
 “ answer, and desire passionately to acquit myself of that
 “ duty: and seeing this beginning had good success, I hope
 “ all the rest will have the same.”

As he was also asked news of Mr. de Marolles, to whose chain he was joined at Chalons, and with whom it was known he had been some time in the hospital of Marseilles, he answers in that same letter, before he speaks of himself.

“ There is at present no communication between the illustrious Mr. de Marolles and me. We were but few days together. He was declared invalid, and as such put on board of an hospital galley. The reason of that change I am a stranger to. That generous champion appeared like a burning lamp in the metropolis of the kingdom, and I am but a smoking match, whom our God, who makes choice of weak things to confound the strong, has looked upon in his great compassions. Sir, and my most dear pastor, I am so far from the perfection you impute to me, that I shall endeavour to entertain you with my fears and troubles, my great weakneses, my sufferings, and with the great favours that God has done me. I shall make no exact relation of my little adventures; but speak only of the dispositions I was in at that time when God plucked up the plants, which he had planted in the places of my residence, from what I found myself to have when I was seized, and lastly of our heavenly father's blessings on my weak beginnings.

“ The spirit of fear and weakness reigned in the provinces from whence I came, when I had the honour to see you at Paris. I thought to have found more constancy and steadfastness in that great city: but alas! There was a general consternation in it; and I was obliged to leave it. O mournful remembrance! it was in the time when God was pleased to break down the fence wherewith in his Providence he had encompassed his church. You gave me your blessing, and I left you and my dear relations with weeping eyes and a more sorrowful heart. We lamented the calamities of Joseph, and I can say, that from that day I had great sorrow, and a continual affliction at my heart, until the day of my condemnation to the galleys.

“ The Marchioness of St. Andrew expected my return to finish her great affairs, saying she could trust nobody but me. I was three weeks in a continual hurry, oftener at Nevers, and at Moulins in Bourbonnois, than at Noeie. I was known to be of the religion, and great care was
“ taken,

“ taken to inform me of any considerable persons changing
 “ their religion in any place. I saw nothing but fallings
 “ on the right and the left, the most pious sunk under the
 “ power of the temptations; trembling seized me. I said
 “ in my grief, if the cedars fall, what will become of the
 “ bullrush? The lady of St. Andrew who thought herself
 “ sheltered from the storm, was attacked in her turn. Mr.
 “ de Harlai counsellor of state, and at that time intendant
 “ of Burgundy, wrote to her from Parai-le-moineau. His
 “ letter was full of civilities, but pressing and without flat-
 “ tery. He said, of two things she must do one, forsake her
 “ religion, or resolve to lose her estate, her liberty, and
 “ also to suffer in her own person. This is the doleful
 “ choice she was to make.* That lady desired time, with-
 “ out promising any thing by that first answer. Mr. the
 “ intendant, gave her fifteen days at farthest to consider of
 “ it, and explained himself so distinctly and powerfully on
 “ his orders that Madam St. Andrew, and Monsieur and
 “ Madam de Membreun seeing themselves brought to extre-
 “ mities, resolved to seek for some allowances to be made
 “ in the reunion that was proposed to them. That de-
 “ sign was put in execution, and an act of reunion was drawn
 “ up, on the model of the gentlemen of Grenoble, and
 “ those of Lyons. A letter was joined to that act, and
 “ Mr. de Monchanin du Monceau was the bearer of all,
 “ who came to Dijon before the 15 days were expired. But
 “ it was in vain. Mr. the intendant, would not yield to
 “ any thing. He repeated his former threats, and told the
 “ Sieur de Monchanin, that he would send 12 archers to
 “ take me. The bishop of Autun seemed also to be very
 “ angry with me. They had been informed that I had
 “ taken much pains in Poitou to confirm my brethren, and
 “ that I continued yet to go from time to time in the pro-
 “ vinces of Nivernois, and of Berry, for the same purpose.
 “ Mr. de Monchanin endeavoured to excuse me, and told
 “ the intendant that I was no wicked person; and that if it
 “ was a crime to be wedded to one’s religion, we were all
 “ guilty, and as he was going to enlarge upon our misfor-
 “ tunes, and the hardships that were exercised against us,
 “ the said Sieur intendant interrupted him, saying to him:
 “ what do you complain for, you have not yet resisted unto
 “ blood! these words, to speak it en passant, have made
 “ great impressions upon me since. They are St. Paul’s
 “ words

“ words in the 12th of the Hebrews, but assuredly it was
“ not with the same spirit, nor with the same end that the
“ intendant made use of them here; it is rather with that
“ of Julian the apostat, who thus answered the complaints
“ of the christians of those times whom he persecuted: It
“ belongs to you to suffer, for your master foretold that it
“ would happen to you. It is thus that this famous apos-
“ tat, and the celebrated Mr. de Harlay insult the poor
“ afflicted in persecuting them themselves. Oh, it was not
“ the spirit of God that inspired those words into that in-
“ tendant, as he did into St. Paul, who spoke them by the
“ inspiration of God to comfort and strengthen the afflicted
“ Hebrews: and the former by the orders of a prince who
“ has undertaken to exterminate the church of God; and
“ to terrify and discourage the persecuted believers.

“ Mr. de Monchanin informed us at his return, that the
“ intendant would not come in person, but that he had de-
“ puted Monsieur the Lieutenant General, and the King’s
“ attorney of Autun, to execute his orders, and that the
“ bishop, accompanied with those gentlemen, and the mar-
“ shalsea’s of Dijon, and of Autun, and with his ordi-
“ nary attendance was coming to la Noe. A fine equi-
“ page! A fine retinue for a clergyman! Did the apostles go
“ to convert nations with satellites of this nature? Mr. de
“ Autun is a prelate who attended the rest, but neither he,
“ nor any of his brethren, the prelates that have been at
“ the head of the archers and dragoons, to make Roman
“ apostolical missions, I say, none of those prelates consider,
“ that there is a King of Kings above him whom they would
“ please, to whom an account must be given for those vio-
“ lent and cruel proceedings, so disagreeable to their cha-
“ racter, but which they have authorized by their presence
“ or approbation. In the mean time to speak something
“ in their praise, those illustrious prelates are persons of
“ their word. They had indeed promised that treatment
“ in the letter which they addressed to us in the beginning
“ of their great persecutions. *Et erant novissima vestra pe-
“ jora prioribus.*”

But let us hear our martyr. “ He told me that I was
“ particularly threatened, and that he advised me to absent
“ myself. I told him that I would follow his advice, and
“ accordingly I went from la Noe two hours before that
“ numerous company came thither. I was in great perplexi-
“ ties,

“ ties, I loved truth above all things, but I had no kind of
 “ inclination for martyrdom, and I saw no other hopes to
 “ escape it than by flight. This I had often designed to do,
 “ but the lady Marchioness had always opposed it very
 “ earnestly, so far as to tell me that if I left her, I should
 “ make her despair. I had yielded to her requests, as I did
 “ again in that occasion. One thing surpris'd and afflicted
 “ me; which was that how fatal soever that conjuncture
 “ was, that lady never neglected the care of her business.
 “ She seeing me designed to retire, said to me very kindly
 “ 15 days before my departure. Where will you go sir?
 “ you are not fit for the gallies; do you find yourself dis-
 “ posed for martyrdom, 15 days imprisonment will kill you,
 “ see if you can resolve to do as we have done? I answered,
 “ that I had no inclination for martyrdom, but that God
 “ gave strength, and that it was impossible for me to do as
 “ she had done, because I should think myself damned.
 “ In the mean time, I took horse for Chatel-chignon, where
 “ my sister being persecuted by the emissaries of the bishop
 “ of Nevers, by the curate of the place, and by her own
 “ husband, very earnestly desired me to come. She had
 “ often sent me an express to intreat me not to refuse her
 “ my assistance and comforts. Besides my little domestic af-
 “ fairs called me thither. These were pressing considerations.
 “ Nevertheless to please Madam de St. Andrew, I went to
 “ Nevers where a judiciary lease of her lands was renewed.

“ In the mean time, Mr. D'Autun a very ingenious court
 “ prelate, what by his promises, and by his threats, pre-
 “ vailed upon that lady to sign her reunion, and her ex-
 “ ample was followed at Noeie with tears, and the bishop
 “ having been treated in the castle by the Marquis of Mom-
 “ brun continued his intrigues, being very well satisfied
 “ that he had sped so well. Madam had wrote to me at
 “ Nevers that he was very well inclined towards me, and
 “ vexed that he had not met with me; that he would
 “ have done nothing but what I pleased, and that he would
 “ hinder any body from doing me any violence in his dio-
 “ ceses. However it be, I saw the quite contrary a little
 “ while after. The curate of la Noeie had endeavoured to
 “ persuade me to give him a visit in his episcopal palace at
 “ Autun; upon the refusal that I made, that prelate wrote
 “ thundering letters against me to Madame de St. Andrew.
 “ Speaking of me in his last letter, he said, if that man does

“ not

“ not give satisfaction in four days, the subdelegates of the
 “ intendants of Dijon and Nevers, have orders to take
 “ him wherever they find him, though it were in your house,
 “ which will be a trouble to your Ladyship; I have hitherto
 “ hindered it from being done: both divine and human
 “ laws oblige us to make him do what you have done; you
 “ ought to constrain him to it, or forsake him. I would
 “ willingly know where that prelate will find those divine
 “ laws in the scripture, laws that authorise bishops to
 “ force christians with dragoons and archers to abjure their
 “ religion, and unite themselves to a communion that they
 “ esteem false and antichristian? Is it in these words in the
 “ gospel, *force them to come in?* But who will believe that
 “ Jesus Christ would have said that they must bring the gen-
 “ tiles (for that is spoken of them) to the profession of the
 “ christian religion by bastinadoes, by force, by violence,
 “ and by such cruelties and barbarities, that every body
 “ knows at present, to have been exercised by the guards
 “ and the dragoons, at whose heads were my lords the bishops,
 “ or those who followed their orders? In truth it is not to
 “ be comprehended what genius, and what eyes people must
 “ have, not to see that the business of religion was then
 “ carried on by the strongest, the most earnest, and the
 “ most prevailing exhortations, such as were those of the
 “ apostles, who by that mild, but powerful, and efficacious way,
 “ brought so many people, and nations to the knowledge
 “ of the gospel, and to the faith of Jesus Christ. And I
 “ dare believe, that when the bishops, and the ingenuous
 “ men of their communion read this commandment of Jesus
 “ Christ: *Compel them to come in,* they form no other idea
 “ of it to themselves, than that which I have just now re-
 “ presented, and that the apostles said of it. And I ques-
 “ tion whether any of them are bold enough to find archers
 “ and dragoons there, that plunder, steal, strike, and draw
 “ people by force to the mass, that believe nothing of it,
 “ and abhor it.

“ No, that cruel, and violent force is founded on another
 “ master's command, than the Lord Jesus, whom those
 “ gentlemen make no scruple to avow. They say, it is the
 “ King's pleasure, though they know as well as we, that the em-
 “ pire of conscience is not under the jurisdiction of the Kings
 “ of the earth, how great soever they be, but entirely under
 “ God, the King of Kings, and King of heaven and earth.

This

This is a long and particular account of what happened to our martyr until his flight. He followed the design of it as he had formed it, to endeavour to escape the threatenings, and persecutions that were preparing for him. But as he was going to retire into Swisserland, he was seized on Sunday the 4th of February, 1636, in the county of Burgundy, near the town of Pontarli, with a Swiss whose name was La Tour. He was sent to Bezanson, where he was abused, and robbed of all he had. They took his weapons from him, as also a watch of 23 louis d'or value, and the intendant la Fond gave his horse to the archer who took him for his pains. All his other equipage was dispersed here and there, in which he was distinguished from others, to whom they returned what was taken from them, and they clapped him into irons as appears by a letter to one of his friends of the 12th of April: And after having remained three weeks in prison with some that made their abjuration, and were then set at liberty, he was brought to the council-chamber on his trial, though he had then a fever; the same day sentence was pronounced against him. The day following he was put into a dungeon with fetters on his feet night and day, where he endured great temptations for two months and some days. He remarks, that when he was before the court, a counsellor seeing him wear his irons awkwardly, said to him by way of insult over his weakness, when a person is convinced that he is in the true religion, he must suffer even unto death: That truth, says he, made an impression on my heart, and I found myself strengthened by it; I also answered him, that what he said was very true, and that I was in the way to it. There are Caiaphas's of that nature who often speak oracles and truths which they think not of; like that high priest of the jews, who said you know nothing at all nor consider that it is expedient that one man should die for the people, Speaking of the death of Jesus Christ, which they had resolved on in their unhappy and perfidious council.

Being in this sad condition, he refused a supply of money which one of his relations sent him, because, said he, it was but justice they should return to him what they had taken from him, and besides, I am speedily to be fastened to the chain. He added, I am in the number of the profligate, and treated as a wicked man, but God will have mercy upon me; he has never forsaken me. I am in a place where the air is infected, and where I feed upon such diet as would
formerly

formerly have poisoned me, but I find sweetness and consolations in them beyond my present hopes.

By a letter from the same place of the 12th of May, he continues the description of his condition in these words: “ There can be nothing more outrageous than their
“ bad usage of me, the more they see me languish, the
“ more they endeavour to aggravate my confinement. For
“ some weeks past they would suffer nobody to come into it;
“ if there was any place more infectious in it I was brought
“ thither; in the mean time, truth had always the upperhand
“ in my soul; God who knows the purity of it’s intentions,
“ supporting it with his grace. He fights against me, but
“ fights also for me, my weapons are tears and prayers;
“ my faith is weak and I am a great sinner, but that God of
“ mercy, the refuge of the afflicted, the only asylum of the
“ miserable, who does not quench the smoking flax, nor
“ break the bruised reed, will have pity on me and my great
“ weaknesses: he will not suffer me to be confounded, be-
“ cause I hope in him; with the temptation, he will also
“ give me the means to escape. I will not leave him until he
“ has blessed me.”

In this manner that holy man entertained himself with his friends in the beginning of his imprisonment, and the miseries he suffered in a dark dungeon, where he says in another place, if the manner wherewith they treated him, afflicted his body, his soul was eased by it; that it was physic prepared by a hand that could not fail, which the bitterer it is, will be the more salutary. He was solicited to petition Mr. the intendant either for what they had taken from him when he was seized, or to request him to abate the rigours of his imprisonment. But he thought it not fit, because they would always require him to do what they would have him; for they still offered him liberty, as they did at first, if he would abjure. And upon this he calls God to witness that nothing but the hopes of an heavenly crown retains him in his religion, which he believes to be the only pure and holy wherein salvation is to be found; and that he would rather finish his days in torment, than forsake a religion that would make him happy in the greatest misfortunes, and patient in tribulations; which made him dispise shame, and which put into his heart to pray for his enemies, and his persecutors. He said he had compassion on them, and pitied them. They believe to do God service, and God discovers to me by the
light

light of his grace and of his word, that their zeal is inconsiderate, and that they fight against God and his truth.

At that time the superior of the jesuits of Besançon, came from the intendant to tell him, that he would send him away the Monday following, though he should be alone, to be fastened to the chain (a worthy message of a jesuit) and then he heard that his dear sister, a pious and prudent woman, and who persevered like him, in spite of all the persecutions which she had suffered, was sent unto a convent at Moulins in Bourbonnais, and that increased his affliction, but also his zeal, and his fervour. Holy father, said he, on that occasion, keep us in thy name. Here is the patience and faith of the saints.

During his abode in the prison of Besançon, he writ to one of his friends, that on the Thursday and Friday last before his letter, five persons had been condemned for their lifetime to the galleys for their religion, all poor people remote from their country. One of the five was a patrician of Montauban, who had left his wife and the least of his children: He was carried to prison with one of his children of 14 or 15 years of age, who, because of his youth, was put into the hospital of Besançon to be instructed in the Roman religion. There were also two unmarried men, the one of 56 and the other of 60 years of age, the latter was sick and dying when he was condemned, and was exempted from the dungeon and irons, but laid on a little straw, nevertheless an example of virtue and patience.

Though Monsieur le Fevre had been judged with precipitation, because they would make examples, nevertheless he was exhorted to make an address to the King, either said he, because that when he was seized they could not well convict him of a "design to forsake the kingdom, and moreover because they persuaded themselves that the fear of punishment would make him change his religion: but God," added he, who surprises the wise in their craftiness, "and who often makes choice of the weak things of this world, to confound the strong, did not forsake me, and made me see nothing but horror in the change that was proposed to me." Though he was extraordinarily solicited to it, both by his judges themselves, and by other Roman catholic persons, that his friends were obliged to make use of to give him some assistance, and to hear from him, "wherein he was well served by Mr. N---- who testified much
" respect

“ respect for him. Mr. le Fevre’s merit, said he, to the
“ friend of the protestant religion that had desired him to go
“ and see him in prison, and his unhappy engagement in
“ the reformed religion, make me share in the vexations of
“ his prison and irons, which have nevertheless nothing
“ strong enough to exorcise the demon that possesses him;
“ he is tired with the importunity of my presence,” not will-
ing to hear any body more about his conversion, for which
I would give my life. That good man who seems very zealous
for his religion, must needs be charmed with our martyr’s
virtue seeing he would have given his life for his conversion.
The Roman catholic zeal goes but seldom so far as this man
urges his.

He was conducted from Besançon where he had been judged,
to Dijon, where he came the 30th of May, 1686, but the
hardship of the journey, added to the irons that were left on
him, and those that were brought with him had bruised him,
and made an impression on his flesh. “ I am,” says he, “ in a
“ letter of the first of June from the prison of the court of
“ Dijon, I am as it were impotent, I suffer great pains all
“ over my body, and if it had not been for the comfort that
“ the Lord sent me at Ausonne, they would not have brought
“ me alive to Dijon. My irons were taken off at Ausonne,
“ and I was set on horseback, whereas before I was in a wag-
“ gon in a killing posture and pressed on all sides; but what-
“ ever happens to us, we put our trust in God, we hope in
“ him only. I have had some fits of an ague more violent
“ than usually, but God will not forsake me.” In short the
prisons and the entertainments that he found in them at Di-
jon, were more favourable to him, and those that were also
condemned with him, than those of Besançon, for which he
was thankful, and testified his acknowledgments.

“ They speak no more here, says he in a letter written
“ from the keeper’s lodge of the court of Dijon, of irons and
“ dungeons, God permits us to recover the strength we stand
“ in need of to bear the chains that are preparing for us. I
“ am treated with much humanity.” And there likewise as
at Besançon, came divers letters of recommendation in his
behalf, from divers persons of quality and friends from Paris
and Provence. They were useful indeed to shew the merit
of that prisoner, for whom so many persons of the first qual-
ity concerned themselves; but they were also prejudicial to him,
for that his judges looking upon him as a considerable person,

took so much the more pains to endeavour to gain him. And seeing that promises prevailed nothing, they made use of rigour, supposing that he would yield at last to the extremity of the torment. But gaining nothing by the one, nor the other, they resolved to make him an example of severity, to divert others from the like design. Inſomuch, that his merit, his friends and acquaintance were almoſt as prejudicial to him as the cauſe he maintained. The letters of recommendation, ſaid he, to one of his friends at Paris to whom he writ, do me harm, let us make no more uſe of them ſir, and do no longer importune Mr. the Marquis of — to whom I wiſh a marſhall's ſtaff of France. And as his friends ſent him ſums of money for his aſſiſtance above what he could deſire of them, beſides the recommendations which they procured for him; he did not accept of them, becauſe he had no need of them, ſaying that plenty was troubleſome to him; or if he accepted them it was to relieve the poor priſoners that were condemned as well as he, that were in neceſſity and miſery, but always with a proviſo, and with moſt earneſt deſires, that his brother-in-law, the Sieur — ſhould return the ſums he received, to thoſe that ſupplied him with them. He was alſo ſo nice that he would not diſcover his own neceſſities to his friends, that he might not ſeem importunate; ſaying, that though he ſhould want any thing he would not tell them; that the quality of a galley-ſlave had not abated his courage; and that if he had much, he would give much; thoſe that were condemned to the gallies with him being very poor people, deſtitute of all human relief, but rich in faith.

Being yet in the priſon of Dijon, they would have obliged him to preſent a petition to Mr. the intendant, to obtain ſome favourable uſage when he ſhould be at the chain: but he thought it not fit, ſaying, that if he could diſtinguiſh himſelf from others, which he believed could not be done, it would be cowardice to ſeparate himſelf from them. “ We do not fear,” ſaid he, “ all the preparations they threaten us with, “ and which we cannot avoid without a miracle; we wait for it, “ the ſight of a paſſionate deputy and a troop of inhuman “ guards, will be nothing frightful to us. That which troubles me moſt is the blaſphemies and the impatiencies of the “ wicked wretches with whom we ſhall be coupled.” Furthermore as his ſoul was full of acknowledgment, as well as of zeal and charity; he made known to his friends that he was particularly

particularly obliged to the keeper for the civilities which he had received in his prison at Dijon; who is, said he, a very honest man, and little fit for the office he had; the disorder of his affairs having made him take up that employ. I should but little feel my captivity, added he, if the noise of the chain did not tingle continually in my ears, and if the R. father jesuit who came from Vezelai, Corbigni l'Ornu, did not visit me so often, or only discourse with me conformable to the condition wherein I am. It was at that time that the chain, to which he was to be fastened, passed from Dijon to Paris, under the conduct of the Sieur de St. Previl. And hearing that Mr. de Marolles was in the prison of the Tournelles, and that very likely he should be put to that chain, as he really was, he asked news of him, waiting, as to himself, pretty calmly for that doleful event, and in that expectation he employed his time to fortify all those that came to visit him, to comfort his absent friends every where by his letters, and to exhort them to be faithful, and to persevere, in the most feeling and edifying terms that could be.

At last having continued about two months in the prisons of Dijon; he was conducted with his companions to Chalons on the river Sone, where the chain arrived that came from Paris, to which Mr. de Marolles was fastened, and who was then sick, as he notes in a letter that he wrote from Chalons the 3d of August, 1686, wherein he says, if it was not for the sickness of the illustrious Monsf. de Marolles, which continues still, I would tell you, my dear friend, nothing but matters of rejoicing, but my heart is wounded; I hope with the assistance of heaven that the fever of that martyr of the Lord Jesus will abate by rest; because they were to go by water, and that they had a little liberty, their chains being something lighter. At first he was coupled with a dragoon officer, whose name was Bon Valet, a very mild and discreet man, brigadier of the Marquis de Ouartigni's company, who was condemned to the galleys for having let Mr. de Ville Franche Montbrun, the lady his sister, Mademoiselle de la Jonchere, and others escape. That officer was a Roman catholic, but was used as if he had been of the religion. As for him he suffered much the first night, after which he was bound with Mr. de Marolles, and lay with him.

We may easily imagine that these martyrs journey was painful and uneasy. Here is the relation he gives of it from the Hospital of the galley-slaves at Marseilles, of the 20th of August, 1686, as soon as they arrived there.

“ It seemed to me as if I had been gone above six months
 “ from Dijon, the Lord had made my flesh and skin grow
 “ old, I have found myself in the pains of death; the guard
 “ have thought me dead, and as such, one took one thing,
 “ and another another thing from me, and without the
 “ the little stop we made at Avignon, I could expect no-
 “ thing but a cruel death. With long intreaties Mr. de
 “ St Preuil suffered me to take a litter, on condition I
 “ should pay the guard. Money was a great assistance to
 “ me. I have dispersed it. But wherefore all those cares
 “ and expences, to come to a place, that may be called the
 “ abode of misery, where I am mixed with a very great number
 “ of galley-slaves? I have been forty eight hours without
 “ being able to eat or drink what they give here, and with-
 “ out being able to close an eye. At last recommending my
 “ soul to God in that condition, I spied Mr. J. coming to me,
 “ who told me that I was recommended to him by his friend
 “ G. After that visit the fever left me. My life is not pre-
 “ cious to me, I could leave it with delight, if it was
 “ God’s will, but the Lord works miracles to preserve it
 “ to me. Farewel my dear, greet the brethren and pray
 “ for me. They continue to speak of controversies to me,
 “ and of changing my religion; how long Lord?”

When they were come to Marseilles, which was in the month of August, Mr. de Marolles and he were put into the hospital of the galley-slaves, as sick men. He says in a letter written from that hospital the 13th of September, Mr. de Marolles and myself have been some days near each other: our beds join, and we eat together; our captivity, and our frequent sicknesses, do not hinder us from diverting ourselves. It is from that place that he desires his friend to whom he wrote, to give the wife of that illustrious companion of his sufferings a visit from him, and to assure her that it would be the greatest pleasure in the world to him to do her husband service, who is, says he, one of the best christians, and the most enlightened that I know. Doubtless it was a great comfort to both of them to be together in that miserable place, and to be able to assist, and strengthen each other mutually. Nevertheless both them
 were

were expressly forbid to see the galley slaves of the religion, or to send them any thing. But the continuance of those two holy men in that place was not long, for they had been told that as soon as they were recovered, they should be separated; wherein, says he, I shall have a great loss of that godly man's conversation. And it is not to be questioned but that they made a kind of paradise of their retirement in that place, wherein they had altogether divine and celestial conversations. It is from thence that he writes concerning the prohibition that was made them to communicate any thing to the other galley-slaves. The exercises of piety and charity are no longer permitted, there is no more sincerity to be used, but I hope always in divine Providence, that does all things wisely, that it will draw good out of evil, and light out of darkness, when we shall return to the Lord our God, with all our heart. Our evils are great, but our sins are yet greater; and God must strike us with great strokes to draw our affections from the earth. These were the reflections that he made then on their particular condition, and on the news that was written to him of the state of the reformed in general, and of some particulars of his acquaintance, of whom he says, in finishing his letter: "the end of your letter informs me that you have sorrows; the Lord Jesus comfort you, and inspire you by his spirit what you have to do, may it please that great saviour to raise up them that are fallen, and to strengthen those that stand, more and more."

While he was in that hospital of the galley-slaves, with Mr. de Marolles, he was very ill. "I fall," said he, "from one relapse into another, and have found myself at death's door." The physician of the hospital took great care of me; and he wondered to see me not complain, and that the pains I endured did not make me sigh. I could not walk, says he, these two days, and find myself very weak, but do not believe for all that, that our condition is so unhappy as the people of the world think it, nor that we are so much to be pitied: no, doubtless, were it only for the testimony of a good conscience, we are happy, and nothing in regard of that can take our joy from us in our sufferings and great pains; the divine comforter, who puts us all into heart again, comes to our assistance: sometimes he hides himself, because we are people of little faith; but God who knows our sincerity, pities our weaknesses, he supports us, and takes us by the

“ hand, and in that state, death is no longer a king of terror
 “ to us. We are assured by him that loved us that we shall re-
 “ ceive mercy, and die the death of the righteous: what an
 “ advantage! what comfort! and what solid happiness is this!”

In the mean while as he had been told that he should be separated from his dear companion, Mr. de Marolles, as soon as he should be a little better; they were as good as their word with him, and he was carried from that hospital into the galley called the Grande Reale, where he was but a very few days, but very ill, according to the description he gives himself of his condition, by a letter of the 17th of September, 1686. He says, “ they send Mr. de Marolles and me to
 “ the galleys without any regard that we are languishing and
 “ weak. Mr. de Marolles began to walk, but I cannot stand.
 “ The physician of the hospital told us that it was not his fault,
 “ and that he was going to desire Mr. Begon, intendant of the
 “ galleys to let us tarry some time longer; but it was in vain.
 “ Mr. de Marolles was declared invalid, and put into the St.
 “ John, so that he is exempted from rowing, and I expect what
 “ it shall please God to send me. I went on board yesterday,
 “ where I was immediately loaden with chains. We are
 “ pitied. An officer told me, that if we were here for our
 “ crimes we might expect all manner of kindness. To all
 “ this and to my sufferings, I oppose the will of God. If
 “ poverty, sicknesses, pains and captivity are the means he will
 “ make use of, why should I refuse them? I shall die contentedly when it shall please God to call me. These are
 “ hard extremes, but though God should kill me, yet will
 “ I hope in him, and praise him all the days of my life. I
 “ am reduced to lie on a board that is but a little above two
 “ feet wide, I have nothing to cover me, but the galley-
 “ slaves my neighbours have stripped themselves for me,
 “ and if the lice and the bugs had not afflicted me, I found
 “ myself disposed for a deep and calm sleep notwithstanding
 “ the great noise that is made in the galleys.

“ While I was on board the Grand Reale, I was entered
 “ among the rest; for in that galley all the slaves are entered
 “ down from whencesoever they come. She never goes to
 “ sea, nor moves out of the harbour, and when she has many
 “ slaves on board, they are all sorted from time to time ex-
 “ cept those that they have a respect for, and they are
 “ brought into a spacious place, where the intendant, the
 “ commissary-general, and the captains of the galleys meet,
 “ and

“ and there they make choice of the lustiest and most vigorous of those that are judged best able to row, and the rest are sent back again to the Grande Reale until further order. Choice being made of those that are in health, they are divided on the armed gallies. Each captain takes his share: But I was not cheapened, my bad looks were useful to me on that occasion. There was but one captain or chief of the squadron that put a little jest upon me; for turning towards me, he told his man that he knew not how to choose, and would make his own choice, then he asked the Sieur Bonvalet which was the advocate of us two, for he wanted one. I answered him with such a sorrowful and languishing tone that I was the advocate, that he turned himself away from me.”

Some of his friends knowing him to be in that miserable condition, obtained that favour for him, to be put on board another galley, called the Magnificent, in hopes that he might find more ease there of his troubles by the credit of some friends with the captain. And indeed he found himself pretty well there by that captain's recommendation of him to the comites, and argosins, insomuch, said he, that he was afraid that he should not stay there long, being ill looked upon by the fathers of the mission, and of the almoners, whose eyes he prayed God to open, and shew them, that whilst they thought to do him service, they fought against him. It happened even so, for at two days end, he was more exactly observed than before; the liberty of seeing his friends being taken from him, as also to confer with them by writing, or to receive any letter from them directly addressed to him. He had not so much as the liberty to converse with those that were in the same galley with him, being always fastened to the chain, and kept shorter than can be expressed. At that time he was sent for to the bishop: but because of his indisposition the conference which was to be had with him was deferred to another time, as he observes in a letter of the 14th of October 1686. It is known since, that he came another time before that bishop, and that he was strongly tempted and solicited to change his religion, with assurance of his liberty. But that interview served only to confirm him in his faith, and in the design to glorify God by his sufferings, so long as it should please him to continue them, as he happily performed to the end, having always testified an extraordinary aversion to that cowardice, and an invincible

ble resolution to be faithful to his God, how ill soever they should treat him.

But it must not be forgot, that before he came out of the galleys to be put into the dungeon, he wrote an excellent letter in answer to his pastor, which will doubtless be very edifying to the public.

He says to that pastor, “ When you are absent from your
 “ flock, your heart watch, and your cares and officious
 “ ardour extend to the least of your lambs. Blessed be God
 “ the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of all mercy
 “ that inspired you with the comfort and exhortations that
 “ you sent to me. I have gone since through divers hor-
 “ rible trials to the flesh, and found that the more I am
 “ afflicted, the more salutary your councils were to me.
 “ No, I do not question but that your prayers have drawn
 “ the graces upon me that I stood in need of to profit by
 “ my temptations. I pray God to grant according to his
 “ riches all the desires of those that have taken the care to
 “ convey your letter safely to me. My design was (dear
 “ pastor) to give you an exact relation of what happened to
 “ me, but certain reasons hinder me from it. I shall tell
 “ you but one word of my condition. I told you formerly
 “ that I was observed and shut up; but had not yet seen any
 “ thing. I was put on board a galley, where I was treated,
 “ observed, and kept closer than I had been before. I was
 “ loaden with irons and chains, I lay on the boards, and
 “ though it was very cold, they hindered me from covering
 “ myself, they railed at me, and raised up their cudgels
 “ against me, a fever seized me, and all my body was full
 “ of pain. In that condition my soul raising itself above
 “ visible things, sought its God, its sovereign, and its only
 “ hope. The comforts that our Lord Jesus Christ gave us
 “ increased proportionably to the number of the evils that
 “ we endured for his sake, he encouraged me in all my fears,
 “ and said to my soul I am thy salvation. On board of one
 “ galley I had experienced the assistance of men, on board
 “ the other I experienced the assistance of God. What
 “ shall I say to you, my dear pastor, the turtle is pleased
 “ in its moans, that holy and divine spirit which is nothing
 “ but love and charity, was himself my comforter. Who
 “ else could give me what I could never have expected, and
 “ make me despise the things I feared most? The faithful-
 “ ness of my God is great; he is near those that wait on him

“ to support, maintain, and defend them in the possession
“ of their salvation. He is the only, the admirable, the
“ mighty God; he leads us through darkness to his marvel-
“ lous light: and among the dread of the gallies, he makes
“ us taste ineffable delights. I might truly say, when I am
“ weak, I am strong. I passed divers days in that condition,
“ when at last I found that I slept well, and that all that I
“ did eat agreed with me. I stop here; and have said
“ enough to make you rejoice, and to oblige you to be
“ more constant in your prayers and supplications. I shall
“ only add, that I am weakness itself; I have fightings with-
“ out, and fears within, my heart is often troubled, my
“ soul trembles, and finds itself fainting; and if God com-
“ forts me always, if he exerts his power in my great in-
“ firmities, it is because he is my refuge, and that divers
“ persons that are pleasing to him, pray with me for my
“ preservation in faith, and in his love. I conjure you
“ then by the charity you have for me to pray without ceas-
“ ing; and not only for me alone, but also for my dear fel-
“ low sufferers.

“ We have every thing to fear, both from ourselves, and
“ from those whose zeal is not according to God. They
“ add craft to violence to make us forsake a religion, to
“ which we are convinced our salvation is annexed. It is
“ to make us go down quick into hell. Lord Jesus who
“ hast given us grace to retain the patience, which is taught
“ in thy word, keep us according to thy divine promises
“ in the hour of temptation, finish what thou hast begun;
“ I will not leave thee until thou hast blessed me, and
“ until thou hast received my soul. It is my faith,
“ and my hope. Here are divers witnesses whose state
“ is conformable to mine: they are confessors that pre-
“ serve their hope and faith inviolably, and that are
“ resolved to suffer all, yea death itself, if it please the Lord,
“ for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. We
“ endeavour to attain the mark of our high calling, the
“ race is difficult, the way is rough, but we cast our eyes
“ on the Lord Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith,
“ we place all our confidence in him that raises the dead,
“ and that calls the things that are not, as if they were.
“ Offer to our God in the land of benediction where he has
“ called you, pleasing sacrifices, of humble hearts, and peni-
“ tent souls to disarm his anger; and for my part, I will of-
“ fer

“fer him prayers for you from the bottom of my heart,
 “Holocausta medullata, that he may fill you with all kind
 “of joy, and enrich you more and more with the graces
 “of his holy spirit; and that in your days you may see all
 “your sheep enter again into the sacred fold. Oh, if that is
 “the object of my wishes, it is also often the subject of my
 “tears and my sighs!”

He continued on board the galleys only till the month of April, 1687, so that he was not quite a whole year there. We cannot apprehend the reason of it, unless it was because he was judged invalid, as Mr. Marolles was, and as such, both ought to have been sent back into the hospital of the galley-slaves, where they had been put immediately upon their arrival at Marseilles: but whether it was to hinder those two confessors from having any communication with the other galley-slaves, or with the rest of the people, or whether they were minded to make them feel more sensibly all the hardships and rigours able to crush them, or bring them to the change that was proposed to them in vain, they were both put into dungeons in the two utmost parts of Marseilles: Mons. de Marolles in fort St. Nicholas, Mons. le Fevre in fort St. John, which was done, as he says, by an order that the bishop, and the intendant had from court, where they remained until their death: Mons. de Marolles until the 17th of June, 1692. When he rendered his soul into the hands of his God, and Monsieur le Fevre until the night of the 13th or 14th of the month of June, 1702, ten years after his dear companion.

Now as he was far from any intercourse, and deprived of all the means of having any, being kept close and guarded in his dungeon, there was no news to be had of him but very rarely, with great trouble and charge; good part of the money that was designed for him and his companions being employed to pay those that undertook to serve them in it, which they did not without extraordinary dangers, so far that some of them have been condemned to be hanged, and have been executed without pardon; which made him say that it was a prodigy to find a faithful messenger, and that God must raise him extraordinarily to hinder him from seeing the greatness of the danger he exposed himself to; which was the reason that he kept his letters sometimes a year without finding a fit opportunity of sending them.

It was about that time that he composed a large discourse on the necessity of sufferings, and the indispensable duty to endure them, when God calls us to it; quoting divers passages of the scripture, and several fine places of Tertullian on that subject. And on that occasion he desired his pastor earnestly to compose a tract concerning martyrdom. He satisfied his request, for which he testified his acknowledgments to him. He copied it, and sent it to the other prisoners, and among others to Mr. de Marolles, who was then living. From thence it was sent to Geneva, where it was printed, to distribute copies of it in the galleys, and prisons; which that author did not know but by a copy that was sent to him afterwards. It may be added to the end of this history if it is thought fit. But to return to the prison, where that confessor was confined, and where God continued the wonderful assistance of his grace and spirit to him, in a greater measure than before, as appears in the sequel by the letters that have been received from him, sent either to his friends in France, and in foreign countries, or to the confessors in the galleys, with whom he always kept correspondence as much as was possible: wherein it will appear what excellent and admirable lights sprung out of the darkness of his prison, by the conversations held between his soul and his God, while he was deprived of those of the world.

I shall begin with the description of his prison, which he made himself, and by that of his outward condition, during all the time of his hard captivity, which lasted 16 years. "That prison is in fort St. John, the situation where-
" of he says he knows not, the gate by which he entered
" into it being on the harbour. It is a vault of an irregu-
" lar figure, which was formerly a stable, but being too
" moist, was found unhealthful for horses. There is yet
" a rack and a manger in it, and no light can come into
" it but by the door; the upper part whereof is broken and
" grated within and without. Over against the opening are
" bars, fastened to an iron bar, rivetted at the top into
" the wall: that place is very dark and moist, they only
" give it light by whites, the air of it is infected, and gives
" an ill scent, every thing moistens and rots in it, all the
" wells and fountains are above me. I never saw any fire
" there but that of a candle."

As he entered into that place they searched him, and took the only book, that he had left, from him. At first he lay

two or three nights in a very moist manger, and above a month on a very short and narrow chest, having two seats of straw, one at the feet, and the other at the head, higher than the chest, so that he lay high and low, without any other covering than the King's garments. Nevertheless, he says, he slept quietly enough. Sometimes the cold interrupted his sleep, but he shifted as well as he could. "This hard entertainment, adds he, caused me a defluxion on the teeth, great pains in the reins, rheum, rheumatism, and at last a continual fever, but God made use of those evils to wean my heart from the world, and to teach me to persevere in a faithful resignation to his will."

Though he was of a weak and delicate constitution; yet God raised him five times from extraordinary sicknesses which he had in divers places, as at Geneva, at Paris, at Thoulouse, and at St. John de Angle; so that he had all kind of Agues, and a cruel cholic in the stomach. It is impossible but that a body of such a weak constitution should suffer extremely in such an unwholesome place, affected with drowsiness, having almost nothing but skin and bone, with a rheumatism, flying pains, chiefly in the neck and shoulders, and perpetual hummings in the ears. Nobody durst come near him, nor look upon the place of his retreat, and much less speak to him. In some moments he says, he considered death as his best friend, and as his great comfort, that the happiness of his life consisted in the losing of it, and that he ought to desire death to be happy in some manner.

"Be sensible of my misery," said he, to a dear relation whom he entertained with his sorrowful condition, "but be yet much more sensible of the glory and the happiness to which this misery tends. Death is nothing, Jesus Christ conquered it for me; and when the time shall come, he will give me sufficient strength to pull off the mask it bears in great afflictions. Major est metus vitæ quam mortis, the fear of living a long time, is greater than that of dying soon; in the mean time, it is more honourable to endure the most wretched life, than to desire death." Can there be a finer thought?

There were some intervals of time when, his pains redoubling, and his strength diminishing, he spoke as if he was just dying, and thought he was not far from death, he said under that apprehension, "that he asked pardon of
" all

“ all those whom he had offended by weakness, inadvertency, or otherwise: and I declare before God (says he) that I freely forgive those that have offended me in any manner whatsoever. No, it is not likely that I can live much longer, unless the Lord move the hearts of those to compassion that give order for my sustenance; the aliments which they give me being full of divers kinds of nastiness and impurities in very great number; and unless God acts in an extraordinary manner on my body and on the aliments that they give us.” That complaint of the badness of his food is found in divers passages of his letters, wherein he gives an account of it to his friends that desired him to inform them of his condition, to the end they might remedy it one way or the other, or to comfort him about it. And there is reason to believe by what he says of it here and there on divers occasions, and by the continuation of that bad usage, which was not remedied notwithstanding all the remonstrances that could be made against it; I say there is reason to believe that there was a design to hasten the death of that confessor, whose perseverance, and the wonderful graces that God displayed in him, caused a spight and excited the fury of the enemies of the faith, as it happened to his illustrious companion *Monf. de Marolles*, whose end was hastened by the like usage. He wrote in the year 1699. That they had cruelly persecuted him divers years by the corruption of all the food which they gave him, either to drink or to eat; but, said he, the Lord supports my weak nature in a miraculous manner. Besides the badness of his food, he had yet poverty to oppose, being often without linen or cloaths. It is likely, said he, that I should have been without a shirt, if God had not given me two by an extraordinary way; but I could never discover to whom I am indebted for them (who at the same time, caused a bolster and some other things to be given him) I fell immediately on my knees before my God, to thank him for such an unexpected assistance. At the same time, a proposition was made to him of making a present to the major of the citadel to oblige him to take some care of him; but he refused it, by telling those charitable persons that advised him to it, that there was danger in it both for them and him. In the mean time that good servant of God called himself happy. “ God,” said he, “ comforts and supports me in a sensible manner, he gives me strength to suffer my afflictions with joy, and with an invincible patience and perseverance; and if I should
“ tell

“ tell you that sometimes I am so contented and happy, that I “ forget I had any sorrow, I should tell you the truth.” In that condition, at the hours of spiritual exercises, he repeated and sung the beginning of the 35th Psalm, “ *Plead thou my cause, &c.* and the 130th Psalm, which he said were very suitable to his condition; and furthermore that he felt and knew that God had not forgotten him, that he had always been near to support him, and that in his poverty he eat, drank, and slept at his regular hours.

In that time he thought himself near his death, writing to one of his friends, that he must not depend too much on his health, nor his life, one of his fellow sufferers, confessor on board the galleys, wrote him an excellent comfortable letter on that subject, which deserves to have some extracts of it made public, “ Be of good courage, said he, sir, and “ most dear brother, if the wisdom of God had designed “ your dungeon for your tomb, he has also prepared his “ magnificent kingdom to receive your soul there, while “ your body shall remain in the dust for a time which can “ be but very short. In your death you will find the be- “ ginning of the new life. The miseries that you suffer in “ your body, serve only to make your resurrection more “ glorious and triumphant. Our troubles are thorns that “ God puts into our flesh to purge and cleanse us, as gold “ in the pot of the refiners, to draw us from the pleasures of “ the earth, and to wean our affections from the world, for “ fear we should perish with it. But to accomplish the will “ of our God more perfectly, let us constantly remember by “ his example, that we ought to forgive our enemies with “ all our heart all the evils that they make us suffer, without “ retaining the least resentment of it. Let us be moved with “ compassion towards those poor miserable and blind creatures, “ and let us pray the eternal father, not to reward them ac- “ cording to their sins; that he will not remember their “ iniquities to punish them for them; but on the contrary, “ that he may please to drown them in the ocean of his “ grace, that he will save them by his mercy, and receive “ them into his covenant, and fit them for the participa- “ tion of his most blessed immortality.”

Our martyr answered those exhortations admirably well; for writing to one of his kinswomen, to whom it had been said that he must needs have given some reason for the ill usage that was given him, seeing they exercised no such rigours against any others, he says, “ I take God and the angels to “ witness

“witness that it is only for the cause of religion that I am thus treated; that is all my crime against men, but not against God, who chastises me in his mercy, and thereby makes me comprehend that he is so much the more propitious to us, because he seems severe to us; and that so far from murmuring against it, he prayed him incessantly, not only to exercise his mercy on those that suffer, but on those also that inflict the punishment; he that commands us to love our enemies, works what he commands in us himself. The world has looked upon us a long time as tottering walls, but it does not see the almighty hand that supports us.”

“They do not forget to try always,” says he elsewhere, “to weary out my patience; and there is reason to believe that the money that is given for me, is not employed to my relief; it does not come to our hands, and I do not know what is done with it, nor where it goes. That which is certain, is, that when I entered into my dungeon, the major told me that the King would not maintain me, and that I ought to give order for my expences, and to regulate it.” For that purpose he was permitted to send bills of exchange drawn by him on his relations, for the payment of his provision, without suffering him to write any thing about his condition, or his health: “I did it, says he, and agreed with a public housekeeper, for ten pence a day, to live a life according to my condition; which lasted but three months: because the host that served me with provision cheated me, and the major favoured him:” though he seemed not to approve of his conduct on the complaints that were made to him about it. He had also promised that I should be provided with a mattress, and covering, “mine,” said he, “being rotten, and my covering all rags; but all this without effect. In the mean time, how great soever my anguish was, I esteem it more expedient to suffer life, than to desire death, unless it be desired as St. Paul did, to be with Christ, to possess the fulness of that holiness and charity, that is only to be found in Heaven.” Whereupon he blames the action of Eusebius of Verceil, who being confined to Scythopolis by the Arians, had a design of starving himself to death, quoting this sentence of a poet on that subject.

“Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere mortem,

“Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.”

“God,” said he, “will be glorified by my sufferings, the longer they are, and the more difficult to be supported, the more glory

“glory the Lord will have by them,” alledging on that subject the words of an ancient. “Unde esset magnum perseverare, nisi inter tribulationes, et tentationes esset perseverandum.

“I am, says he, always pursued with the same violence, “there is no intermission in regard of me; they always deny me all manner of commerce with the living, and also “with the dead; certainly they would use no villain as they “have served me: but the Lord who is my God, my protector, and my deliverer, has relieved me: he has had pity “on my weakness, and given me a patience that I never durst “have hoped for: glory be given to him for it now and ever- “more. It is glorious,” says he again elsewhere on the same subject, “it is glorious to suffer for his cause, it is the most “excellent manner whereby God can be glorified by men, “as it is the greatest sign of glory and honour that God does “to men. I do not refuse the honour he does me on that account, but I conjure him by the bowels of his mercy to produce in me powerfully both to will and to do according to “his good pleasure. I acknowledge that men make me suffer for God, and that God makes me suffer for my sins. “That he permits men to make me suffer, is doubtless for “my sins, but it is at the same time also for his interest, “and for justice. Therefore it is that God always just, and “faithful in his promises, takes my part and the defence “of my cause: if he does not hear me, *ad voluntatem*, he “will hear me *ad salutem*; and whether I live, or whether “I die, I will live to him, and die to him.”

Afterwards he was two years and some months closely confined, until the end of the year 1698, inasmuch that he had no kind of intercourse with the world and his friends; he that served him for a messenger having been imprisoned. They took away all his works, his pious books, some writings, some sermons, the abridgement of Monsieur de la Placeite's morals, and he kept only the translation of our psalms, printed at Neufchatel.

Some days after he had been in that solitude, the missionary father Guiraud, accompanied with another clergyman, who having doubtless already seen him before, had protested that he would not see him until the day of the resurrection; came nevertheless to see him, spoke to him, cared for him, and would enter into controversy with him: but he intangled and embarrassed himself strangely, and brought nothing but confusion away from his visit. It was in speaking of his

his privation of the conversation with the world. that he said ; It was the school of sufferings, wherein he learned to die to the desires of the world, to ones self, and to self-love. “ It is in retirement, and solitude that we raise ourselves to God, and converse with him in prayer, which is the refuge of saints, and the comfort of martyrs. It is there that a faithful life finds all that it can, and ought to desire of its Jesus the comforter, and that it has so much the more familiarity with its creator, because it has the less with the creature.”

It was on christmas-eve of that year, that a soldier who had done him some little service, was condemned to be hanged. “ But, said he, in those extremities of sufferings, and in those oppressions of the flesh ; God made me feel his assistance in fight of those that surrounded me. It happened but once or twice to me, to tell them that they violated all the laws of humanity in regard of a man who had given nobody any subject of complaint, and whose innocence and sincerity was known to them ; in saying to them, that as for the rest, I trusted in God, and that when a man suffered for God, he wanted no courage ; that he did not suffer all this by his own strength ; that he was there ready to suffer, and that he did not refuse to die.

“ As this holy man desired nothing so much as his sanctification, without which he knew that his courage, and patience would be in vain, he said, in a letter to Mademoiselle R. I enter into the 10th year of my sufferings, (this was in 1695) and by God’s grace, I have neither lost spirit, nor patience, nor faith, nor health, at least not totally. Ah my dear kinswoman, the Lord has heard your prayers, and those of the Moses’s and of the Samuel’s, that intercede for me : He has spared my weakness, he has pitied my frailty, and he will finish what concerns me. If I was but disburthened from the weight of my sins, if I could disengage myself from the thoughts of the world, I should be too happy, I should be incomparably more happy, than I was in the world, though when I left it, I had almost what I could reasonably desire in it. But I confess with grief, and confusion, that I am a man of little faith, and a sinner, I have desired my visible and temporal liberty with too much ardour and fervency.”

This is very near hitherto, That is to the month of November 1699, what could be collected of his condition, as to the evils, and the sufferings to which he was exposed all

that time. He had, as we have said, pious and holy conversations with his Brethren, to whom he often gave advice; and whom he also freely reprimanded for their faults, when he thought there was occasion for it: as also with his other friends, relations, and particularly with his pastor, with whom he had a regular intercourse, when it was suffered him to have any, to whom he communicated himself intimately, and asked his advice on all things. And here are some passages gathered out of that martyr's pious conversations that will doubtless be edifying to the readers, for the excellent lights of wisdom and piety that appear in them, and wherewith the grace of God had so richly endowed him.

First of all, that holy man, notwithstanding all the graces and gifts of faith, and of sanctification, wherewith God had plentifully furnished him, complained almost in all his letters, of his infirmities and sins, much more than he did of his misfortunes and of his outward sufferings, which he mentioned only to satisfy those that pressed him to inform them of it, and to testify his acknowledgment to God, for the patience, and strength, that he gave him to undergo them; whereas his letters were all full of complaints which he made to God, and to men, of his sins, and his inward weakneses. He said also, "that there needed more graces, and force
 " against sin, than for the resistance unto blood. There are
 " times wherein God suspends the influences of his grace to-
 " wards me, wherein he takes the sentiments of his love from
 " me; which I look upon as a chastisement, and an effect of
 " God's love towards me, who makes me to desire the renew-
 " ing of his spirit, there being no greater evidence of the pre-
 " sence of his spirit, than the desire of a more abundant grace.
 " I am so great a sinner, that it is just I should be chastised.
 " Happy is he whom the Lord is willing to instruct, whom
 " he vouchsafes to teach his law; he will keep his soul at rest
 " in the most difficult times, and while the ditch is digging,
 " to cast the wicked in."

It was concerning those inward conflicts that he said to one of his friends, that the devil, who animates the flesh and sin against the holy confessors, for spight and in despair to be deceived in his hopes by their perseverance, whom he could not vanquish by the severity of their torments that he raised against them, displays the utmost strength of his malice and fury by those inward conflicts that he raises in them,

and draws, if it may be so said; all his armies into order of battle to corrupt the heart and the mind; to which he aptly compares St. Paul's thorn in the flesh.

In the mean time his mind was always employed on pious things, in meditating on the mysteries of truth and salvation, and on the means to attain to it; a subject of which he spake with as much light and solidity as the most accomplished divines; which made those that knew him particularly, to wonder, as knowing that he had never applied to the study of divinity: he said also to those that testified their admiration to him on that subject; "That he had never learned the things he told them, before he was a galley slave, and a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and his domestick disciple, and that it was not he alone that had learned to speak in irons, and to pray on the sea, but that his dear companions had received the same graces." And indeed there are divers letters from those confessors, which justify that truth perfectly, different in condition, but by the graces of the spirit made equal in the knowledge of salvation, and to whom God gave those lights that they had not before.

He complains often of the suspensions of grace, and of the variety of motions wherewith his soul was agitated in that condition. And he takes it for a chastisement of God for his sins, but the end thereof to be always happy for him; grace returning after his correction, and delivering him from his disquiets by the repose and the calm which it produced in his soul; which he expresses very well, by these words of a psalm which he turns thus:

God in his wrath has punish'd me,
 'Tis less than my desert;
 He like a tender father does
 The fears of death avert.

"God chastises me," said he, "only to correct me for my faults, and to save me in spite of the world and hell. That Almighty hand that began the work will finish it. I keep to my pledge and the promises of my God. Now this is the use that God would have me make of the suspensions and interruptions of the virtue of his sanctifying spirit. I. It is a continual warning that God gives me to amend and reform all that is in me, which may displease him. II. God puts me in mind what I am, or to speak more forcibly, he makes me to know and feel in a most lively manner that I am but vanity in his presence. III. He

“ would make me sensible what he is to me, by a conti-
 “ nual dependence upon his assistance; that is, that I stand
 “ extremely in need of it, and that I should perish, if he
 “ withdrew it altogether from me. Certainly I am not in-
 “ different to that Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth,
 “ seeing he visits and comforts me in my afflictions and
 “ troubles, and his goodness reduces me again into the way
 “ that he had marked out for me. IV. God will give me
 “ thereby a greater value for his gifts and favours; and lastly,
 “ he will thereby also inspire me with the contempt of such
 “ a wretched and untoward life, and with the desire to pass
 “ into my dear country, where there is perfect peace, and an
 “ eternal quiet. It is God only that can make us happy.
 “ Our perfect happiness is in heaven, and there is none
 “ solid to be found on earth. Death must be desired in
 “ order to be happy in some sort, but we must die indeed
 “ to be perfectly happy. It was very well said by one of
 “ old, that he who thinks he is to die, easily despises things
 “ present.”

It must be confessed that these were happy suspensions,
 and such as produced admirable effects in that martyr's
 soul.

In those motions and dispositions he sent this excellent
 and holy prayer which he had composed for his own use, to
 his brethren, to Mr. Neau who was then in a dungeon, and
 to the confessors that were on board the galleys, which de-
 serves to be inserted in this place; wherein he says that he
 makes use of Mr. de Placcite's thoughts and expressions,
 from whom a book had been sent him, and whose thoughts
 and notions he says pleased him, and which he endeavoured
 to accommodate to his own use, and to that of his com-
 panions,

A Prayer to Jesus Christ.

“ Cut me, burn me, strike me, O my God, but heal
 “ me, but comfort, and dwell with me, and support me
 “ with thy spirit. Let thy inward and secret voice comfort
 “ my afflicted heart, and let thy presence dissipate my trou-
 “ bles, and not a day of my life shall pass without adoring
 “ thy incomprehensible goodness, and testifying my sense
 “ of it with most humble thanks. I do not rely on
 “ my resolutions, on my cares, nor on my strength. I ex-
 “ pect all from thy grace, O my God, and from thy merci-
 “ ful

“ful and undeserved goodness. And I humbly supplicate
“thee with all the fervour and humility I am capable of,
“that it may please thee to banish all other objects besides
“thyself absolutely out of my mind, and not suffer me to
“think on any thing whatsoever but to fear thee, to sub-
“mit my will to thine, and to believe thy truth and love
“thy goodness. And to the end, O my God, that I may
“promise to myself that thou wilt receive my homages, my
“adorations, and my acknowledgments with delight, and
“that of thy goodness, thou wilt hear my prayers, purify
“my mouth, my hands, and my heart, by the salutary
“virtue of thy precious blood, and by the powerful effi-
“cacy of thy spirit. I know there are no impurities, no
“filthinesses, but what the merit of the one, and the influ-
“ences of the other can take away. Give me that double
“assistance, O adorable Saviour; blot out my sins past by the
“merit of thy sufferings, and reform my present defects by
“the graces of thy spirit. Let the sacred fire of that spirit
“inflame my heart, to make a pleasing sacrifice of it to thee,
“in this destitution I am of all kind of relief. O merciful
“redeemer of mankind; make me to find in the reading
“and meditation of thy holy word, the instruction of my
“mind, the nourishment of my faith, the support of my
“hope, and the salutary remedy of all my pains. Cure me
“of that profound disgust which I have hitherto but too
“much felt for that celestial and supernatural food. Re-
“claim me from that natural inclination to my own lusts,
“which carries me to do my own will, whereas I ought to
“have none other but thine. Give me grace to submit my-
“self gently and quietly to thy yoke, to bear it with joy,
“and never to complain of its weight. Amen.”

He expressed almost the same thoughts in verse, which I do not repeat here.

All his prayers, and all his meditations, were accompanied with great, and admirable sentiments of his trust in God, to whom he made his addresses. See here authentic marks of it. “I expect all,” said he, “from the grace of my God, I hope
“all from my Saviour Jesus Christ, who will subject my flesh to
“his obedience, and who will heal the diseases of my soul. I
“have often said with a father for whom I have a veneration;
“that I should despair, if I had not a great physician. My
“comfort is, that this great physician has undertaken my cure;
“this is my faith, and my hope; he will never forsake me;

“ he fought for me, when I did not seek him. He has en-
 “ gaged me in the defence of his truth, in spite of my re-
 “ sistance, and my fear: will he forsake me then, when I seek
 “ him, and have a sincere desire to serve him, and when I am
 “ afraid of nothing more than that I should fear something
 “ else more than him? No, because that seeking after him,
 “ that desire and that filial fear, are earnest of his love, and
 “ assurances of his protection, it shall always be an infallible
 “ refuge for me; no, because his mercy endures for ever, and
 “ that those whom he loved in the beginning, he loves unto
 “ the end. What has he not done, and what does he not do
 “ for me; and where can I find one like him in heaven, or in
 “ earth? He opens the ears of my mind to make me hear his
 “ voice, he takes me by the hand when I stagger, he raises me
 “ up again when I am fallen, he supports me in my weaknesses,
 “ he bears me up in my languishments, and defeats all the
 “ strength of those wild beasts that would devour me. His de-
 “ sign is to lead me into that city whereof honourable things
 “ are spoken. May it please the Lord my God who is my fa-
 “ viour not to forsake me, to the end I may never forsake him.
 “ But as it is not sufficient to be in Jesus Christ not to be con-
 “ demned; we must also live no longer after the flesh; and
 “ since that miserable flesh is not yet crucified with all its lusts;
 “ I cannot have a more dangerous enemy than it. I conjure
 “ you my most dear pastor, by him whose faithful minister
 “ you are, not to think so much on the evils that men do,
 “ and are capable to do unto me, as to think also, and oftener
 “ on those that the prince of darkness, and unclean spirits
 “ can do unto me, and on that dreadful devastation that sin
 “ has made in my soul.”

“ As for the rest,” added he, “ God is always in my heart,
 “ though he does not always make himself to be equally felt
 “ there. I will act with confidence, provided he assists me,
 “ for without his assistance I fall away like water that runs
 “ apace. God is stronger than all, and nobody can take me
 “ out of his hand; I depend upon his goodness whereof he has
 “ given me so many proofs. The tender cares that his adora-
 “ ble Providence has been pleased to take of me, strengthen
 “ me in the midst of my fears; he declared himself my pro-
 “ tector from the time that the Judges seated themselves
 “ on their tribunal to judge me. They pressed me on
 “ my trial, and told me I had yet that moment to avoid
 “ a condemnation to the gallies. I answered the court
 “ that

“ that I could not betray the dictates of my conscience: I was
“ condemned by men, and justified before God. And all this
“ served only to procure the edification of his church, and
“ my own salvation. I have comprehended in all this, that
“ the life of my soul, its repose, its true happiness consists in
“ following the will of God, in depending solely upon his
“ wise councils, and in keeping myself wholly devoted to his
“ service. It is the fruit that I receive of my sufferings,
“ which makes me to say, that a believer is never happier
“ than when he places all his confidence in God, and in his
“ sufferings. In such a state, and resolution, all his miseries
“ are so many seals of his election, and eminent signs of the
“ protection of his God: and if it were not so, I should not
“ be chastised.”

Besides these good and holy reflections, which he made on himself, and on his outward and inward state, he employed part of his time in meditating on the mysteries of salvation, and matters of divinity; by which he exercised his mind, requiring the opinions and advice of others in those points which he judged difficult on that subject. This was the subject of divers large and good letters for a long time which he wrote to his pastor, and which he sent him when he could find favourable occasions for it. He proposed his opinions, and desired an explication and advice upon them; and he answered to those that were given him, when he was of a different opinion, with much good sense and strength. After this manner he said a great many fine things on a passage of Seneca, “ *cur bonis mala accidunt,*” to which allusion was made, in speaking of his trials and sufferings. He alleged some passages of the fathers, of whom he had some knowledge, but chiefly of the holy scriptures, which were very familiar to him, but would be too long to repeat here, likewise on these other words of Seneca: that the Gods send misfortunes to strong men. Wherein he observes very well, that it is the grace of God, and not nature and philosophy, as that philosopher thought, that makes the strength of those whom he tries, or whom he strengthens in their trials; that the true strength of a believer consists in knowing his weakness, in the sense that St. Paul said: when I am weak, then I am strong, because that when a person acknowledges his weakness aright, he has his recourse to grace, and to the power of God for his assistance, and it is that which makes our strength.

On that occasion, he speaks excellently of the nature and operation of the grace of God in us, of its effects, and the incomprehensibility of the manner of that operation; and says all that the most able and orthodox divines could say on that subject.

He had also a long discourse with that minister on the nature of celestial happiness, and having asked wherein it did properly consist, since it was told him that it was expressed in scripture by seeing of God, according to that saying, *We shall see him as he is*: Because it seemed to him that they did not give so much extent to those words as ought to be, and that they had not sufficiently expressed the parts of that happiness, he shews and demonstrates very well, that the blessedness consists in knowing and loving God. It was indeed the opinion of him with whom he had that conversation; as also of all the divines, they could have none other of it. In the mean time as he did not believe that they had explained themselves sufficiently upon it, he makes divers good reflections upon it, which shew that the true knowledge of God implies a true love for God here below, and the perfect knowledge that the blessed have of it in heaven, a love as perfect. And this knowledge, and this love filling all the faculties of the body and soul, and penetrating them with joy and glory, will compose the eternal blessedness of the saints.

The thorn of St. Paul was yet another subject which he desired his pastor to explain unto him, who noted unto him the divers opinions of divines thereupon, and the difficulty of determining that matter, which obliged the wisest not to decide any thing absolutely about it. He answered that he did not believe there was any rashness in desiring to be resolved on that subject; that according to his opinion that thorn (which they had noted to him as the most general opinion) was only a bad desire, or a bad thought which pleased his inclinations; and which troubled him, and as the devil is the author of those kinds of impressions and suggestions, St. Paul calls it therefore an angel of Satan, from whom God would not deliver his servant, that he might prevent him from exalting himself beyond measure by reason of the excellency of his revelations, and also very proper to inspire a deep humility into him, and more lively sentiments of his own emptiness. This he applied in some manner to the condition of the confessors, and particularly

particularly to his own; saying that as the honour he had to suffer for Christ was great, God permitted that in the midst of those glorious sufferings there should yet many times arise fleshly desires and lusts in their minds by the instigation of Satan, who, not being able to overthrow their faith, and triumph over their patience by the sufferings to which they were exposed, endeavours to seduce and corrupt them by those kinds of carnal and worldly passions, that were as their thorn, by which God permitted an angel of Satan to buffet them.

Many times he also gave his companions that consulted him all the insight which they desired on their condition, on their doubts, on their imperfections and their defects, whereof they complained to him, and desiring to be instructed and comforted in them, which he did with a liveliness and charity. But he complained also to them of his own proper condition, which he said was much beneath their faith and sanctification; practising very well that precept of St. Paul, always to esteem every body more excellent than himself, insomuch that there was among those confessors of Jesus Christ a conflict of modesty and charity, of honour and respect extremely edifying. And as the others thanked him with praises which they thought to be due to him, he said he required only their prayers, and no pene-gericks, acknowledging himself unworthy of the praises they gave him. This is what he said to his pastor when he congratulated him for his patience, perseverance, and all the virtues which he made to shine through the obscurity of his dungeon. "My dear pastor," said he, "praises me and I suffer it, but it is because I am persuaded that he praises the gift of God in me, and that he praises me to encourage me, like St. Paul, when he praised the Philippians, to the end that the praises which he gives me, should increase my love towards Jesus Christ, my good master, my Lord and my God."

Some confessors, his dear companions on board the galleys, having desired his opinion and thoughts concerning a sermon that he had sent them in manuscript on these words, *Christ is he that died*, wherein they found some things that seemed difficult to them, and caused them some trouble, among others those words, "that it cannot be denied but that Christ had been unhappy," and these, "that heaven never would have been allied to hell, but in the person
" of

“ of the redeemer:” It may be that the author might have given them a good reason why they did not comprehend the one nor the other, that would have satisfied them if they had known and consulted him. In the mean time the answer he made them was, that he was as much surprized with those expressions as they, and that he could not approve them, saying as to the first, that Jesus Christ had never ceased to be the most righteous, and to have always his hope and confidence in God; that therefore it could not be said that he had been unhappy: and that in that regard, and for that same reason, the other proposition did not seem true to him neither, that heaven had some alliance with hell on that occasion, which implies that the Lord Jesus could not have lost the love of his father, and be the object of his hatred, and that not to believe it was to make Jesus Christ a liar, since he cried out himself, that God had forsaken him. Whereupon having mentioned the common opinion of the divines: to wit, that that expression signified, that in that state he felt indeed all the fury of the divine justice against sinners, of whom he was the surety, but that in the main he did not lose his confidence in God, nor absolutely the sentiments of his love, seeing he called him his God, by whose grace and virtue he remained victorious. And thereupon he quotes the passage of a doctor of the church: saying, that it was the voice of the church suffering in Jesus Christ; and that *Saul why persecutest thou me*, was the voice of Jesus Christ suffering in the church. He relid also on a thought of the author of the sermon, which says that the conviction of Jesus Christ’s own holiness, and the love that God bears to him, had always maintained him against all manner of assaults, and made him conqueror; that despair could not cast him down, nor distrust overcome him. But however he cannot forbear to say, that those first propositions, being supposed to be such as they appear in the copy of the sermon, are overstrained, and contrary to the opinion of the divines, and to the scripture.

As his meditations ran almost always on comfortable things, and on the duties of christianity; he proposed divers other difficulties to his pastor, as Acts ix. 7. where it is said, that the men that journeyed with Saul, stood speechless hearing a voice but seeing no man. And at the xxii. of the said book, v. 9. St. Paul himself says something

thing there that seems contrary: That those that were with him, saw indeed the light and were afraid; but they heard not the voice of him that spake to him. Another on St. MAT. xxi. 21. which seems contrary to what is said in St. LUKE xx. 16. a third on St. MARK xv. 25. in appearance also contrary to what is in St. MAT. xxvii. 45. In the fourth place concerning the wish of Elias 1 KINGS 4. concerning Job's cursing the day of his birth; concerning the death of Judas, ACTS i. 18. and MAT. xxvii. 5, 7, 8. how those words in REV. vi. 10. are to be interpreted, *How long O Lord, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood, &c.* To wit, whether the souls of the saints in glory, can have any desires of revenge; what is remarked, MARK xvii. 8. *neither said they any thing to any man of the apparition of the Lord Jesus.* And that in St. LUKE xxiv. 9. it is said that they told all those things to the apostles. Of what was said of the two thieves that railed at him, when there was but one, MAT. xxvii. 44. and LUKE xxiii. 33. Concerning the difference of the genealogies of Jesus Christ, related by St. Matthew and St. Luke. Lastly, whether St. Paul suffered martyrdom when he wrote to the faithful of Philippi from Nero's prison, seeing, he says, that he will see them again, PHILIP. i. 24, 25. and iii. 24. Doubtless he had formerly seen the notes of our bibles on those passages and difficulties, but not having the notes by him at that time, and his memory did not supply him with all the lights which he desired on those subjects, he requested his pastor to send him a small abridgment of them, and to inform him of those which he thought had not been sufficiently explained. His desire was complied with, and he was thankful to him for it, and shewed himself satisfied.

We have said that he and his companions had much trouble to find opportunities and means to have any correspondence with each other; that it was not done without great charges and extraordinary dangers both for themselves, and those that assisted them; but at last they were wholly deprived of that comfort for two years and some months, occasioned by some persons that brought him notes and letters, and which delivered those he sent to others, and who were severely punished for it, insomuch that nobody could hear any thing of his condition all that time, but only that he was living. But at the end of those two years, it is not known by whose order, nor how he was put again into the same

same state as before, for that kind of liberty of correspondence, which rejoiced him much, and his friends also, who continued their intercourse by letters with him as formerly; but also with more precaution than before; that liberty having also been rendered impracticable with the confessors on board the galleys. However so much there was of it, that his friends, and particularly his pastor, rejoiced with him for it, who made his acknowledgment, and gave his thanks to God for it, by a letter of the 3d of March, 1699. Wherein answering to that which they looked upon as a singular favour from God; he says, nothing is more true than what you say, the more a man is accustomed to evils, the greater the least favours which he receives are taken. Moreover, common afflictions have passed with us a long time for favours, but that same liberty that God procures, and continues to us, as little as it is, is yet nevertheless a most real grace, and a signal favour, because I stood very much in need of it. Let us say then (what had been said to him on that subject, in quoting this verse of Virgil.) “O Melibæe Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.” But let us add to it with the poet, and in the spirit of pure christianity which we profess by the grace of our God.

“Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus. Illius aram

“Sæpe tener nostris ovilibus imbuet Agnus.

“Enlarge thyself my soul,” said he, “enlarge thyself in
“benedictions to thank the Lord thy God.”

When he was so strictly shut up, and without communication with any person whatsoever, seeing only him that brought him his victuals, but who was doubtless forbid to tell him of any thing that passed in the world; not knowing whether the treaty of peace was ended and concluded, he desired in the first letter he wrote, to be informed if the peace was made, and what they were more concerned at than any thing else, whether the church of God had any share in it, and any release of its afflictions, as he and his suffering companions had passionately desired, and in some manner hoped for. But being all of them informed of the contrary, they blessed God, for continuing them still in their misery; and all of them testified in that regard a perfect submission to his will.

Nevertheless he makes most bitter complaints and lamentations on that occasion in his letters, of the mournful state of his brethren in the kingdom, with ardent prayers to God
for

for their deliverance and perseverance. And speaking of those that flattered themselves with the toleration and regards that was had for divers, and particularly for those of his acquaintance, whom he believed to be in a kind of indifferency on that account; he said, that those who did not complain were the more to be pitied for it, and that they whose consciences were never at quiet, were the most happy. And as to those who in the heat of persecution had abjured their religion, he said in testifying his grief for their unhappy condition: "I am persuaded, that if the christians, that have
 " been subverted by those waters and storms that surround us,
 " and wherewith we are as it were overwhelmed, were well per-
 " suaded of that eternal truth, that *blessed are those that suffer*
 " *for righteousness sake*; and of that other truth, that we shall
 " be judged by the truth, manifested in the word of God, as
 " Jesus Christ tells us in express terms, in St. JOHN xiii. 48.
 " and in such a manner as is capable to make impression on the
 " hardest hearts: he that rejects me, and receives not my
 " words has one that judges him; the word that I have spoken,
 " the same shall judge him in the last day; I say, I am per-
 " suaded that if their hearts were filled with those two truths,
 " undoubtedly they would rise again from their fall, and
 " they would neither fear life, nor death, nor gallies, nor
 " dungeons. Oh let them not deceive themselves," said he, in writing to one of his dear kinswomen, speaking of those that had signed, and who did part of what was required of them; "to despise the cross, is to despise him that was crucified; there is no medium when Jesus Christ by his providence puts us under the necessity of suffering for him; to fail of it to excuse one's self, and to compound with flesh and blood is properly to deny Jesus Christ." In that respect he exhorts his relations and friends to forsake all things, he blames them for their addicting themselves to the world; and he confutes all the reasons which they pretended to have for their tarrying in the kingdom.

Several considerable persons having divers times testified their desire of procuring for him in particular, and for all his companions, some alleviation in their captivity, and their sufferings, and also their compleat deliverance, and among the rest the praise-worthy, and charitable Swiss Cantons, who have signalized their zeal upon that account, and generously employed their assistance and beneficence, to
 ease

eafe them in their miferies; particularly the illuftrious M. Efcher, Burgomafter of Zurick, and his family, having ardently foli-cited the minifters of France in their favour, and largely diftributed their charities for their relief; they did not forget alfo to exprefs the fenfe which they had of their charity and generofity towards them. But, fays our martyr, in-ftead of having regard to the juft foli-citations of thofe venerable magiftrates, they took occafion thereby to redouble their chains, and to aggravate their captivity. And, fays he, the tempeft and ftorm is particularly fallen on Monf. De P' Aufoniere, who had the greateft liberty, and by whofe ingenuity they could entertain their communication; who is fince fhut up in a dungeon, deprived of all intercourfe, where he continues to glorify God, and to edify his brethren, and all the church of God, which is well informed of it, by his faith, his patience, and his perfeverance.

Having received a copy of the letter that Monf. the Burgomafter Efcher, wrote to thofe dear confefors, on that fubject, I think I owe that honour to this fage magiftrate, and that edification to the public, as to infer it in the hif-tory of our martyr, who took the care to convey it to our hands. It is as follows:

Gentlemen, and moft dear brethren.

“ I fhould count myfelf among the moft unworthy of men,
 “ if, after fo many teftimonies of friendfhip, affection, and
 “ efteem, wherewith divers of your letters are filled for me,
 “ the leaft of your friends, and who never deferved any
 “ thing from you, I fhould remain altogether infenfible.
 “ I would have endeavoured fometime ago to acquaint you
 “ with my acknowledgment, and have only delayed the
 “ time to acquit myfelf of that duty becaufe I was in hopes
 “ to be able to give you fome good news. I have laboured
 “ on your deliverance, I have employed my friends about
 “ it, and having had occafion to go the laft week to Soleure,
 “ I have repeated my instances to Monf. the ambaffador
 “ Amleot. But as they give me no pofitive anfwer, and
 “ always fent me away with the fame compliment to remain
 “ fatisfied that things would be done fooner than I thought,
 “ and therefore finding myfelf to my great regret fruflrated
 “ of the hope I had conceived hitherto, I cannot remain
 “ filent any longer. But I return you gentlemen, and moft
 “ dear brethren my moft humble thanks, for the goodnefs
 “ you

“ you have had to think on a person that assuredly shares in
“ your troubles, sufferings, and afflictions, and who till
“ this time as I have but even now said, has employed all
“ his endeavours to ease you in the hard slavery which is so
“ unjustly laid upon you, but who for all that does not
“ pretend to have deserved the great elogies that I have ob-
“ served in your letters. I am willing, and find myself
“ obliged as a christian and a brother of the same commu-
“ nion, to continue to endeavour the procuring of your
“ deliverance; but desire you to moderate your acknow-
“ ledgments, and to be persuaded, that though I have
“ the honour to be invested with the chief post in the Hel-
“ vetick body, yet nevertheless I acknowledge myself a poor
“ sinner, who ought not to seek for comfort in worldly va-
“ nities, but in a lowliness and humility of mind. Dear
“ Brethren, I have read your letters, I have read them very
“ carefully over, and they have afforded me much edifica-
“ tion. I have observed in them that God raises you up as
“ extraordinary instruments of advancing his glory.

“ I have observed in you a zeal for the house of God, an
“ exemplary piety, and exact imitation of those glorious
“ martyrs and confessors of the primitive church, an un-
“ parralleled constancy, an inexpressible patience; souls ra-
“ vished with spiritual joys, and eyes enlightened with the
“ bright beams of divinity even here on earth; and that all
“ those virtues make you triumph over your enemies, de-
“ spise all the evils that they make you suffer, and bear the
“ reproach of the world with patience, on the prospect
“ alone of glorifying the great name of God. Persevere,
“ sirs, in that holy resolution, since you see that God does
“ such great things for you, and that he has called you to
“ suffer for his holy name, in those wretched places, that
“ are commonly the receptacles of the villains of the world,
“ and who doubtless, by their wickednesses add a torment
“ to your righteous souls. But be of good heart, my dear
“ brethren, since you know that God has so disposed of
“ things, that all shall work together for good to his chil-
“ dren; and that as all human things have their end, the
“ good God has also ordered an end to your labours,
“ wherein he will reward you with the wages of the righte-
“ ous. Gentlemen, I recommend myself, and my numer-
“ ous family to your prayers, knowing that they will surely
“ be heard, as proceeding from the hearts of the true friends

“ of God. I shall always remember your sufferings in my
 “ prayers, though they may be accompanied with many
 “ infirmities.

“ I have sent 40 pistoles to Monf. M—— at Bern, to
 “ distribute amongst you as he has opportunity, be pleased
 “ to accept of that small sum, which comes from me, and three
 “ of my sons, and be assured that it comes from free hearts,
 “ that with you the continuance of the divine comforts,
 “ and a speedy deliverance, with all opportunities of doing
 “ you service, and particularly this is my wish, who am
 “ sincerely,

“ Gentlemen,

“ your most humble and

“ most obedient servant,

HENRY ESCHER.”

The solicitations and requests of other princes, and great persons in the world, who concerned themselves in this affair, had almost the same effect, as those of the praise worthy evangelical cantons, for they were also ineffectual. Every body knows the pains that were taken about it by the wife and pious Queen of Denmark, the illustrious prince of that name, and their excellencies, Monf. and Madam de Meyercroon, ambassador from that court to that of France; who for a very long time employed all their interest with the ministers of state, to obtain some favour, and justice in that regard; but with as little success as the venerable cantons. On the contrary, it has been observed, that their torments and miseries have been increased, the very charity of those princes and states towards them, having been imputed to those poor afflicted for a crime, saying they held private correspondence with foreign countries. And I know from Madam de Meyercroon's own mouth, whom I had the honour to see as she passed through these provinces, who told me with grief and compassion, that it was in vain to solicit for those afflicted persons: that it was notified to their excellencies, that the King thought it strange that foreign princes should concern themselves with the affairs of his subjects.

This was the reason that Monf. le Fevre de la Mothe, the brother of our blessed martyr, who went purposely to Copenhagen, at the court of Denmark, to desire that intercession might be made for those poor captives; after having been there a long time, and procured persons of quality

to treat with *Monf. de Bonrepoux*, at that time ambaffador of France in that court, that if it were poffible, to obtain fomewhat by his mediation; feeing that all this had no effect, he was obliged to drop the bufinefs, and retire to the poft where the providence of God had called him at Hall in Saxony. His dear brother being informed of it in his dungeon, having written divers times, either to him, or to others of his friends at Paris, who on their fide made ufe of feveral perfons of quality to the fame purpofe, defiring them earneftly not to request any thing more of thofe grantees in his behalf, becaufe that inftead of meeting with any eafe, they perceived, and plainly experienced, that it added to their miferies. The court of France was fo little difpofed to grant any thing that was favourable for them, that after the peace, the king of England and their High Mightineffes the States General, and their Ambaffadors, had all the trouble in the world to obtain the deliverance of thofe that ought to be releafed by the treaty of the peace of Ryswick, as having been taken prifoners of war by land and fea, in the fervice of that king, and of the Lords the States, and this becaufe they were French proteftants, by virtue whereof they had been, though unjuftly, condemned to the gallies, and prifons, where they fuffered all the cruelties, and rigours imaginable; the minifters of ftate of that crown having declared that none fhould be expreffly demanded, but thofe that were for certain comprehended in the treaty of peace; and were alfo forced to undergo many tergiverfations and repulfes, before they could obtain their ends. And after that time the condition of thofe confeffors grew worfe and worfe in many things, and the cruelty of their perfecutors, was fo far from being diminished and fatiated by the continuance of the evils which they made them fuffer, that it took new force and meafures to aggravate the torments and pains of thofe that were in the gallies, and in the prifons.

Befides, it feems to me that I ought not to pafs over in filence, who were the particular friends, with whom our martyr had the greateft correpondence and intelligence. Doubtlefs his love and charity extended to all the confeffors. He wrote often to them all in general, and in behalf of them all without exception. He often defired of them all their friendfhip, their prayers, and their confolations. And when he heard that any fad accident, or particular affliction, or the increafe of their miferies happened to any one

of them, he did not fail of expressing his compassion to them as soon as he could, nor of comforting them as well as he was able; with a free hearted love which shewed how sensible he was of their afflictions. Mons. de Marolles was one of those, with whom he kept up the greatest familiarity imaginable, and whose friendship he valued the most, and which he maintained till the death of that happy martyr, which preceded his by several years. They were fastened to the chain at Chalons, as has been already said. They were fellow sufferers in the journey to Marseilles, whither they arrived in a very bad condition. They spent some time together in the hospital in one chamber, eating together, and comforting and strengthening each other with all the joy and affection imaginable. Afterwards they were put on board one galley, and lastly separated for ever in prisons far distant from each other, and without having any communication with, or news, from one another without much difficulty. "It is impossible for me," said he to his pastor, who enquired of him about that generous confessor, who had been his companion in study; "It is impossible for me," says he, "at present to have any intercourse with that holy man, who has a sister, nephews, and nieces, in the place where you are: I know only that he is well, and that he sings the praises of God without ceasing. When they took us out of the hospital of the galley-slaves, where we thought they would have suffered us to recover our strength, according to custom, having both been sick to extremity, in order to put him on board another, he would embrace me and take his leave of me. I said to him we shall not leave each other long, we shall really see one another again, we have not forsaken each other, we are more united than ever, and we shall see each other again in heaven, and in the great day of the Lord." Mons. de Marolles died a little while after, and the world has seen the history of his sufferings and of his martyrdom.

The Sieur Peter Mauru, who died also a martyr, and who triumphed so gloriously in his life, and by his death, over all the efforts and rage of men and devils, was one of his intimate friends. I have not memoirs enow to give you his particular history out of them, but it is the interest of the public, and the church of God chiefly, to be informed of the conflicts, and the victories of one of the most illustrious martyrs in patience, in
faith

faith, in humility, in charity, and in all kind of virtues that ever were.

That happy martyr was not of Bar, as was said, but of Loyfi in Brie, the grandfon of a butcher, and of a pretty good family. Going out of the kingdom, he was ftopped in Burgundy. He was joined to our martyr in the prifons of Befanfon, and condemned very near the fame time to the gallies for ever. It was there that their acquaintance and friendship began, wherein he rejoiced every time he fpake of him. It was there that they comforted and exhorted each other to the confeffion of Jefus Chrift, to fidelity and perfeverance, in fpight of all the evils that men could do unto them. "I was," faid he, "a witness how little he valued
" the money that was taken from him, and of the joy which
" he felt when he was condemned to the gallies. He run
" his race with the fame courage, and zeal, which he had
" begun in the prifons of Belanfon. Before he came to
" the gallies, he was coupled in the way with Phillip le Bou-
" cher, who was alfo one of the moft holy confeffors that
" has been. And becaufe that poor man could not carry
" his chain, which he was forced to do, or fuffer for it,
" Mauru raifed the collar with his hands above his head;
" and he who was ftronger bore it on his head and fhoulders:
" And taking a forked ftick of a tree, he fupported it in
" fuch a manner, that his companion was as it were wholly
" difcharged of the burden, carrying in that manner all the
" burden, even in the heat of the dog days.

" When he was come to the gallies, the flaves of both re-
" ligions, were witneffes and admirers of his patience, in
" the moft horrible and continual fufferings, to which the
" greateft and moft infamous malefactors were ever expofed."

Our martyr fays, " The patience of that confeffor of Jefus
" Chrift, in whom God difplayed all the greatnefs of the
" riches of his grace while he was living, is not to be ima-
" gined. It cannot be comprehended how a man could suf-
" fer what he fuffered, and what he fuffers continually, and
" yet live. His body was covered all over with ul-
" cers. He was feven or eight times fick even to death.
" But his long and dangerous fickneffes did not hin-
" der him from being in all the fummer expeditions;
" and he is yet at this time actually in the expedition, co-
" vered with blood and fweat. He is a prodigy in piety, in
" humility, and in conftancy. He is a man perfect in the

“ faith, and love. I protest unto you in the sincerity of
 “ my heart, that I do not think there is a greater saint on
 “ earth.” In a word, we have almost no letters from our
 martyr, wherein he does not take notice of the esteem,
 love, and admiration he had for that famous Peter Mauru,
 who had been distinguished among all the confessors on
 board the gallies, by the most cruel, and the most rigorous treat-
 ments, from the time he went on board of them, until his
 death; there having been almost no interruption in those
 extraordinary sufferings; except when he was at the point
 of death, they offered him to recover his strength, on
 purpose to renew his torments. And without doubt his age
 (for he was but about 30 years, when he was taken and con-
 demned) but chiefly the grace of God, gave him extraordinary
 strength to support the torments wherewith they exercised
 his patience for so long a time.

This is what we shall see in some extracts of his letters,
 and in the recital of his death, by a Roman catholic, who
 was on board the gallies, and saw him die. Here is an abridg-
 ment or extract of a letter, wherein he gives Mons. le Fevre
 an account of his condition, wherewith he was minded
 to entertain his relations, and which he desired might be
 sent to his pastor, and kept the original carefully to himself.
 “ There are some places in it,” said he, “ that may perhaps
 “ seem weak to you,” but there are some so feeling and pa-
 thetical, as may elevate our thoughts, in the very reading
 of them. The extract is as follows:

A letter from P. Mauru to Mr. le Fevre.

“ Monsieur, my most dear and honoured brother, you
 “ are so present in my mind, that an hour does not pass
 “ without thinking on you, and without raising my heart
 “ to God to desire the necessary graces of him for you, as
 “ well as for myself, to finish your course in his fear, and
 “ in his love, that he might give you, and our dear brethren
 “ who are captives for his cause, the grace to be faithful to
 “ him even unto death, to the end that, according to his
 “ holy promise, we may be worthy to receive the crown
 “ of life at his liberal hand. It seems to me that for some
 “ time past they do not observe me so much, and give me
 “ a little more liberty. It may be to endeavour to surprize
 “ me more easily as they have done at other times; but by
 “ the grace of God these surprizes have been in vain.

“ When

“ When they have taken any letters from me, they served
“ only to make the sincerity of my heart, and the truth of
“ the profession which we make before God and man, to
“ appear more bright. And when they have taken any let-
“ ters of those that were directed to me, they have seen
“ that my relations and friends, are of the same sense
“ and mind. Our captain having had them, he came to
“ examine me who they were that had written to me. Among
“ others one of my cousins, who is a man full of the love
“ of God, and of zeal for his glory, exhorted me to perse-
“ vere, and being full of an holy jealousy, gave me to un-
“ derstand that he envied my happiness, seeing the favours
“ that God did me. Upon which that captain bid me an-
“ swer his letter, and write to him that he might come, and
“ he should be put into the like condition.”

Afterwards, enlarging in his praises towards Monf.
le Fevre, which I omit here, he adds, “ Monsieur, and my
“ most dear brother, I have profited by your excellent in-
“ structions. I constantly remember what passed when you
“ fought so valiantly in repulsing your adversaries with
“ spiritual arms, wherewith God has furnished you by his
“ divine grace. The desire of my soul is never better ac-
“ complished than when I see the victory of truth, and the
“ confusion of superstition and falshood. You desire that I
“ should give them the particulars of what they have done
“ to me; but my most dear brother, I cannot do it, it
“ would take up too much time. However, all this is nothing
“ in comparison to the treasures that are reserved in hea-
“ ven, for those that shall be found worthy of eternal life.
“ You desire me to tell you how many blows I have received
“ with cudgels and hoopsticks: which is an impossible thing:
“ it was sometimes above forty, and sometimes for eight or ten
“ days successively, and the least was above twenty blows.
“ But what will you have me to say? those blows are indeed
“ a little painful, but the joy I feel in suffering for Jesus
“ Christ alleviates all the pain; and when after having suffered
“ for Jesus Christ, the consolations of Christ abound in us
“ by the Holy Ghost who comforts us, that sacred balm
“ heals all our sores, and gives also a perfect health to our
“ souls. It makes us despise all other things. In a word,
“ as long as we belong to God, nothing can take us out of
“ his hand: but, my most dear brother, that which you
“ say in your letter of the good that has been wrought in
“ me

“ me, proceeds merely from the grace of God, who by his
 “ mercy made us sensible of his assisting hand in those times,
 “ and not only afforded it to me, but also to all those
 “ that ask it of him with a good heart, to employ it in his
 “ service.—But, my most dear brother, if you had seen
 “ the whole course of my life, and had also as exactly ob-
 “ served the unfruitful works of darkness in it, it would per-
 “ haps have hindered you from considering what you extoll
 “ in me, for the horror which you would have had of so
 “ many sins and vices, that have reigned in me. When I
 “ reflect upon them, and represent to myself those frightful
 “ mountains of iniquity, I am filled with confusion.

“ In short, finding myself in that condition, and on the
 “ other hand feeling my heart pierced with grief to see the
 “ justice of God inflamed against his people, and seeing
 “ daily new subjects of cruelty, I cast myself trembling be-
 “ fore my God, to confess my sins to him, and to ask pardon
 “ with tears, protesting unto him, by the assistance of his
 “ grace, to consecrate the remainder of my life to his ser-
 “ vice, to glorify him, and suffer for his truth, rather than
 “ fall into those extremities, into which the world, the
 “ flesh, and the evil spirit, had brought so many by seduc-
 “ tion, by fear, by vanity, and by infirmity. This father
 “ of mercy, by his infinite goodness heard my prayer, and
 “ made my soul to feel the consolations of his spirit. And
 “ he has not only comforted and rejoiced my soul, but also
 “ assisted me in my greatest weaknesses, and assures me still
 “ that he will support me to the last breath of my life. I
 “ am loth to give you the particulars of what you ask me,
 “ because there seems to be something to be considered in it
 “ as coming from myself, to turn it to my advantage, and
 “ as if I had a mind to praise myself, or seek to be praised
 “ by others. But, sir, and most honoured friend, I am sen-
 “ sible that of myself I can do nothing; therefore if there
 “ is any glory or praise due, it belongs wholly to God, who
 “ is the author of it; for as to me, I am weakness itself,
 “ and mere vanity, but God shewed forth his power in my
 “ great weaknesses. You are not ignorant, and have known
 “ from the first time that we were in the dungeons, what
 “ distrust I had of myself, and the fear of fainting in my
 “ struggling with the flesh, which is an enemy to the
 “ cross. I feared on the other hand, that if I should have
 “ returned into the world, which is a second enemy of our
 “ salvation,

“salvation, I should have suffered myself to be carried
“away with it. But at last I felt the spirit of Jesus Christ,
“who by his grace had made himself master of my desires
“and affections. Which made me say unto you with
“sincerity of heart, that I would rather be your companion
“to bear the reproach of Jesus Christ, than to run the haz-
“ard of entering again into the world, if the choice had
“been left to me, for fear of being involved again in the
“affairs of this present life.

“I shall begin then to give you some satisfaction in in-
“forming you of the things you desire of me, and which
“are known to all those that are here. When I was put on
“board, our captain, who is a man that enquires very exactly
“into all things, would know wherefore I was sent to
“the gallies. As soon as he knew it, he sent for the almon-
“ner, and made me to be searched all over, to take what
“books and other papers, I had from me. Afterwards he
“often sent for priests to endeavour to make me alter my
“religion, forbidding any other to speak with me. He took
“an occasion by virtue of a letter of one of my relations,
“which he caused to be given me again, to make me change
“my seat: And at last they fixed me to the form near
“the pump; and a spy was set over me, and one to en-
“deavour to insult me, and put me upon needless labour
“on purpose to vex me. Nevertheless, as he rather tired
“himself with affronting me, and not seeing me complain,
“he left me; and allowed me also sometime after con-
“veniencies to write with. When they knew that he did
“nothing more to me they made me shift my seat, to have
“others abuse me; but I soon became their friend: which
“made them change my place often. Having at last per-
“formed that mission, and seeing that they could not have
“their design upon me, they sought for other means.

“A sub-officer, who was ingenious in malice, desired
“that he might manage me, and that he knew he could
“do more than all the missionaries. They gave him
“all power over me except that of putting me to
“death. Every day he sought new torments; some-
“times he would make me supply all the forms of the
“galley with water; sometimes he said they had given
“me a letter, though he knew very well the contrary;
“or that somebody had spoke to me; and all was to find
“an occasion to beat me, though he had searched me, and

“ taken what money and other useful things I had, from
 “ me. He made me go with a great chain about me to tap
 “ water barrels, and for one that fell down and broke, he
 “ made him that he had sent along with me to beat me so,
 “ that those that saw it threatened to bring him before the
 “ major, to have him put to the chain, so that he would
 “ come no more. Afterwards he made me cleanse all the
 “ quarters of the galley all alone, as well that of the pump
 “ as others; and now and then he shewed the under com-
 “ missary, or quarter master, some stains to make me be
 “ beaten with a cudgel, and they did their endeavour to
 “ make the galley-slaves abuse me, to tire my patience. Af-
 “ ter which, seeing the constancy that God gave me by his
 “ grace, they took all the galley-slaves away that were on
 “ the seat with me, and having chosen the most wicked
 “ Turks and Moors they could find, they placed them
 “ about me to abuse me. But, on the contrary, as barbarous
 “ as they are, they were more civil to me than the others.
 “ Another while they made me scour iron ballisters; and
 “ finding places on them where it could not be done, they
 “ took occasion to beat me. In short, for some time they
 “ thought to do me a diskindness by taking my bread away
 “ in the morning, and make me fast until one or two o’clock,
 “ and they cut it into small pieces, that I might not sell
 “ it. Sometimes to fatigue me, they coupled me to carry
 “ coddage, or do something with others that promised them
 “ to kill me, but God had supplied me with strength to
 “ support all with vigour, with patience, and also with joy,
 “ finding myself happy to suffer all these things for the
 “ love of my Saviour. Those that threatened to kill me
 “ with working, desired me before the day was ended to go
 “ more softly, whereas, in the morning they boasted to
 “ make me sink under my labour, thinking me much un-
 “ equal to them in that regard. In short, sir, at last a fa-
 “ vourable day presented itself as we were making a tent,
 “ that having broke two needles, and not having wherewith
 “ to buy others, the under officer or boatswain, beat me
 “ very severely; the captain came upon deck, and being
 “ intended to know what it was for; I desired the favour of
 “ him to speak a word in private to him. He heard me,
 “ and put a stop to the rigour, making as if he was igno-
 “ rant of what had passed before, and seeming to be asto-
 “ nished, though he was very well informed of all. He
 “ ordered

“ ordered that I should be no more treated in that manner, and also to return me some money that was taken from me. But I am certain that he gratified him very well, that had bragged to make me obey his will, and to oblige me to change my religion; because I believe he was more weary of tormenting me, than I was in enduring it.”

“ If my body suffered all day long, my heart rejoiced and was glad in my Saviour day and night. In that time my soul fed chiefly on that hidden manna, and my God made me possess a joy that the world knows nothing of, and that with the holy apostles I rejoiced daily to have been worthy to suffer for the sake of my saviour, who made my heart feel such consolations as transported me with tears of joy besides myself. The rest which they gave to my body did not continue long; for a little while after oars were brought on board the galleys to exercise new comers, and those people being always animated against our holy religion, took occasion to beat me at their pleasure, always representing to me that I might avoid those torments. But when they made those proposals, my saviour represented to my soul the torments which he suffered to redeem it, and that I must suffer with him. At last, after all this we must put to sea; where the rigour of the work, and the blows brought me divers times to death's door. As soon as the almoner perceived me well cast down with faintness, he came to tempt me; but my soul rowed towards heaven, and he was never pleased with what I answered him.

“ At the end of that painful voyage, I fell into a great sickness, wherein I continued for the space of a month, without taking any thing but such broths as you know. I had been sick eleven days when they carried me to the hospital. For three weeks they expected my death daily. And that which is to be admired at is, that I could not stir, I felt no more pain, and such broth as it was that they gave me, I never took any thing that seemed so good. I said daily, this is the day of my deliverance, I shall suffer no more pain, I am ready to enter into my everlasting rest. As weak as my heart was, it made its efforts to keep itself towards heaven, I had no motion but the starting of the inward man: but God did not think fit to withdraw me yet, but would raise me out of that sickness. And when I began to recover my health, our dear friend Philip le
“ Boucher,

“ Boucher, came also sick into the hospital. I was ac-
 “ quainted with it. He was very sick, and I had no strength
 “ to go, rising up to draw near each other we should have
 “ have fallen down if they had not assisted us. We were
 “ full of joy to see each other, but I cannot tell you our
 “ conversation during the fifteen days we were together. I
 “ left him sick there. And that day they carried me on
 “ board the galley, the fever took me again. I was sick on
 “ board the galley, from some days before christmas till
 “ Easter. They used me as bad they could—thinking to
 “ make me die, but God would preserve my life, to render
 “ the false prophets liars, who said, that the missionaries had
 “ foretold that I could not live a year after their malediction,
 “ and many persons employed themselves to make them
 “ speak truth, but God made them all liars. There were
 “ some in all the voyages, who to make themselves sport
 “ made me to be beaten continually, but chiefly our cap-
 “ tain’s steward, who called it painting of Calvin’s back with
 “ cudgels, and then asked scoffingly, whether Calvin gave
 “ strength to work, after having been loaden with so many
 “ blows. And when he had a mind to begin again, he asked
 “ if they would not give Calvin his commons, and it was
 “ his delight to see me daily cast down with blows, and fa-
 “ tiques. The wheedling officers that would please him,
 “ made use of that means as if they tickled him to make
 “ him laugh. When they saw me lift up my eyes to heaven,
 “ he said, God does not hear the Calvinists, they must suffer
 “ their due until they either die or change. In short, my
 “ most dear brother, so long as we were at sea, or that we were
 “ obliged to row, no day past wherein I was not put in a con-
 “ dition ready to die; in the mean time, those that were with
 “ me, as miserable as they were, did their endeavour to assist
 “ me, and to make me take some nourishment. But in all those
 “ excesses of pain that the flesh felt, my God did not leave
 “ me comfortless. As for what remains, added he,
 “ that will have an end in a little time, and the joy of being
 “ with God will soon make me forget all those evils. And
 “ indeed when I was at some ease to meditate on the words of
 “ eternal life, my heart was at its delight; and when I looked
 “ upon my bruised flesh, I said, these are the marks that St.
 “ Paul rejoiced to bear in his body. I fell always sick after
 “ every voyage; and when I was no longer in the trouble of
 “ labouring, and in the fear of blows, I had time to medi-
 “ tate

“tate at leisure, and to give God thanks for having supported me by his goodness, and strengthened me by his spirit, in all my recoverings from sickness. They troubled me much in the hospital for having visited one of my friends there; they put me once to the chain, and I was often threatened with it. I thought all my voyages at an end, but some time ago God returned me my health, minding to make those that endeavoured to destroy it to know that he rescues as it were from death; and also to dispose me yet to glorify him in sufferings. In fine, sir, and well beloved brother in Jesus Christ, I am ready to suffer when it shall please my God, being assured by faith in his promises, that he will make me more than conqueror.

“As for the remainder, I shall tell you, that if I have suffered any inconveniency, God did me the favour to satisfy me for it; my friends could not find the means to assist me, not having the liberty to come near me, and some money that they had sent me having been lost, but by the grace of my God, I have been very well contented with bread when I had nothing else. In the meantime, there have always been some ways found to assist me with something; my friends have had yet great care of me, and above all Jesus Christ has made me feel the effect of his precious promises. I am obliged to conclude. I have a companion here that embraces you with a sincere affection, we recommend ourselves to your holy prayers, and we pray to God with all our soul for you, as for ourselves.

“God is a faithful witness of the affection I have for you in my heart, as it is also most just, seeing that you have instructed and comforted me. God made use of you as one of his faithful ministers to serve us for a pastor during the time of our imprisonment, and all that you had of your own for our consolation was common to us. I recommend you to the mercy of God, and pray that good Father with all my heart, to be your deliverer, to make you enjoy his favour here, and in heaven his glory. My dear brother pray for me, I am altogether as much your's as my own,”

P. MAURU.

These two martyrs had always some correspondence together, though with much trouble, until the death of the blessed

bleſſed P. Mauru, who was always tormented almoſt after the ſame manner, as he repreſents it in his letter, to the end of his life; and when they ceaſed or interrupted their rigorous and unheard of treatments, that were exerciſed againſt him, it is, as he obſerves himſelf, in another letter to his dear friend, “*becauſe,*” ſaid he, “*they cannot make me ſuffer much more, or ſtrike me in the condition I am in, without killing me, and they would be troubled about it; all that they can do is to hinder me from converſing with my friends, from reading, and writing, which is very vexatious to me; but they cannot hinder my prayers from aſcending to my God, and from being heard in the name of Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour, by whom I call upon him.*”

He wrote likewiſe two other letters to *Monſieur le Fevre*, that ſhewed in an admirable manner his piety towards God, the fervent deſires of his ſanctification, and his perfect ſubmiſſion to his will, his extraordinary charity towards the church of God, and thoſe of its members that are yet expoſed to perſecutions, thoſe whom providence had withdrawn into foreign countries, and particularly towards his dear brethren and fellow ſufferers, encouraging himſelf with them, by fervent prayers, to finiſh with joy and honour the painful, but happy courſe they run, and wherein they fight for the faith. But, at laſt after above ten years ſufferings, and extreme miſeries, his health being abſolutely impaired, and his poor body being overburthened with diſeaſes and blows, he fell into an extraordinary weakneſs, with a deſluxion, and a continual cough, that hardly ſuffered him to breath or ſpeak; and giving in that condition a thouſand and a thouſand teſtimonies of faith, hope, and charity, which made his perſecutors and tormentors to burſt with envy, but particularly the miſſionaries, who grew deſperate when they ſaw their ſollicitations ineffectual, and themſelves confounded by the courage and patience of that martyr, like the Jews formerly by the diſcourſe of *St. Stephen*, the firſt martyr of Jeſus Chriſt; but which edified, and raviſhed the reſt, yea, the Roman catholics themſelves: he yielded up his ſoul to God, in ſuch a manner as we are going to ſhew in the narration that was made of it by unſuſpected perſons, and which *Monſieur le Fevre* took care to ſend us, to inform us of the deliverance of that faithful ſervant of God, and of the honour and glory wherewith he finiſhed his martyrdom.

“ It may be,” said M. D. S. le P. “ in sending a letter of Mauru to Monsieur le Fevre; it may be the last time you may have any of his letters. His voice, and strength is very low; but if the sad dispositions of his dejected body ought to afflict us, those of his soul ought to fill us with joy, and consolation; his resignation to the will of God, his humility, his patience in the midst of his evils, are so great, that it is hard to find such rare examples of piety. He was in that languishing condition, from the end of the year 1695, to the beginning of April 1696. But perpetually and narrowly observed by villains, who took it upon them; and above all extraordinarily tormented by a missionary, who was let loose to seduce that chosen servant of God, if it was possible. Soon after that he died:” Here follows the testimony that one G. C. R. a galley-slave gives of him, whose name is unknown, as also the crime for which he was in the galleys.

“ As to Monsieur Mauru,” says he, writing from his galley, to M. D. S. L. who was on board another, “ you must know that he died last night. I did not believe him so near his death, for when I was with him yesterday from you, he spoke with the same earnestness as he formerly used to do. I told him of the desire your brother and you had to hear from him; that is to receive a letter from his hand. He assured me that it was impossible for him to write four lines together, that he desired me to make his excuse to both of you; to give you thanks for all your favours towards him, and to tell you, that he waited with resignation the Lord’s hour (I make use of his own words) I took the opportunity of dinner-time to speak with him, all the servants being at table, I stayed a full half hour with him.

“ He says by another letter of the same G. C. R. from the hospital, the Saturday morning. You cannot question; but that I have taken all the share I ought in the death of your friend, and that I have been touched with it, but chiefly when they carried him from hence to his grave. Monsieur V——— having caused a coffin to be made for him, and having laid him in it; the roguish Catalan being at the door, went with all speed to the rascal Guerard, and bid him go tell M. Mirour (it is the almoner that was in the chamber) that those kind of people ought to be thrown on a lay-stall, and not put in a coffin. The almoner

“ moner came down immediately, being glad of the occasion, and caused the coffin to be unnailed again, and took the body out of it to be carried away like a Turk. That action seemed cruel to a great many people; and I would have made a noise about it, if it would not have done me mischief.

“ I could have wished for your sake, and his own, to have been able to have eased him more than I have done, but the place would not permit it, though I assure you that I have gone divers times beyond all considerations. I have had two furious attacks before him by the little father, who would not have me see him; that poor man was always afraid that some harm would have come to me for his sake, but I laughed at it.”

An Extraēt of a Letter of Monsieur D. S. to M. le Fevre on the same Subject.

“ We are also more particularly informed by a brother that was with him, that he had made an end answerable to his life. He preserved his senses as sound to the last gasp, as when he enjoyed a perfect health; his faith and constancy were brighter than ever. As his body grew weak, his soul raised itself with more vigour and zeal towards heaven, or rather towards its God, as being more disengaged from matter. The seducers that stood round about his bed, and who like so many ravening wolves devoured already his soul, in hopes to make it fall into apostacy, were lively repulsed, and found to their confusion, that if his body grew weak, his soul had on the contrary acquired new strength. So that seeing themselves cast on the ground, and conquered, they were constrained to forsake him, and leave that holy soul in the hands of that Sovereign Pastor, who conducted it into the everlasting pastures.

“ He endured all that the fury of men could invent, to shake his constancy; but all their efforts were vain, and produced a quite contrary effect, seeing they were so many means to wean him from the earth, and purified him, as gold in the furnace, having only served to make his virtue shine more bright. As his virtue, his mildness, and his charity, distinguished him from the rest of the faithful in his life-time, they would also distinguish him after his death, by an unworthy treatment; that poor corpse having

“ been put and nailed in a coffin, which we had caused to be
“ made to bury him in, two miserable galley-slaves, Catalan
“ and Guerard, both of them formerly priests, brought hither
“ for a rape, and murder; having advertised the father of
“ the mission, whose name is Mirour, they took him out of
“ the coffin, and cast him on the ground, to be carried to
“ the layfall.” This was the end of that man of God,
whom our martyr said was the greatest saint on earth, whom
he had made one of his most intimate friends, and whose vir-
tue was the continual object of his admiration.

I say nothing of some other famous martyrs, that have
also finished their course in the prisons, and on board the
gallies, because we have no sufficient memoirs on that sub-
ject. Neither will I say any thing of those illustrious con-
fessors, who for having signalized their courage, their piety,
their charity toward God, and towards their afflicted bre-
thren, by their example, by their counsel, by their exhor-
tations, and by all the most assiduous, and the most impor-
tant assistance that could be given them in their condition,
exposing themselves on that account to a great many perils;
who, I say, for all that, and for their stedfastness to main-
tain the faith, and refusing to do that which they would
have forced them to contrary to their consciences, some
of them after having been almost beaten to death, have been
cast into horrible dungeons, and who glorified God, and
edified their brethren, and all true christians dispersed here
and there, who are very well informed of the greatness of
their evils, and of their inviolable perseverance. We have
indeed divers faithful memoirs of what they have suffered,
and what they yet suffer, with courage and patience; of
whom we shall only say something en passant, until there is
occasion to speak more amply of them. I shall neither speak
of those that are yet on board the gallies, though I had a
great many things to say of the wisdom of their conduct,
and of the piety, and the charity wherewith they signalize
themselves in the midst of their labours, and their sufferings.
Our martyr's letters are full of testimonies of their fidelity
and holy life, as also of their acknowledgments for the cha-
ritable assistances that he had received of them on all occa-
sions, of love, affection, and zeal for their persons, for their
consolation, and their increase in all kind of graces, and be-
nedictions of God. Certainly those good servants of God
labour in the work of faith, in such manner as will make
their

their persons and names venerable in the present age, and in the ages to come, in the church of God, and to all christians that compose the true church. They may all be assured that while they combat so courageously for the faith, God is also fervently invoked every where for their victory, and their perseverance, which is the victory of the saints, to whom God has promised glorious and eternal rewards. In the mean time such strange things happened; such great cruelties and rigours were practised against all those poor confessors in general, and particularly against some among them, either becaule of their constancy, or because of the charitable care which they took of each other, and of their mutual assistance in their necessities and misfortunes, of which I cannot forbear to give the public some account, according to the relations I find of them in our martyr's letters, and of others that have been witnesses of them, that have seen them, and that have been themselves exposed to them. See what he writes of Mr. D. L. a person recommendable by his great zeal, and that extraordinary charity, wherewith he assisted all his brethren, and fellow-sufferers on board the gallies, and in the prisons.

“After having been,” says he, “some time on board the gallies, having been in a summer's expedition, as they would have dispensed with him from going a new voyage; the Sieur Laurent, superior of the mission, having heard of it (for they are commonly those debonair ecclesiasticks, that on all occasions are instrumental in redoubling the ills and pains of the poor confessors) he ran to him, and asked him if he would go to the hospital to be instructed, that he might be excused from that summer's expedition. I am very far from such a thought, answered that generous confessor of the truth. They speak of controversies. The conclusion was, that the missionary by an excess of zeal, or rather of choler, called him a very drunkard, saying that at that hour he was drunk, and a babbler. And that reverend father was ready to cuff him with his fists. He went on board the galley, saying, I will go, and return in it, but whatever happens, I will glorify God in my body.” But the charitable assistances, and the good offices which he had done to his brethren for divers years, being discovered, he was for that reason taken out of the gallies, and carried into the fort St. Nicholas at Marseilles, deprived from all conversation with others.

Monfieur

Monsieur le Fevre had for a very long time particular correspondence with the three famous brothers, Messieurs de D. S. whom he compares to the three Hebrew children, that were cast into the fiery furnace; whereof one ought to have been released from the gallies, to which he was condemned only for ten years, if the Roman Catholic zeal would suffer those gentlemen to do the justice they ought, and to keep their word with those whom they are pleased to call Heretics. He mentioned them very often in his excellent letters, with the praises he owes to their virtues, and every where with an extraordinary acknowledgment of the great services which he received of them, and of the brotherly kindness that they shewed him to his death: and we have elsewhere a great number of proofs of their great zeal, and fervent charity; the memory whereof will never perish in the sight of God, nor in the minds of men. Monsieur D. S. the father having been informed against by some traitors, or other means, for having distributed some money and books among the confessors, Monsieur de Monmor intendant of the gallies, made him come before him in his house, and having abused him, sequestered him in the dungeon of the hospital of the galley-slaves, fastened day and night to a great chain, where they did not suffer him to have any communication with any body whatsoever; and he is the very same who is said to be one of those galley-slaves that were condemned to that punishment of a slave, that is called the bastonnade on the courfier; a misfortune that was common to divers other confessors, of which it will not be amiss to give you the account of it here in short.

After the carrying away of Monsieur D. L. whom we have mentioned before, and for reasons almost of the same nature, as those in question here; the afflictions, says the relation that we have of it, increased daily. And a rumour was spread at Marseilles, that they were going to shut up all the confessors of the gallies in dungeons of the galley-slaves, as Monsieur D. L. was in that of St. Nicholas; but there was only for that time M. D. S. P. and two of his fellow sufferers, Messieurs M. and S. with a Roman Catholic, whose name was Monsieur Pasquet, a slave of the same galley, to whom Monsieur D. S. did some considerable services, by means of a certain woman of Marseilles, but who having been suborned by her husband, who it is likely knew the correspondence which she had with that Monsieur P. S.

in favour of the rest, she went and declared it to Mr. the intendant, in hopes of some good reward; who after some precautions upon it, caused Monsieur Pasquet to be seized, and made him to be bastinadoed so severely, that he had almost died under the blows. He caused M. Sabbatier to be also soundly bastinadoed, having ordered him to be brought into the hospital of the galley slaves. He caused Monsieur De S. the younger in particular to be brought from the Favourite: and having examined them all, he would have sent them to the citadel, but the governor of that place refused it. Upon which refusal, the intendant ordered little boarded rooms to be built in a great chamber of the hospital, with chains fastened to the wall. And because they should not speak with each other through the chinks, or receive never so little light through them, he caused great lintels to be put every where, and having chained them, he shut them up in them, feeding them with bread and water. M. Mulletin was shut up there on account of a letter that was intercepted at the post office, by which he gave an account to M. Ledger P. at Geneva of the rigorous treatment that M. the intendant had exercised to Mr. de Laufonere, before all that disturbance. As for Monsi. de S. the younger it is not said that he was so cruelly treated as the rest, at least in regard to the bastinado. His sincerity and constancy startled M. the Intendant who threatened him terribly if he did not declare who sent them the bills of exchange, and the books that he distributed, saying, that by their examples, and their billets, the de Serres perverted the new converts. He frankly owned that he had received them, and shared them among his companions; but he protested at the same time, that if he should be torn in pieces, or be beat to death, he would not tell of whom he had them. In the mean time he was shut up like the rest in a hole, where it is to be feared he will soon end his days, being of a weak constitution, and considering the bad provision that is given there.

Afterwards Monsi. Archambaut was with the intendant's secretary on board the Hardy galley, to take M. Banchillon at his bench, where having seized him, he forbade him to stir, that he might hide nothing, if he had any thing about him, and having caused his irons to be taken off, he coupled him with a Turk, and caused him strictly to be searched, without having found any thing but a well specified list of all the confessors. He was afterwards brought before the Intendant

tendant, who made him to be shut up in one of those holes which he had reserved to put them in, that the capricious of the fathers of the mission should direct to him, where they are kept without seeing daylight, except a moment in the morning when they are served with bread, and that the pots are emptied, living at that time on bread and water: we do not know whether there was some little lenity shewed them afterwards. He that served them with bread, reports, "that he always found *Monf. D. S.* praying to God." These are the confessors with whom our martyr had most correspondence and acquaintance: I say, the most, for he had some with many others, and very considerable ones. as Messrs. de l'Auboncere, la Cantiniere, Nean, Morin, Phillip Boucher, Valaste, Bancillon, Sabathere, Muffety, Baptiste, Blanchard, and others, of whom I find glorious testimonies in his letters. Some of which have already died martyrs in the prisons and dungeons; and the rest persevere gloriously in the holy race of martyrdom, waiting for the crown that God prepares for them in the heavens, at the end of their conflict, and of their course.

Among all those, he makes mention of a priest, who had been put on board the gallies, and afterwards in a dungeon of fort St. Nicholas, chained by the legs and hands, whom they had forced to alter his opinion, by bad treatment, and threatenings to burn him, because he had been a priest, and was converted; as also of a shepherd, who was also transferred from the gallies to a dungeon in fort Nicholas, and from thence to a dungeon of the castle of J. F. It is a place into which they go down by ladders, and where there is no other light but that of a lamp, which the jailor makes them pay for. That place is so frightful, that a monk who went thither to see the prisoners that are there, could not forbear to say, that the place struck him with horror, that he had not courage enough to return thither again to visit them, saying that the sad condition of those that were there, had forced tears from his eyes, and that worms were bred in the head of one of them before he was dead. It is out of that prison, from which that poor simple, but illustrious shepherd found means to write notes to his dear fellow-sufferers on board the gallies. Here is one of them directed to *Monf. Fortunat*, confessor, which is very edifying.

"Sir, says he, If I have not the honour to know you by sight, finding by sad experience, with what exactness,

“fincerity, and zeal, you act towards every body, I have reason to hope from your goodness, that you will permit my affections this day to come from the bottom of this dark dungeon, to greet you one day in your chains, with all the respect, and humility that I am capable of, and to give you thanks at the same time for the good you do me; but above all, sir, for the prayers which you offer up to the Lord in my behalf. I desire you, dear sufferer of the living God, to supplicate that great God, to have pity on such a poor, weak, and languishing creature as I am; to give me meekness of spirit, to humble myself before my neighbours, to penetrate my heart by his immense charity, that I may love him only all the days of my life. Lastly, desire him that he would be pleased to give me all the conformity I ought to have to the doctrines of his dear son, who came into the world to teach us by his word, and to guide us by his good example, to the end, that I may neither speak, say, or do any thing, but what is for the glory of his name, the edification of my neighbours, and the advancement of my own salvation. If you grant me this favour, as I expect it from your charity; I can assure you, that I shall acknowledge it as I ought all the days of my life. I send you a letter which I have taken the liberty to direct to Monsieur Du Bassonere, and other friends——Praying to the Lord to deliver you speedily from the inhumanity of our unjust oppressors, that you may sing the sweet songs of Sion in his holy house. I am, sir, and most illustrious confessor of Jesus Christ, with all the respect that is due to you, and which I am capable to give.” Yours, &c.

This is, said our martyr, what a poor shepherd speaks and writes, who pretends not to have learned to write, but since he was in bonds for God’s cause; is not this a kind of miracle, and is it not only literally, but eminently, the fulfilling of that promise of the scriptures; *and they shall be all taught of God.* He wrote others also of the same style, which made one of the confessors that sent them to another say:

“Might it please God, that all kings were as happy on their throne, as this poor shepherd is in the dirt of the dungeon! see what the grace of God can operate in the minds of the most ignorant. At first he was reduced to lye almost naked on the ground, or rather on the stinking nastiness at the bottom of a dungeon, where he received some money to

“sustain

“ sustain his miserable corporeal life, and some books, and
“ some clothes to cover his nakedness.”

Though I have no other design than to write the life and martyrdom of Monsieur le Fevre, leaving the whole history of all the confessors on board the galleys, and in the prisons, to those that shall give us an exact description of the persecutions, and evils which they suffered; yet nevertheless I have said something of the condition of his friends, and of those that have had any particular correspondence with him; neither do I believe that I ought to omit certain particular facts that happened in those times, whereof he, or his correspondents have informed us by their letters, as also of some other vexatious events that concern all the confessors in general.

Here is a very considerable particular of it. “ I have been
“ afflicted, but yet more rejoiced,” says the confessor, of whom we have this history, “ for what happened some days
“ past at Marseilles to a young handsome maiden, whom
“ God took to himself by sickness. As she was at the point
“ of death, a priest came to take her confession, because she
“ had been so weak to fall when the torrent of persecution
“ ran so high. But she would not hear him, or to say bet-
“ ter, she made quite another confession to that seducer,
“ than he expected to hear from her, when he charged her
“ with denying her heavenly Jesus. What, said he, to her,
“ you do not believe that God is in the host; dare you re-
“ vile such a great mystery thus? no, said she, I do not be-
“ lieve any thing of it, my Saviour is spiritually every
“ where, but heaven is the place where he dwells, and I
“ adore him there, and not in that which is nothing with-
“ out him; this is my faith, wherein I will die. So lifting
“ up her eyes towards heaven, she gave up her soul to her
“ faithful creator in that blessed disposition. The priest
“ called witnesses to attest this; upon this her body was car-
“ ried to the court, from whence, according to sentence past
“ upon it, it was drawn by the executioner on a dung-cart
“ through the city, and then cast on a dung-hill. They
“ cut off also the back part of her head, and it is said they
“ cut out her tongue also, for having glorified her God.
“ Thus men dishonourably exercised their cruelty and in-
“ humanity, on that poor corpse, that was going to be bu-
“ ried, while the angels carried her soul triumphantly into
“ Abraham’s bosom. How honourable do I find that se-
“ pulchre, continued he, and how glorious art thou, O daugh-

“ter of heaven! to bear the livery of thy master, and of
 “thy spouse, and how happy is thy fate, which may put
 “temporizers to the blush, and is truly worthy of emula-
 “tion! They refused that poor corpse the earth it required,
 “and she was buried under a heap of stones, which the
 “false devotees, armed with a furious zeal, discharged upon
 “her.”

Who could believe that so civilized and polished a nation as ours, and which passed hitherto for such in the world, ever was, and is yet capable (for new examples of it appear every day) of such cruelties and barbarities, which the cannibals, the Anthropophagi, and others of the cruelest nations in the earth would be ashamed to commit? Nor can it be said that it is only the effects of a furious and brutal mob, whose passions are carried to that excess; since it is done in sight of the clergy, who give encouragement to it themselves. It is done with the knowledge of the judges of the places, who do not hinder it; it is done by virtue of the sentences, and the decrees which the subalterns, and the sovereigns give against those faithful; and doubtless the court is not ignorant of it, and consequently it is equally approved and authorized by the politicians and the ecclesiastics of the kingdom. Herein they approve themselves to be members and agents of antichrist, the greatest enemy and persecutor of the saints next to the devil. Oh that at one time or other all the edicts, declarations, decrees, sentences and judgments given in this unhappy kingdom against the poor protestants, might be collected into a body, and that the history of all the cruelties and barbarities that have been committed against them, in consequence of all those judgments, might be published. It would be a fine volume, it will make a fine part of the French law, and be a great honour to the nation! In the mean time it is for the interest of the church of God, that it should be known, and on that occasion it may be said, here is the patience and the faith of saints. *And how long, Lord, how long.*

As all those poor confessors had conceived some hopes, at least divers of them, that the peace which was treating at Reswick, would bring some quiet to the church, and some ease to its misfortunes, and perhaps their deliverance; perceiving that nothing came of it, they could not forbear to express some resentment upon that account, as if there had been a neglect in the protestant princes. But having been exactly in-
 formed

formed by some body they had enquired of about the state of things in that respect, and of the invincible obstacles that were found against the good intentions, zeal, and charity, of the protestant princes and states, they humbly shewed their submission to the will of God; and resolved to be patient, and persevere with an admirable confidence. And they gave great examples of it; for since that time their evils have been increased, instead of being abated, as well as the persecutions against the protestants that are yet in the kingdom; for they have never ceased, nor been interrupted during the war, but have taken new forces, and new measures, that if it were possible, they might the sooner ruin the protestant religion; the design whereof, if we believe the panegyrist, makes one of the most remarkable characters of the French king's zeal and grandeur; those poor confessors having since that time had divers furious attacks, and been exposed to a number of miseries, of which there had been no one instance before, and which are only put in use against them, either by orders from the court, or by the sollicitations of the clergy, whose zeal is always passionate, and furious, or by the advice of the judges, governors, intendants, almoners, and officers of the galleys, who are strongly persuaded that it is their advancement to hasten the ruin, and the destruction of those that persist in the protestant religion, and who by the example of their patience encourage others to persevere in it.

“ One of those confessors says in a letter of the 29th of
“ June 1699. An order is given on board all the galleys to
“ put all the protestants to the chain again, that had bought
“ themselves off for their ease, and to make them be present
“ at mass; and on the refusal of keeping themselves in the
“ same posture as the Roman catholics, to give notice of it to
“ Monsieur the commander of the galleys, and they have
“ already treated two persons very rigorously, the one on
“ board the Valiant galley, and the other on board the
“ Queen, to whom they have twice given the bastinado
“ on the courfier most cruelly, because they would not
“ pull off their caps, and keep standing as the Roman ca-
“ tholics, when mass is said. I leave you to imagine what
“ cruelty will be exercised against them, when they shall be
“ exposed all naked to the tugging of the oar. Two of
“ those good believers Duclos, and Richard, have suffered
“ that bloody flagellation, with an admirable patience and
“ constancy.

“ constancy. Before they gave the bastonade to the first, a
 “ wicked sub-officer over the slaves had sturned him, with
 “ kicks on the head, to endeavour to make him stand up;
 “ and the lieutenant who is an unhappy apostate, and who
 “ caused the bastonade to be given him, caused him afterwards
 “ to be manacled, and caned the Turks to make them strike
 “ harder. But their constancy instead of discouraging those
 “ wicked persecutors, animated them the more against them,
 “ threatening them with more terrible evils; while Mes-
 “ sieurs the Almoners who are their adversaries make it their
 “ delight to have them treated so barbarously. Are not
 “ these, adds the confessor, good disciples of Jesus Christ,
 “ and charitable ministers of the gospel, who use such
 “ means to submit souls to the obedience of him, who says,
 “ learn of me, for I am humble and meek. They are
 “ children of him who is a murthurer from the beginning.
 “ And that which is strange is, that while they treat us so
 “ cruelly, they have the impudence to tell us that the church
 “ does not love shedding of blood, and that people ought
 “ to be drawn by mildness. As for what remains, says he
 “ again, they are the zealous fathers of the mission of France,
 “ that are directors of the hospital of the galley slaves, and
 “ that settle Messieurs the Almoners in their employ, who
 “ have, as it is said, extorted that order from a minister of
 “ state; when it can hardly be believed, that such an inge-
 “ nious minister has been capable of giving so cruel an or-
 “ der, and so wicked, and so contrary to justice, as well as
 “ humanity.

“ In the mean time see how they behave themselves to-
 “ wards those poor people. In the first place, the almoners
 “ cause them to be fastened to the chain in the stern quarter,
 “ near their altars. Then they tell them, that they should
 “ not pretend to come and commit any irreverence to their
 “ altars. To which those confessors answer, for what reason
 “ is it that they chain them so maliciously near the stern,
 “ and do not give them the liberty as other slaves to go to
 “ the fore part of the galley from under the tent, with the
 “ Turks; and then they could not scandalize them. But
 “ they will not hear those reasons, but say the king will
 “ have it so. There would be, continues he, an hundred
 “ times more reason to make them go to the forepart with
 “ the Turks, than the primitive church had formerly to
 “ make

“make the catechumens go out of the temple when they
“were going to celebrate the eucharist.”

We have been informed since by our martyrs letters, and by those of others, that the treatment which they received, was come to a point of cruelty, of which there is no example, nor practise on board the gallies. Inſomuch that they have been obliged to preſent a petition to the Intendant. And ſeeing that requeſt has made ſo much noiſe at Marſailles, and at the court, whither it was ſent, and that it produced the effects which we ſhall ſee hereafter, it is fit the public ſhould ſee, and judge of it. It is this.

To my Lord the Intendant, &c.

My Lord,

“The proteſtants that are on board his majeſty’s gallies,
“have never dared to repreſent to your grandeur the puniſhment which they have ſuffered for ſo many years paſt
“in common with the galley ſlaves, which are more than
“ſufficient to afflict them. But, my Lord, if they dare
“open their mouth, at this time, it is not to complain of
“thoſe that are impoſed on them more than on thoſe
“wretched perſons, but only to inform your greatneſs of
“it, who doubtleſs will abhor it, being contented to ſuffer
“afterwards what you pleaſe.

“They ſupplicate your lordſhip then, to permit them to
“inform you with a moſt profound reſpect, that the weakeſt
“among them are made to row in the poſts, where the moſt
“vigorous can hardly hold it, under a ſhower of blows,
“they give them baſtinadoes, and double baſtinadoes on the
“naked body, on the benches, or on the great gun. Being
“ſick in the hoſpital, they take them from among the
“Turks which is their common poſt, and place them among
“the Roman catholics, to have a pretence to load them
“with chains, on the reſuſal they make to adhere to their
“myſteries, which they expoſe to their ſight on purpoſe.
“Some of them they cauſed to be tied with cords to the
“benches, with their hands to their backs, others they drag
“to the ſtern of the gallies where they perform their divine
“ſervice, and where they are ſoundly beat; others are
“actually kept in the Rouſole, the ſink of the naſtines of
“the galley, and where it is impoſſible to lie down, or
“ſtand; they are deprived of the leaſt advantage that the
“greateſt villains on board the galley enjoy.

“It

“ It would tire your patience, my Lord, if we should
 “ give you a longer particular of the hardships which they
 “ make them suffer. To exercise with authority those ex-
 “ cesses of violence, they have been blackened at the court,
 “ and before Monsieur the Commandant of this place, for
 “ having intercepted his orders. They will not, my Lord,
 “ tire your honour with the rehearal of the bad ideas that
 “ have been given of them, nor that which might justly be
 “ opposed to it; but whatsoever is reported of them, God
 “ knows their innocency, and the candour of their conduct,
 “ which is by his grace without reproach towards men, ex-
 “ cept their inviolable affection which they have for their
 “ religion is counted a crime to them, which they have
 “ sucked in with their milk, and which being the only cause
 “ for which they are condemned to the galleys, they ought
 “ to have no other punishment inflicted on them, than those
 “ which their condemnation bears, according to the laws of
 “ equity and the intention of our great prince, who by his
 “ royal bounty, would not suffer this redoubling of punish-
 “ ments, if it should come to his knowledge. Whatsoever
 “ bad pencil they make use of to describe them, they can-
 “ not represent them otherwise than that their sacred and
 “ inviolable maxim always is to fear God, to honour the
 “ king, and to be his faithful subjects, and friends of the
 “ community, as St. Peter exhorts us to. As for what re-
 “ mains, what afflictions soever they can make them feel,
 “ they suffer it by God’s assistance, with all the patience and
 “ submission that the holy gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ,
 “ requires of his true disciples; and they will never discon-
 “ tinue their prayers for those very persons that add any
 “ weight whatsoever to their affliction; chiefly for the happy
 “ preservation of our invincible monarch, that God will be
 “ pleased to bless him with his choicest blessings of heaven
 “ above, and the earth beneath, and maintain peace in his
 “ dominions, with a flourishing prosperity to his heart’s de-
 “ sire. They will not fail to pray to God also for your ho-
 “ nour, my Lord, and for those that belong to you.”

Who would not have thought but that the sight of such
 a petition would have moved some compassion for those poor
 afflicted persons, and that without favouring them with
 what they did not ask, order would be given to do them that
 justice which they had reason to hope for on the redoubling
 and aggravating their punishments, and the wrongs that
 were

were done them, against all the rules of justice, and against the usage and practice of the galleys, where they never, at least without cause, increase the punishments of those that are condemned there, beyond what the sentence of their condemnation bears, unless they commit new crimes. In the mean time, the petition was so far from producing that effect, that it served only to confirm, and increase those extraordinary punishments and rigours which they represented in it to Mr. the Intendant. It happened to them just as it did to the afflicted people of God in Egypt, where Moses and Aaron presented themselves before Pharaoh to ask the liberty for that people to go and sacrifice to their God, who instead of granting it them, caused their yoke to be doubled: you are idle, you are idle, therefore you say, let us go and do sacrifice to the Lord, go therefore now and work: for there shall be no straw given you, yet shall ye deliver the tale of bricks. Their labours have been increased on the occasion of that petition, which served only to make them more rigorously treated than before. The petition, says one of those confessors, in a letter of the 28th of June 1700, having been sent back from the court, instead of its being verified or recorded, and to see if the truth had been declared in it, the Intendant's Secretary endeavoured only to find him out that might be the author of it. For that purpose he went on board of some galleys, questioning those whom he suspected. Some of those that were in the Roujole, and consequently in the misery mentioned in the petition, were first examined: afterwards that secretary leaving the other gallerians, went to M. D. S. L. and shewing him the petition, he owned the fact immediately, saying, that he thought it unworthy of a good man, and chiefly of one that is called in question for the truth, to tell a lie. In the mean time that gentleman threatened him terribly at first. Two days after the captain came, who speaking more civilly to him, made him comprehend that that business might draw other misfortunes upon him. And indeed it set all those gentlemen of the mission, the almoners of the galleys, and divers other passionate persons against him, who pretended to be offended by that procedure, and looking upon him as the author of that piece, did their endeavour to ruin him. He has been threatened with a dungeon, which is, says he, to serve him for a grave before his death. They have written to the court about it, and represented him as a monster that

ought to be exterminated without relief. I am, said he, disposed for all events, knowing that my enemies strength depends on him in whom I hope, who will limit their power, and their intrigues, if he sets none to their calumnies, and their unjust desires. It is also thought that there was a particular order from the court, to keep him close shut up: in the mean time it appears plainly, that the court is much prepossessed against us, to condemn the very complaints that are put forth in the bitterness of the hardship that is felt. They do not use the Turks and Barbarians so that are slaves with us, for they are heard, and have justice done them. We shall see in the sequel, how since that time the hardships of those beloved confessors have increased, and the means they have used to do it.

In the mean while Monsieur le Fevre who felt those cruelties continually in his dungeon, and who was so far from seeing them either to end or diminish, that in spite of all the complaints which he daily made, he saw them rather to continue, and increase, had also a design to prefer a petition on his own behalf, as the other confessors had done, after he should have his pastor's opinion of it, to whom he wrote expressly on that subject, in the month of November, 1699, who approved the design, not finding any inconveniency in it, because they could use him no worse than they did; that if it proved ineffectual for his relief, as it was more likely than otherwise, it would at least be a witness before God, and men, against the authors of those injuries, and cruelties. But the counsel which he requested on that subject, was accompanied with a strong and sincere protestation of his compliance to the will of God, and a constant resolution of continuing to glorify him until the last breath of his life, by his patience and perseverance in the faith, as all the other confessors do, who acquit themselves in a very edifying manner of the duties of christianity, and who keep an holy correspondence on that subject, more exactly, and more zealously than that which is performed in the societies of the churches that are free, admonishing and correcting each other with charity and brotherly love, attending to their duties as much as is possible, fasting, praying, and exhorting each other continually by word and writing, to piety and good works.

Our martyr seeing the little success, and also the vexatious consequences which his brethren's petition had, and it may
be,

be, not having at that time the liberty for it (for sometimes he was deprived of all conversation, and without being able to give any news of himself, nor receive any from others) he had no great hopes to succeed in his complaints, not seeing any likelihood that they were better disposed towards him than to his brethren, and knowing by experience that they were not favourably disposed towards him. For from the year 1689, two charitable ladies of his kindred had presented a petition to the Intendant Monsieur Mommor, to obtain his liberty on a just suggestion, which they made of his weak and languishing condition; but no regard was had to it. So that he continued in his misery and sufferings, but being always occupied in holy meditations, and in sending prayers, litanies, paraphrases on psalms, elegies, and pieces of christian poetry, to his brethren and his other friends for their edification, desiring their opinion and correction of them. A little after he was put in the dungeon of St. John, he begun a sonnet in praise of the king, which he says he communicated without making much reflection upon it, to the Commander, of which he has sent this part, which he calls the fall.

“ *Lieutenant du tres-haut ta colere est terrible,*
 “ *Quoi! toujours glorieux, & toujours invincible,*
 “ *Peux-tu prendre plaisir a nous pousser a bout,*
 “ *Sur toy-même tu dois remporter la victoire,*
 “ *Et l'on ajoutera, ce vers a ton Histoire,*
 “ *Louis est un Vainqueur, qui Trempe de tout.”*

Dread Sovereign, invincible and great! }
 Why does thy anger burn with such an heat, }
 To scorch thy subjects in their low estate? }
 Be master of your self, your self subdued, }
 And after-ages then will own 'tis true, }
 None more than LEWIS, how to conquer, knew. }

We have several paraphrases of his on all the Psalms, the translation of the imitation of Jesus Christ of A' Kempis in verse, elegies and epistles to William King of England of glorious memory; which being joined together would make a great volume, that might be made public if thought fit. All or most of those pieces are at Geneva, particularly the Psalms, where they talk of printing them, but those works have need to be reviewed again.

Having

Having heard at that time, that a particular memoir was presented to his Britannic Majesty to desire the deliverance of those poor captives, particularly the infirm and others, among whom they had placed him under the name of Ishmael le Fevre, advocate at Dijon, instead of advocate in the parliament of Paris; he wrote, and sent, as was reasonable, a particular memoir of his condition, wherein he represents the length of his sufferings, and the rigours they had exercised, and continued to exercise against him, in such a manner, as he said, as was not practised against any, keeping him shut up close in a place where he believed never any prisoner had been put before him, of which he describes the insupportable inconveniencies, and wherein he remarks there was no light but from about noon until the hour that they brought him his supper, without having once been let out of it for divers years to take the air, as is practised with other prisoners. He had complained of all this, as he was advised, and as he notes in one of his letters, in June 1700.

“ According as you advised me, says he, to his pastor in the
 “ last letter which you honoured me with, I complained of
 “ the corruption and malignity of my provisions, and the
 “ pains they brought upon me, but I was little the better
 “ for it. Those that have undertaken to make me re-
 “ nounce my holy religion, say, and do what they please.
 “ They have habituated themselves to do evil: and all the
 “ satisfaction they have given me, is, that they sent me
 “ word by my nurse’s daughter, that they gave me such
 “ water as the commander drank, and that they gave me
 “ the best of what they eat themselves; that I was sick, and
 “ had lost my taste, that every body desired my liberty, and
 “ that it was only my fault I had it not; but when they
 “ deny the most evident and palpable things, I have no-
 “ thing to answer, but that I am here to suffer. Never-
 “ theless my most dear and most honoured pastor, I can
 “ sincerely protest unto you, that the corruption and ma-
 “ lignity of the food which they give me has strange
 “ effects on my body. I shall not explain the particulars
 “ of them to you, but remark only these two; the one is
 “ that it commonly made me void more or less blood out
 “ of my body. Formerly I had some days of ease; but for
 “ some time past there is no more of that, it is my daily
 “ bread. The other is that very often it brings the cholic
 “ into my breast and stomach for divers hours. The last fit
 “ made

“ made me suffer violent pains from the evening unto the
“ next morning; I vomited sharp and bitter waters by fits;
“ and as they came up, my pain increased also. For some
“ time I thought it was beyond what the judge intended,
“ or to explain myself more particularly, I could hardly
“ think that the court took notice of such small matters;
“ but Mons. de Mommor formerly intendant would not
“ leave me in that thought. Some days before the peace
“ he sent a citizen of Mariedles to me, who said he was a
“ physician, and that he was ordered to inspect the food
“ that was given me. I was afterwards visited by another
“ person who answered me being required to do it; that he
“ came from Mr. Mommor, who executed the orders of the
“ court. But after those proceedings they redoubled the
“ dose, and the fever joining with other inconveniencies,
“ reduced me to keep my bed three or four days; this is
“ confirmed by the conversation I had in coming hither
“ with the governor, the mayer of the place, who is at
“ present commander, and a person of quality whose name
“ I know not. The latter after some discourse spake to
“ me thus: you ought rather to yield to what these gentle-
“ men tell you, than to the solicitations and arguments of
“ the clergy, for in short you may be assured that the king
“ will not contradict himself. He added, if you had lived
“ like a saint, we should be less surprized at your resolution.
“ Was not this as much as to say to me,

“ *Temporibusque malis, ausus & esse Bonus.*”

And on this occasion, he desired that they would persuade a relation and friend of his, who was so charitable to allow him a pension which he paid for him, to stop the same, seeing that for so many years past they had made such an inhuman use of it, pretending it might procure him some ease, saying, “ Providence would take care of him.” So long as I had money I made no scruple of putting it in the officers hands of the fort; I have signed all the bills they have presented me, and all those they required of me. He adds, “ that he ought not to forget to mention what a
“ knight of the order of St. Lewis, had repeated two or
“ three times to him, to wit, that it was not for his religion
“ that he was taken out of the gallies to be put into prison,
“ but because he wrote together with de Marollés into
“ foreign countries, and that he had made verses against
“ the king. I undertake, said he, to prove that imputation
“ false;

“ false; and I always told that gentleman, that he was the
 “ only person that durst say any such thing, and so ill in-
 “ vented. And indeed I did not begin to write into foreign
 “ countries, and to make verses, till I was detained a prisoner
 “ at this fort, where I made but an indifferent sonnet in praise
 “ of the king (the latter part whereof we have already inserted)
 “ my intention was good. Besides when I was brought
 “ hither, Mons. de Scorbive, commissary of the gallies, to
 “ whom I had been recommended, told me it was to ease
 “ me. In truth if it was intended so, it was very ill per-
 “ formed.” As for what remains, it was very likely they
 had a mind to make him away by that ill treatment, and
 that corruption of food, as they did to Mons. de Marolles,
 in making him to fast, and almost starve in prison, and it
 was that indeed that hastened his death; but it pleased God
 to preserve this person longer, in spite of the violence and
 injustice of his persecutors, for the consolation of his dear
 companions, and the edification of the church of God,
 which is so much honoured by his patience and persever-
 ance.

It was so far, as we have remarked, from any regard hav-
 ing been had to the just complaints of the general petition
 presented by the confessors of the gallies, as all the rules of
 justice, and all humane laws required, that after that time
 the condition of those poor afflicted persons grew worse,
 their pains and labours were increased, and new inventions
 and ways were found out for pretences to torment them,
 and to avenge the missionaries, almoners, and others, for the
 ill success of the pains they took to convert those pre-
 tended heretics, who by their patience and perseverance in
 their holy religion, confounded their pernicious designs.
 For it is not questioned but that it is from the artifice and the
 suggestion of those good natured clergy, ministers, not of
 Jesus Christ, but of that apocalyptical beast, that was to
 be made drunk with the blood of the saints, that what they
 call the *bastinado* is invented, which is the most cruel and
 rigorous of all the punishments that they make use of in the
 gallies, and that only on the greatest villains, and in extra-
 ordinary cases, and which they have found proper to put
 in use against our confessors, as being judged most efficacious
 to triumph over their faith and their patience. They had in-
 deed made use of it against divers among them on certain occa-
 sions, as has been observed in the person of the glorious mar-
 tyr

tyr Peter Mauru. But the barbarity was not so general, neither for the causes, nor on the pretences they took in those times to exercise it against so many innocent persons, I mean against all those that would not comply with their idolatrous worship, or take off their caps while they were performing what they call the divine service, which for that reason they placed them, before they begun in such places where they might be spectators of it, as the other Roman catholic galley-slaves.

But few persons are ignorant of the history of the bastinado. It may be said that all Europe has been informed of it, and abhorred it: and we are willing to do our unhappy nation that justice to believe, that there is a great number, I will not only say of those that are called good men, but many others, and it may be also a good number of the clergy, whose zeal is not altogether so passionate and furious, that heartily detest those cruel and bloody executions that are exercised on account of religion. I do not pretend to write an exact and particular history of it here. Divers relations have been seen of it in several places, that have been printed, with the names of those that suffered it, and of the gallies on which they endured the torment. I shall only speak summarily of it, and with respect to what our martyr informed us of it in his letters, wherein he thought it was material to acquaint us what he knew of it, by the few relations that were sent him from the gallies to his prison, for his holy consolation, and pious exhortations on that subject, and by what particulars we find of it in some of those confessors letters to our, and their friends. We see in one of those relations printed at Amsterdam, the title whereof is, "A relation of the cruelties, that are at present exercised on our brethren of France on board the gallies, according to the true advices from Marseilles:" I say we see there the names of above thirty of those innocent persons of all ages, and conditions, soundly beaten at divers times, and on board divers gallies. I shall take notice of some of them that I find in my memoirs, and describe the most memorable circumstances of the torments of some of them, which the extracts that are sent us mention.

The epocha of the beginning of those kinds of massacres, is noted to us from about the end of the year 1699, which have continued above a year, not having ceased until about the month of July 1701, which was done by the fury, and

malice of the missionaries, who by false informations have surreptitiously obtained orders from the court as it is pretended, to cause the bonnet, or cap, to be taken off during the service, and to punish them that refused to do it. In consequence of this, the officer that commanded in the port, went on board the galleys, and having caused that bastinado to be given to divers that had refused to take off their caps; being tired with that sad spectacle, he sent the major of the galleys to perform these inhuman executions, and with divers sweet words mixed with rigorous threatenings, he gained some of them, and made the rest to be carried away by force, and be ill treated; but those that had promised acknowledged their faults, and protested that they would take off their cap no more, resolving rather to suffer the worst, than yield to the enemy. Some of them have had the bastinado two or three times on that occasion: the storm was great on board of all the galleys that were in harbour, except that wherein the old men and the invalids were, where nothing was said at that time, fearing perhaps to give them the crown of martyrdom too soon. Those that were at sea were also exempted from it. Some of the officers who presided at those fine executions, exhorted them only to take off their caps by way of civility, and not to give any scandal; and that they did not desire them to change their religion: "take off your cap, look towards the stern," said the major, to any whom he had a mind to lash, "and afterwards pray to God, Calvin, or whom thou wilt." And as some of the weakest had some scruples under the umbrage of that civility, and some inclination to comply with it, to avoid such great punishments, they were fortified against it by their other brethren. They yielded wholly to their exhortations, and were confirmed in them by what a pastor wrote to them, whom they had desired to do it.

Here is the extract of a note from Marseilles, that precedes what we have already related some Months.

"They have unmercifully butchered our brethren on board the galleys that were not at sea, for justly refusing to put off their bonnets during the service, and they have been so exasperated against those that shewed an unshaken constancy, that they have put them in such a condition as would make the rocks to tremble if they were capable of any sense. After that barbarous usage they carried

ried divers of them who were constant to the hospital. The first time they gave that cruel bastinado to Mons. Serre the elder, he had almost expired under the burthen of that punishment, as you will see by one of his letters which I annex to this. I leave you to think in what a pitiful condition they put him the next morning, when they gave it him again in such a cruel manner, that the blood gushed, or at least spurted out upon the great gun. From thence he was carried to the hospital; from whence after God had miraculously recovered him, he was transferred to the castle of J. F. and there he is left without so much as giving him an old straw bed to lie on. God be praised we have heard from him, his almost broken bones make him feel great pains all over his body. The two Messieurs Carrieres, that underwent the same inhumanities, are transferred also to the same place. Poor Mons. Elias Maurin, who was twice put upon the rack, is shut up in the hospital with bread and water. Mr. le Houstaes, and others, who are still very sick, Alexander of the Magnanimous galley, has been tortured four times with a tarred rope dipped in the sea, which makes it as hard as an iron bar. Now, what reason soever I have to comfort myself, says that confessor, and to wipe the tears from my eyes, for the joy that the sublime glory of their triumph ought to give me, yet I cannot stop them, when I represent to myself the horrible martyrdom they have been made to suffer, and when I converse with those about it, that afflict their souls with me for them; surely the deliverer draws near, seeing the number of the bricks are redoubled.

“ Before all things, Monsieur, my most dear ally, and most honoured pastor” (it is Mons. le Fevre that speaks here, and who sends those extracts) “ I invite you to come and see what may be called a man more than *vir prodigij*, who like a true and brave soldier, is never more ardent than on occasion, and in the midst of danger. The ruder the shock is, the more his heart is inflamed, notwithstanding all the sores he is covered with, he is yet preparing for greater combats.”

An extract of a letter that Mons. de Serre the elder wrote the 8th of October 1700, with a bloody and torn body, and manacles on his hands, with this inscription.

“ To the dear faithful, that have not been ashamed of
 “ me in my chains, peace, love and grace of our Lord be
 “ communicated and multiplied unto you to the end.

“ Gentlemen, Ladies, and Brethren, whom I love in Jesus
 Christ.

“ I write to you with manacles on my hands, and the
 “ marks of my divine Jesus, printed on my back —C—,
 “ and another that went before me, having obeyed after
 “ four blows with the cudgel, the major came to me. He
 “ told me a parcel of idle stories, to which I answered in
 “ few, but sedate words, that he might do his office. My
 “ resolution animated him against me; so that he gave me
 “ the cruelest blows in the world, and my soul was almost
 “ expiring. He would have had me to comply by forbear-
 “ ing to strike me, but seeing me to persist in my resolution,
 “ he was enraged. My constancy, which was an example
 “ to others, gave them courage; but I am deceived, it was
 “ the celestial Grace. What thanks do I owe to my God,
 “ for the inestimable favour he has done me to suffer for
 “ the interests of his glory! let all christian people praise
 “ him with me! To which I invite you dearly beloved of
 “ the Lord: but above all, faithful souls pray him to give
 “ me the gift of perseverance, that I may hold out
 “ to the end, without which all the rest would be in vain,
 “ and I should be covered with eternal confusion. As
 “ the major was yet treating our brethren ill, and by
 “ his order they were putting manacles on me, a man came
 “ hither from Mons. the Intendant, whose name is Mr.
 “ Regis, who whispered the major in the ear, and shewed
 “ him a memoir. Presently I was asked for, and the ma-
 “ jor said to him with a threatening tone, Oh, it is Mr. Serre,
 “ I have lashed him severely, but this evening I will lash
 “ his back so that he shall feel it as long as he lives. So
 “ that my dear friends, I am preparing myself for death;
 “ and shall be happy if I die in the faith. They desire it
 “ more to me than to all my companions together. It is
 “ thought that I shall be this evening or to-morrow at
 “ the castle of J. F. after they have put me to the torture.
 “ I wish it was this hour, for it would spare me an inexpressible
 “ torment. I have served my brethren in the forts,
 “ and here with the hazard of my life; I have exhorted them
 “ as well as I could, and served them for an example. May
 “ it

“ it please the father of mercy that I do not degenerate! In the name of the Lord, implore the assistance of God, that I may remain victorious. Accompany me with your prayers in my dungeon, if I am carried thither: I shall not lose sight of you, but shall for ever preserve the remembrance of your bounties, charity and tenderness. May it please God to give you ample rewards for it in this life, and eternal happiness in that which is to come. I embrace and honour you with all my heart, and am, and ever shall be, gentlemen, and ladies, brethren, and sisters in our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ Your most humble and

“ most obedient servant,

SERRE.”

The 18th of October, 1700,
on board the Fortune galley.

All this was written with that martyr's own hand.

“ Now that I may be suffered to say so,” adds he, “ whose history I write; there is none but the spirit of Jesus Christ that can cause any body to act and speak thus on the like occasions, therefore eternal praise and glory ought to be given to him for it.

Mr. le Fevre says, “ that brave confessor was in those holy and courageous dispositions, before he entered into the combat, which he shews by an extract of letters to his dear brother that was in the port of Genoa; wherein after having spoken of divers confessors, who had been cruelly tormented, to wit, Mess. Carriere, and Fajan, a profelyte whose constancy had sustained so many assaults, and disappointed the almoner, who was a passionate man, of his design, and four that were on board the Magnanimous galley, who suffered the bastinado twice; he says that he was also threatened, but that he was ready, and expected all from the success of grace. If we confess Jesus Christ, said he, before men, he will confess us before his father and the angels, &c. If God makes us triumph, our triumph will bring us as much honour to the church of God, as shame to unchaste Babylon; our victory will be her defeat; and the means which she makes use of filling the cup of her abominations, her unhappy end, and her dark reign will be so much the nearer. In another he says, that he is like a city that is blocked up, and

“ which expects every moment to be besieged by a formidable army that will put all to fire and sword: and I fortify myself against all attempts, and hope to disappoint the design of all the forces that are against me, because my eyes are upon God: I conjure you to pray to him for me, and for all those in the same condition with me, that we may be powerful and invincible wrestlers with God.

“ This is,” says our martyr, “ a great example of strength, but also at the same time, a mournful subject: I cannot forbear to say that it may be they never revenged themselves more sadly, more uselessly, and in a more deplorable manner. To be thus treated,” adds he, “ is called in latin *excarnificari*, if I am not deceived. I would fain know what names the French Roman Catholics give to those fine executions. For, in short, against whom do they revenge themselves; against true sheep, against victims of humility and of patience, that do not cease to pray for the conversion, and for the prosperity of those that slay us, and devour us.

“ But in spite of all those torments, this faithful confessor is yet living, and continues to glorify God in a dungeon of the castle of J. F. into which place he was removed with divers other brethren that suffer there like him all the horrors and cruelties wherewith they are able to treat prisoners, whose life and perseverance confounds the false zeal of the enemies and persecutors of the true religion: while his younger brother suffered almost the same rigours divers years in a dungeon of fort St. Nicholas, where he was joined with the illustrious Mr. de l’Aufonniere, who was removed thither before him, and who had been so great a succour and edifier to all his brethren on board the gallies and in the prisons, by a great many good and charitable offices which he did them, to the hazard of his life; and for which he was shut up in the dungeon. The third brother of Mess. Serre continues on board the gallies, where he endures the same labours as the other confessors, not having been exposed to the cruel and extraordinary bastonades of those that were on board the gallies that were in harbour, because he was then at sea, in those that conducted the cardinals that went for Rome to Civitavechia; and which were some time in the harbour of Genoa; so that he did not arrive at Mar-

“ feilles

“ feilles until after the storm of the bastinadoes was over, which,
“ as we have said lasted a little above a year. One of those three
“ brothers having been condemned to the galleys but for nine or
“ ten years, ought, according to the course of justice, to be
“ set at liberty, at the end of that term. It was demanded,
“ and they solicited also for a pretty long time after the ex-
“ piration of that time, but it was in vain. The Roman
“ catholic zeal, that will not have them keep faith with heri-
“ ticks, dispenses also kings, princes, and magistrates, with
“ breaking treaties made with them, to violate the most sa-
“ cred edicts, and laws, and judgments, when it is advantage-
“ ous to them; which they observe rather to the greatest villains
“ of mankind, and to those that may be called the plagues
“ of the common-wealth. It was by the same spirit that an
“ order being come from the court to set all the invalids,
“ those that had accomplished their time, and those that
“ had been condemned for deserting, at liberty, of whom
“ there were some of the religion, and there was another
“ order in it to strike them out of the roll of those that were
“ to be set at liberty, if any had been placed in it, and for-
“ bidding any of them to be placed in it for the future.
“ It is not said by what order, but there is no reason to be-
“ lieve that it comes from any where else, because they durst not
“ do any thing in that regard, but by those superior orders,
“ which do not want on such occasions to be most power-
“ fully solicited by our poor confessors good friends the mis-
“ sioners and the clergy, as the master of the cruel basti-
“ nado was, which may be very well said to be the work of
“ those persons, who, at the sight of those very executions
“ that were made of them, had the impudence to say, that
“ the church did not love blood. This ought to make us
“ say some of those confessors, in an excellent letter which
“ they wrote on that subject, to redouble our prayers for
“ the conversion of our enemies, and take the better heed
“ to ourselves, considering that we have still need of the
“ fiery trial, seeing that providence leaves us in it; God
“ grant it may be in his mercy, for our sanctification, and his
“ glory.

“ They had also demanded the deliverance and li-
“ berty of some Vaudois, the Duke of Savoy's subjects, ac-
“ cording to the orders he had given for it to his ambassador
“ at the court of France, and they had written about it to
“ Marseilles. But as they were in hopes to see the effect

“ of it, the calumnies wherewith the missionaries blackened those poor people, and wherewith they had influenced the court, have hindered their deliverance hitherto.” This was written in the month of March, 1700.

At last the fury of the bastinado ceased in the year 1701, also by order from the court. It is also very unlikely that it was in compassion of the miseries of those innocent confessors of Jesus Christ, seeing they have none for so many and other unusual and extraordinary miseries to which the other galley-slaves are exposed. But as all Europe, all the foreign princes and states of all Europe, as well Roman catholics as others, shewed an abhorrence of it, and could not forbear to reproach the ambassadors, and envoys, and other public and private persons of that court whom they saw, for it, it made them something ashamed, and they were ordered to cease, after some informations made on board the galleys by themselves, of the state of things in that regard; where both the missionaries and officers, excused themselves as well as they could, endeavouring to lessen the heinousness of the facts, some of them also impudently denying them, but still retaining their hatred, passion, and spirit of revenge against those poor afflicted captives. After this they had a kind of calm for some months; but the storm was not long from returning. “ We have noted unto you,” say two of those famous confessor, “ by our letter of July last, 1701 (they wrote this in January 1702) that we enjoyed some calm: but a little while after they put us to the chain again, and searched us very strictly. They took all our books from us, yea, though they were of Roman catholic authors, as also the money which we had; however, that was returned to us again the next day. But if they had found any considerable sum, and had not kept it, they would have returned it to us penny by penny, to the end that they on whom they found it, might not assist their brethren with it, as they did formerly; for they have always taken very great care to hinder charity among us, and for which reason divers have been shut up in dungeons. The books were never restored to us, no, not those that were of Roman catholic authors. Moreover, the gentlemen missionaries caused the order to keep us to the chain to be renewed. We are, say they, a mark, and laughing stock to the first comers, but we take heed to the orders of providence, and we submit ourselves to
“ it’s

“ it’s will, without which they cannot hurt an hair of our
“ head. Let the world despise us, as much as it pleases,
“ if it please God the angels will acknowledge us one day
“ in glory; the reproach of Jesus Christ is better than all the
“ honours and pleasures of the world: they chain our feet, but
“ they cannot chain our souls, nor hinder them from mount-
“ ing up to God. They make our bodies labour and sweat, but
“ our soul raises it self towards heaven, and unites itself to
“ God, rejoicing in the sense of his love. They shut us up in
“ dark holes, and sequester us from all society, but they can-
“ not hinder God from visiting us in his love, and his holy
“ angels from keeping us faithful company.” In this man-
ner those generous confessors comforted each other, giving
glory to God, and edifying his church.

In the mean time those poor recluses in the prisons and
dungeons were no more spared than those on board the
gallies. Their misery continued, and increased on some,
having been more strictly kept than usually. Monsieur le
Fevre was one of those, for the ill treatment whereof he com-
plained, though in vain, continued until his death, or to
the approaches of his death, which happened in the Month
of June 1702, when God delivered him at last from all his
miseries, not having been able for above a year before to
receive any letters from any of his friends on board the
gallies, and elsewhere, nor to send any of his to any body
whatsoever. If a lady of Marseilles saw him sometimes,
it was in the presence of such persons as did not give
them the liberty to discourse together of what they would
willingly have done. It was only known that he was living,
but with many inconveniencies and evils, and by growing
every day weaker and weaker, but always in the most pious
and christian dispositions that a martyr of Jesus Christ could
be capable of. So that from the beginning of the year 1700,
until that absolute deprivation of all correspondence, we
have had but two or three letters from him: the one con-
taining the historical extracts of the cruel executions of the
bastonade, which we have described; another wherein he
represents his miserable condition, and the reasons he had
to demand his deliverance under the name of an invalid,
almost entirely consumed by the long continuance of his
sufferings. It was without doubt, because he had heard
that lists were making for that purpose, that were to be
sent to the court, not knowing perhaps at that time that
those

those of the religion were to be excepted out of it. But not relying much upon that, and preparing himself for death; concerning which his pastor, who had been informed that the continuance of his troubles had very much weakened him, wrote to him to confirm him more and more in his glorious hopes, for which he had courageously fought, and continued yet to do. To which making a short recapitulation of his troubles, he answers that he will live and die in that faith. That they had taken the freedom of money from him divers times, but that he preferred the hopes of his salvation before all that. Afterwards he desired them to take care to pay some small debts which he remembered, and which were but of very little consequence. The third and last was of the 18th of January 1701, wherein he answers another of that pastor on the same subject as the first. See some extracts of it here.

He says, "the apostle St. James calls those blessed that have persevered in their sufferings. I am not surpris'd, sir, and my most honoured pastor, that you speak the same language to me, neither that you add to it, that fifteen years of combat and perseverance against all the efforts of the devil and the world, are without contradiction admirable dispositions for a happy death, and an infallible security of a glorious reward. In speaking thus you suppose what is to be supposed. But alas how trembling is this foundation in regard of me; what we do is mixed with good and evil, and I must confess that my best actions fall short of those inward motions that ought to make them valuable: how can I count them worthy any thing? It is true that I am resolv'd to suffer, and to suffer all, both life and death; it is true also that I return good for evil, as much as lies in me, and that I give nobody cause to complain. But though I endeavour to live well, and to attain to the glorious liberty of the children of God, I force myself much, and advance but little."

And here it must be observed, that never any body spoke to him of God's grace towards him, of the opinion they had of his faith and of his patience in his conflicts, of the joy he ought to have of it within himself, and of the edification that others received by it, but that he immediately oppos'd his defects, his weaknesses and his imperfections against it; and as he always was intent upon them, he would have been

willing

willing that they would have set them often before his eyes. "Do not, my dear pastor," said he, "give so much attention to those little advantages which you praise in me, but remember above all things to pray that I may be delivered from those great sins that are always in me." Testifying also in the mean time every where great acknowledgments to God for the graces that he had granted him, and living continually in a holy confidence in his mercy, and a solid hope of his salvation.

As he was very much concerned to have his relations discharge themselves of the pension which they allowed him for his subsistence, he pretended that living on what the king allows for the maintenance of the captives, they would not be so eager to corrupt his food (I do not apprehend for what reason. It may be he had a very good one for it which he did not tell) He insisted yet extraordinarily on that subject in his last letter, and prays that his generous benefactor might be persuaded to it, as he had formerly desired him many times; but that charitable relation thought he ought not to yield to such desires, saying, as he himself reports it in his letters, on the abuse which he said was made of that money. That he had answered him, that he ought always to do his duty, and if they put that money to a wrong use, it was so much the worse for them that did it to the prejudice of a poor prisoner. And upon this he enlarges in his acknowledgments, in praises and in blessings to that charitable relation, and his great family; and ends that last letter, which was of the 8th of January 1701, with as fervent, and most sincere prayers for his pastor and his family; which he never failed to do in all his letters; but which he does in this with an extraordinary fervour, such as a pious dying person does for his family and his friends; which was as a kind of presage that it was his last benediction. For since that time, that is to say, a whole year and some months, we have received none of his letters, nor did he receive any that his pastor wrote to him, in hopes that at last he might overcome the difficulties that hindered the correspondence, as those of the brethren on board the galleys made us hope, having for their part done all that lay in their power to bring it about. One lady only had leave to see him sometimes, but very rarely, as we have said, in the presence of witnesses. She found him always almost in the same resolution as St. Stephen was in the moment when they went to stone him,

him, that is, full of faith and of the holy ghost, and all zeal and charity also for his persecutors. The last time when she saw him was two days before his death, he seemed to her very weak and lean. Using, but in vain, and without receiving as he said to that lady, any ease by the physic they would permit to be given him. She went away very much edified from him, recommending him to the grace of God, and to those who in that extremity of his life looked after him, with a promise that he should be interred, and put into the ground after his death, which happened the second day following; during which he had with respect to his soul, only the presence of his God, and the consolations of his spirit for his assistance. And as in all the different intervals of correspondence, wherein he was divers times whole years, and above, seeing no person whatsoever, besides those that brought him his food, he had always comforted and entertained himself in his long solitudes with his God, by continual meditations on holy things, on the mysteries of his truth and of salvation, from whence we had afterwards such excellent pieces on those subjects; by fervent prayers, to obtain from God the graces and the strength that were necessary for him, in those great and terrible conflicts to which he was exposed: whereof we have had such admirable testimonies every time when we could renew the correspondence with him; we cannot doubt but that the like happened also in that last solitude, and that his faith, his zeal, his piety, his charity, and his hope, produced, chiefly in the latter days of his life extraordinary motions, whereof God and his angels were only witnesses, and which would have ravished his brethren, if it had been free to have seen him finish his glorious course, and in his presence to have joined their prayers to his, to assist him to raise his soul to God, and accompany him to the bosom of his paradise. Doubtless they would have cried out at the sight of those joyful transports of that holy soul leaving its dwelling of earth and clay to take its possession of that in heaven, and unite its self immediately to its God, and to its divine Redeemer for whom he had suffered so much, for ever: I say they would have cried: happy are those that die in the Lord: yea, for certain says the spirit, for they rest from their labour, and their works follow them.

Besides what the Lady Salicroffe, who had seen him two days before his death, wrote of him to a lady of her acquaintance

quaintance at Paris, some famous confessors have taken care to inform us of it, also by a letter of the 14th of June, 1702, that is to say, two or three days after his death.

“ Finally, says M. D. S. H. J. to us, in making a kind of
“ elogy and panegyric on that blessed martyr; finally that
“ blessed champion of the Lord Jesus, the most illustrious,
“ and the most generous of my companions in sufferings,
“ past at eleven o'clock of night from the bitterness of the
“ conflict, to the ineffable sweets of the magnificent triumphs
“ of the blessed martyrs of the Lord Jesus Christ. What
“ glory! what incomparable honour was it for that famous
“ confessor to die in the field of battle, in remaining more
“ than conqueror by that powerful Saviour! But rather
“ what inexpressible happiness is it for him, to have so well
“ defended that good master's cause, and to have received of
“ his merciful favour, the just price of the inviolable fide-
“ lity that he had for him, the crown of life, which he pro-
“ mised to all them that conquer. See, I say, that holy
“ martyr passed from his long and most uneasy prison, into
“ the perfect liberty of the children of God; from that dark
“ dwelling that had served for a stable, and wherein there is
“ yet a manger, into the palace of the king of kings, all
“ radiant with light; from his tiresome solitude, into the
“ company of his holy angels, and of his companions in
“ service that are dead like him for the testimony of Jesus.
“ In a word, behold him passed to the full possession of God
“ himself, to enjoy the sublime riches of his glory, and taste
“ the blessed peace, to the eternal consolation of his soul.
“ Having therefore passed from such a miserable state to one
“ so happy; why should we mourn for the absence of that
“ precious friend? Certainly the contemplation of his
“ charming glorification stops my tears, and so far am I
“ from calling him back to earth again by my sorrows, that
“ I desire to dislodge from under these tents of Kedar, where
“ they never speak of truce, nor peace, to enter into that
“ delightful mansion of the Prince of peace, where righte-
“ ousness dwells, which will be incomparably better for me,
“ than to remain longer in this afflicting abode of mortals.
“ It is, my most honoured pastor, the sweet hopes of being
“ one day with our good Jesus to contemplate the glory
“ that God gave him, that supports me in the long course
“ of seventeen years labour, in chains that I endure for his
“ gospel; and that hope will not confound me by the assist-
“ ance

“ance of his grace, wherein I most humbly place all my
“confidence, to overcome all the enemies of my salvation.

“He adds in another letter, that all our society is afflicted
“at that loss. The death of our most precious friend will
“particularly pierce my dear brethren his associates with
“grief. The Lord comfort us all. He says, that he con-
“sidered no body in the world more than his dear pastor,
“for his favours to him and his brethren, and for the con-
“solations, and edifications which they all received of him.
“When those on board the gallies were informed of his
“dying condition, that dear confessor had composed an ex-
“cellent prayer proper for the consolation of a believer
“that is going to give up his soul to God, but they could
“not send it him. Finally he informs us, that they were
“told, that the commander seeing him after his death car-
“ried before the prison, said to those that were with him,
“see, the mortification that this poor man suffered sixteen
“years and two months in that prison is something won-
“derful. This he repeated divers times, being doubtless
“forced to the admiration of that martyr’s patience, in spite
“of so many evils and trials that he had suffered, and
“which were known to that officer.

“We learn by another letter from Messieurs B. B. poste-
“rior to that of which we have given you an extract, that
“the same evening in which he died, they found the means to
“give him the last letter from his pastor: but being near
“his end, and not able to read, he ordered it to be carried
“back again, that those things might not be found about
“him. Those confessors say, that he retained his senses to
“the last; for a man that saw him take some broth a little
“before night, told us that he spoke freely, and that he be-
“lieved he should die that night, as it also happened about
“eleven of the clock. His lungs were touched sometime
“before, and the three or four last days he was taken with
“a looseness and vomiting, that weakened him quite. We
“were exceedingly afflicted at it, and being only able to
“assist him with our wishes, we recommended our
“brethren to redouble their prayers. As for his corpse,
“Madam Salicroffe caused it to be wrapped in linen, and laid
“in a coffin, and he was buried by four of our brethren.
“We are sorry that we could not collect what he might have
“said in his sickness. He is dead, that is to say plainly, he
“has conquered by the grace of God. There remains nothing
“more

“ more for him than to triumph with his Saviour, and to
“ possess that eternal kingdom and crown, which he freely
“ purchased for his confessors and martyrs.”

All that his dear companions have told us of him, and which I have only related here in short, ease us of the trouble to make his elogy, and it cannot come from a better hand than from one of those faithful servants of God, some of whom have seen him in his conflict, and whom all of them esteemed so well, and profited so well by his letters, and holy lights which he made to shine for sixteen years in the darkness of his prison, among the torments and labours of their gallies, and which have rejoiced, comforted, and fortified them in their afflictions. Those combatants of the Lord Jesus know the weight of the cross that they bear for him; they have felt and experienced, how great the honour of fighting and suffering for his divine name is, and how sweet the joys and the consolations are that his grace diffuses into their souls, in the midst of their afflictions. Finally they are sensible what happiness faith and hope produces at present in the souls of martyrs, by the glorious rewards that are laid up for them; therefore they can better judge, and speak of them than others. Who questions but that in the extremity wherein they have been, and find themselves so often, as between life and death; they do not feel very near the same extasies as the martyrs feel in that moment when their souls fly up to heaven; so that it may be said, that the representations they make to us of them are drawn to the life, and that the ideas which they give us of them, are truly conformable to the originals.

In the mean time continue, dear confessors of Jesus Christ to edify the church of God, by your courage, by your patience, and by your perseverance. Encourage each other by your words, and by your examples. Have continually before your eyes the glorious issues of your illustrious companions, who finished their martyrdom before you, and whose praises you publish so deservedly. Bless God who delivered them from all their pains, and rewarded them so gloriously for them. Live and die in the hopes of a like victory, and of as glorious a triumph. Lift up your heads, your reward is great in heaven, and chiefly in the midst of that cloud of witnesses that compass you about, and that have preceded you, and who have, I say, obtained the crown of martyrdom, for which you are yet fighting. Above all, look upon

the head and finisher of your faith: who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despised the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God. He is the great pattern that you ought chiefly to have before your eyes. These are imperfect patterns, they have defects; and doubtless you have observed some in them; but he is the saint of saints, in whom there is no spot, nor blemish. These are no more concerned with the things that pass here below, neither can they help or assist you, much less make you able to practise what they teach you by their example; but he concerns himself in all your evils, he sees you, he looks upon you in your conflict from heaven above, and by the virtue of his spirit, he is present with you here on earth. He is able to give you all the assistance and strength that you stand in need of in your conflicts: in a word he can, and does really work in you what you ask of him. And to use the words of an apostle, who had so happily experimented it himself; *make you conquerors, and more than conquerors.* Finally, honour the memory, and the virtue of those saints. You, and all of us ought to do it; but adore and put your trust in him, who is both the head and finisher of your faith, and the God of all martyrs. Pray to him that he will give you his grace so to do. It is by your prayers made in faith that you shall see him; and it is by those looks that you attract his, and that your faces and your souls will be enlightened; and in that rapture which that contemplation of faith produces when it is attentive, and fervent, as I do not question but that it is, particularly in these mortal tortures, whereunto your bodies are so often exposed, that you may say as the first of martyrs when they were going to stone him, *I see the heavens opened, and the son of man standing at the right hand of God.* As for us, we bless God with you, for the graces, and the gifts which he had granted to his servant; and chiefly for having given him strength to come off conqueror, and triumphant by his perseverance. He was naturally infirm, and as we thought, incapable of bearing so many and such long labours: but God being minded to be glorified by his sufferings, made that weak body able to endure extreme ones, the least whereof would before have overburthened him. Certainly it cannot be denied but that God wrought a miracle on his body, and those that knew him have often said, that man cannot subsist a month in the labours of the galleys: in the mean time he suffered

suffered seventeen years on board the gallies, and in dungeons, where he was treated with the rigours we have already mentioned. But if God wrought a miracle on his body, the wonders of his grace, and of his power, have shone brighter in his soul. He had said to the Marchioness of St. Andrew Mombrun, who would have hindred him from going out of the kingdom, and who put him in mind of the horrors of the gallies, to which he would be condemned if he should be taken; that he felt in himself no dispositions for martyrdom, but that it was God who giveth strength; which he also received as soon as he was cast into the prison of Besancon. It continued with him, and increased daily; and it is the sense of that grace, and of the assistance of his God, that made him reject the offers that were made him, and all the advantages that were proposed to him besides that of liberty, esteeming the reproach of Jesus Christ, more than the riches and the honours of the world. He had no plentiful estate, but enough to live handsomely, and he had such an employ, or might have had, as would have put him in a condition to have lived pleasantly enough: but he told those who tempted him on that subject, that he loved his religion above all things, and that he would never forsake it. Besides that strength, and that extraordinary virtue that God produced in him, which made him overcome all the temptations whereby men attacked his faith; he did him still that favour to enrich him with divers talents of wisdom, of knowledge, and understanding of divine things, of the mysteries of faith, and of the most sublime theological truths, upon which he has written very well, and proposed important difficulties. He gave his opinions as solidly as the most compleat divines could have done, and he has also criticised upon divers places of our most famous authors, with much judgment and probability of reason. I will not dissemble that he was hasty in censuring, and that sometimes there appeared also some tartness in his censures, which ought partly to be imputed to his temper, which inclined something to choleric; but which has also happily served to inflame his zeal the more for his religion, and to make him more fervent, more vehement, and more constant. But finally, he prevented others in honour, and in kindness in all the occasions he could. He loved his companions most ardently. He honoured and cherished his friends and

relations tenderly, and testified always all possible acknowledgment for their affections and charities towards him. In short he acknowledged all his defects most ingenuously himself: he complained of them to all his friends, and shewed his grief for them every where, and desired the advice and consolations of his friends, and particularly of his pastor, to whom he trusted the whole secret of them, much more on that point, than about his sufferings. This, he said himself, God permitted to humble him, and by that means to make him sensible of the great need he had of his assistance, and of the necessity of asking it continually. But, lastly, God heard him also always in that regard, and perfected his virtue in his great infirmities, and put him in a condition to obtain the victory of his inward and outward conflicts. And by his humility, his patience, and his perseverance he overcame all the inward and outward temptations, which the devil, the enemy of his salvation, raised against him.

He complained of the quality of the food that was given him, which we ought to clear up to the public, because it has made so much noise, and they would make a crime of that complaint: but it is certain that it was but too well grounded. First of all he forbore to complain of it as long as he could, and until he was pressed to give an account of his outward condition; having excused himself divers times to satisfy that demand, because he would not afflict his friends. Secondly, when he did it, it was after much experience which would not suffer him to doubt that certain extraordinary pains which he felt in his body proceeded from the bad quality of his food. Thirdly, he makes such protestations on that subject as take away all manner of doubt. In short, every body is informed of a like treatment used before to his illustrious fellow-sufferer Monsieur de Marolles, who was fed very miserably, whom they made to fast sometimes two whole days, and who died almost of hunger, or whose death was at least hastened by that means. And it is very likely that it was by the same spirit, and with the same intention that they gave him such unwholesome food. It is true they did not make him fast, nor fed him only with bread and water as Monsieur de Marolles, because his relations allowed them a pension for his diet, without any charge to the king; but they endeavoured to hasten his death another way,

way. Those ambassadors of Jesus Christ live too long to the liking of their persecutors; they use their endeavour to make them deny the faith, but, say they, it is forbid to make them die on purpose, either in the prisons, or on board the gallies. In the mean time they treat them so cruelly and horribly, some in one manner, and some in another, that at last nature must sink, and the flesh die; while their faith subsists, bears away the victory over the persecutions and the persecutors, both in their life time, and chiefly in their death, which finishes the last act of their victory. For this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith, says the well-beloved apostle St. JOHN, 1 Epistle v. 4. Thus their divine head conquered, for St. Paul says, COLLOSSIANS ii. 15. And having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in the cross. What honour! what glory is it to conquer by their death as Jesus Christ conquered by his cross! And what confusion, and what shame to those wretched persecutors to make those ambassadors of Jesus Christ conformable to their divine master by their violences and cruelties; or victorious and triumphant like him, by the evils which they do them. But what is more contrary to the religion of Jesus Christ than those massacres of so many innocents? what more contrary to the spirit of the gospel, than to endeavour to force people by torments to embrace a religion which they believe false and antichristian; and which is really so! Where are such precepts and laws to be found in that gospel that authorise those violences and murders? Where are the examples of those cruel treatments to be found? The Lord Jesus had all the hosts of heaven at his command, he might have caused legions of angels to have come down, as he said himself, to force the Jews to receive his gospel, as they force the protestants at this time to go to the mass, but he did not do so. And when his apostles by an inconsiderate zeal advised him to cause fire to come down from heaven, he said, you know not by what spirit you are led. Where shall we find that the apostles after their installment in that office, after they might preach the gospel in all the world, made use of fire and sword, and other torments, to lead men to Jesus Christ? They were all persecuted, but they did never persecute. The Lord foretold them every where of crosses

and persecutions. *They have persecuted me, said he to them, and they will persecute you also; you shall have tribulations in the world, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world**. All those, says his apostle that will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution. *Beloved, says St. Peter, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial, which is to try you, as if some strange thing happened unto you †*. Finally, read the Revelations, and you will find there that the persecuting religion is the false religion; the antichristian religion is that which persecutes the true. Certainly this ought to shock any ingenious persons of the Roman church, to see that persecution is one of the essential characters of antichristianism: in her, says the Revelations, is the blood of the saints; and that in the mean while that unhappy church has for several ages persecuted the other christians with fire and blood, and put millions of persons to death, for not entering into her communion: she is then the murderers in the Revelations, made drunk with the blood of the saints. I know very well that they pretend that the church which they persecute is a false church. But this is not true, it is the church that professes the pure doctrine of Jesus Christ. They have been convinced of it a thousand, and a thousand times, and they do not esteem it false, because it believes any thing positively that is not true: for there are no positive articles of our religion which they do not believe as well as we, but because it believes not all that they teach, and all that they believe. Now what she teaches, and what she believes beyond what we teach, and what we believe, is not only not to be found in the word of God, which is the rule of the faith of all christians, which would be sufficient to reject them, but it is absolutely contrary to it. The sacrifice of the mass, the invocation of saints, the adoration of images, transubstantiation, the bodily presence of Jesus Christ in the eucharist, purgatory, indulgences, the pope's spiritual and temporal monarchy, and many others; all this is as opposite to the truths which the word of God teaches us, as darkness is to light, as Christ to Belial. We have reason then to reject them, and to abhor them. If we, or an angel, said St. Paul, should preach unto you any other doctrine

* 2 Timothy iii. 12.

† 1 Peter iv. 12.

besides,

besides, and against what has been preached unto you, let him be Anathema. But let us suppose that our religion had some heresies, and that it did not believe all that is to be believed, which assuredly is false; it cannot be denied but that for the rest, it does retain all the foundations of christianity. Must therefore all those that profess it be persecuted, killed, be broken upon the wheel, tortured, and massacred? The Jews were hereticks in that regard, who rejected their Messiah, the redeemer of the world: but did Jesus Christ cause those to be massacred who refused to acknowledge him, who condemned and crucified him? the Pagans were idolaters and impious: but have the apostles taught that those that rejected the gospel, and blasphemed Jesus Christ must be exterminated? Once again, of all the religions that make profession of christianity, there is none but the Roman that sheds blood; she is then the beast and the Babylonian antichrist. I know her doctors amuse their people, and impose upon them on that subject by telling them that that beast, and Babylon, which is the antichrist, has not yet appeared, and will not come until the end of the world: saying almost of antichrist what the Jews say of their messiah that he is not yet come, and expect him daily; but whom will they persuade to this? you need but only to read the Revelations to be convinced of the contrary. Oh, if they would but for a moment leave their prepossessions, they would soon perceive that all the characters whereby the scripture describes to us that man of sin, that son of perdition, agree so perfectly with the pope and church of Rome, that they must stifle all the lights of reason, of good sense, and of conscience, not to see it. They cannot resist our proofs on that subject, and our teachers have laid them open so plain, that it is impossible to answer any thing ever so little reasonable against it. But let them not believe us, if they please: how many doctors in the past ages and in ours, monks, cardinals, and other prelates and doctors of that church, who have lived and died in her communion, have been obliged to own it, that have written it, that have proved it, and that have made the application of what they found in the Revelations on that head, and on the other sacred books, to the popes and to the church of Rome, of whose testimony we make use of against them? but the poor, ignorant people, who neither read the scripture, which is for-

hidden them as a dangerous book, nor the writings of their doctors and ours; I say, the poor people conducted, or rather seduced by its directors, but chiefly by the monks who are the Pharisees of christianity, suffer themselves to be persuaded that the truths which we publish on that point, are calumnies. And every body knows that the clergy among them, and chiefly all those who are called prelates, bishops, archbishops, and cardinals, have too much interest to maintain the doctrine, the authority, the laws, or rather the tyranny of the popes, than to consent to their degradation, seeing they themselves are a very considerable part of antichristianity, and that it is only by the subsistence of that antichristian monarchy that they preserve their dignities, prelatures, benefices, and rich revenues: for if that great colossus was cast down, all their pomp would come to nothing.

Kings, princes, and earthly powers would have more interest in her destruction, because themselves are under her tyrannical yoke; and their lordships, their principalities, their kingdoms, and their crowns, are subject to her power; for the pope takes and gives them to whom he pleases: he grants and refuses the investiture of them at his pleasure. It is well known what complaints those powers of the earth have made, and do still make on that head. How many wars they have been obliged to maintain about it, how many evils, how much blood, slaughters, and declarations it has cost them in divers ages, since that apocalyptical beast is mounted to that degree of grandeur wherein it is at present. In the mean time they suffer it; they submit to him; they bear his injustices, outrages, and indignities; and they contribute also to the maintenance, and increase of that spiritual and temporal monarch of the church and of the world, and of that pretended vicar of the Lord Jesus, and successor of St. Peter; but such a vicar as overthrows as much as in him lies, his master's empire, and authority, who usurps his throne and power, sitting in the temple of God, and carrying himself like God. Successor of St. Peter! But wherein has he succeeded him? in his doctrine? Nothing is more opposite; compare them together and you will be convinced of it. In his jurisdiction over other bishops, and ministers of Jesus Christ? but it can never be proved, that St. Peter had any authority over the other apostles. They were all fel-
low

low servants, and equal in dignity; but St. Peter was but a poor fisherman by his occupation, and the popes are commonly the grandes of the world. There have indeed been some of a mean birth, as Sixtus V. in the past age, but most of them are of the greatest families, who aspire to that dignity, as to the highest in the christian world which has states and lordships for its patrimony, which is ridiculously called St. Peter's patrimony; provinces, kingdoms, and other lordships that hold of him as direct lord. And upon what foundation is all this? There is none for it in the scripture. But there are quite contrary: that is to say, Jesus Christ expressly forbidding them to set themselves up for masters and sovereigns as those of the world: that great shepherd says, the kings of the nations exercise dominion over them, but it shall not be so with you, for the greater shall serve the lesser. This made St. Bernard speaking to Pope Eugene III. concerning his greatness and his worldly glory, say in this thou hast not succeeded St. Peter but Constantine. So that it is to be wondered at, that those kings and princes, those great ones of the world, do not open their eyes to see all this mystery of iniquity. But it would yet be more to be wondered at, if we did not know that the same spirit that foretold that proud elevation of the mystical Babylon, who says in her heart, *I am Queen, I shall see no sorrow**, had not forewarned us, that the nations should drink of the wine of her fornications; that the ten kings that had not yet begun to reign at that time, should take power upon them at the same time with the beast; that God put it in their heart to do what pleased him, that they decree one and the same thing, and that they give their kingdoms to the beast, until the word of God shall be fulfilled. This is so clear and so agreeable to what passes in this respect, between the pope and the kings and princes of Europe, that are under his jurisdiction, that it is impossible not see that that prophecy speaks of them; and that in their conduct, the whole and perfect accomplishment of that prophecy is literally to be found.

Doubtless those great politicians of the world, have a light and wisdom, above common men; but God for reasons of admirable wisdom, does not permit them to

* Rev. 17, and 18.

make use of their light, on that occasion, inſomuch that they commit fornication with that beaſt, and labour with all their power to maintain its empire and dominion, until the time that God has appointed for its deſtruction, at which time thoſe that ſhall be then living, will fly from that whore, and ſhall make her deſolate, and naked, and ſhall eat her fleſh, and burn her with fire*. We know not when, nor how; we ſee indeed ſome approaches to it, but that which is near as to God, before whom a thouſand years are but as one day, is yet perhaps very far as to us.

However, it is by the aſſiſtance of thoſe kings, princes, and powers of the world, that that beaſt exerciſes its furies and tyranny againſt the church of God and his ſaints; it is by her continual ſolicitations that ſhe obliges them to ſecond her damnable deſigns to deſtroy and exterminate them wholly from the earth, if it was poſſible, and that ſhe inclines them for that purpoſe to violate all the laws of humanity, all the laws of ſociety, all the rules of juſtice, their words, their oaths, their moſt authentic and moſt inviolable ediſts and declarations, according to that damnable principle of their councils, that no faith ought to be kept with heretics; and it is that of which we have ſeen in the foregoing ages, and in this more than any other, the fatal examples which all the world knows, particularly in our unhappy country; where they have ſacrificed to the furious zeal of the clergy, hundreds of thouſands of the kings good ſubjects and faithful ſervants, in whom no other crime was found than that of their religion, where they have cruelly purſued thoſe that endeavoured to leave it, to ſerve God at liberty in foreign countries, filled the priſons, and the gallies, with a great number of thoſe poor fugitives, and where they put yet every day men, women, and children, of all ages, of both ſexes, and of all conditions, in the priſons, gallies, and convents; where they puniſh with death thoſe that they diſcover in private aſſemblies, to pray to God at liberty, and they unpardonably condemn the miniſters, and others that go to inſtruct, comfort, and confirm them in their faith, to gibbets, racks, and the moſt cruel puniſhments; where by divers ways they force thoſe that remain in the kingdom to go to maſs, to communicate, and participate at the idolatrous worſhip

* Revelations 17.

that is practised there, leaving them for that purpose, to the discretion of the clergy, intendants, governors, and judges of provinces, among whom it is rare to find any equity in that respect; though it may be there are some of them who do it against their will, but who to make their court are obliged to perform those cruel duties, and whose great reason which they allege for the violences which they commit is, that the king commands it; as if kings and princes are masters of their subjects consciences, as they are of their bodies, and estates. Finally, there it has been, and yet may be seen that the clergy, bishops, abbots, priests, monks, at the head of soldiers, and marshals-men, perform their mission in the places where there are yet any protestants, and force them by imprisonments, and great fines, to do what they call their duty; that is, to go to their churches, and assist at their idolatrous and superstitious worship and to send their children thither, whereof divers examples might be alleged if it were expedient.

All this is done with pomp, and in the sight, and with the knowledge of all the world. All Europe, is well informed of it by true relations that are every where made of it. But God sees it also, he hears it, he takes notice of it; and one day he will require an account of all those powers, of their usurpations over his empire, and his rights. And there will be a time when all those slaves of antichrist, will hide themselves in the dens, and in the rocks, and the mountains, and that they will cry to the mountains and the rocks, fall upon us, and hide us from the face of him that sits on the throne, and from the wrath of the lamb. It is the prediction of the spirit of God, *REV. vi. 15, 16, and 17.* But it will be too late then to acknowledge your error, your blindness, the fury of your zeal, and the horror of your crimes; there will be no room left for repentance, and it will be the time of judgment and punishment; God give you grace to prevent them by a sincere repentance. It is yet time while it is to day; if you hear his voice, harden not your hearts.

LASTLY, As for your faithful and reformed protestants, and you that preserve yet the fidelity you owe to your God, in that kingdom where they persecute so cruelly: and you, to whom God has given the favour to escape into foreign countries

countries, to live and serve God at liberty there, under the protection of the princes, and states, that have given you a retreat there, and that exercise their charity so generously towards you, let us all bless God the father of mercies for the grace he has done us to have called us to the profession of the true religion, the only true one that is in the world. Let us all preserve that good depositum of the faith which he has committed to us; let us honour that faith, and that holy religion which we profess, by a good life and an holy conversation, at the sight of which the enemies of our religion may glorify our father who is in heaven. We are not called to martyrdom, like those whom God has raised to that glory, and whose blessed memory we ought to honour all the days of our life. But we are all called to sanctification, without which none can see God, nor have communion in his grace, or in his glory. And that sanctity is a sort of martyrdom; some ancients have also called it, and with reason, by the name of martyrdom, which in certain respects has more of difficulty and glory than that of blood, seeing it consists in a sincere and true renouncing of sin, the world, the flesh, and ourselves: which according to the confession and complaints of our martyrs themselves, is more painful to the soul than the sufferings of the most cruel torments are to the body, seeing it consists in the practice of all the just duties that christianity requires of us, a fervent and sincere love of God, and of our neighbour; wisdom and justice in our conduct, and in our actions, and perseverance in all those holy duties unto our lives end. Now there is nothing more great, and more glorious in the sight of God: St. PAUL says, *though I give my body to be burnt, and have not charity, I am nothing*; let us all then do our best endeavour to attain the glory of this holy martyr, by consecrating our bodies, and our spirits entirely to God, who has redeemed them by the blood of his son our blessed Saviour, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory for ever and ever, AMEN.

An extract of a memoir concerning *Monf. le Fevre* from
Marseilles the 21st of August, 1702.

“ *Monfieur le Fevre* having been condemned to the
“ galleys by the parliament of Bezancon, came sick to Mar-
“ seilles the 20th of August, 1686. He was presently
“ looked upon as a person fit to support and strengthen his
“ brethren and companions at the chain, by his exhorta-
“ tions and consolations. Therefore care was taken to observe
“ him most exactly, and to take all the means from him of
“ holding correspondence with his friends; having been
“ some time on board the *Grand Reale*, and the *Magnificent*
“ galleys, where he had been sent by the dividend that
“ is made every year of the galley-slaves. He was shut up
“ about the month of February, 1687, in fort St. John,
“ which is at the entrance of the harbour of Marseilles, in
“ a dungeon which had formerly served for a stable, the win-
“ dows whereof were close shut up, that there was but
“ little light in it. He was exposed there to a mournful
“ solitude, and a great number of hardships and rigours.
“ And though he paid a considerable pension, besides the
“ five sols that the king allows the prisoners that are there,
“ yet he was sufficiently abused in his provision and his
“ drink; for every body is sensible that it is not good to
“ be in the hands of a covetous and inhuman gaoler. He
“ was not suffered to have any fire in the severest season of
“ the winter, to go out to take the air, nor to write to his
“ relations, nor to have any conversation with the living,
“ as he notes in a letter which he wrote to one of his
“ friends. But in spite of the vigilance wherewith he was
“ kept, his brethren of the galleys had found the means to
“ communicate with him by writing, which they did for
“ some years; and in the year 1696, a serjeant that deli-
“ vered the letters, and who was well paid for it, was dis-
“ covered, and was condemned to be hanged for it. He con-
“ fessed that he had carried letters from one part to the other.
“ but that he believed he had done a good work to com-
“ fort that solitary person, knowing for a certain that there
“ was no harm in those letters; that solitary person, nor
“ those whom he corresponded with, not being in a condi-
“ tion to do any harm. After that time the door of *Monf. le*
“ *Fevre's* dungeon was guarded in sight, the soldier who stood
“ centry

"centry before the gate of the governor's house, guarded the
 "dungeon at the same time. The serjeant of the guard, at-
 "tended by two or three musketeers, brought him his pro-
 "vision every day; and when they went the rounds, they
 "always asked him what he was doing, so much care they
 "took of guarding him. Notwithstanding all this his
 "brethren had yet some correspondence with him, accord-
 "ing as they found soldiers fit for it; but that correspon-
 "dence was quite broke off, when there was most occasion
 "for it, seeing it was at the time when that blessed confes-
 "sion began to be in a consumption. They could no
 "longer know how he did but by the soldiers who brought
 "him to eat, who told us that he was well, seeing that
 "he did eat and drink as those commonly do that are
 "touched in the lungs. His distemper encreasing daily
 "he kept his bed altogether in the month of June, and he
 "had a vomiting and looseness that quite spent him. He
 "had his perfect senses until the last day, for a soldier
 "told us that the evening of the 13th of June he saw him
 "take some broth, and in taking it he said with a settled
 "mind, and with submission to the will of God, that he
 "should not live that night over, which was true; for the
 "gaoler's daughter carrying some wine to him about eleven
 "o'clock in the night found him dead. Monsieur the com-
 "mander told the person who came to pay him a visit,
 "that he died at four of the clock in the morning: but two
 "soldiers told us that they were not yet laid to sleep, when
 "the gaoler's daughter came and told them that she found
 "him dead. But what signifies the hour, it is certain that
 "it was in the night between the 13th and 14th of June,
 "1702. That soldier having one of our letters for him,
 "with another from a charitable pastor that was his rela-
 "tion, he said he was too weak to read it, that he should
 "carry it back again and return it to the party from
 "whom he had received it, not being willing they should
 "find those writings after his death (a sign of his usual pru-
 "dence and wisdom) the commander had ordered the gaoler
 "to leave a man with him in his dungeon to assist him that
 "night seeing he drew to an end, but the jailor did not
 "do it. He was wrapped in a winding sheet and put into a
 "coffin. Orders were sent on board the galley to send
 "four Turks to bury him; but four of our brethren ob-
 "tained

“ tained leave to go in their stead, to do their last duty to
“ that faithful martyr of Jesus. He was buried in a corner
“ of that fort, near the ditch. The governor seeing him
“ dead, said aloud, it is wonderful that this man could live
“ so long in a pennance of sixteen years, and two months,
“ that he has been in this prison. That gentleman and the
“ other commander before him have been often with the
“ jesuits missionaries, &c. to tempt our martyr, but he
“ gave them always a reason for his faith, with so much
“ constancy, piety, zeal, meekness, and humility, that
“ they went away quite confounded in admiring his patience,
“ and his virtue. It is great pity that we could not col-
“ lect his last words; but God did not suffer it for reasons he
“ has in his profound wisdom. He did not continue idle
“ in his solitude, he read, or wrote continually. He had
“ made a translation of the psalms, and turned the book of
“ the imitation of Jesus Christ that the almoner had sent
“ him into French verses. Divers books and papers were
“ found with him, which the almoner took, and it is not
“ likely that he will part with them. About eighteen
“ months past that faithful servant of Jesus Christ, having a
“ mind to obtain some victory over himself, desired us to pray
“ to God for him in an extraordinary manner; and to join our
“ prayers with his; he appointed us the hour of nine in the
“ evening, when we should hear the gun fire, that was
“ done every day, to retire, when it is most quiet, hav-
“ ing no labour to do on board the gallies, and most of
“ the slaves being laid down. God heard him; but he did
“ not tell us in what it consisted. Every line of the letters
“ that came from that faithful person’s hand shewed his
“ piety, his devotion, his capacity, and the charity he had
“ for all his fellow sufferers. The gaoler, the soldiers, and
“ all those who saw him in his dungeon, cannot say otherways
“ of him, if they would testify the truth, but that he was very
“ virtuous. When we asked the soldiers concerning him they
“ said he was a saint; not knowing how to express themselves
“ otherways. He was not a saint as their ignorance com-
“ monly understands of others; a minute, or fabulous mi-
“ racle saint, but he was a man in whom they might have
“ seen a great miracle if they had given attention to him as
“ they ought to have done; for it is no small matter, that
“ a person of such a weak and delicate constitution, should
“ remain

“ remain so many years in such a captivity as our martyr
 “ was, that they always found him joyful and contented
 “ in it, that he triumphed there over what the world has of
 “ sweets and rigours, and triumphed there over himself
 “ also; I say it is no small thing: it is an advantage that
 “ God does not grant every body. Happy are they in
 “ whom the Lord works those wonders of grace and of
 “ mercy. God grant that by the example of that good ser-
 “ vant of God we may persevere in the fidelity which we
 “ owe him to the end of our days, that we may live the
 “ life of saints, and die the death of the righteous, and
 “ enter into the rest of the ever blessed. The brethren
 “ who sign here for witnesses of the truth of the above-
 “ mentioned, recommend themselves, and their fellow-
 “ sufferers to your prayers.”

Marseilles, August 21, 1702.

Signed

A C A T A

A

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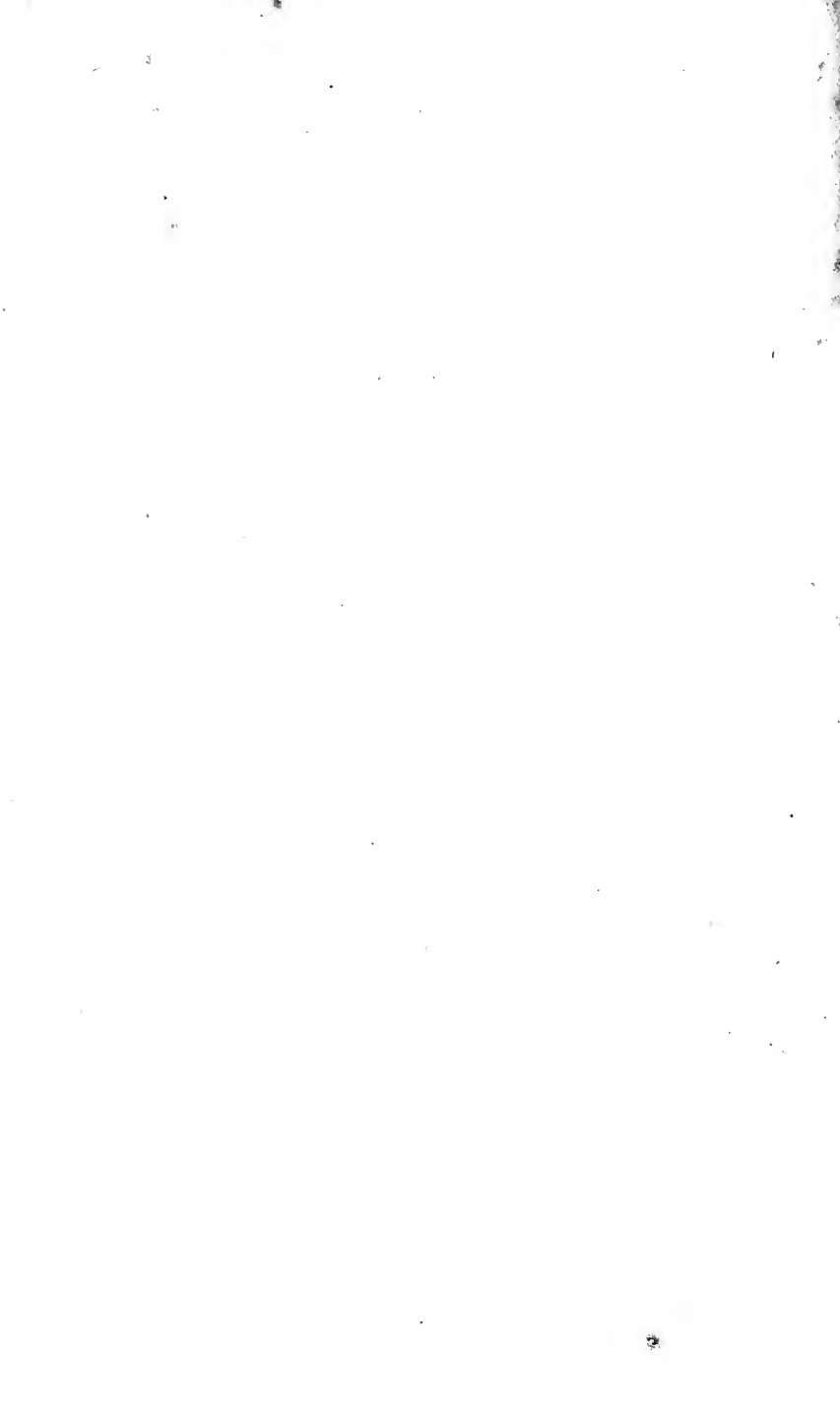
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