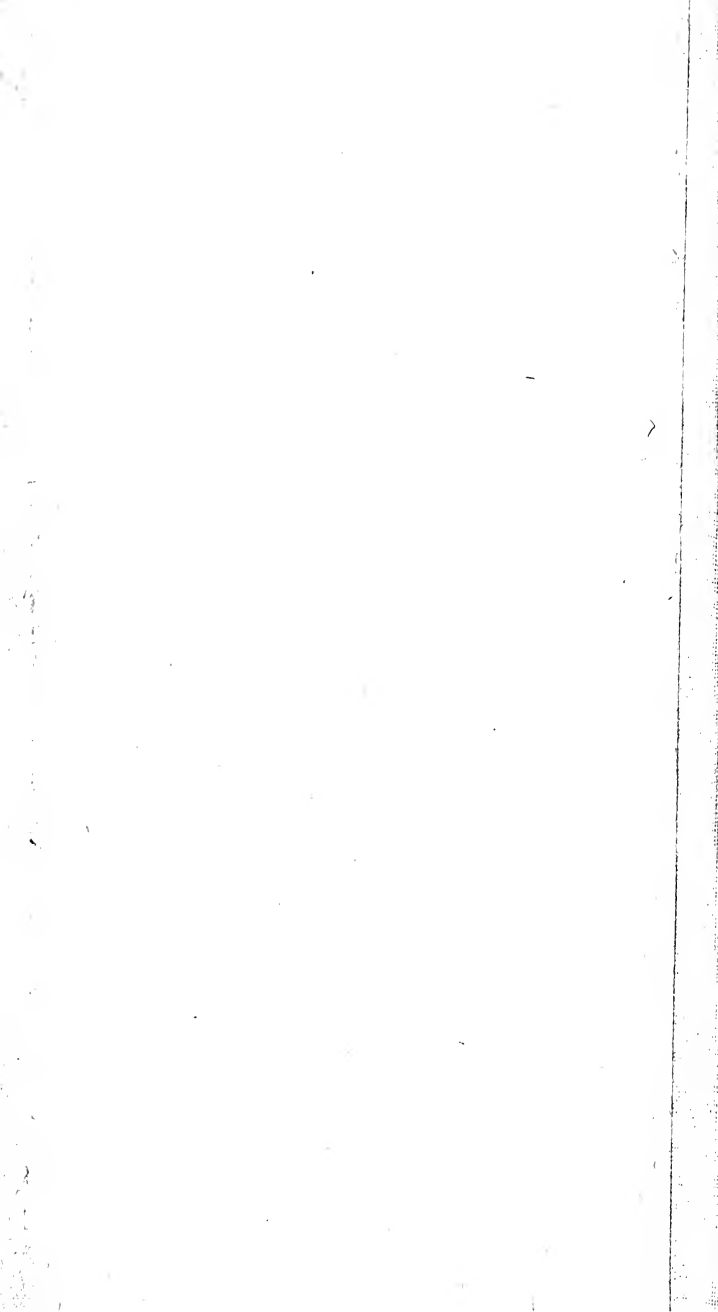


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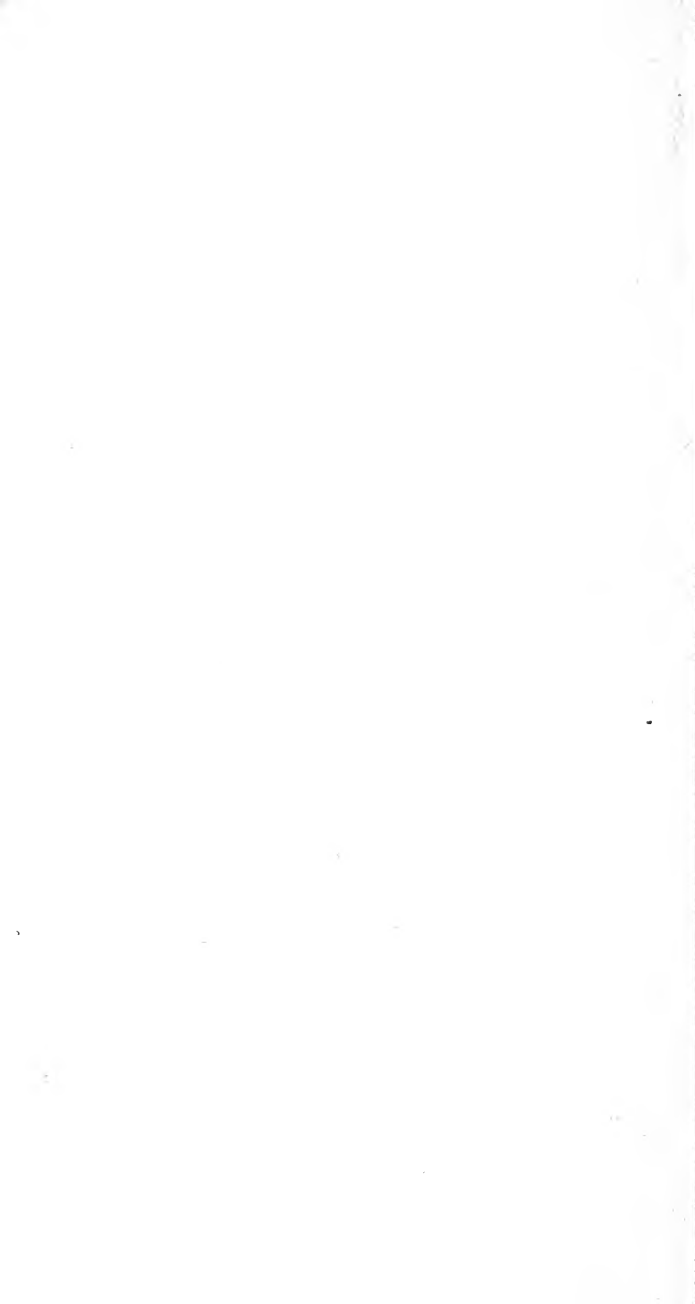
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washing his hands in the flames.

THE
MARTYRS,
OR A
HISTORY OF PERSECUTION,

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE
PRESENT TIME:

INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRIALS, TORTURES,
AND TRIUMPHANT DEATHS OF MANY WHO
HAVE SUFFERED MARTYRDOM.

COMPILED FROM THE WORKS OF FOX AND OTHERS.

BY MARTIN RUTER, S. T. D.

President of Augusta College.

CINCINNATI:

PUBLISHED BY R. ROBBINS.

Printed at the Chronicle Office,

1830.

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DISTRICT OF OHIO, SCT.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the 14th day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty, and in the 54th year of the Independence of the United States of America, Robbins & Deming, of said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words and figures following—to wit:

“The MARTYRS, or a History of Persecution, from the commencement of Christianity to the present time, including an account of the trials, tortures, and triumphant deaths of many who have suffered martyrdom. Compiled from the works of Fox and others. By MARTIN RÜTER, S. T. D. president of Augusta College.”

In conformity to the act of Congress of the United States entitled an act for the encouragement of learning, securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned; and also an act entitled an act supplementary to an act entitled an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.

WILLIAM MINER,
Clerk of the District of Ohio

PREFACE.

The firmness and integrity, the piety, patience, and resignation of those who have suffered in the Christian cause, have been subjects of admiration from the days of our Saviour unto the present time. In view of such irresistible evidence for Christianity, believers have been comforted, the wavering confirmed in the truth, and conviction has seized the mind of the Skeptick. The history of persecution presents to the world a scene of the deepest interest and astonishment; in which pious persons of both sexes, of every age and condition, resolutely endured the severest tortures, and met death in the most terrible forms, for the sake of true religion.

When an immense army of witnesses had fallen victims to Pagan malice, and persecution seemed almost weary of its prey, it was renewed with increasing horror by a people bearing the name of Christ. An apostate church, destitute of primitive Christianity, having mixed Pagan rites with Christian forms of worship, assumed to herself the prerogative of enforcing uniformity of opinion; and with the Pope at her head, aided by the civil power, she has, during several centuries, made dreadful havock of the true Church, and added millions to the list of martyrs. That the spirit of intolerance is still abroad in the Earth, we have abundant evidence; but in America, and in some parts of the Eastern continent, the enlightened policy of civil government affords it but little encouragement, and the rights of conscience are now more generally respected, than at any former period.

The following work is intended to exhibit a concise view of the principal Christian martyrs, whose sufferings have been recorded, and the diabolical intolerance under which they suffered. In compiling it, I have had recourse to several of the best authorities, but have copied chiefly from Fox's Book of Martyrs. Among the works which have been written on the subject, that of Mr. Fox has been prepared with great labour, and possesses superior merit; but being large, and expensive, it has a limited circulation. The present work contains the most valuable part of that, with many improvements, and a considerable proportion of additional matter. In this form, it cannot fail of being interesting to the reader; and should it prove useful in extending light and knowledge, in discouraging an intolerant spirit, and in advancing the true interests of Christianity, my object in preparing it, will be fully accomplished.

M. R.

AUGUSTA, *January 1, 1830.*

THE MARTYRS, &C.

PART 1.

CHAPTER I.

SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST, HIS APOSTLES, EVANGELISTS, AND DEACONS.

In surveying the history of the world, we find nothing that furnishes a more striking evidence of human depravity, than the spirit of persecution displayed against Christianity, and the attempt of one man, or society of men, to exercise authority over the consciences of others in matters of religion. This spirit has prevailed in different ages and countries, and no wars have been conducted with more perseverance and cruelty, than the wars waged against the free exercise of religious principles.

Of the early sufferers in the Christian cause, the accounts transmitted to us are brief, including little more than some principal events of their lives, and the circumstances of their martyrdom. In many instances we have only the names and the history of their last moments; and there is good reason for believing that thousands have died under the most dreadful tortures, whose names have never been recorded.

The great **HEAD OF THE CHURCH** was surrounded, during the whole of his ministry, with the most bitter hostility, and with continual persecution, until he suffered the death of the cross. **ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST**, and **ST. STEPHEN**, who were his faithful witnesses, were both the

victims of persecution; the one by being beheaded in prison before the crucifixion of Christ, the other by being stoned to death a short time after that event. For an account of the sufferings and death of our Saviour, and of the deaths of these two faithful witnesses, the reader is referred to the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, as contained in the New Testament.

Upon the death of Stephen, a very cruel persecution arose in Jerusalem and its vicinity, which was conducted with the most horrid scenes of blood and outrage. The prejudice of the Jews led them to unite with the Pagans in attempting to destroy the Christian Church, and dreadful tortures were inflicted on old and young of both sexes, who would not renounce their faith in Christ. **NICANOR**, the deacon, together with two thousand Christians suffered martyrdom; many others finding no place of safety, fled from the city, and the disciples were much scattered.

ST. JAMES THE GREAT, was a Galilean, and brother to St John. His father was a fisherman, and being one day fishing with his father in the sea of Galilee, he and his brother were called by their Lord and master to follow him. They obeyed the call, and were witnesses of his miracles and sufferings. Herod Agrippa, raised a persecution against the Church, and singled out James as a particular object of revenge. He was apprehended and condemned to death; but his faith sustained him in every trial, and he rejoiced in the prospect of suffering for the sake of Christ. Such was his firmness and intrepidity under his sentence, that his accuser became a penitent and a believer. This so enraged the magistrates, that they condemned him also to death; and James and his converted accuser were slain with the same sword. About the same time *Timon* and *Parmenas*, who were two of the seven deacons, suffered martyrdom; the first at Corinth, the latter at *Philippi* in Macedonia.

ST. PHILIP was a native of *Bethsaida*, in Galilee. He is said to have preached, after the resurrection of Christ, in upper Asia, and to have laboured dilligently in his apostleship. He afterwards travelled into *Phrygia*; and when he arrived at *Heliopolis*. he found the inhabitants so

sunk in ignorance and idolatry that they adored a hideous serpent. After being instrumental in converting many of the inhabitants to Christianity, he succeeded in procuring the death of the serpent. For this he was arrested, committed to prison, scourged with great cruelty, and afterwards crucified. St. Bartholomew took down his body from the cross, and had it interred; but this so enraged the magistrates, that he was very near sharing the same fate. This martyrdom happened eight years after the death of James the Great, A. D. 52.

ST. MATTHEW was a native of Nazareth, in Galilee, but resided during a part of his time at Capernaum. Of his early life, little is known. (1) He was a collector of tribute, and was sitting at the receipt of custom, when he received the divine call to be a disciple and a minister of Christ. He obeyed the call, and accompanied his divine Master through various scenes of labour and suffering. After Christ's ascension, he remained about nine years in Judea, preaching to the inhabitants, and building up the cause of Christianity. Having determined on leaving Judea, that he might visit other parts, and preach among the Gentiles, he wrote his gospel in Hebrew for the use of the Jewish converts. (This work was translated into Greek by James the Less.) He then departed for Ethiopia, where he laboured with great success—ordaining preachers and establishing churches in various places. He visited Parthia, where he also beheld Christianity spreading, converts multiplying, and the church in prosperity. On his return to Ethiopia he was slain, it is said, by a halberd, in the city of Nadabar, about the year 60.

ST. MARK. This evangelist and martyr was by birth a Jew, of the tribe of Levi. After becoming a disciple, he attended St. Peter in his apostolick labours and travels. When at Rome, the converts requested that he would commit to writing the instructions which they had received from him and others who had preached to them the gospel. In compliance with their request, he wrote his gospel, in the Greek language. Leaving Rome, he departed for Alexandria, and afterwards visited and made converts in

1 This may be said of all the apostles, except St. Paul.

Lybia. On his return to Alexandria, some of the Egyptians, enraged at his success against idolatry, resolved on his death. They dragged him through the streets, threw him, mangled and bruised, into a dungeon, where he remained during the night; and on the next day, they burned his body. His bones were gathered up by the Christians and decently interred. A seminary, which was established at Alexandria under the patronage of Christians, and of high reputation for learning and piety, is said to have been founded by this faithful and persevering servant of Christ.

The apostle **JAMES**, called **JAMES THE LESS**, to distinguish him from the other disciple of the same name, was bishop of Jerusalem. He wrote his epistle to suppress a dangerous error then spreading, viz. "That faith in Christ was alone sufficient for salvation, without good works." The Jews being enraged that Paul had escaped from their hands, by appealing to Rome, determined to wreak their vengeance on James, who was then 94 years of age.—They beat and stoned him, and afterwards dashed out his brains with a club.

ST. MATTHIAS was called to the apostleship after the death of Christ, to supply the vacant place of Judas.—Previously to this he had been one of the seventy disciples. He was martyred at Jerusalem, being first stoned and then beheaded.

ST. ANDREW was the brother of St. Peter, and a faithful martyr. He preached the gospel in different parts of Asia, labouring much to turn the multitudes from idolatry. On arriving at Edessa, he was threatened and abused for preaching against the idols that were worshipped by the inhabitants. The apostle persisting in his labours, was ordered to be crucified on a cross, two ends of which were transversely fixed in the ground. He told his accusers that he would not have preached the glory of the cross, if he had feared to die on it. He was not nailed to the cross, but fastened to it with cords, that his death might be more slow and painful. In this situation he is said to have continued two days—sometimes preaching to the people in the midst of his sufferings; after which he expired.

ST. PETER. This apostle was born at Bethsaida, in Galilee, being the son of Jonah, a fisherman,—which employment St. Peter himself followed. After becoming a disciple, he gave evidence of great zeal for the service of Christ, and appeared as the principal speaker among the apostles. He had the weakness to deny his Master at a time of great trial, but the sincerity of his repentance was manifest through the whole of his subsequent life.

After the death of Christ, the Jews continued to persecute the Christians; and caused several of them, among whom was Peter, to be scourged. This punishment they bore with gladness, rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer for the sake of their Redeemer.

When Herod Agrippa caused St. James to be put to death, and found that it pleased the Jews, he resolved that Peter should fall the next sacrifice. He was accordingly thrown into prison; from which, however, he escaped by a providential interposition. After various labours, miracles, and much suffering, he is said to have retired to Rome, where he was thrown into prison by order of Nero.—Having been nine months in prison, Peter was brought out for execution. After being severely scourged, he was crucified with his head downwards. This manner of crucifixion was what he had particularly requested, deeming himself unworthy to suffer as Christ had.

ST. PAUL was a Jew of the tribe of Benjamin, born at **Tarsus** in Cilicia. His education was of the best kind, both in learning and morals, as far as they were then understood. He was at first a most determined enemy to the Christian cause, and a bitter persecutor of those who espoused it. But after a miraculous conversion, he became a strenuous supporter and an able minister of the gospel. At Iconium, Paul and Barnabas were near being stoned to death by the enraged Jews. At Lystra, Paul was stoned, dragged out of the city, supposed to be dead; but afterwards he revived. At Philippi, Paul and Silas were imprisoned and scourged. Being afterwards taken at Jerusalem, he was sent to Cæsarea; but appealing to Cæsar, he was sent to Rome. At Rome he remained a prisoner at large for two years; but continued to instruct and exhort all who came in his way,

and was useful to many. At length being released, he visited the churches of Greece and Rome, and preached in Gaul and Iberia. Returning to Rome, he was again apprehended, and by order of Nero, received the crown of martyrdom by being beheaded. His abundant labours, extensive usefulness, and remarkable humility, are evident from his own epistles, and from what is said in the Acts of the Apostles concerning him.

ST. JUDE was the brother of James, and was sometimes called Thaddæus. Being sent to Edessa, he was extensively useful, and made many converts to the Christian cause. But the indignation of the Pagans was excited against him, and he was crucified in the year 72.

BARTHOLOMEW, the apostle of Christ, is said to have preached in several countries, and wrought miracles in healing diseases. He translated St. Matthew's gospel into the Indian language, and propagated it in that country.—Persecution arose against him, and the idolaters becoming exasperated, he was arrested, severely beaten, flayed, and then crucified.

ST. THOMAS was called by this name in Syriack, but in Greek he was called Didymus. He was an apostle of Christ, and preached in Parthia and India; in which places he was much persecuted—and in India he was finally murdered, by being thrust through with a spear.

ST. LUKE, the evangelist, was the author of the gospel that bears his name in the New Testament. He travelled with St. Paul to Rome, and preached in various places to the benighted Pagans, until he became the victim of their malice. The Pagan priests at Greece hanged him upon a tree.

ST. SIMON. This apostle and martyr was distinguished by the name of Zelotes, on account of his zeal for Christianity. He preached with great success in Mauritania, and other parts of Africa, and even in Britain, where he made many converts. He was crucified under Trajan, in the year 74.

ST. JOHN was distinguished by being a prophet, apostle, evangelist, and divine. He was a brother to James the Great, and called the *beloved disciple*. He founded churches

ches in Smyrna, Pergamus, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and Thyatira, to whom, with the church at Ephesus, he directs his book of Revelations. Being at Ephesus, he was ordered by the emperor Domitian to be sent bound to Rome, where he was condemned to be cast into boiling oil. But this sentence was executed without any injury to him, and he was banished to the island of Patmos. He was afterwards released from banishment by the emperor Nerva. He was the only apostle who escaped a violent death; and this seems to have been by miraculous interposition. He lived longer than any other apostle, and died in peace, being near one hundred years of age.

CHAP. II.

THE FIRST GENERAL PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS,
WHICH BEGAN IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD SIXTY-SEVEN,
UNDER THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR NERO.

THIS monarch reigned, for five years, with credit to himself, but then gave way to the most extravagant and atrocious barbarities. He ordered that the city of Rome should be set on fire, by his officers, guards, and servants; and whilst the imperial city was in flames, he went up to the tower of Mæcenus, played upon his lyre, sung the song of the burning of Troy, and declared, "That he wished the ruin of all things before his death." Among the noble buildings burnt was the Circus, capable of accommodating 100,000 spectators. Besides this, many palaces and houses were consumed; and thousands of the inhabitants perished in the flames, being smothered with the smoke, or buried beneath the ruins.

This dreadful conflagration continued nine days; when Nero, finding a severe odium cast upon him, determined to lay the whole upon the Christians, at once to excuse himself, and have an opportunity of glutting his sight with new cruelties. Thus commenced the first general persecution; and the barbarities exercised upon the Christians were such as even excited the commiseration

of the Romans themselves. Nero even refined upon cruelty towards the Christians. In particular, he had some sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and then worried by dogs till they expired; and others were dressed in garments made stiff with wax, fixed to axle-trees, and set on fire in his gardens, in order to illuminate them. This persecution was general throughout the Roman empire; but it rather increased than diminished the spirit of Christianity. In the course of it, St. Paul and St. Peter were martyred.

ERASTUS, chamberlain of Corinth, converted through the ministry of St. Paul, determined to follow the fortune of that apostle. He therefore resigned his office, and accompanied St. Paul in his voyages and travels, till the latter left him in Macedonia, where he was appointed bishop of that province by the Christians; and afterwards suffered martyrdom, being tortured to death by the Pagans at Philippi.

ARISTARCHUS, the constant companion of St. Paul, having accompanied him to Rome, suffered the same fate as the apostle; for being seized as a Christian, he was beheaded by the command of Nero.

TROPHIMUS, an Ephesian by birth, and a Gentile by religion, was converted by St. Paul to the Christian faith, and was witness to the martyrdom of his master, which was but the forerunner of his own; for being soon after seized on account of his faith, he was beheaded by Nero's express orders.

JOSEPH, commonly called Barsabas, was a primitive disciple, and usually deemed one of the seventy. He was related to our blessed Redeemer, and became a candidate, together with Matthias, to fill the vacant place of Judas Iscariot, the traitor.

During his life he was a zealous preacher of the gospel; and having received many insults from the Jews, at length was murdered by the Pagans in Judea.

ANANIUS, bishop of Damascus, celebrated in the sacred writings for being the person who cured St. Paul of the blindness with which he was struck by the amazing brightness which happened at his conversion, was one of the

seventy, and martyred in the city of Damascus. After his death a Christian church was built over the place of his burial, now converted into a Turkish mosque.

CHAP. III.

THE SECOND GENERAL PERSECUTION OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS, UNDER THE EMPEROR DOMITIAN.

DOMITIAN, naturally inclined to cruelty, first slew his brother, and then raised the second persecution against the Christians; he even put to death many of the Roman senators; some through malice, and others to confiscate their estates. He then commanded all the lineage of David to be put to death. Two Christians were brought before the emperor, and accused of being of the tribe of Judah, and line of David; but, from their answers, he despised them as idiots, and dismissed them accordingly. Determined to be more secure upon other occasions, he took away the substance of many Christians, banished others, and put several to death.

During this persecution, Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, was crucified; and St. John was boiled in oil, and afterwards banished to Patmos. Flavia, the daughter of a Roman senator, was likewise banished to Pontus; and a law was made, that no Christian, once brought before the tribunal, should be exempted from punishment without renouncing his religion.

A variety of fabricated tales were, during this reign, composed, in order to injure the Christians. They were accused of holding indecent nightly meetings, and being of a rebellious turbulent spirit to the Roman empire, of murdering their children, and even of being cannibals. The infatuation of the Pagans was so great, that if famine, pestilence, or earthquakes, afflicted any of the Roman provinces, it was laid upon the Christians. These persecutions increased the number of informers: and many, for the sake of gain, perjured themselves to destroy the innocent Christians.

Another cruelty was, that when any Christians were brought before the magistrates, a test oath was proposed, and on refusal to take it, death was pronounced against them; and the sentence was the same, if they confessed themselves Christians, and they suffered the various kinds of punishments of imprisonment, racking, searing, boiling, burning, scourging, stoning, strangling, hanging, &c.

Some were torn piecemeal with red-hot pincers; and others thrown upon the horns of wild bulls! After having suffered these cruelties, the friends of the deceased Christians were refused the privilege of burying their remains.

The most remarkable among the numerous martyrs, who suffered during this persecution, were

DIONYSIUS, the Areopagite, an Athenian by birth, and educated in all the useful and ornamental literature of Greece. He then travelled to Egypt to study astronomy, and made very particular observations on the great and supernatural eclipse which happened at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.

On his return to Athens he was highly honoured by the people, and at length promoted to the dignity of senator of that celebrated city. Becoming a convert to the gospel, he changed from the Pagan magistrate to the pious Christian pastor.

The sanctity of his conversation, and purity of his manners, recommended him so strongly to the Christians in general, that he was appointed bishop of Athens. He discharged his duty with the utmost diligence till the second year of this persecution, A. D. 96, when he was apprehended and beheaded.

NICOMEDES, a Christian of distinction at Rome, during the rage of Domitian's persecution, served the afflicted, by comforting the poor, visiting those confined, exhorting the wavering, and confirming the faithful. For these and other pious actions, he was seized as a Christian, and scourged to death.

PROTASUS and **GERVASIUS** were martyred at Milan.

TIMOTHY, the celebrated disciple of St. Paul, and bishop of Ephesus, was born at Lystra, in the province of

Lycaonia, his father being a Gentile, and his mother a Jewess. But both his parents and his grandmother embraced Christianity, by which means young Timothy was taught the precepts of the gospel from his infancy.

St. Paul sent to Timothy while he was in his last confinement at Rome, to come to him; and, after that great apostle's martyrdom, he returned to Ephesus, where he zealously governed the church till A. D. 97. At this period the Pagans celebrating a feast called Catagogion, the principal ceremonies of which were, that the people should carry battons in their hands, go masked, and bear about the streets the images of their gods. Timothy met the procession, and severely reprov'd them for their ridiculous idolatry, which so exasperated the people, that they fell upon him with their clubs, and beat him in so dreadful a manner, that he expired of the bruises two days after.

CHAP. IV.

THE THIRD GENERAL PERSECUTION OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS.

NERVA succeeding Domitian, gave a respite to the Christians; but reigning only thirteen months, his successor, Trajan, in the tenth year of his reign, A. D. 108, began the third persecution against the Christians. Whilst the persecution raged, the second Pliny wrote to the emperor in favour of the Christians; to whose epistle Trajan returned this ambiguous answer; "The Christians ought not to be sought after; but when brought before the magistracy, they should be punished."

Such an absurd reply made Tertullian exclaim in the following words, "O, confused sentence! he would not have them sought for as innocent, and yet would have them punished as guilty." The emperor's answer, however, occasioned the persecution in some measure to abate, as his officers were uncertain, if they carried it on with severity, how he might choose to wrest his own meaning. Trajan, however, soon after wrote to Jerusalem, and gave

orders to his officers to exterminate the stock of David; in consequence of which, all that could be found of that race were murdered.

SYMPHOROSA, a widow, and her seven sons, being commanded by the emperor, to sacrifice to the heathen deities, unanimously refused to comply with such an impious request; the emperor, in a rage, told her, that, for her obstinacy, herself, and her sons, should be slain, to appease the wrath of his offended deities: to which she answered, "That if he murdered her and her children, the idols he adored would only be held in the greater detestation."

The emperor, greatly exasperated at this, ordered her to be carried to the temple of **Hercules**, where she was scourged, and hung up, for some time, by the hair of her head; then a large stone was fastened to her neck, and she was thrown into the river, where she expired. The sons were fastened to seven posts, and being drawn up by pulleys, their limbs were dislocated. After being some time under these tortures, they were stabbed in various places, until they expired.

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

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

Trajan being succeeded by **Adrian**, the latter continued this persecution with as much severity as his predeces-

sor. About this time Alexander, bishop of Rome, and his two deacons, were martyred; as were Quirinus and Hermes, with their families; Zebon, a Roman nobleman, and about ten thousand other Christians.

In Mount Ararat many were crucified, crowned with thorns, and spears ran into their sides, in imitation of Christ's passion. Eustachius, a brave and successful Roman commander, was by the emperor ordered to join in an idolatrous sacrifice to celebrate some of his own victories; but his faith (being a Christian in his heart) was so much greater than his vanity, that he nobly refused it. Enraged at the denial, the ungrateful emperor forgot the services of this skilful commander, and ordered him and his whole family to be martyred.

At the martyrdom of Faustines and Jovita, brothers and citizens of Brescia, their torments were so many, and their patience so great, that Calocerius, a Pagan, beholding them, was struck with admiration, and exclaimed, in a kind of extasy, "Great is the God of the Christians!" for which he was apprehended, and suffered a similar fate.

Many other similar cruelties and rigours were exercised against the Christians, till Quadratus, bishop of Athens, made a learned apology in their favour before the emperor, who happened to be there; and Aristides, a philosopher of the same city, wrote an elegant epistle, which caused Adrian to relax in his severities. He indeed went so far as to command that no Christian should be punished on the score of religion or opinion only: but this gave other handles against them to the Jews and Pagans; who began to employ and suborn false witnesses, to accuse them of crimes against the state, or civil authority.

Adrian dying in the year A. D. 138, was succeeded by Antonius Pius, one of the most amiable monarchs that ever reigned; his people giving him a title which he justly deserved, viz. The Father of Virtues. Immediately upon his accession to the imperial throne, he published an edict, forbidding any farther persecutions against the Christians, and concluded it in these words: "If any hereafter shall vex or trouble the Christians, having no other cause but that they are such, let the accused be released,

and the accusers be punished." This stopped the persecution; and the Christians enjoyed a respite from their sufferings during this emperor's reign; though their enemies took all occasions privately to do them every injury in their power.

CHAP. V.

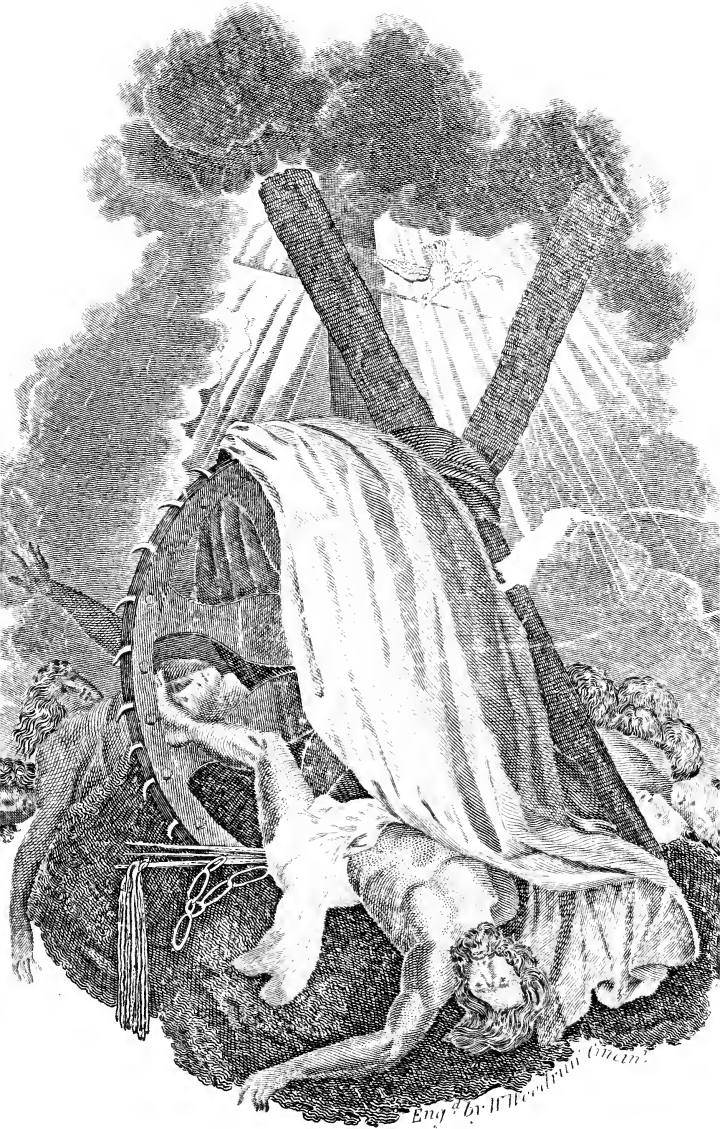
THE FOURTH GENERAL PERSECUTION OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS, A. D. ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-TWO.

The fourth persecution was commenced under Antoninus, surnamed the Philosopher; who succeeded the former, and was a strenuous Pagan.

The cruelties used in this persecution were such that many of the spectators shuddered with horror, and were astonished at the intrepidity of the sufferers. Some of the martyrs were obliged to pass with their already wounded feet over thorns, nails, sharp shells, &c. their points being upwards; others were scourged till their sinews and veins were laid bare; and, after suffering the most excruciating tortures that could be devised, were destroyed by the most terrible deaths.

Germanicus, a young Christian, being delivered to the wild beasts on account of his faith, behaved with such astonishing courage, that several Pagans became converts to the faith which inspired such fortitude.

Polycarp, the pious and venerable bishop of Smyrna, hearing that persons were about to apprehend him, escaped, but was discovered by a child. From this circumstance, he concluded that it was God's will that he should seal his faith with martyrdom. He therefore would not attempt to make a second escape, when he had an opportunity of so doing. Those who apprehended him, were amazed at his serene countenance, and comely gravity. After feasting them, he desired an hour in prayer, which being allowed, he prayed with such fervency, that his guards repented they had been instrumental in taking him. He was, however, carried before the pro-consul.



HEATHEN MODE OF TORTURING
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condemned, and conducted to the market-place. Wood being provided, the holy man earnestly prayed to heaven, after being bound to the stake; and as the flames grew vehement, the tormentors gave way on each side, the heat becoming intolerable. In the mean time the bishop sang praises to God in the midst of the flames. Twelve other Christians, who had been intimate with Polycarp, were soon after martyred.

Metrodorus, a minister, who had boldly preached, and Pionius, who made some excellent apologies for the Christian faith, were likewise burnt. Carpus and Papilus, and Agathonica, a pious woman, suffered martyrdom at Pargamopolis, in Asia.

Felicitatis, an illustrious Roman lady, of a considerable family, and the most shining virtues, had seven sons, whom she had educated with the most exemplary piety. The empire having been, about this time, grievously troubled with earthquakes, famine, inundations, &c. the Christians were accused as the cause, and Felicitatis was included in the accusation. The lady and her family being seized, the emperour gave orders to Publius, the governor of Rome, to proceed against her.

Publius began with the mother, thinking that if he could prevail upon her to change her religion, that the example would have great influence with her sons. Finding her inflexible, he turned his intreaties to menaces, and threatened destruction to herself and family. She despised his threats as she had done his promises; on which he began with the sons, whom he examined separately. They, however, remained unanimously steadfast in their faith, on which, the whole family were ordered for execution. Januarius, the eldest, was scourged, and pressed to death with weights: Felix and Philip had their brains dashed out with clubs; Silvanus was murdered by being thrown from a precipice; and the three younger sons, viz. Alexander, Vitalis, and Martial, were all beheaded. With respect to the mother, she was beheaded with the same sword as the three latter.

JUSTIN, the celebrated philosopher, fell a martyr in this persecution. He was a native of Neapolis, in Sa-

maria, and was born A. D. 103. Justin was a great lover of truth, and a universal scholar. He investigated the Stoic and Peripatetic philosophy, and attempted the Pythagorean; but the behaviour of one of its professors disgusting him, he applied himself to the Platonic, in which he took great delight; and about the year 133, when he was thirty years of age, he became a convert to Christianity, and then, for the first time, perceived the the real nature of truth.

He also wrote an elegant epistle to the Gentiles, to convert them to the faith he had newly acquired; and lived in so pure and innocent a manner, that it was evident he merited the title of a Christian philosopher.

Having employed his talents in convincing the Jews of the truth of Christianity, he spent a great deal of time in travelling, till he took up his abode in Rome, and fixed his habitation upon the Viminal mount.

He kept a public school, taught many who afterwards became great men, and wrote a treatise to confute heresies of all kinds. As the Pagans began about this time to treat the Christians with great severity, Justin wrote his first apology in their favour, and addressed it to the emperor, to the two princes whom he had adopted as his sons, and to the senate and people of Rome in general. This piece displayed great learning and genius, and was written with such manly elegance, that it occasioned the emperor to publish an edict in favor of the Christians.

The apology of Justin, upon these severities, gave Crescens, the Cynic, an opportunity of prejudicing the emperor against the writer of it; upon which Justin, and six of his companions, were apprehended. Being commanded, as usual, to deny their faith, and sacrifice to the the Pagan idols, they absolutely refused to do either. On their refusal, they were condemned to be first scourged, and then beheaded; which sentence was executed with all imaginable severity.

In Gaul, the tortures to which many of the Christians were put, almost exceed the powers of description. Thus aspersions, false accusations, taunts, threats, revilings, menacings, were but forerunners to all manner of punish-

ments, torments, and painful deaths; such as being banished, plundered, beaten, imprisoned, stoned, assassinated, hanged, burnt, &c. and even the servants and slaves of opulent christians were racked and tortured, to make them accuse their masters and employers.

Vetius Agathus, a young man, having boldly pleaded the christian cause, was asked if he was a christian? To which, answering in the affirmative, he was condemned to death. Many, animated by this young man's intrepidity, boldly owned their faith, and suffered as he had done.

Blandinia, a Christian, but of a weak constitution, being seized and tortured upon the account of her religion, received so much strength from heaven, that her torturers became frequently tired, and were surprised at her being able to bear her torments with such resolution, and for so great a length of time.

Sanctus, a deacon of Vienne, was put to the torture, which he bore with great fortitude, and only cried, "I am a Christian." Red-hot plates of brass were placed upon those parts of the body that were tenderest, which contracted the sinews; but he remaining inflexible, was reconducted to prison. Being brought out from his place of confinement a few days afterwards, he received the crown of martyrdom by being beheaded.

Biblias, a weak woman, had been an apostate, but having returned to the faith, was martyred, and bore her sufferings with great patience. Attalus, of Pergamus, was another sufferer: and Pothinus, the venerable bishop of Lyons, who was ninety years of age, was so unmercifully treated by the enraged Pagan mob, that he expired two days after in prison.

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

The torments were various; and, exclusive of those already mentioned, the martyrs of Lyons were compelled to sit in red-hot iron chairs till their flesh broiled. This was inflicted with peculiar severity on Sanctus, already

mentioned, and some others. Some were sewed up in nets, and thrown on the horns of wild bulls; and the carcasses of those who died in prison, previous to the appointed time of execution, were thrown to dogs. Indeed, so far did the malice of the Pagans proceed, that they set guards over the bodies while the beasts were devouring them, lest the friends of the deceased should get them away by stealth; and the offals left by the dogs were ordered to be burnt.

The martyrs of Lyons, who suffered for the gospel, according to the best accounts, were forty-eight in number, and their executions happened A. D. 177. They all died with great fortitude and serenity of mind, evidently displaying, that they experienced the hope of an immortal and happy life.

Epipodius and Alexander, were celebrated for their great friendship, and their Christian union with each other. The first was born at Lyons, the latter in Greece. They were of mutual assistance to each other, and prepared themselves for receiving martyrdom in this world, and a crown of glory in the next, by the continual practice of all manner of Christian virtues.

When the persecution began first to rage at Lyons, they were in the prime of life, and, to avoid the effects of its severities, they withdrew to a neighbouring village. Here they were for some time, concealed by a Christian widow, whose piety protected, while her obscurity gave a sanction to their retreat.

But as they were eminent persons, the malice of their persecutors sought them out with indefatigable industry to their place of concealment. Dragged from their retirement, they were committed to prison without examination: but their misfortunes did not oppress their spirits; for, shielded by the Gospel, they were secure against the woes incident to this life.

At the expiration of three days, they were brought before the governor, and examined in the presence of a crowd of Pagans. They confessed the divinity of Christ; when the governor, being enraged at what he termed

their insolence, exclaimed "what signifies all the former executions, if some yet remain who dare acknowledge Christ?"

Having separated them, that they should not console with, or fortify each other, he began to tamper with Epipodius, the younger. With a dissembled kindness, he pretended to pity his condition, and intreated him not to ruin himself by obstinacy. "Our deities (continued he) are worshipped by the greater part of the people in the universe, and their rulers; we adore them with feasting and mirth, while you adore a crucified man; we, to honour them, launch into pleasures; you, by your faith, are debarred from all that indulges the senses. Our religion enjoins feasting; yours fasting; our's the joys of licentious blandishments, yours the barren virtue of chastity. Can you expect protection from one, who could not secure himself from the persecutions of a contemptible people? Then quit a profession of such austerity, and enjoy those gratifications which the world affords, and which your youthful years demand."

To this illusive harangue Epipodius replied; "Your pretended tenderness is actually cruelty; and the agreeable life you describe, is replete with everlasting death. Christ suffered for us, that our pleasures should be immortal, and hath prepared for his followers an eternity of bliss. The frame of man being composed of two parts, body and soul; the first, as mean and perishable, should be rendered subservient to the interests of the last. Your idolatrous feasts may gratify the mortal, but they injure the immortal part: that cannot therefore be enjoying life, which destroys the most valuable moiety of your frame. Your pleasures lead to eternal death, and our pains to perpetual happiness."

Epipodius, upon this, was severely beaten, and then put to the rack, upon which being stretched, his flesh, was torn with iron hooks. Having born his torments with incredible patience, and unshaken fortitude, he was taken from the rack, and beheaded.

Alexander, his companion, was brought before the judge, two days after the execution of that excellent

young man. On his absolute refusal to renounce Christianity, he was placed upon the rack, and beaten by three executioners, who relieved each other alternately. He bore his sufferings with similar fortitude as his friend, and at length received the conclusion of his glorious martyrdom, by being crucified. These martyrs suffered A. D. 179.

Valerian and Marcellus, who were nearly related to each other, were imprisoned at Lyons, in the year 177, for being Christians. By some means, however, they effected their escape, and travelled different ways.

Marcellus made several converts in the territories of Besancon and Chalons, but being apprehended, was carried before Priscus, the governor of the province.

That magistrate, knowing Marcellus to be a Christian, ordered him to be fastened to the branches of a tree, which were drawn down for that purpose, with a design, that the suddenness of the jerks on their return to their former position, might tear him to pieces.

This horrid invention failing in its proposed end, the martyr was conducted to Chalons, to be present at some idolatrous sacrifices, at which, refusing to assist, he was put to the torture, and afterwards fixed up to the waist in the ground; in which position, after remaining three days, he expired, A. D. 179.

Valerian was soon after apprehended; and, being first put to the rack, was then beheaded.

The emperor Antonious dying, was succeeded A. D. 180, by his son Commodus, who did not copy his father either in his virtues or his vices; he was without his learning and morality, and, at the same time, without his prejudices against Christianity. His principal foible was pride, and to that are chiefly ascribed the errors of his reign; for having taken it into his head to fancy himself Hercules, he sacrificed those to his vanity who refused to subscribe to his absurdity.

Apollonius, a Roman senator, became a martyr in his reign. This eminent person was at once skilled in all the polite literature of those times; and was, indeed, an accomplished gentleman, as well as a sincere Christian.

He was accused by his own slave, Severus, upon an

unjust and contradictory, but unrepealed, edict of the emperor Trajan. This inconsistent law condemned the accused to die, unless he recanted his opinion; and, at the same time, ordered the execution of the accuser for calumny.

Apollonius, refusing to recant his opinions, was, by order of his peers, the Roman senators, to whom he had appealed, condemned to be beheaded. The sentence was executed A. D. 186; his accuser having previously had his legs broken, and been put to death.

Eusebius, Vincentius, Potentianus, Peregrinus, were all martyred for refusing to worship Commodus.

Julius, a Roman senator, becoming a convert to Christianity, was ordered, by the emperor, to sacrifice to him.—This Julius absolutely refused, and publicly professed himself a Christian. On this account, after remaining in prison a considerable time, he was, in the year 190, pursuant to his sentence, beat to death with cudgels, and died a glorious martyr to the truth.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIFTH GENERAL PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS.

Commodus dying in 191, was succeeded by Pertinax, and Julianus. On the death of the last, in the year 192, Severus became emperor.

Having been recovered from a severe fit of sickness by a Christian, he became a great favourer of Christians in general; and even permitted his son Caracalla to be nursed by a female Christian. Hence, during the reigns of these two emperours, the Christians were not persecuted; but had a respite of several years.

At length, in the latter part of the reign of Severus, the progress of Christianity alarmed the Pagans, and they revived the calumnies of placing accidental misfortunes to the account of its professors. Fire, sword, scourges, wild beasts, and cruel imprisonments, were now used; and even the dead bodies of Christians were torn from their graves to be mangled, and to satisfy popular fury.

But though persecution raged, yet the gospel shone with resplendent brightness; and, firm as an impregnable rock, withstood the attack of its boisterous enemies with success. Tertullian, who lived in this age, informs us, “that if the Christians had collectively withdrawn themselves from the Roman territories, the empire would have been greatly depopulated.”

Victor, bishop of Rome, suffered martyrdom in the first year of the third century.

Leonidas, the father of the celebrated Origen, was beheaded. Previous to the execution, the son, in order to encourage him, wrote to him in these remarkable words: “Beware, sir, that your care for us does not make you change your resolution.” Many of Origen’s hearers likewise suffered martyrdom; particularly two brothers, named Plutarchus and Serenus: another Serenus, Heron, Heraclides, were beheaded: Rhais had boiling pitch poured upon her head, and was then burnt, as was Marcella her mother, and her sister Potamiena; but Basilides, an officer belonging to the army, and one ordered to attend her execution, became a convert.

This Basilides, as an officer, being required to take a profane oath, refused, saying, that he could not swear by the Roman idols, as he was a Christian. Struck with surprise, the people could not, at first believe what they heard; but he had no sooner confirmed what he had said, than he was dragged before the Judge, committed to prison, and speedily beheaded.

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, was born in Greece, and received a polite and a Christian education. It is generally supposed, that the account of the persecutions at Lyons was written by him. He succeeded the martyr Pothinus as bishop of Lyons, and ruled his diocese with great propriety: he was a zealous opposer of heresies in general, and about A. D. 187, wrote a celebrated tract against heresy. This zeal in favour of Christianity, pointed him out as an object of resentment to the emperour; and in A. D. 202, he was accordingly beheaded.

The persecutions now extended to Africa, and many were martyred in that quarter of the globe—among whom were the following:

Perpetua, a married lady, of about twenty-two years of age, with a young sucking child at her breast, was seized for being a Christian. During her confinement, the father, who tenderly loved her, went to console her; and at the same time would fain have persuaded her to renounce Christianity. Perpetua, however, preserving all the respect due to a parent, maintained the character of a Christian. Her resolution so much incensed her father, that he now beat her unmercifully, and did not visit her for some days after. This gave her, and some others who were confined at the same time, an opportunity of being baptized, as they were before only catechumens.

Being carried before the pro-consul Minutius, she was commanded to sacrifice to idols; but refusing, she was ordered to a dark dungeon. The gloom of this place was of itself disgustful, but being deprived of her child was much more so. Two deacons, Tertius and Pomponius, who had the care of persecuted Christians, procured her some few hours daily to breathe the fresh air, during which time she had the satisfaction of being allowed to suckle her child. Foreseeing, however, that she should not long be permitted to take care of it, she recommended it strongly to her mother's care.

The father of Perpetua paid her a second visit, and again besought her to renounce Christianity. His behaviour now was all paternal tenderness, and endearing humanity. If any thing worldly could have softened her, this would; but inflexible to all things but Christ, she knew she must leave every thing for his sake; and she only said to him, "God's will must be done." With an heart almost bursting he left her, and found his only consolation in his tears.

On her trial, Perpetua gave the greatest proofs of fortitude, though of a sex naturally timorous; and exhibited to her friends, as well as a great number of spectators, an amazing strength of mind.

The judge intreated her to consider her father's tears, her infant's helplessness, and her own life; but triumphing over nature, she forgot the ideas of mental and corporeal pain; and determined to sacrifice all transitory things to that immortality offered by Christ.

Finding that she must die, the father's parental tenderness returned; and in the eagerness of his anxiety, he attempted to carry her off—on which account he received a severe blow from one of the officers. The daughter now showed that she had not lost all natural sentiments of filial duty; she immediately declared that she felt that blow more severely than if she had received it herself.—Being conducted back to prison, she remained for the day of execution, when several other persons were to be executed with her. These were—

Felicitas, a married Christian lady, and Revocatus, a catechumen of Carthage; Saturninus, Secundulus, and Satur.

On the day appointed for the execution, they were led to the amphitheatre. Satur, Saturninus, and Revocatus, were bold enough to denounce God's judgments upon their persecutors, and were ordered to run the gantelope between the hunters, or such as had the care of the wild beasts. The hunters being drawn up in two ranks, they ran between, and were severely lashed as they passed.

Felicitas and Perpetua were thrown to a mad bull.—The bull made his first attack upon Perpetua, and stunned her; he then attacked Felicitas, and wounded her much; but not killing them, the executioner did that office with a sword. Revocatus and Satur were destroyed by wild beasts; Saturninus was beheaded; and Secundulus died in prison. These executions took place in the year 205.

Speratus, and twelve others, were likewise beheaded; as was Andoclus in France. Asclepiades, bishop of Antioch, suffered many tortures, but his life was spared.

Cecilia, a young Christian lady of Rome, having been married to a gentleman named Valerian, soon persuaded her husband to embrace the same faith; and his conversion was speedily followed by that of his brother Tiburtius.

These things drew upon them all the vengeance of the civil magistrate. The two brothers were beheaded; and the maximus, or officer who led them to execution, becoming their convert, suffered the same fate.

The lady was doomed to be placed naked in a scalding

bath, and having continued there a considerable time, her head was struck off with a sword, A. D. 222.

Calistus, bishop of Rome, was martyred A. D. 224; and Urban, bishop of Rome, met the same fate, A. D. 232.

Agapetus, a boy of Præneste, in Italy, only fifteen years of age, absolutely refusing to sacrifice to the idols, was severely scourged, and then hanged up by the feet, and boiling water poured over him. He was afterwards worried by wild beasts, and beheaded. The officer, named Antiochus, who superintended this execution whilst it was performing, fell suddenly from his judicial seat, cried out "that his bowels burnt him," and expired; feeling miraculously, in this world, a sample of the torments due to such cruelty in the next: while the martyr patiently suffered, in hopes of a glorious resurrection.

CHAP. VII.

THE SIXTH GENERAL PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS, UNDER THE ROMAN EMPEROURS.

Maximinus being emperour, A. D. 235, raised a persecution against the Christians. In Cappadocia, the president, Seremianus, strove all in his power to exterminate the Christians from that province.

A Roman soldier, refusing to wear a laurel crown bestowed on him by the emperour, and confessing himself a Christian, was scourged, imprisoned, and put to death.

Pontianus, bishop of Rome, for preaching against idolatry, was banished to Sardinia, and slain in that island.

Anteros, a Greek, who succeeded Pontianus, gave so much offence to the government, by collecting the acts of the martyrs, that he suffered martyrdom himself, after having held his dignity only forty days.

Pammachius, a Roman Senator, with his family, and other Christians, to the number of forty-two, were all beheaded in one day, and their heads set up on the city gates.

Simplicius, another senator, met with the same fate.

Calepodius, a Christian minister, after being inhumanly treated, and barbarously dragged about the streets, had a mill-stone fastened about his neck, and was thrown into the river Tiber.

Quiritus, a Roman nobleman, with his family and domestics, were, on account of being Christians, put to the most excruciating tortures, and the most painful deaths. This nobleman suffered the confiscation of his effects, poverty, revilings, imprisonments, scourgings, tortures, and the loss of his life, for the sake of the great Redeemer.

Martina, a noble and beautiful virgin, was variously tortured, and afterwards beheaded.

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

During this persecution, Christians were slain without trial, and buried indiscriminately in heaps; fifty or sixty being cast into a pit together, without the least decency.

The tyrant Maximinus dying, A. D. 238, was succeeded by Gordian, during whose reign, and that of his successor Philip, the church was free from persecution for the space of more than ten years; but A. D. 249, a violent persecution broke out in Alexandria, at the instigation of a Pagan priest, but this was without the knowledge of the emperor.

The mob broke open the houses of the Christians, stole away the best of their property, destroyed the rest, and murdered the owners; the universal cry being, "Burn 'em, burn 'em; kill 'em, kill 'em." The names of only three martyrs have been transmitted to posterity, who suffered during this insurrection.

Metrus, an aged and venerable citizen, refusing to blaspheme his Saviour, was beaten with clubs, pricked with sharp reeds, and at length stoned to death.

Quinta, a devout female, being carried to the temple, and refusing to worship idols, was dragged by her feet over sharp flint stones, scourged with whips, and dispatched in the same manner as Metrus.

Apolonia, an ancient maiden lady, confessing herself a Christian, the mob dashed out her teeth with their fists,

and threatened to burn her alive. A fire was prepared for that purpose, and Apollonia fastened to a stake; but requesting to be unloosed, it was granted, on a supposition that she meant to recant, when, to their great surprise, she immediately threw herself into the flames, and was consumed.

CHAP. VIII.

THE SEVENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPEROURS.

Decius, emperor of Rome, began a dreadful persecution against the Christians, A. D. 249. This was occasioned, partly by the hatred he bore to his predecessor Philip, who was esteemed a Christian, and partly by his jealousy of the amazing increase of Christianity; the heathen temples being nearly forsaken, and the Christian churches thronged.

These reasons stimulated Decius, to attempt the extirpation of the name of Christian; and it was unfortunate for the cause of the gospel, that many errors had, about this time, crept into the church: the Christians were at variance with each other; self-interest divided those whom social love ought to have united; and the virulence of pride occasioned a variety of factions.

The heathens, in general, were ambitious to enforce the imperial decrees upon this occasion, and looked upon the murder of a Christian as a merit in themselves. The martyrs, upon this occasion, were innumerable.

Fabian, bishop of Rome, to whom the deceased emperor Philip had, on account of his integrity, committed his treasures, was seized A. D. 250, and suffered martyrdom, by being beheaded.

Abdon and Semen, two Persians, were seized as strangers; but being found Christians, were put to death, on account of their faith; and Moyses, a priest, was beheaded for the same reason.

Julian, a native of Celicia, as we are informed by St. Chrysostom, was seized upon for being a Christian. He was frequently tortured, but still remained inflexible; and though often brought from prison for execution, was again remanded, to be the object of greater cruelties. He, at length, was ordered to travel for twelve months together, from town to town, in order to be exposed to the insults of the ignorant populace.

Finding all endeavours to make him forsake his religion ineffectual, he was again brought before his judge, stripped, and whipped in a most dreadful manner; then put into a leathern bag, in which were a number of serpents and scorpions, and thrown into the sea.

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

Optimus now ordered the prisoner to be stretched upon a wheel, by which all his limbs were broken.

His torments, however, inspired him with fresh courage: and he smiled on his persecutors; till the pro-consul, tired out with tormenting him, ordered him to be beheaded.

Nichomachus, being brought before the pro-consul, was ordered to sacrifice to the Pagan idols. Nichomachus replied, "I cannot pay that respect to devils, which is only due to the Almighty." This speech so much enraged the pro-consul that Nichomachus was put to the rack. He bore the torments for some time with patience, and great resolution; but at length, when ready to expire with pain, he forfeited all the advantages he had gained in his former sufferings, by abjuring his faith, and becoming an apostate; but no sooner had he given this proof of his frailty, than he fell into the greatest agonies, dropped down, and expired.

Denisa, a young girl, only sixteen years of age, beheld

this terrible judgment, and suddenly exclaimed, "O unhappy wretch, why would you buy a moment's ease at the expense of a miserable eternity?" Optimus upon this, called and asked her if she was a Christian? She replied in the affirmative; and being commanded to sacrifice to the idols, absolutely refused, and was soon after beheaded.

Andrew and Paul, two companions of Nichomachus the martyr, on confessing themselves Christians, were condemned to die, and delivered to the multitude to be stoned, A. D. 251, and expired calling on their blessed Redeemer.

Alexander and Epimachus, of Alexandria, being apprehended as Christians, and confessing the accusation, were beat with staves, torn with hooks, and at length burnt; and Eusebius writes, that four female martyrs suffered on the same day, and at the same place, by being beheaded.

Lucian and Marcian, two wicked Pagans, becoming converts to Christianity, to make amends for their former errors, lived the lives of hermits, and subsisted upon bread and water.

After some time spent in this manner, they reflected that their lives were inefficacious, and determined to leave their solitude in order to bring others to Christianity. Pursuant to this resolution they became zealous preachers, and made many converts. They were seized, and carried before Sabinus, governor of Bithynia. On being asked by what authority they took upon themselves to preach, Lucian answered, "That the laws of charity and humanity obliged all men to endeavour the conversion of their neighbours, and to do every thing in their power to rescue them from the snares of the devil." Marcian said, that "their conversion was by the same grace which was given to St. Paul, who, from a zealous persecutor of the church, became a preacher of the gospel." The pro-consul, finding that he could not prevail with them to renounce their faith, condemned them to be burnt alive.

Trypho and Respicus, two eminent persons, were seized, and imprisoned at Nice. They were soon after put to the rack, which they bore with admirable patience

for three hours, and uttered the praises of the Almighty during the whole time. They were then exposed naked to the severity of the open air, in the depth of winter, by which their limbs were rendered torpid; they were then remanded to prison, where they remained a considerable time; after which the cruelties of their persecutors were repeated. Their feet were pierced with nails; they were dragged through the streets, scourged, torn with iron hooks, scorched with lighted torches, and at length beheaded, A. D. 251.

Agatha, a Sicilian lady, not more remarkable for her personal and acquired endowments, than her piety, was scourged, burnt with red-hot irons, and torn with sharp hooks. She bore these torments with admirable fortitude; she was next laid naked upon live coals, intermingled with glass, and being carried back to prison, she there expired.

Cyril, bishop of Gortyna, was seized by order of Lucius, governor of that place, who exhorted him to obey the imperial mandate, perform the sacrifices, and save his venerable person from destruction; for he was now eighty-four years of age. The good prelate replied, that he could not agree to any such requisition; but as he had long taught others to save their souls, he should now only think of his own salvation.

The governor, finding his persuasions vain, pronounced sentence against the venerable Christian, in these remarkable words: "I order and appoint, that Cyril, who has lost his senses, and is a declared enemy of our gods, shall be burnt alive."

The prelate heard his sentence without emotion, walked cheerfully to the place of execution, and underwent his martyrdom with great fortitude.

The persecution raged in no place more than in the island of Crete; for the governor, being exceedingly active in executing the imperial decrees, that place streamed with pious blood.

Theodulus, Saturnius, and Europus, inhabitants of Gortyna, who had been instructed in the Christian faith by Cyril, bishop of that city; with Eunicianus, Zeticus, Cleomenes, Agathopas, Bastides, and Euaristus, were

brought from different parts of the island on accusations relative to their professing Christianity.

Being brought into court, they were commanded to sacrifice to Jupiter, which they refused; on which the judge threatened them with the severest tortures imaginable; they unanimously answered, "That to suffer, for the sake of the Supreme Being, would to them be the sublimest of pleasures."

The judge then attempted to gain them by descanting on and recounting mythological histories. This gave the prisoners an opportunity of remarking on the absurdity of such fictions, and of pointing out the folly of paying adoration to ideal deities, and real images.

Irritated to hear his favourite idols ridiculed, the governor ordered the prisoners to be put to the rack; the tortures of which they sustained with surprising fortitude; they were beheaded on the same day, A. D. 251, triumphing over the fear of death.

Babylas, bishop of Antioch, A. D. 237, on the demise of Zebinus, acted with inimitable zeal, and governed the church with admirable prudence during the most tempestuous times.

The city having been besieged by Sapor, emperor of Persia, it was plundered and the Christian inhabitants used with greater severity than the rest.

His cruelties, however, were not lasting; for Gordian, the emperor, appearing at the head of a powerful army, Antioch was retaken, the Persians driven entirely out of Syria, pursued into their own country, and several places in the Persian territories fell into the emperor's hands.

But after Gordian's death, Decius, his successor, came to Antioch, where, having a desire to visit an assembly of Christians, Babylas opposed him, and absolutely refused to let him come in. The emperor dissembled his anger at that time; but soon sending for the bishop, he sharply reproved him for his insolence, and then ordered him to sacrifice to the Pagan deities as an expiation for his offence.

On his refusal, he was committed to prison, loaded with chains, treated with great severities, and then beheaded, together with three young men who had been his pupils.

As they went to the place of execution, the bishop exclaimed, "Behold me, and the children that the Lord hath given me." The chains worn by the bishop in prison were buried with him.

Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, was cast into prison, where he died by the severity of his confinement.

Serapian, at Alexandria, had his bones broken, and was then killed by being thrown from a high loft.

Julianus, a lame old man, and Cronion, were bound on the backs of camels, severely scourged, and then thrown into a fire and consumed. A person seeming to commiserate them, was ordered to be beheaded, as a punishment for entertaining sentiments of tenderness.

Macar, a Lybian, was burnt; Heron-ater and Isidorus, Egyptians, with Dioschorus, a boy of fifteen, after suffering many other torments, met with a similar fate; and Nemesion, another Egyptian, was first tried as a thief; but being acquitted, was accused of Christianity; and on his confession, he was scourged, tortured, and burnt.

Isehyrian, the Christian servant of an Egyptian nobleman, and magistrate, was run through with a pike by his own master, for refusing to sacrifice to idols; Venantius, a youth of fifteen, was martyred in Italy; and forty Virgins, at Antioch, after being imprisoned and scourged, were burnt!

During this year, the emperor Decius having erected a Pagan temple at Ephesus, commanded all who were in that city to sacrifice to the idols. This order was nobly refused by seven of his own soldiers, viz. Maximianus, Martianus, Joannes, Malchus, Dionysius, Seraion, and Constantinus.

The emperor, wishing to win these soldiers by intreaties and lenity, gave them a considerable respite till he returned from an expedition; but during his absence, they escaped, and hid themselves in a cavern; which the emperor being informed of at his return, the mouth of the cavern was closed up, and they all perished with hunger.

Theodora, a beautiful young lady of Antioch, on refusing to sacrifice to the idols, was condemned to the stews.

Didymus, a Christian, disguised himself in the habit of a Roman soldier, went to the house, informed Theodora who he was, and advised her to make her escape in his clothes.

This being effected, and a man found in the brothel instead of a beautiful lady, Didymus was taken before the president, to whom confessing the truth, and owning that he was a Christian, the sentence of death was immediately pronounced against him.

Theodora hearing that her deliverer was likely to suffer, came to the judge, threw herself at his feet, and begged that the sentence might fall only on her, as the guilty person; but deaf to the cries of the innocent, and insensible to the calls of justice, the inflexible judge condemned both; and they were executed, being first beheaded, and their bodies burnt.

Secundianus was conveyed to prison by soldiers. On the way, Verianus and Marcellinus said, "where are you carrying the innocent?" This interrogatory occasioned them also to be seized, and all three, after having been tortured, were hanged; and, when dead, their heads were cut off.

Origen, the celebrated presbyter and catechist of Alexandria, at the age of sixty-four, was seized, thrown into a loathsome prison, laden with heavy fetters, his feet placed in the stocks, and his legs extended to the utmost for several successive days. He was threatened with fire, and tormented by every means that the most infernal imagination could suggest. But unappalled with dangers, and unshaken by sufferings, his Christian fortitude bore him through all. Such was the rigour of his judge, that his tortures were ordered to be lingering, that death might not too soon put a period to his miseries. During this cruel temporizing, the emperor Decius died, and Gallus, who succeeded him, engaging in a war with the Goths, the Christians met with a respite. In this interim Origen obtained his enlargement, and retiring to Tyre, he there remained till his death, which happened when he was in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

Gallus, having concluded his wars, a plague broke out

in the empire: sacrifices to the Pagan deities were ordered by the emperour, and superstition immediately bowed the knee to idols.

The Christians refusing to comply with these rites, were charged with being the authors of the calamity; the storm of persecution spread, from the interior to the extreme parts of the empire, and many fell martyrs to the impetuosity of the rabble, as well as the prejudice of the magistrates.

Cornelius, bishop of Rome, was seized upon this occasion. He was first banished to Centum-Cellæ, now Civita Vecchia; and, after having been cruelly scourged, was, A. D. 252, beheaded, after having been bishop fifteen months and ten days.

Lucius succeeded Cornelius as bishop, was the son of Porphyrius, and a Roman by birth. His vigilance as a pastor, rendered him obnoxious to the foes of Christianity, which occasioned him to be banished; but in a short time he was permitted to return from exile.

Not long after, however, he was apprehended, after having been bishop about six months, and beheaded, A. D. 253. He was succeeded by Stephanus, who held the dignity a few years, and might probably have fallen a martyr, had not the emperour been murdered by his general Æmilian; a profound peace succeeded throughout the empire, and the persecution of course ceased.

Most of the errors which crept into the church at this time arose from placing human reason in competition with revelation; but the fallacy of such arguments being proved by the most able divines, the opinions they had created vanished away like stars before the sun.

CHAP. IX.

THE EIGHTH GENERAL PERSECUTION, UNDER THE ROMAN EMPEROURS.

Æmilian, the general, not being properly supported by the army, was slain, and Valerian elected to the empire.

For the space of four years this emperor governed with moderation, and treated the Christians with lenity and respect. But, A. D. 257, an Egyptian magician, named Macrianus, gained a great ascendancy over him, and persuaded him to be a persecutor.

Edicts being published, the ungovernable rage of ignorance and superstition was let loose against the Christians. This persecution continued for three years and six months.

The martyrs that fell during this horrid period were innumerable, and their tortures and deaths various and painful. The most eminent martyrs were the following, though neither rank, sex, or age were regarded.

Rufina and Secunda, two beautiful and accomplished ladies, were the daughters of Asterius, a citizen of eminence, in Rome. Rufina, the elder, was designed in marriage for Armentarius, a young nobleman; and Secunda, the younger, for Verinus, a person of rank and opulence.

The suitors, at the time of the persecutions commencing, were both Christians; but when danger appeared, to save their fortunes, they renounced their faith, and took great pains to persuade the ladies to do the same, but failed in their purpose. Rufina and Secunda, though too just to change their religious sentiments, were too diffident of their own strength to remain longer the objects of such solicitations; therefore, they left the city.

The suitors were base enough, on their disappointment, to inform against the ladies, who being apprehended as Christians, were brought before Junius Donatus governor of Rome, and having passed through several tortures, sealed their faith, A. D. 257, by being beheaded.

Stephen, bishop of Rome, was beheaded in the same year; and Saturnius, bishop of Thoulouse, being seized by the rabble of that place, for preventing, as they alleged, their oracles from speaking, and refusing to sacrifice to the idols, was treated with every barbarous indignity, and then fastened by the feet to the tail of a bull. Upon a signal given, the enraged animal was driven down the steps of the temple, by which the worthy martyr's brains were dashed out. The small number of Christians

in Thoulouse had not courage sufficient to carry off the dead body, but two women conveyed it away, and deposited it in a deep ditch.

Sextus succeeded Stephen as bishop of Rome, and had for some time served in the capacity of a deacon under Stephen. His great fidelity, singular wisdom, and uncommon courage, distinguished him upon many occasions; and the happy conclusion of a controversy with some heretics, is generally ascribed to his piety and prudence.

In the year 258, Marcianus, who had the management of the Roman government, procured an order from the emperor Valerian to put to death all the Christian clergy in Rome.

The senate testifying their obedience to the imperial mandate, Sextus was one of the first who felt the severity of the rescript. Cyprian tells us, that he was beheaded A. D. 258. Six of his deacons suffered with him, of whom the principal was—

Laurentius, generally called St. Laurence, who followed him to the place of execution; when Sextus predicted that he should three days after meet him in heaven. Laurentius looking upon this as a certain indication of his own approaching martyrdom, at his return, gathered together all the Christian poor, and distributed the treasures of the church, which had been committed to his care, among them; thinking the money could not be better disposed of, or less liable to fall into the hands of the Pagans.

The persecutors seized on him to make a discovery whence this liberality arose, and commanded him to give an immediate account to the emperor, of the church treasures.

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

Incensed at the disappointment, and thinking himself ridiculed, the governor ordered him to be immediately

scourged. He was then beat with iron rods, set upon a wooden horse, and his limbs dislocated. These tortures he endured with fortitude and perseverance; when he was ordered to be fastened to a large gridiron, over a slow fire, that his death might be more lingering.

His astonishing constancy during these trials, and under such excruciating torments, gave the spectators so exalted an idea of the dignity and truth of the Christian religion, that many became converts upon the occasion.

After laying, for some time, upon this burning bed, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and with calmness yielded his spirit to the Almighty, A. D. 258.

Romanus, a soldier who attended the martyrdom of Laurentius, was one of the converts to his sufferings and fortitude; for he could not help feeling the greatest veneration for that God who inspired his votaries with such courage, and rendered his martyrs superior to all the cruelties of their persecutors.

The brave Romanus, when the martyr Laurentius was remanded to prison, took that opportunity of fully enquiring into the nature of the Christian faith; and being entirely satisfied by Laurentius, became firmly a Christian, received his baptism from the captive, and seemed to have his mind impressed with a lively idea of the kingdom of Christ. The change of Romanus was soon known, he was apprehended, severely scourged, and afterwards beheaded.

Hypolitus was seized and suffered a similar death.

In Africa the persecution raged with peculiar violence; and thousands received the crown of martyrdom. The most distinguished characters were—

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, an eminent prelate, and a pious ornament of the church.

It is said that this prelate was so perfectly a master of the rules of rhetoric, and the precepts of logic, and so complete in the practice of elocution, and the principles of philosophy, that he was made professor of those sciences in his native city of Carthage, where he became so popular, and taught with such success, that many of his students afterwards became ornaments of polite learning.

In his youth he was educated in the principles of Gentilism, and having a considerable fortune, he lived in the extravagance of splendour. Gorgeous in attire, luxurious in feasting, vain of a numerous retinue, and fond of every kind of fashionable parade, he seemed to fancy that man was born to gratify all his appetites, and for pleasure.

About the year 246, Cœlius, a Christian minister of Carthage, became the instrument of Cyprian's conversion; on which account, and for the great love that he always afterwards bore for the author of his conversion, he was termed Cœlius Cyprian. The best account of his conversion is given in his own words:

“While,” says he, “I laid in darkness and uncertainty, I thought on what I had heard of, a second birth, proposed by the divine goodness; but could not comprehend how a man could receive a new life from his being sprinkled with water; cease to be what he was before, and still retain the same body. How, said I, can such a change be possible? How can he who is grown old in a worldly way of living, strip himself of his former inclinations, and inveterate habits? * * * I thought it was impossible for me to leave my former course of life, and the habits I was then engaged in, and accustomed to; but no sooner did the life-giving water wash the spots of my soul, than my heart received the heavenly light of the Holy Spirit, which transformed me into a new creature; all my difficulties were cleared, my doubts dissolved, and my darkness dispelled. I was then able to do what before seemed impossible; could discern that my former life was earthly and sinful, according to the impurity of my birth; but that my spiritual birth gave me new ideas and inclinations, and directed all my views to God.”

Previous to his baptism he studied the Scriptures with care; and being struck with the beauties of the truths they contained, he determined to practise the virtues therein recommended. Subsequent to his baptism he sold his estate, distributed the money among the poor, dressed himself in plain attire, and commenced a life of austerity.

He was soon after made a presbyter; and being greatly admired for his virtues, and his works, on the death of

Donatus, in A. D. 248, he was unanimously elected bishop of Carthage.

Cyprian's care extended not only over Carthage, but to Numidia and Mauritania.

A. D. 250, Cyprian was publicly proscribed by the emperor Decius, under the appellation of Cœlius Cyprian, bishop of the Christians; and the universal cry of the Pagans was, "Cyprian to the lions—Cyprian to the beasts."

The bishop, upon this, withdrew himself from the rage of the populace, and his effects were confiscated.

In his retirement he wrote thirty pious and elegant letters to his flock, on account of several schisms that had crept into the church, which gave him great uneasiness; but the rigour of the persecution abating, he returned to Carthage, and did every thing in his power to expunge those erroneous opinions.

A terrible plague breaking out at Carthage, it was, as usual, laid to the charge of the Christians; and the magistrates began to persecute, which occasioned an epistle from them to Cyprian, in answer to which he vindicates the cause of Christianity.

A. D. 257, Cyprian was brought before the pro-consul Aspasius Paturnus, when being commanded to conform to the religion of the empire, he boldly made a confession of his faith, and avowed his Christianity. This, however, did not occasion his death, but an order for his banishment to a little city on the Lybian sea. On the death of this pro-consul, he returned to Carthage, but was soon after seized and carried before the new governor, who condemned him to be beheaded, which sentence was executed on the 14th of September, A. D. 258.

The disciples of Cyprian martyred in this persecution were, Lucius, Flavian, Victoricus, Remus, Montanus, Julian, Primulus, Donation.

At Utica a most terrible tragedy was exhibited. Three hundred Christians were, by the orders of the pro-consul, placed round a burning lime-kiln. A pan of coals and incense being prepared, they were commanded either to sacrifice to Jupiter, or to be thrown into the kiln.—Unanimously refusing, they bravely jumped into the pit, and were immediately suffocated.

Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragon in Spain, and his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, were burnt.

Alexander, Malchus, and Priscus, of Palestine, with a woman of the same place, voluntarily accused themselves, on which account they were sentenced to be devoured by tygers.

Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda, three virgins of Turburga, had gall and vinegar given them to drink, were then severely scourged, tormented on a gibbet, rubbed with lime, scorched on a gridiron, worried by wild beasts, and at length beheaded.

Pontius, a native of the city of Simela, near the Alps, being apprehended, was tortured on the rack, worried by wild beasts, half burnt, then beheaded, and lastly thrown into the river. Protus and Hyacinthus suffered martyrdom also for the sake of Christ.

But it is time to speak of the singular and miserable fate of the emperour Valerian, who had so long and so terribly persecuted the Christians.

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

After having kept him, for the space of seven years, in this abject state of slavery, he caused his eyes to be put out, though he was then eighty-three years of age.

This not satiating his desire of revenge, he soon after ordered his body to be flayed alive, and rubbed with salt, under which torments he expired; and thus fell one of the most tyrannical emperours of Rome, and one of the greatest persecutors of the Christians.

Gallienus, the son of Valerian, succeeded him A. D. 263, and during his reign, the empire suffered many commotions, particularly earthquakes, pestilence, inundations, incursions of barbarians, and intestine broils.

Gallienus, however, having reflected that when his

father favoured the Christians he prospered, and that when he persecuted them he was unsuccessful, determined to relax the persecution; so that (a few martyrs excepted) the church enjoyed peace for some years. The chief of the few martyrs alluded to, was the following:

Marnius, a centurion, who being apprehended, had but three hours allowed him to deliberate, whether he would sacrifice to the Pagan deities, or become a martyr? Being wavering during this interval, a Christian prelate placed the gospel and a sword before him, and demanded which he would choose. Marnius without hesitation took the sword.

Going again to the Governor, he made a noble confession of his faith, for which he was beheaded, A. D. 262.

CHAP. X.

THE NINTH GENERAL PERSECUTION UNDER THE ROMAN EMPEROURS.

The emperour Aurelian commenced a persecution against the Christians A. D. 274; the principal sufferers being the following:

Felix, bishop of Rome, was the first martyr to Aurelian's petulancy, being beheaded in the year 274.

Agapetus, a young patrician who sold his estate, and gave the money to the poor, was seized as a Christian, tortured, and beheaded at Præneste, a city within a day's journey of Rome.

These are the only martyrs left upon record during this short reign, the emperour being murdered by his own domesticks, at Byzantium.

Aurelian was succeeded by Tacitus, Probus, and Carus; this emperour being killed by a thunder storm, his sons, Carnius and Numerian, succeeded him; and during all these reigns the church had peace.

Dioclesian mounting the imperial throne A. D. 284, at first showed great favour to the Christians. In the year 286 he associated Maximian with him in the empire; and

some Christians were put to death before any general persecution broke out. Among these were—

Felician and Primus, two brothers, who were seized by an order from the imperial court; having owned themselves Christians, were scourged, tortured, and beheaded.

Marcus and Marcellianus, twin brothers, were natives of Rome, and of a noble descent. Their parents were heathens; but the tutors to whom the education of the children had been entrusted, brought them up as Christians. These youths being apprehended on account of their faith, were severely tortured, and then condemned to lose their heads.

Their friends obtained for them the respite of a month, when their father, mother, and all their relations, attempted to bring them back to Paganism, but in vain; the calls of nature were overcome by piety, and religion got the better of worldly feelings. Their constancy at length subdued their persuaders, and their parents and whole family became converts to a faith they had just before reprobated.

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

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

Zoe, the wife of the gaoler, who had the care of these martyrs, being greatly edified by their discourses, had a desire to become a Christian. This, as she was dumb with a palsy, she could only express by gestures. Pitying her condition, they gave her full instructions in their faith, and told her to pray in her heart to God to relieve her from her disorder. She complied with their request, and was at length relieved; for her paralytic disorder by degrees left her, and her speech was restored. This miracle enforced her belief, and confirmed her in the Christian faith; and her husband finding her cured, soon became a convert to Christianity. These conversions made a great noise, and the converts were soon apprehended. Zoe was commanded to sacrifice to Mars; and on her refusal, was hanged upon a tree, and a fire of straw lighted under her. When her body was taken down, it was thrown into a river with a large stone tied to it.

Tibertius, a native of Rome, descended from a considerable family, was accused as a Christian, and commanded either to sacrifice to idols, or to walk upon burning coals. He chose the latter, and passed over them without dread; when sentence was passed upon him that he should be beheaded, A. D 286; his body was afterwards buried by some Christians.

In the year of Christ 286, a most remarkable circumstance occurred: a legion of soldiers, consisting of 6666 men, contained none but Christians. This legion was called the Theban legion, because the men had been raised in Thebais. They were quartered in the east, till the emperour Maximian ordered them to march to Gaul, to assist him against the rebels of Burgundy. They passed the Alps into Gaul, under the command of Mauritius, Candidus, and Exuperis, their worthy commanders, and at length joined the emperour.

Maximain about this time ordered a general sacrifice, at which the whole army were to assist; and likewise he commanded that they should take oaths of allegiance, and swear at the same time to assist him in the extirpation of Christianity in Gaul.

Alarmed at these orders, each individual of the Theban

legion absolutely refused either to sacrifice or take the oaths prescribed. This so greatly enraged Maximian, that he ordered the legion to be decimated, on which every tenth man was selected from the rest, and put to the sword.

This bloody order having been put into execution, those who remained alive were still inflexible, when a second decimation took place, and every tenth man of those living were again put to death.

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

A declaration like this, should have softened the em-

perour, but it had the contrary effect; for, enraged at their perseverance and unanimity, he commanded that the whole legion should be put to death, which was accordingly executed by the other troops, who cut them to pieces with their swords.

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

Victor, an old veteran soldier of another legion, met the executioners of this bloody business. As they appeared rather merry, he enquired into the cause of their jocularity, and being informed of the whole affair, he sharply reproved them for their barbarity. This excited their curiosity to ask him if he was of the same faith of those who had suffered. On answering in the affirmative, several of the soldiers fell upon him, and immediately despatched him.

Alban, from whom St. Alban's received its name, was the first British martyr. This island had received the gospel during the reign of Lucius, the first Christian king, and did not suffer by the rage of persecution for many years after.

Alban was originally a Pagan, but naturally of a very humane and tender disposition; he sheltered a Christian ecclesiastic, named Amphibalus, when some officers were in pursuit of him on account of his religion.

The pious example, and edifying discourses of the refugee, made a great impression on the mind of Alban; he wished to become a member of a religion which charmed him, and to imitate what he admired. The fugitive minister, happy in the opportunity, took great pains to instruct him; and perfected Alban's conversion.

Alban now took a firm resolution to preserve the sentiments of a Christian, or die the death of a martyr. The enemies of Amphibalus having intelligence of the place where he was secreted, came to the house of Alban in order to apprehend him. Alban desirous of protecting the guest by whom he had been converted, changed clothes with him, in order to facilitate his escape; and when the

soldiers came, offered himself up as the person they were seeking for.

Being carried before the governor, the deceit was immediately discovered; and Amphibalus being absent, that officer determined to wreak all his vengeance upon Alban.

The prisoner was accordingly commanded to advance to the altar, and to sacrifice to the Pagan deities; or threatened in case of refusal, with the vengeance intended to be exercised against the person who had escaped by his contrivance.

Unterrified by these menaces, he declared that he would not comply with such idolatrous injunctions, but freely professed himself to be a Christian; upon this the governour ordered him to be scourged, which he bore with great fortitude, and seemed to acquire new strength by his sufferings. He then was sentenced to be beheaded.

Faith was a Christian female, of Aquitain, whilst Dacian presided as governour of Gaul, during the reign of Maximian in Aquitain, and was very active in persecuting the Christians.

Faith, being informed that there was a design to seize her, forestalled the intention by surrendering herself up; and being inflexible in her faith, was ordered to be broiled upon a gridiron, and then beheaded; which sentence was executed in the year 287.

Capacius concealed himself from the persecutors of Christianity, but being informed of the fortitude of Faith, openly avowed his religion, and delivered himself up to the governour, who ordered him to be tortured, and then beheaded.

Quintin, a native of Rome, determined to attempt the propagation of the gospel in Gaul, and went to Picardy attended by Lucian. They preached together at Amiens; after which Lucian went to another province, where he was martyred.

Quintin remained in Picardy, and was very zealous in his ministry. Being apprehended as a Christian, he was stretched with pullies till his joints were dislocated. His body was then torn with wire scourges, and boiling oil and pitch poured on his naked flesh; lighted torches were

applied to his sides and arm-pits; and after he had been thus tortured, he was remanded back to prison.

Varus, the governour, being obliged to repair to Vermandois, ordered Quintin to be conducted thither under a strong guard, where he died of the barbarities he had suffered, A. D. 287, and his body was sunk in the Somme.

CHAP. XI.

THE TENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION, OF THE CHRISTIANS;
UNDER THE ROMAN EMPEROURS, COMMONLY CALLED
THE ÆRA OF THE MARTYRS.

Many reasons have been assigned for this persecution; but the principal was the great increase of the Christians, whose numbers had rendered them formidable; so that many of them, by a false security, having lost their humility, and given themselves up to vanity, created the envy and hatred of Galerius, the adopted son of Dioclesian, who being stimulated by his mother, a bigoted Pagan, never ceased persuading the emperour to enter upon the persecution.

The fatal day fixed upon to commence the bloody work, was that in which the Terminalia were celebrated (about February 23) A. D. 303, on which, as the Pagans boasted, they hoped to put a termination to Christianity.

The persecution began in Nicomedia, in the morning of which, the Prefect of that city repaired, with a great number of officers and assistants, to the church of the Christians, where having forced open the doors, they seized upon all the sacred books, and committed them to the flames.

The whole of this transaction was encouraged by the presence of Dioclesian and Galcrius, who, not contented with burning the books, caused the church to be levelled with the ground. This was followed by a severe edict commanding the destruction of all other Christian churches and books; and an order succeeded to render Christians of all denominations outlaws, and consequently to make

them incapable of holding any place of trust, profit, or dignity, or of receiving any protection from the legal institutions of the realm.

The publication of this edict occasioned an immediate martyrdom; for a bold Christian not only tore it down from the place to which it was affixed, but execrated the name of the emperor for his injustice.

Such a provocation was sufficient to call down Pagan vengeance upon his head; he was seized, severely tortured, and then burnt alive.

All the Christian prelates were apprehended, and imprisoned; and Galerius privately ordered the imperial palace to be set on fire, that the Christians might be charged as the incendiaries, and a plausible pretence given for carrying on the persecution with the greatest severities.

A general sacrifice was then commanded, which occasioned various martyrdoms. Among others, a Christian, named Peter, was tortured, broiled, and then burnt; several deacons and Presbyters were seized, and executed by various means; and the bishop of Nicomedia, named Anthimus, was beheaded.

No distinction was made either to age or sex; the name of Christian was so obnoxious to the Pagans, that all fell indiscriminately sacrifices to their opinions. Houses were set on fire, and whole Christian families perished in the flames, others had stones fastened about their necks, and being tied together were driven into the sea. The persecution became general in all the Roman provinces, but more particularly in the east; and as it lasted ten years it is impossible to ascertain the numbers martyred, or to enumerate the various modes of martyrdom. Some were beheaded in Arabia; many devoured by wild beasts in Phœnicia; great numbers were broiled on gridirons in Syria; others had their bones broken in Cappadocia, and in that manner were left to expire; and several in Mesopotamia were hung with their heads downward over slow fires, and suffocated.

In Pontus, a variety of tortures were used, pins were thrust under the nails of the prisoners, melted lead was

poured upon them: and modes adopted in tormenting the Christians, the indecency of which could be only equalled by the savage barbarities practised in their execution.

In Egypt some of the Christians were buried alive in the earth, others drowned in the waters of the Nile, many were hung up in the air till they perished, and great numbers received their death by being thrown into large fires.

Racks, scourges, swords, daggers, crosses, poison, and famine, were made use of in various parts to despatch the Christians; and invention was exhausted to devise tortures against such as had no crime, except thinking differently from the votaries of superstition.

A city of Phrygia, consisting entirely of Christians, was surrounded by a number of Pagan soldiers, to prevent any from escaping; who setting it on fire, all the inhabitants perished in the flames. But though the sufferings of Christians were many, their souls were serene; a perfect resignation being one of the greatest Christian duties.

Tired with slaughter, at length, several governors of provinces represented to the imperial court, that, "it was unfit to pollute the cities with the blood of the inhabitants, or to defame the government of the emperours with the death of so many subjects." Hence many were respited from execution, but though they were not put to death, every possible method was used to render their lives miserable.

Thus, as marks of infamy, many of the Christians had their ears cut off, their noses slit, their right eyes put out, their limbs rendered useless by dreadful dislocations, and their flesh seared in conspicuous places with red-hot irons.

Sebastian, who was born at Narbonne in Gaul, instructed in the principles of Christianity at Milan, afterwards became an officer of the emperour's guard at Rome. He remained a true Christian in the midst of idolatry; unallured by the splendours of a court, untainted by evil examples, and uncontaminated by the hopes of preferment. Esteemed by the most eminent, beloved by his equals, and admired by his inferiors, he lived happily, and kept

his faith and place, till the rigour of the persecution pursued him to destruction.

He was betrayed to Fabian, the Roman pretor, by Torquatus, a pretended Christian; but being of a rank too considerable to be put to death without the emperor's express orders, Dioclesian was acquainted with the circumstance.

The emperor, on hearing the accusation, sent for Sebastian, and charged him with ingratitude "in betraying the confidence reposed in him, and being an enemy to the gods of the empire and to him."

Sebastian replied, "that his religion was of a good, not a pernicious tendency, and that it did not stimulate him to any thing against the welfare of the empire in general, or the emperor in particular, and that the greatest proof he could give of his fidelity, was the praying to the only true God for the health and prosperity of his imperial person." Incensed at this reply, the emperor ordered him to be taken to a field near the city, termed the Campus Martius, and there to be shot to death with arrows.

Some pious Christians coming to the place of execution, in order to give his body burial, perceived signs of life in him, and immediately removed him to a place of security, and in a short time they effected his recovery; but they only prepared him for a second martyrdom; for as soon as he was able to go out, he placed himself intentionally in the emperor's way as he was going to the temple.

The appearance of a person supposed to be effectually dead, greatly astonished the emperor, nor did the words of the martyr less surprise him, when he began with great severity to reprehend him for his various cruelties, and for his unreasonable prejudices against Christianity.

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

means to recover it from the sewer, and bury it in the catacombs, or repositories of the dead.

About this period the Christians, upon mature considerations, thought it unlawful to bear arms under a heathen emperour. Their reasons were many and substantial; the principal being:

1. "That they thereby were frequently under the necessity of profaning the Christian sabbath.

2. "That they were obliged, with the rest of the army, frequently to be present at idolatrous sacrifices, before the temples of idols.

3. "That they were compelled to follow the Imperial standards, which were dedicated to heathen deities, and bore their representations."

These reasons induced many to refuse entering into the Imperial army, the Roman constitution obliging all young men of a certain stature, to make several campaigns. However mistaken such a notion might be in a civil sense, it was a religious scruple, and did not merit the dreadful persecution which ensued. The first victim of this refusal, was Maximilian, the son of Fabius Victor, who being pointed out as a proper person to bear arms, was ordered by Dion, the pro-consul, to be measured, in order to be enlisted in the service. Maximilian, however, absolutely refused to be enlisted, and boldly declared himself a Christian.

Being found of the standard height, Dion gave directions that he should be marked as a soldier according to the usual custom. He, however, strenuously opposed this, and told Dion that he could not possibly engage in the service.

Incensed at his conduct, the pro-consul plainly told him, that he should either serve as a soldier, or die for his disobedience. "Do as you please with me (replied Maximilian;) behead me if you think proper; I am already a soldier of Christ, and cannot serve any other power."

Perceiving the inflexibility of the young man, Dion commanded his father to use his authority over him, in order to persuade him to comply; but Victor coolly replied, "my son knows best what he has to do."

The pro-consul again demanded of Maximilian, with some acrimony, if he was yet disposed to receive the mark? to which the young man replied, he had already received the mark of Christ. "Have you! (exclaimed the pro-consul in a rage) then I shall quickly send you to Christ." "As soon as you please (answered Maximilian,) that is all I wish or desire."

Dion then seeming to soften, represented to him that it was a great pity he should be lost in the prime of his years. Maximilian replied, that he might die, but should not be lost; for though he left the world, his immortal soul would reside eternally with the Almighty. On which the pro-consul pronounced this sentence upon him, "that for disobedience in refusing to bear arms, and for professing the Christian faith, he should loose his head." This sentence he heard with great intrepidity, and exclaimed, with apparent rapture, "God be praised!"

At the place of execution, he exhorted those who were Christians to remain so; and such as were not, to embrace a faith which led to eternal glory.

Then turning to his father, with a cheerful countenance, he desired that the military habit intended for him might be given to the executioner; and, after taking leave of him, said, he hoped they should meet again in the other world, and be happy to all eternity. He then received the fatal stroke, and crown of martyrdom.

The father beheld the execution with amazing fortitude, and saw the head of his heroic son severed from the body, without any visible emotions, but such as seemed to proceed from a conscious pleasure, in being the parent of one whose piety and courage rendered him so shining an example for Christians to imitate.

Vitus was a Sicilian of a considerable family, whose virtues increased with his years, his constancy supported him under all afflictions, and his faith was superior to the most dangerous perils.

His father Hylas, a Pagan, finding that his son had been instructed in the principles of Christianity, by the nurse who brought him up, used all his endeavours to bring him back to Paganism. Failing in his design, he forgot all the

feelings of a parent, and impeached his son to Valerian, governor of Sicily, then very active in persecuting the Christians.

Vitus, at the time of his apprehension, was little more than twelve years of age; Valerian, therefore, on account of his tender age, thought to terrify him out of his faith. He was, with great anger, accordingly threatened, and ordered to be scourged severely.

Having received his punishment, the governor sent him back to his father, thinking that what he had suffered would certainly make him change his principles; but in this he was mistaken: and Hylas, finding his son inflexible, suffered parental feelings to be subdued by superstition, and determined to sacrifice his son to the idols.

Vitus, on being apprized of this horrid design, escaped to Lucania, where he was discovered, seized, and by order of Valerian, put to death, A. D. 303. Crescentia, the nurse who brought him up as a Christian, and a person who escaped with him, named Modestus, were martyred at the same time.

Victor resided at *Marseilles*, in France; and spent a great part of the night in visiting the afflicted, and confirming the weak; which pious work he, consistently with his own safety, performed in the night; and his fortune he spent in relieving the distresses of poor Christians.

At length he was seized by the emperor's orders, and carried before two prefects, who advised him to embrace Paganism, and not forfeit the favour of his prince on account of a dead man, as they styled Christ. In answer, he replied, "that he preferred the service of that dead man, who was in reality the Son of God, and was risen from the grave, to all the advantages he could receive from the emperor's favour: that he was a soldier of Christ, and would therefore take care that the post he held under an earthly prince should never interfere with his duty to the King of heaven; and that as for the gods, whose worship they recommended to him, he could not think them any better than evil spirits."

For this reply he was loaded with reproaches, but being a man of rank he was sent to the emperor, who commanded him to sacrifice to the Roman idols.

On his absolute refusal to comply, Maximian ordered him to be bound and dragged through the streets, where he was treated with all manner of cruelties and indignities by the enraged populace.

Remaining inflexible, he was ordered to be stretched upon the rack, when turning his eyes towards heaven, he prayed to God to endue him with patience; after which he underwent the tortures with admirable fortitude. The executioners being tired of inflicting torment on him, he was taken from the rack, and conveyed to a close dark dungeon.

His confinement, however, became a fortunate circumstance, for he converted his gaolers, Alexander, Felician, and Longinus. This coming to the ears of the emperour, he ordered them immediately to be beheaded.

Victor was then again put to the rack, and unmercifully beaten with batons, and then again remanded to prison.

Being a third time examined concerning his religion, he persevered in his principles; a small altar was then brought, and he was commanded to offer incense upon it immediately. Fired with indignation at the request, he boldly stepped forward, and with his foot overthrew both altar and idol.

This so enraged the emperour Maximian, who was present, that he ordered the foot with which he had kicked the altar, to be immediately cut off; and Victor was afterwards sentenced to be thrown into a mill, and crushed to pieces with the stones.

This cruel sentence was in some measure put into execution; Victor was thrown into the mill, but part of the apparatus breaking, he was drawn from it terribly bruised; and the emperour not having patience to stay till it was mended, ordered his head to be struck off, which was executed A. D. 303.

Maximus, governor of Silicia, being at Tarsus, three Christians were brought before him by Demetrius, a military officer.

Tarachus, the eldest, and first in rank, was addressed

first by Maximus, who asked him what he was? The prisoner replied, "a Christian." This reply offended the governor; who again made the same demand, and was answered in a similar manner.

The governor then told him, that he ought to sacrifice to the gods, as that was the only way to promotion, riches, and honours; and that the emperours themselves did what was recommended to be done by him.

To this Tarachus replied, "that avarice was a sin, and gold itself an idol as abominable as any other; for it promoted frauds, treacheries, robberies, and murders; it induced men to deceive each other, by which in time they deceived themselves, and bribed the weak to their own eternal destruction. As for promotion he desired it not, as he could not in conscience accept of any place, office, or post, which would subject him to pay adoration to idols; and with regard to honours, he desired not greater than the honourable title of Christian!"

For this boldness, his jaws were ordered to be broken, that the parts which uttered the words should suffer for their supposed impropriety. He was then stripped, scourged, loaded with chains, and thrown into a dismal dungeon, to remain there till the trial of the other prisoners.

Probus was then brought before Maximus, to whom the prisoner boldly declared, that the most valuable name he could boast of was that of a Christian; but that the usual appellation by which he was distinguished was Probus; that his father was a Thracian, and that himself was born at Sida, in Pamphylia.

Maximus replied to this in the following words:

"Your name of Christian will be of little service to you, be therefore guided by me; sacrifice to the gods, engage my friendship, and the emperour's favour."

Probus nobly answered, "that as he had relinquished a considerable fortune to become a servant to Christ, it might appear evident, that he neither cared for his friendship, or the emperour's favour.

He was, by the governor's order, then scourged; and Demetrius, the officer, observing to him how his blood

flowed, advised him to comply; but his only answer was, "that those severities were agreeable to him." "What! (cries Maximus,) does he still persist in his madness?" To which Probus rejoined, "that character is badly bestowed on one who refuses to worship idols, or what is worse, devils."

He was then committed to gaol, loaded with irons, and his hands and feet stretched upon the stocks.

Andronicus was next brought up, when being asked the usual questions, he said, "I am a Christian, a native of Ephesus, and descended from one of the first families in that city." After much altercation, in which the governor was unsuccessful in endeavouring to dissuade him from his faith, he was ordered to undergo punishments similar to those of Tarachus and Probus, and then remanded to prison.

After being confined some days, the three prisoners were brought before Maximus again, who began first to reason with Tarachus, saying, "that as old age was honoured from the supposition of its being accompanied by wisdom, he was in hopes that what had already past must, upon deliberation, have caused a change in his sentiments." Finding himself, however, mistaken, he ordered him to be tortured by various means; fire was placed in the palms of his hands; he was hung up by his feet and smoked with wet straw; a mixture of salt and vinegar was poured into his nostrils; and he was then again remanded to prison.

Probus being then called for, and asked if he would sacrifice, replied, "I come better prepared than before; for what I have already suffered has only confirmed and strengthened me in my resolution. Employ your whole power upon me, and you will find, that neither you, nor your masters, the emperours, nor the gods whom you serve, nor the devil who is your father, shall oblige me to adore gods whom I know not."

The governor then attempted to reason with him on religious subjects: for having a slender education he was proud of showing his talents. He launched forth into the most extravagant praises of the Pagan deities, and as he

enumerated them, described their respective powers, and separate virtues; and inferred, from what himself had said, that such deities, possessed of such admirable qualities, ought to be worshipped. "However," continues he, "as your chief objection is against a plurality of Gods, I will not press you to sacrifice to all of them: sacrifice only to Jupiter, the chief, the most powerful, and most invincible of our deities."

Probus easily confuted his arguments, turned his casuistry to ridicule, and in particular said, "shall I pay divine honours to Jupiter, to one who married his own sister to an infamous debauchee, as is even acknowledged by your own poets and priests?"

Incensed at this speech the governor ordered him to be struck upon the mouth, for uttering what he called blasphemy: his body was then seared with hot irons; he was put to the rack, and afterwards scourged; his head was shaved, and coals placed upon the crown; and after all these tortures, he was again sent to confinement.

These three worthy Christians were brought to a third examination, when they retained their constancy, were again tortured, and at length ordered for execution.

Being brought to the amphitheatre, several beasts were let loose upon them: but none of the animals would touch them. This so greatly irritated Maximus, that he severely reprehended the keeper, and ordered him to produce a beast that would execute the business for which he was wanted. The keeper then brought out a large bear, that had that very day destroyed three men; but this creature, and a fierce lioness, both refused to touch the prisoners.

Finding the design of destroying them by the means of wild beasts ineffectual, Maximus ordered them to be slain by a sword, which was executed A. D. 303.

Romanus was a native of Palestine, and deacon of the church of Cæsarea, at the time of the commencement of Dioclesian's persecution. Being at Antioch when the Imperial order arrived for sacrificing to idols, he was greatly afflicted to see many Christians, through fear, submit to the idolatrous mandate, and deny their faith to preserve their lives; he censured some of the recreants

for their conduct, for which they informed against him to the governor. Before the tribunal, he boldly confessed himself a Christian, and said he was ready and willing to suffer any thing inflicted upon him on account of his faith.

Being condemned, he was scourged, put to the rack, his body torn with hooks, his flesh cut with knives, his face scarified, his teeth beat from their sockets, and his hair plucked up by the roots. Thus cruelly mangled, he turned to the governor, and very calmly thanked him for what he had done, and for having opened so many mouths to preach the doctrines of Christianity. He was then strangled; dying in hope of endless life in heaven, A. D. 303.

Marcellinus, an ecclesiastick at Rome, being apprehended on account of his religion, was ordered to be privately beheaded in a forest.

Peter, a Christian, apprehended for the same cause, was executed at the same time and place.

Much about this period Smaragdus, Largus, and Cyriacus, a deacon of the Christian church, were martyred.

Susanna, niece of Caius, bishop of Rome, having been solicited by the emperour Dioclesian to marry a noble Pagan, who was nearly related to him, refused the honour intended, on account of her religion, which so greatly enraged the emperour, that he ordered her to be beheaded.

Dorotheus, high chamberlain of the household to Dioclesian, was a Christian, and took great pains to make converts. In his religious labours he was joined by Gorgonius, another Christian, and one belonging to the palace. They were both high in the emperour's favour, but soon had an opportunity of evincing, that worldly honours and temporary pleasures were nothing when set in competition with the joys of immortality; for being informed against, they were first tortured and then strangled.

Peter, an eunuch belonging to the emperour, was a Christian of singular modesty and humility. His humility caused him to undertake any menial office to serve the afflicted; and his benevolence occasioned him to give whatever he possessed to those who needed assistance; convinced that riches did not constitute happiness, and that want could give instructions that wealth could never bestow.

Being informed against as a Christian, and confessing the charge, he was scourged till his flesh was torn in a most terrible manner; and then salt with vinegar was thrown upon his wounds. Having endured these tortures with the utmost patience, he was laid on a gridiron, and broiled over a slow fire, till he expired.

Cyprian, known by the title of the Magician, to distinguish him from Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was a native of Antioch. He received a liberal education in his youth, and particularly applied himself to astrology; after which he travelled for improvement through Greece, Egypt, India, &c.

Having finished his studies, he settled near Babylon; and, being skilled in the Chaldean mysteries, he perverted his talents in endeavouring to draw women from chastity and conjugal faith, in persecuting the Christians, and in ridiculing their faith.

He became acquainted with Justina, a young lady of Antioch, whose birth, beauty, and accomplishments, rendered her an object of admiration.

This lady had been educated in idolatry; but being happily converted to Christianity, she induced her father and mother to embrace the same faith. Her modesty and her prudence were extremely commendable. A Pagan gentleman falling in love with her, and not being able to obtain a favourable return to his addresses, applied to Cyprian for assistance.

Cyprian undertook the design with a treacherous intent; and, under the pretence of acting for his friend, determined, if possible, to possess the lady himself. To effect this, he employed all his skill, and essayed a variety of infernal contrivances; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he was fully convinced that a superior power protected her from his machinations.

His reflections, on this account, awakened him to search into the truths of Christianity; and his research became so beneficial, that he renounced the errors of Paganism, and embraced a faith, of the excellency of which he could not fail to be convinced.

The repentance of Cyprian was sincere. He deter-

mined to reform his conduct, and to make all amends in his power for the crimes he had committed. Eusebius, a Christian, confirmed him in this resolution, and prevented him from falling into despair for his past follies.

Cyprian burnt his books of astrology and magic, received baptism, and became animated with a powerful spirit of grace. The conversion of Cyprian had a great effect on the Pagan gentleman who paid his addresses to Justina, and he, in a short time, embraced Christianity.

During this persecution, Cyprian and Justina were seized upon as Christians; when the former was torn with pincers, and the latter cruelly scourged; and after suffering other torments, both were beheaded.

Sergius, an officer in the Roman army, attended the emperor Maximian into Syria. Being accused as a Christian, he was ordered to sacrifice to Jupiter; but refusing to perform any such idolatrous command, he was stripped of his military habit, and, by way of derision, dressed in women's clothes. He was then forced to walk a considerable way with nails in his sandals, and a conclusion was put to his sufferings by being beheaded.

Bacchus, an officer of the same rank as Sergius, being apprehended at the same time, underwent similar sufferings, and was beheaded on the same day, A. D. 303.

Eulalia, a Spanish lady, of a Christian family, was remarkable, in her youth, for a sweetness of temper, and solidity of understanding. Being apprehended as a Christian, the magistrate attempted, by mild means, to bring her over to Paganism; but she answered him in so determined a manner, and ridiculed the Pagan deities with such asperity, that the judge, incensed at her behaviour, ordered her to be tortured.

Her sides were torn by hooks, and her breasts burnt in the most shocking manner, till the fire catching her head and face, she expired by the violence of the flame.

In 304, the emperor Dioclesian falling ill, the persecution was deputed to Galerius, and the governours of the several provinces, when the following fell victims to the infernal malice of the persecutors:

Vincent, a Spanish Christian, educated by Valerius,

bishop of Saragossa, who, on account of his great merit, ordained him a deacon. When the persecution reached Spain, Dacian, the governour of Tarragona, ordered Valerius, the bishop, and Vincent, the deacon, to be seized, loaded with irons, and imprisoned.

They were examined with great asperity, and threatened with death, unless they renounced their principles.— Vincent, undertaking to speak for both, as Valerius had an impediment in his speech, delivered himself with great freedom, and avowed their full determination to persist in the faith.

Dacian, in a rage declared, that, unless he immediately burnt incense to the gods, he should fall a sacrifice to the contempt he had expressed.

The prisoners being firm in their resolutions, Valerius was banished, and the whole of the governour's rage directed against Vincent, who was racked, his limbs dislocated, his flesh torn with iron hooks, and being laid on a gridiron, had not only a fire placed under it, but spikes at the top, which run into his flesh. In this situation, while broiling over the fire, he was tormented with red-hot irons, or salamanders; and then salt was thrown over the wounds and scarified places.

These torments neither destroying him, nor changing his resolutions, he was remanded to prison, and confined in a small loathsome dark dungeon, which, to make it the more disagreeable, was strewed with sharp flints, and pieces of broken glass. Orders were given not to suffer him to have any provisions whatever, and that the news of his death should be carried to Dacian as soon as known.

The keepers, by the time they thought him famished, entered the dungeon, when, instead of seeing only a corpse, as they expected, they beheld, to their great astonishment, Vincent at prayers, his wounds healed, and his body in tolerable health.

This speedy recovery and preservation had such an effect upon the keepers, that it became the happy means of their conversion.

Dacian, however, abandoned to the hardness of his heart, and impenetrable to conviction, instead of being

softened by these uncommon circumstances, was enraged at the triumph of Vincent over his cruelties; and gave orders for new tortures to be prepared for him, of so severe a nature, as to make him sink under them.

Here, however, malice was again disappointed; for, before the instruments could be prepared, God took him to himself; and he died with all the serenity of a good conscience, and with as much calmness, as if he had only sunk into a gentle slumber.

The persecution of Dioclesian began particularly to rage in Africa in this year, when many Christians were put to cruel tortures, and the most painful and ignominious deaths. The most eminent of whom are thus enumerated:

Saturninus, a priest of Albitina, a town of Africa, was accustomed to officiate in his clerical capacity, preach, and administer the sacrament to a society of Christians, privately assembled at the house of Octavius Felix; the severity of the times being such, that they could not publicly perform their religious duties.

Saturninus, with four of his children, and several other persons, were apprehended; and that their punishment might be the more exemplary and public, they were sent to Carthage, the capital of Africa; where they were examined before Anulinus, the pro-consul of the province.

Saturninus gave such spirited answers, and vindicated the Christian religion with such force of eloquence, as showed that he was worthy to preside over an assembly that professed a faith of purity and truth. Anulinus, enraged at his superior arguments, which he could not confute, ordered him to be stopped from saying any more, by being put to a variety of tortures, such as scourging, tearing his flesh with hooks, burning with hot irons, &c. All this he bore with the most manly patience.

After being tortured, he was remanded to prison, and there starved to death.

The four children of Saturninus, after being variously tormented, remained steady in their faith, on which they were sent back to the dungeon in which their father was confined, and shared the same fate as their parent.

Eight other Christians were tortured on the same day

as Saturninus, and much in the same manner. Two expired on the spot through the severity of their sufferings; and the other six being sent back to prison, were suffocated by means of the closeness of the dungeon.

Dativus, a noble Roman senator, Thelico, a pious Christian, Victoria, a young lady, with some others of less consideration, who had been all auditors of Saturninus, were seized at the time he was, tortured in a similar manner, and perished by the same means; sealing their testimony with their lives, and receiving the glorious crown of martyrdom, as a reward for their sufferings in this transitory life.

Agape, Chionia, and Irene, three sisters, were seized at Thessalonica, when Dioclesian's persecution reached Greece. They had been educated in the Christian faith, but had taken great precautions not to be seized on that account, being, from the softness of their natures, unwilling to meet the rage of the times.

Hence they retired to a solitary place, and spent their hours in performing religious duties. Being, however, discovered and seized, they renounced their former timidity, blamed themselves for being so fearful, and begged of God to strengthen them against the great trial they had to undergo.

Agape, being examined before Dulcatius, the governour, was asked whether she was disposed to comply with the laws of the land, and obey the mandates of the emperour? She answered, "that, being a Christian, she could not comply with any laws which recommended the worship of idols and devils; that her resolution was fixed, and nothing should deter her from continuing in it to the last moment of her life."

Chionia replied in the same manner as her sister had done; when the governour, not being able to draw them from their faith, pronounced sentence of condemnation on them; pursuant to which they were burnt, A. D. 304.

Irene was then brought before the governour, who fancied that the death of her sisters would have an effect upon her fears, and that the dread of similar sufferings would engage her to comply with his proposals. He

therefore exhorted her to acknowledge the heathen deities, to sacrifice to them, to partake of the victims, and to deliver up her books relative to Christianity.

She heard these propositions with indignation, and positively refused to comply with any of them. The governour asked her, "who it was that persuaded her and her sisters to keep those books and writings?" She answered, "It was that God who commanded them to love him to the last; for which reason she was resolved to submit to be burned alive, rather than give them up into the hands of his professed enemies."

The governour, finding that he could make no impression on her, ordered her to be exposed naked in the streets, which shameful order having been executed, she was burnt at the same place where her sisters had but a few days previously suffered.

Agatho, a man of pious mind, with Cassice, Phillipa, and Eutychia, were martyred about the same time.

Marcellinus, bishop of Rome, who succeeded Caius in that see, was greatly perplexed during this persecution; and having strongly opposed paying divine honours to Dioclesian, who wished to exact them from the people, and to appear as a god, he was at length seized, and committed to prison.

In this situation his conduct was steady, his constancy immoveable, and his patience great. He suffered martyrdom, by a variety of tortures, in this year; comforting himself till he expired, with the prospect of those glorious rewards he would receive by the tortures suffered in the body.

Theodotus, a Dalmatian, kept an inn at Ancyra. Being a Christian, and of a very humane disposition, he devoted a great part of his time to visit the afflicted, and a great part of his property to relieve the poor.

Theotecnus, the governour of these parts, whose cruelty could be equalled by nothing but his bigotry, received the mandate for persecuting the Christians with great satisfaction, and wrote the emperour word, that he would do his utmost endeavour to root out Christianity from every place where he had the least power.

The Pagans, being encouraged by the governour, began to inform against, abuse, and persecute the Christians. Great numbers were seized upon, and imprisoned; their goods destroyed, and their estates confiscated. Many fled into the woods, or retired to caves, where some supported themselves by feeding upon such roots as they could casually find, and others perished by famine. Indeed, many were starved in the city, by means of the following singular stratagem. The governour gave strict orders that no provisions whatever should be exposed to sale in the markets, without having been first consecrated to the idols; hence the Christians were compelled to eat what had been offered to the devil, or to refrain from food and perish. The latter dreadful alternative was chosen by many, who heroically gave up their lives to preserve the purity of their faith.

During these critical times, Theodotus did all that he could to comfort the imprisoned, and buried the bodies of several who had been martyred; though it was forbidden, on pain of death. He likewise privately assisted many with such food as they might use with a safe conscience; for, having laid in a great stock of corn and wine, he sold it out at prime cost.

A Christian, named Polychronicus, being seized, forfeited his faith, in order to preserve his life, and compounded for a frail existence, by informing against his friend Theodotus, who hearing of this treachery, voluntarily surrendered himself to the governour.

On his arrival in the court, he surveyed the divers instruments of torture with a smile, and seemed totally regardless of their effect.

Being placed at the bar, the governour informed him, that it was still in his power to save himself, and to escape the torments prepared for disobedience, by sacrificing to the gods of the empire; "and (continued he) if you renounce your faith in Christ, I promise you my friendship, and the emperour's protection, and will constitute you one of the magistrates of the town."

Theodotus, in his answer, discovered great courage and eloquence. He absolutely refused to renounce his faith,

declined the friendship of the governour, and protection of the emperour, upon the terms proposed, and treated the Pagan idols with the greatest ridicule.

On hearing this, the Pagans, in general, were extremely clamorous for the prisoner to be immediately punished; and the priests, in particular, rent their clothes, and tore their chaplets, the badges of their offices, through rage. The governour, without hesitation, complied with their desire; when Theodotus was scourged, torn with hooks, and then placed upon the rack. After this, vinegar was poured into his wounds, his flesh was seared with burning torches, and his teeth were knocked out of their sockets. He was then remanded to prison, and, by the way, pointing to his mangled body, he said to the people, "it was but just that Christians should suffer for him who suffered for us all."

At the expiration of five days, he was brought from prison, tortured, and then beheaded.

Victor, a native of Ancyra, was accused by the priests of Diana, of having abused their goddess. For this imputed crime he was seized upon, committed to prison, his house plundered, his family turned out of doors, and his estate confiscated.

Being put to the rack, his resolution failed him, and he began to waver in his faith, through the severity of his torments. Being carried back to prison, in order to make a full recantation, God punished him for his intended apostasy; for his wounds mortified, and put an end to his life in a few days.

Seven aged women of Ancyra, being apprehended for their faith, were examined before the governour, who, on finding them steadfast in their religious principles, reviled their belief, ridiculed their age, and ordered them to be delivered over to some young libertines, that their virtue might be insulted.

One of the debauchees, more bold and forward than the rest, seized upon the eldest of the women, whose name was Tecusa, who thus addressed him: "What designs, child, can you have on us, who are worn out with age and infirmities? I am now more than three-score and ten

years old; my companions are not much younger. You may look on us as so many rotten carcasses, as we shall soon be; for the governour after death refuses us burial." Then lifting up her veil, she shewed him her grey hairs, and then went on; "You may, perhaps, have a mother of nearly the same age as myself; this should give you some respect to us." The young men, though entire libertines, were so affected with this speech, that they desisted, and went their ways.

The governour, having failed in his design, determined to compel them to assist in the idolatrous rites of washing the goddesses Minerva and Diana: for it is to be understood, that, in Ancyra, it was the custom annually to wash the images of those heathen goddesses, and that the washing was considered as a material part of the adoration of them.

These seven Christian women, whose names were Tecusa, Phamme, Claudia, Alexandria, Julitta, Euphrasia, and Matrona, were forced to the temple; but absolutely refusing to wash the idols, the governour was so enraged, that he ordered them all to have stones tied about their necks, and to be pushed into the water intended for the washing, in which they gloriously expired.

Timothy, being carried before Urban, governour of Palestine, was sentenced to be burnt to death by a slow fire at Gaza.

Philip, bishop of Heraclea, had, in every act of his life, appeared as a good Christian. The chief of his disciples were Severus, a priest, and Hermes, a deacon; and these three did all in their power to promote the cause of Christianity.

The worthy bishop was advised to secrete himself, in order to avoid the storm of the persecution; but he reprov'd those who counselled him so to do, telling them, that their merit would be enhanced by their sufferings, and that death had no terrour for the virtuous.

An officer named Aristomachus, being employed to shut up the Christian churches in Heraclea, Philip took great pains to convince him, that the shutting up buildings made by hands, could not destroy Christianity, while the

living temples of the Lord remained; for the true faith consisted not in the places where God is adored, but in the hearts of those who adored him.

Being, however, denied entrance into the church where he used to preach, Philip took up his station at the door, and there exhorted the people to patience and perseverance.

These things caused him to be seized and carried before the governour, who severely reprimanded him, and then continued to speak sternly in these words: "Bring all the vessels used in your worship, and the scriptures, which you read and teach the people, and surrender them to me, before you are forced thereto by tortures." "If," replied the bishop, "you take any pleasure in seeing us suffer, we are prepared for the worst you can do. This infirm body is in your power; use it as you please. The vessels you demand shall be delivered up; for God is not honoured by gold and silver, but by the fear of his power: the ornaments of the souls of his servants are more pleasing to him than the decorations of churches: but as to the sacred books, it is neither proper for me to part with them, nor for you to receive them." This answer so much incensed the governour, that he ordered Mucassor, a person particularly distinguished for inhumanity, to torture the prelate. Hermes, expressing himself freely against such barbarities, was likewise ordered to be scourged.

Proceeding to the place where the scriptures and the church plate were kept, both were seized by the Pagans. The church was unroofed, the doors were walled up, the plate was embezzled, and the scriptures were burnt.

Philip being taken to the market-place, was ordered to sacrifice to the Roman deities in general, and to a very handsome image of Hercules in particular; to which command, "alas!" replied the prelate, "how unhappy are you, who are thus grossly mistaken in the nature of the deity, and so ignorant in the truth, as to worship your own workmanship. What value is there in gold, silver, brass, iron, or lead, which are dug out of the earth? You are unacquainted with the divinity of Christ, which is incompre-

nensible to human capacities: but what power can your idols boast, which are made by base mechanics, a drunken statuary, or a debauched carver, and tricked up by the arts of the taylor and the goldsmith? and yet these are your gods." And after some other observations on the absurdities of the Pagan religion, he concluded, that "from what he had already said, it appeared that the heathens worshipped what might lawfully be troden on, and made gods of such things as Providence had designed for their use."

The governour then tried the constancy of Hermes, but finding him as inflexible as the bishop, he committed them both to prison. Soon after this, the governour's time of ruling these parts being expired, a new governour, named Justin, arrived; but he was to the full as cruel as his predecessor.

Philip was dragged by the feet through the streets, severely scourged, and then brought again to the governour, who charged him with obstinate rashness, in continuing disobedient to the Imperial decrees: but he boldly replied, "my present behaviour is not the effect of rashness, but proceeds from my love and fear of God, who made the world, and who will judge the living and the dead, whose commands I dare not transgress. I have hitherto done my duty to the emperours, and am always ready to comply with their just orders, according to the doctrine of our Lord Christ, who bids us give their due both to Cæsar and to God: but I am obliged to prefer heaven to earth, and to obey God rather than man."

The governor, on hearing this speech, immediately passed sentence upon him to be burnt, and the martyr expired singing praises to God in the midst of the flames.

Hermes, for behaving in a similar manner, and Severus, who had surrendered himself up, in order to suffer with his friends, both met with the same fate. Such were the effects of a diabolical zeal for the adoration of idols, and such the consequences of the blindness of Pagan superstitions.

Agricola, we are informed by St. Ambrose, was a Christian of so very amiable a disposition, that he even gained

the esteem and admiration of many Pagans; but being apprehended, he was crucified, in imitation of the death of our Saviour; and his body, with the cross, was buried in one grave, at Bologna, in Italy.

Vitalis, the servant and convert of Agricola, being put to the torture, died under the hands of his tormentors.

Victorius, Carpophorus, Severus, and Severianus, brothers, were employed in places of great trust and honour in the city of Rome. Having exclaimed against the worship of idols, they were apprehended, and tormented with scourges, to the ends of which were fastened leaden balls. This punishment was exercised with such excess of cruelty, that the pious brothers fell martyrs to its severity.

Chrysogonus, of Aquileia, was beheaded by order of Dioclesian, for having instructed a young lady of that city in the Christian faith.

Anastacia, the young lady whom he had brought up, was descended from an illustrious Roman family. Her mother, named Flavia, was a Christian, and dying while her daughter was an infant, she bequeathed her to the care of Chrysogonus, with a strict injunction to instruct her in the principles of Christianity. This Chrysogonus punctually performed: but the father of the young lady, who was a Pagan, gave her in marriage to a person of his own persuasion, named Publius.

The husband was of a good family, but bad morals; and having spent his wife's and his own patrimony, he had the baseness to inform against her as a Christian.

Publius, however, dying soon after, his wife was released; but continuing to perform many charitable actions to distressed Christians, she was again apprehended, and delivered up to Florus, governour of Illyricum. Florus commanded that she should be put to the torture, when finding her constant in the faith, he ordered her to be burnt; this event took place about a month after the martyrdom of Chrysogonus, her instructor.

Mouris and Thea, two Christian women of Gaza, were martyred in that city some time in this year. The former died under the hands of her tormentors; and the latter perished in prison, of the wounds she had received in being tortured.

Timothy, a deacon of Mauritania, and Maura, his wife, had not been united together by the bands of wedlock above three weeks, when they were separated from each other by the persecution.

Timothy, being apprehended as a Christian, was carried before Arrianus, governour of Thebais, who did all in his power to allure him from his faith, and induce him to embrace idolatry.

Finding his endeavours vain, and knowing that Timothy had the keeping of the Holy Scriptures, the governour commanded him to deliver them up, that they might be burnt: to which Timothy answered, "Had I children, I would sooner deliver them up to be sacrificed, than part from the word of God." The governour, much incensed at this reply, ordered his eyes to be put out with red-hot irons, saying, "the books shall at least be useless to you; for you shall not see to read them."

His patience under the operation was so great, that the governour grew more exasperated. He therefore, in order if possible to overcome his fortitude, ordered him to be hung up by the feet, with a weight tied about his neck, and a gag in his mouth.

Timothy underwent this severity with the greatest courage, when some busy person acquainted the governour that he had been but newly married to a wife, of whom he was extremely fond. Arrianus was glad to hear this, thinking that conjugal regard might effect what menaces could not; and that an affection for his wife might prevail over that intrepid spirit, which could sustain so many torments with such resolution.

Maura was sent for, and promised a handsome reward, with the life of her husband, if she could prevail upon him to sacrifice to the idols. This was a severe attack upon the principles of Maura: weak by nature, wavering in her faith, tempted by a bribe, and impelled by an unbounded affection for her husband, she undertook the impious task.

Being conducted to him, she assailed his constancy with all the persuasive language of real affection. When the gag was taken out of his mouth, in order to give him

an opportunity of replying, instead of consenting to his wife's intreaties, as they expected, he greatly blamed her mistaken love, and declared his resolution of dying for the faith. The consequence of which was, that Maura repeated her importunities, till the martyr, her husband, reproached her so strongly with her weakness, that she returned to his way of thinking, and resolved to imitate his courage and fidelity, and either to accompany, or follow him to glory. She went to Arrianus, and told him, that she was united to her husband in opinion as well as by love, and was ready to suffer any thing to atone for her late crime in wishing to make him an apostate.

The governour, after trying in vain to alter her resolution, ordered her to be tortured, which was executed with great severity. Timothy and Maura were then crucified near each other, both receiving the crown of martyrdom with the greatest intrepidity.

Sabinus, bishop of Assissium, refusing to sacrifice to Jupiter, and pushing the idol from him, had his hands cut off by the order of the governour of Tuscany. After patiently suffering this barbarity, he was committed to prison, where he remained a considerable time, without any assistance or relief but what he received from a Christian widow, whose blind grand-son had been by him restored to sight.

The governour, himself, afflicted with sore eyes, on hearing this intelligence, revolved its singularity in his mind, and began to consider the behaviour of the Christians, and the tenets of Christianity, in a more candid light than he had hitherto done. Sending for Sabinus, he informed him that he now entertained very different sentiments to what he had hitherto done, both with respect to him and his faith: then throwing himself at the feet of Sabinus, he intreated him to afford assistance both to his inward and outward ailments, and to undertake the cure of his soul and body.

The fervency with which he spoke, convinced Sabinus of his sincerity. Having received proper instructions concerning the principles of Christianity, he was baptized, and the disorder in his eyes soon disappeared.

The conversion of the governour was followed by that of his whole family, and some of his friends.

The tyrant Maximian, being informed of these circumstances, immediately sent one of his principal officers, named Lucius, and Assassium, who, according to his instructions, ordered the governour, and all his family, to be beheaded.

Soon after their execution, Sabinus himself was scourged to death.

Marcellus and Experantius, two ecclesiastics, who officiated under Sabinus, were scourged in a most dreadful manner; but remaining constant in their faith, their flesh was torn with hooks till they expired.

Tired with the farce of state, and public business, the emperours Dioclesian and Maximian resigned the imperial diadem, and were succeeded by Constantius a Briton, and Galerius; the former a prince of the most mild and humane disposition, and the latter equally remarkable for his cruelty and tyranny.

These divided the empire into two equal governments; Galerius ruling in the east, and Constantius in the west; and the people in the two governments felt the effects of the different dispositions of the two emperours; for those in the west were governed in the mildest manner: but such as resided in the east, felt all the miseries of oppression.

With respect to the Christians, to whom Galerius bore a most prejudicial and implacable hatred, we are informed, that he not only condemned them to tortures, but to be burnt in slow fires, after this horrible manner:—They were first chained to a post, then a gentle fire put to the soles of their feet, which contracted the callus till it fell off from the bone: when flambeaux, just extinguished, were put to all parts of their bodies, so that they might be tortured all over; and care was taken to keep them alive, by throwing cold water in their faces, and giving them some thereof to wash their mouths, lest their throats should be dried up with thirst, and choak them. Thus their miseries were lengthened out whole days, till, at last, their skins being consumed, and they just ready to expire.

were thrown into a great fire, and had their bodies burnt to ashes; after which they were ground to powder, and thrown into rivers.

Among the many martyred by the order of Galerius, the most eminent were:—

Amphianus, a gentleman of eminence in Lucia, and a scholar to Eusebius. Pressing through the crowd whilst the proclamation for sacrificing to idols was read, he caught the governour Urbianus by the hand; and severely reproved him for his impiety.

The governour, being highly incensed at this freedom, ordered him to be put to the torture, and then thrown into the sea.

Ædesius, his brother, was, for nearly the same offence, much about the same time, martyred at Alexandria.

Julitta, a Lyconian lady of royal descent, but more celebrated for her virtues than noble blood, when the edict for sacrificing to idols was published at Iconium, withdrew from that city to avoid the bigoted rage of Domitian, the governour, taking with her, her young son, Cyricus, and two women servants. She was, however, seized at Tarsus, and being carried before Alexander, the governour, acknowledged that she was a Christian.

For this confession her son was taken from her, and she was put to the rack, and tortured with great severity; but she bore all her sufferings with fortitude.

Young Cyricus cried bitterly to get to his mother; when the governour observing the beauty, and being melted at the tears of the child, took him upon his knee, and endeavoured to pacify him. Nothing, however, could quiet Cyricus; he still called upon the name of his mother, and at length, in imitation of her words, lisped out, "I am a Christian." This innocent expression converted the governour's compassion into rage: he lost the man in the bigot, and throwing the child furiously against the pavement, dashed out its brains.

The mother, who, from the rack, beheld the whole transaction, thanked the Almighty that her child was gone before her; and she should be without any anxiety concerning his future welfare, and certain that now no

advantage could be taken of his tender years, to pervert his principles, and defraud him of his salvation.

To complete the execution, Julitta had boiling pitch poured on her feet, her sides were torn with hooks, and the conclusion of her miseries was by being beheaded, A. D. 305.

Pantaleon, a native of Nicomedia, was taught most branches of human learning by his father, who was a Pagan; and the precepts of the gospel by his mother, who was a Christian.

Applying to the study of medicine, he became eminent in the knowledge of physick, and in process of time, was appointed physician to the emperour Galerius.

He assisted the poor, to the utmost, with his fortune; and his skill in physick was attended with the most astonishing success.

His reputation roused the jealousy of the Pagan physicians, and they accused him to the emperour. Galerius, who finding him a Christian, which he had not before known, ungratefully ordered him to be tortured, and then beheaded.

Hermolaus, a venerable and pious Christian, and an intimate acquaintance of Pantaleon's, suffered martyrdom for his faith on the same day, and in the same manner, as Pantaleon.

Julitta, of Cappadocia, a lady of distinguished capacity, great virtue, and uncommon courage, was martyred on account of a law-suit, of which Basil, bishop of Cæsarea, gives the following particulars:

“She had a troublesome law-suit with one of the principal men of Cæsarea, who was unjustly possessed of a considerable part of her estate, and had seized both her servants and cattle. This oppressive usurper had found means to bribe the judges in his favour, and hired persons to swear, that the land and goods in dispute were his property. Julitta, supported by the justness of her cause, thought that she had nothing more to do, but to give the magistrates a plain and ingenuous account of her title.—When the cause came to be tried, the defendant, instead of supporting his claim, or giving any answer to the plain-

tiff's plea, urged that the law would not suffer him to engage at that bar with one of a different religion; so that he could not proceed in his defence, unless the lady, who was the plaintiff, renounced Christianity.

“The judge was too well instructed not to second the motion, and gave it as his opinion, that what he insisted on was according to the laws of the empire. He then ordered an altar to be brought in, and some fire to be put on it, and incense to be prepared, and then told the parties, that if they expected, either of them, to enjoy any benefit of the laws, they must both of them offer incense to the gods.

“The usurper, who was a heathen, immediately complied; but Julitta made it appear, that her faith was much dearer to her than her goods, or even than life itself. “No (said she) my affection to what is undoubtedly my own, shall never hinder me from sacrificing my all, and even my life, if required, rather than violate my fidelity to my God and Saviour.”

This declaration greatly incensed the judge; but Julitta went on with the same intrepidity, and thanked God for the assurance she had of an eternal inheritance, while what was her own upon earth was disputed, and unjustly taken from her. The magistrate made several attempts to persuade her to renounce her faith, but was always answered that she was the servant of Christ, and as such she could not listen to his proposals without horror; upon this she was condemned to be burnt.

Eustratius, secretary to the governour of Armenia, was thrown into a fiery furnace, for exhorting some Christians, who had been apprehended, to persevere in their faith. Auxentius and Eugenius, two of Eustratius's adherents, were burnt at Nicopolis. Mardarius, another of his friends, expired under the hands of his tormentors; and Orestes, a military officer, for wearing a golden cross at his breast, was broiled to death on a gridiron.

Theodore, a Syrian by birth, a soldier by profession, and a Christian by faith, set fire to the temple of Cybele, in Amasia, through an honest indignation at the idolatrous worship practised therein; for which, being apprehended, he was severely scourged, and then burnt, A. D. 306.

Dorothy, a christian of Cappadocia, by the governour's order, was placed under the care of two women, who had become apostates to the faith, with a view that she might be induced to follow their example.

Her discourses, however, had such an effect upon the two apostates, that they became reconverted, and were put to death for not succeeding. Soon after which, Dorothy herself was tortured, and then beheaded.

Pancratius, or Pancras, a native of Phrygia, being converted, and brought to Rome by his uncle, suffered martyrdom in that city by being beheaded, soon after the decease of his uncle, who had died a natural death.

Basilides, Nabor, Nazarius, and Cyrinus, four officers at Rome, were thrown into prison for their faith; and, being condemned, were scourged with rods of wire, and beheaded.

Nicander and Marcian, two Roman military officers, were apprehended on account of their faith. As they were both men of great abilities in their profession, the utmost endeavours were made to induce them to renounce Christianity; but these endeavours being found ineffectual, they were ordered to be beheaded.

Crowds of people attended the execution, among whom were the wives of the two sufferers. The consort of Nicander was a Christian, and encouraged her husband to meet his fate with fortitude; but the wife of Marcian being a Pagan, intreated her husband to save himself, for the sake of her and her child. Marcian reproved her for her idolatry and folly, but embraced her and the infant before the stroke was given. Nicander likewise took leave of his wife in the most affectionate manner, and then both, with great willingness, received the crown of martyrdom.

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

Marcellus, a centurion of the Trajan legion, being posted at Tangier, suffered martyrdom for Christianity, of which we have the following account:

“It happened that while he was there, the emperor’s birth-day was kept with great solemnity, and the sacrifices to the Pagan idols made a considerable part of that solemnity. All the subjects of the empire were expected, on that occasion, to conform to the blind religion of their prince; but Marcellus, who had been well instructed in the duties of his profession, expressed his detestation of those profane practices, by throwing away his belt, the badge of his military character, at the head of his company, declaring aloud, that he was a soldier of Christ, the Eternal King. He then quitted his arms, and added, that, from that moment, he ceased to serve the emperor; and that he thus expressed his contempt of the gods of the empire, which were no better than deaf and dumb idols. If (continued he) their imperial majesties impose the obligation of sacrificing to them and their gods, as a necessary condition of their service, I here throw up my commission, and quit the army.”

His behaviour and speeches occasioned an order for his being beheaded, on a double score—viz. desertion from the army, and impiety against the gods of the empire.—He heard the sentence with intrepidity, and received the crown of martyrdom with pleasure.

Cassian, secretary to the court which tried Marcellus, expressing his disapprobation of such severe proceedings, was ordered into custody, and met with the same fate.

Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, being carried before Maternus the governour, was ordered to sacrifice to the Pagan deities, agreeably to the edicts. To which he replied, “The emperours insist upon our sacrificing to their deities, against the express prohibition of God; to deities which we can by no means own, because they are, in reality, nothing: whereas the power that I serve is every where, above all things—supports, governs, and disposes of all things, as he pleases: for he is the sovereign master, and sole author of the universe.” For this speech he was ordered to be severely beaten.

While he was under the hand of the executioner, the governour was urgent with him to sacrifice, and offered to make him a priest of Jupiter. To which Quirinus replied, that he was already engaged in the priestly office, while he thus offered a sacrifice to the true God: "I (says he) scarce feel my torments, and am ready to suffer still greater, that my example may show those whom God has committed to my care, the way to the glory which we desire."

The governour perceiving his constancy, sent him to gaol, and ordered him to be heavily ironed; flattering himself, that the hardships of a gaol, and the weight of his chains, might overcome his resolutions.

Being deceived in his expectations, he sent him to Amantius, the principal governour of Parmonia, now Hungary, who loaded him with chains, and carried him through the principal towns on the Danube, exposing him to ridicule wherever he went.

Arriving at length at Sabaria, and finding that Quirinus would not renounce his faith, he ordered him to be cast into a river, with a stone fastened to his neck. This sentence being put into execution, Quirinus exhorted the people in the most pious terms, concluding his admonitions with this prayer:

"It is no new thing, O all-powerful Jesus, for you to stop the course of rivers, or to cause a man to walk upon the water, as thou didst thy servant Peter. The people have already seen the proof of thy power in me: grant me now to lay down my life for thy sake, O my God."

On pronouncing the last words, he immediately sunk and died, A. D. 308. His body was afterwards taken up and buried by some pious Christians.

Five Egyptian Christians, who were upon a visit to their afflicted brethren in Cæsarea, were apprehended and carried before Firmilian, governour of Palestine, who, on questioning them concerning whence they came, and what they were, was answered by one, in the name of the rest, that they were Christians, and belonged to the glorious city of Jerusalem, speaking allegorically of the heavenly Jerusalem. The governour was surprised at the answer, as he knew Vespasian, and his son Titus,

had destroyed the ancient Jerusalem; and that the inconsiderable town erected by Adrian upon the spot, was called *Ælia Capitolina*: he therefore enquired more particularly concerning it. The Christian, who had spoken before, again replied, and pursuing the allegory, described with great force of imagination, the great beauty, riches, and strength of the place. Firmilian, still mistaking the Christian's meaning, by understanding his words in a literal sense, was dreadfully alarmed; for not dreaming that a heavenly city was alluded to, he fancied that the Christians were strengthening and fortifying some place, in order to revolt from their allegiance to the emperour. Full of this mistake, and enraged at the supposed disloyalty, he condemned the five prisoners to be cruelly tormented, and then beheaded, A. D. 309.

Pamphilus, a native of Phœnicia, and of a considerable family, was a man of such extensive learning, that he was called a second Origen. He was received into the body of the clergy at Cæsarea, where he established a publick library, and spent his time in the practice of every Christian virtue. He copied the greatest part of the works of Origen with his own hand; and, assisted by Eusebius, gave a correct copy of the Old Testament, which had suffered greatly by the ignorance or negligence of former transcribers. He likewise gave public lectures on religious and literary subjects, in an academy which he had erected for that purpose, till the year 307, when he was apprehended, and carried before Urban, governour of Palestine.

Thinking that a man of his abilities must be of great importance to any party, Urban did all in his power to induce him to embrace Paganism. Finding his endeavours vain, he changed persuasions into menaces, and, from intreating, began to threaten.

Pamphilus maintaining his resolution, was ordered to be tortured, and then sent to prison, which was immediately put into execution.

Soon after Urban, having displeased the emperour, was displaced and beheaded; but another was appointed in his room, who was equally prejudiced against the Christians.

Under the new governour, Pamphilus suffered martyrdom, by being beheaded; together with Valens, a deacon of the church of Jerusalem; and Paul, a layman of Jamnia, in Palestine.

Porphyrius, servant of Pamphilus, was martyred by means of a straw fire, for only requesting leave to bury the bodies of his master and the other martyrs.

Theodulus, a venerable and faithful servant to Firmilian, the governour, being accused as a professor of the Christian faith, confessed the charge, and was, by order of his cruel master, crucified, A. D. 309; and Julian, a Cappadocian, was burnt on the same day.

Marcellus, bishop of Rome, having been banished on account of his faith, fell a martyr to the miseries he suffered in exile, A. D. 310.

In A. D. 310, the emperour Galerius was seized with a most violent disorder, arising from an ulcer, which made him loathsome to all about him, and racked him with insupportable pains, greater than any he had exercised on the Christians, insomuch that he made several attempts to kill himself; and had caused several physicians to be put to death, because their medicines were ineffectual.

In this dreadful misery he had languished for a full year, when his conscience being at last awakened, he was forced to own the hand of the Almighty in his punishment; and in the intervals of his torments he often cried, "that he would rebuild the church of Nicomedia, and repair the mischief he had done to the Christians."

In his last agonies, having consulted with Constantine and Licinius, he published an edict in favour of the Christians, whereby "he allowed them to continue in their religion, and permitted them to hold assemblies for their worship, provided they acted nothing contrary to their established discipline; enjoining them, at the same time, to pray for the health of the emperour, and the prosperity of the commonwealth." This edict was published at Nicomedia, the place where this persecution began eight years before, when the prison-doors were set open, and a great number of Christians were set at liberty, A. D. 311.

Yet all this did not avert the judgments of God from

Galerius, who, in a few days after, died, leaving the empire divided among four. Constantine had Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Germany; Licinius the provinces of Illyricum, Greece, and Asia Minor; Maximus Cæsar, Egypt and the east; and Maxentius, the tyrant, Italy and Africa; though the latter was partly possessed by an usurper, named Alexander.

Peter, the sixteenth bishop of Alexandria, was martyred A. D. 311, by order of Maximus Cæsar, who reigned in the east.

Lucian, a learned and eloquent Syrian, was a man of so benevolent a temper, that he disposed of the greatest part of his fortune in charitable actions; advanced to the clerical character in Antioch, he became a true servant of Christ, and a zealous pastor of the church. At length he was apprehended, imprisoned for the space of nine years, put to the rack, rolled upon sharp flints, nails, &c. and tortured to death; his body was then thrown into the sea; but it was afterwards cast on shore, and buried.

Agnes, a child only thirteen years of age, was beheaded: Valentine, a priest, suffered the same fate at Rome: and Erasmus, a bishop, was martyred in Campania.

Cosinus and Damian, Arabians, and brothers, were martyred in Cilicia: Adrian, an imperial officer, was beheaded; Barbara, a young lady, was martyred at Nicomedia; Lucy, a Christian virgin, was put to death at Syracuse: and even Serena, who had been the empress of Dioclesian, was beheaded for being a Christian.

Gordius, a native of Cæsarea, and a centurion in the Roman army, was first tormented, and then burnt: Menas, an Egyptian soldier, was beheaded: and Barlaam, a noble martyr, as we are informed by Basil, having endured the torments of the executioners, even to the very point of death, the tormentors at last brought him, and laid him upon the altar where they used to offer sacrifices to their idols, and put frankincense into his hand, which they lighted, imagining that the heat and force of the fire would oblige him to scatter the burning incense on the altar, that they might thereby say that he had sacrificed. But in this they were disappointed; for the flame went round

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THE PRINCIPLE OF THE GOSPEL

his hand, which appeared as if it had been covered with hot embers, while he uttered this exclamation of the Psalmist, "blessed is the Lord my God, who teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight." After which, he surrendered his soul into the hands of Christ his Saviour.

Power being given to the Pagans to use the Christians as bad as they thought proper, the doors of a church, in which were a Christian congregation, were shut up, and the building being set on fire, every person perished in the flames! Many were severely beaten with sticks, cords, rods, whips, scourges, &c.

St. George, was a native of Cappadocia, and of Christian parents. His father dying when he was young, he travelled with his mother into Palestine, her native country. Here she claimed a patrimonial estate, which afterwards descended to her son. St. George being strong, active, and of a great spirit, took up the profession of a soldier, and was made a tribune or colonel. In this post he exhibited great proofs of his courage, and was accordingly promoted in the army of the emperour Dioclesian. During the persecution, St. George threw up his command; went boldly to the senate-house, and avowed his being a Christian; taking occasion, at the same time, to remonstrate against Paganism, and point out the absurdity of worshipping idols. This freedom so greatly provoked the senate, that St. George was ordered to be tortured, which he underwent with great constancy, and without any change in his religious principles. Exasperated at his fortitude, they dragged him through the streets with great cruelty, and on the following day he was beheaded.

After a reign of terrour and indescribable cruelties, which lasted during ten years, the surviving part of the church began to experience relief. Persecution seemed to grow weary of its toil; the army of martyrs was swelled to an astonishing number, and thousands more stood ready to join it, if called upon; deeming it an honour and a glory to die for him who died for the world. While the Pagans triumphed over the lives and fortunes of Christians, the latter triumphed over the Pagan religion; evincing a composure, a felicity of mind, and a firmness in suffering, which no Pagan ever enjoyed.

Upon the accession of Constantine the Great, who espoused the cause of Christianity, and who finally possessed the eastern and western empire, persecution ceased, Paganism fell, and Christianity was exalted.

CHAP. XII.

PERSECUTIONS AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS IN PERSIA, AND VARIOUS OTHER PLACES, FROM THE END OF THE TENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION TO THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

When the gospel spread into Persia, the Pagan priests were alarmed for the consequences, lest they should lose the influence which they had maintained over the minds and properties of the people. They complained to the emperour, that Christians were obnoxious to the welfare of the empire, and held a treasonable correspondence with Constantine the Great, and with the Romans, who were their enemies. The emperour believed the representations, or pretended to believe them, and gave orders to persecute the members of the Christian Church in all parts of his dominions. A most bloody scene of cruelty and murder ensued. Simeon, Bishop of Seleucia, and other ecclesiasticks to the number of a hundred and twenty-eight, were apprehended and accused of having betrayed the affairs of Persia to the Romans. They were commanded to worship the Sun, agreeably to the Persian customs; and as they unanimously refused to do it, they were all beheaded. After these executions, an edict was published to put to death all who confessed themselves Christians; on which occasion great multitudes fell.

About this time the empress of Persia falling sick, the sisters of Simeon, the bishop of Seleucia, were accused by some of the magi of being the occasion of it. This absurdity was received as a fact, and they were by the emperour's order sawed in quarters, and the quarters placed upon poles.

This time of oppression and astonishing cruelty towards

the disciples of Christ in the Persian dominions, continued with unabated fury until it was checked by the exertions and influence of Constantine the Great.

After the death of Constantine, the Arians found means to ingratiate themselves into the favours of Constantius, his son and successor in the East; and a persecution was thereby raised against those of the Church who would not espouse the Arian system. The celebrated Athanasius and other bishops were sent into banishment. In Egypt and Lybia, thirty bishops were martyred, and many other members of the Church cruelly tormented.

In the year of Christ 336, a persecution was commenced in Alexandria and in its environs, which was conducted with great severity. The flame was also lighted up in other parts, and many fell victims to the rage of the dominant party.

Constantius dying A. D. 361, was succeeded by Julian, the nephew of Constantine the Great. Though a Christian when he ascended the throne, he immediately renounced Christianity and embraced Paganism. He restored idolatrous worship, by opening several temples that had been shut, rebuilding such as had been destroyed, and ordering the magistrates and people to follow his example. He made no publick edicts against Christianity; but tried to do that privately which other emperours had done openly. He allowed the free exercise of religion to every sect, but deprived all Christians of offices at court, in the magistracy and in the army. He endeavoured to undermine Christianity by artifice, instead of expelling it by force; and to make his measures more effectual, he prohibited any Christian from keeping a school or publick seminary of learning, and deprived all Christian clergy of the privileges granted them by Constantine the Great.

When Julian came to Constantinople, he offered sacrifice to the goddess of fortune, in the Cathedral Church. Maris, the blind bishop of Chalcedon, caused himself to be led to the emperour, whom he sharply rebuked, calling him an impious person and an apostate. The emperour called the bishop a fool, telling him, that his God of Galilee would not restore him his sight. To which Maris

replied, "I thank God who has made me blind, lest I should see such an ungrateful countenance as thine."

In several cities Julian placed his own statue among those of the heathen gods. This he did because it was customary for the people to bow to the emperor's statues, from respect to the emperor; and he hoped thereby to make Christians that paid any such respect to him, bow also to the statues of the gods. If they omitted this kind of homage, they were accused of disrespect to the emperor. He ordered that Christians should be treated with coldness on all occasions, and employed several witty persons to turn them and their principles into ridicule. Many were martyred in his reign; for though he did not openly persecute them himself, he connived at their being murdered by his governors and other officers. While he affected never to patronise them for their murders, he never offered to punish them for such crimes. Basil, Donatus, Gordian, Hilarinus, and many others were put to death, and some of them with the most dreadful tortures.

In Palestine many were burnt alive, others were dragged through the streets naked until they expired. Some were scalded to death, many were stoned, and great numbers had their brains beat out with clubs. In Alexandria, innumerable sufferers fell by the sword, by burning, crucifixion, and being stoned. In Arethusa, several had their bodies cut open and filled with corn. Swine were then brought to feed on the corn, and in doing that they devoured the entrails of the martyrs.

Theodorus was seized and tortured upon the rack, though not to death. After being taken from the rack, he was asked how he could so patiently endure such exquisite torments? his answer was remarkable. He said, "At first I felt some pain, but afterwards there appeared to stand by me a young man, who wiped the sweat from my face, and frequently refreshed me with cold water; which so delighted me, that I regretted being let down from the rack."

Marcus, bishop of Arethusa, destroyed a Pagan temple in that city, and erected a Christian church in its room; on which he was accused to Julian, as a Christian. His

persecutors stripped, and cruelly scourged him. He was then thrust into a filthy sink until he was almost suffocated. Afterwards he was goaded with pointed sticks; and lastly, having been besmeared with honey, he was hung up in a basket in the heat of the sun, and stung to death by wasps.

Julian was at length called to his final retribution. This notorious apostate died of a wound which he received in his Persian expedition, A. D. 363; and even while expiring, he uttered the most horrid blasphemies. He was succeeded by Jovian, who restored peace to the church. After the decease of Jovian, Valentinian succeeded to the empire, and associated to himself Valens, who had the command of the east.

Valens being favourably inclined towards the Arians, did all in his power against the Christian Church. On a certain day, he ordered that all in Edessa who should attend on publick worship should be slain while at their devotions. The Christians were informed of this order, and advised to keep themselves in safety by neglecting public devotions. This advice they treated with entire indifference, and assembled in crowds. While they were gathering, a woman with a child in her arms broke through the ranks of the troops, that had already been put in motion to destroy them. The commanding officer ordered her to be brought before him, and inquired whither she was going? She answered, "to church, whither others are gathering." She was then asked if she had heard of the emperour's order, to put all such as were found there to death? She replied that she had, and added, that on account of that order she made the more haste. The officer inquired why she took her child with her? She answered, "I take him with me that he may be reckoned among the martyrs." Upon this, the officer returned to the emperour, and represented to him how rash it would be to murder so great a multitude of his subjects; and entreated him to relinquish the design, until he at length complied.

Menedemus, Theodorus, and Urbanus, with several other clergymen to the number of eighty, at Constantino-ple, petitioned the emperour in the most humble terms, to relieve them from the persecutions and cruelties of the

Arians. The tyrant, instead of redressing their grievances, ordered them all to embark in a ship; and then having fire set to the ship, it was put under sail, and they all perished in the flames.

Eusebius, a distinguished prelate and historian, was sent into banishment, and soon after his restoration he was slain by a tile which was thrown at him from the roof of a house. The tile fractured his skull, and he died in the year 380. Marcellus, bishop of Apamea, and a minister of great merit, was so zealous in the Christian cause; that he endeavoured to hasten the destruction of some Heathen temples by assisting the magistrate in the work. While at a place called Aulo, some Pagans privately seized him and committed him to the flames.

In the fifth century, the Vandals passing through Spain to Africa, committed astonishing cruelties upon the Christians, persecuting them wherever they came. Churches were plundered, ministers were murdered, and the scene was rendered more horrible by a variety of tortures. They poured oil and stinking vinegar down the throats of some until they expired, suffocated others by filling their mouths with mud, and put others to death by stretching their limbs with cords. Numbers were scourged, and banished. Others were fastened to chariots by their feet, and dragged about until they were dashed to pieces. Pampinian was tortured to death with plates of hot iron. The bishop of Urice was burnt; the bishop of Habensa was banished; and a whole congregation who were assembled in a church at their devotions, were all indiscriminately murdered. Dionysia, a widow, and her son who was a young lad, were tortured, and both died under cruel sufferings. Many others of all ages, and of both sexes were called, during this century, to endure the severest tortures, and joyfully received the crown of martyrdom.

CHAP. XIII.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH IN VARIOUS PLACES, FROM THE FIFTH, TO THE END OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

The first account delivered to us is from Alexandria, where, amidst the civil and ecclesiastical disorders of the place, the spirit of persecution arose with great bitterness.

Proterus, a pious prelate, perceiving a violent rage excited against him, fled to a church for refuge. He was, nevertheless, pursued thither and slain. The murderers dragged his body through the streets, cut it in pieces, burned it, and scattered the ashes in the air.

Julia, a Carthaginian lady, was taken prisoner when the Vandals sacked that city; and after being sold twice as a slave, she became the property of a Syrian Pagan. Her master could not but admire a religion which inspired the resignation and patience, which she manifested, in a state of slavery. He frequently took her with him in his voyages; and in one of these, touching at the island of Corsica, he joined in an idolatrous festival. During the ceremonies, Julia kept at a distance, which the people observing, complained of her conduct, as disrespectful to the gods; and gave information of it to the governour. The governour, on making enquiry, and finding that she was a Christian, offered to purchase her of her master, that he might put her to death. Her master refused to part with her at any price, and the governour determined to obtain her by artifice. To effect this, he invited her master to an entertainment, and having made him drunk, he sent for Julia in the name of her master. The innocent slave, not suspecting the intended mischief, came immediately. The governour required her to sacrifice to the gods; and on refusing to do it, she was severely beaten, which she bore with the utmost patience. She was offered her liberty if she would worship the gods; to which she replied, "that while she was permitted to enjoy her religion, she was as free as she desired." The hair of her head was then pulled out, but this barbarity had no greater effect than the former, and she was then sentenced to be hanged;

which sentence was quickly put in execution. Julia was scarcely dead when her master recovered from his intoxication. Finding what was done, he was greatly afflicted, and returned home full of vexation and disgust.

Hermenigildus, son of the Gothick king in Spain, was put to death by order of his own father.

Anastasius, a Persian, having embraced Christianity, was seized by the governour of Cæsarea, which was at that time under the Persians, and sent to prison. Having refused to make any retraction, he was sent to Persia, to be punished by the king. All attempts to reclaim him to Paganism proving ineffectual, the king ordered him to be scourged, then hung up by one of his hands with a weight fastened to his foot, and after being strangled he was beheaded.

Martin, a bishop of Rome, was arrested and sent a prisoner to Constantinople. Many witnesses were produced against him, who swore as they were directed, charging him with pretended crimes that had been invented for the purpose. Martin began his defence by noticing certain errors which he thought it his duty to oppose, but was immediately stopped by one of the court; who told him that he was only examined in relation to civil affairs. The judge prevented him from proceeding; and having dismissed the court, reported the trial to the emperour, who patronised a particular sect, and who had ordered the bishop to be arrested. Martin was now exposed in various places to publick ridicule, treated with scorn, and thrown into prison. He bore his degradation and sufferings with great fortitude and patience. After remaining some months in prison, Martin was conveyed to an island at some distance from the city, and cut to pieces.

Boniface, bishop of Mentz, was a pious and faithful labourer in the vineyard of his Lord and Master. After labouring extensively and with great success in Germany, and other parts of Europe, being enfeebled by age and infirmities, he resigned his charge at Mentz to Sullus whom he consecrated for that purpose. Having relieved himself of his charge, and feeling unwilling to omit any labours he had strength to perform, he travelled to Friezland,

where he was instrumental in the conversion of several thousands of the barbarous inhabitants, and formed churches. Having appointed a meeting in the open air, upon a plain near the river Bourde, he repaired to the place on the day preceeding, and pitched a tent for the purpose of remaining during the night, that he might be on the ground early in the morning. Some Pagans who were his inveterate enemies, having intelligence of this, gathered around him and the companions of his mission, in such numbers during the night, as clearly to evince their hostile intention. The servants of Boniface were for repelling the barbarians by force; but he opposed their intention, telling them and the ministers that were with him, that the moment he had long wished for was now come, and exhorted the ministers to prepare for martyrdom. While he was thus engaged, the Pagans rushed upon them, and killed him, together with his companions, A. D. 755.

In the year 845, forty-two persons were martyred in Upper Phrygia; resigning themselves to their sufferings, in hope of eternal blessedness. In the reign of Theophilus, the Saracens ravaged many parts of the eastern empire, gained several advantages over the Christians, and at length laid siege to the city of Armorian. The garrison bravely defended the place for a time, until it was basely betrayed into the hands of the enemy by a renegade. Great numbers were put to the sword; and two general officers with some other persons of distinction, were carried prisoners to Bagdat, where they were loaded with heavy chains, and thrown into a dark dungeon. Here they were informed, that nothing could preserve their lives but renouncing Christianity and embracing Mahometanism. Money, clothes, and offers of promotion were sent to them as inducements to become enemies to the cross of Christ. But being resolute in their minds, and proof against all these temptations, they weré continued in their confinement in dungeons, during seven years. After inexpressible sufferings during this tedious term, they were on a day appointed, brought forth for execution. As soon as they came from their dungeons, they were again solicited to join the Mahometan standard. But neither threats

nor promises could induce them to renounce a religion, that had sustained and comforted their minds during the tedious years of their persecution. Finding them firm in their resolution, and that their faith could not be shaken, the caliph ordered them to be executed. Flora and Mary, two ladies of distinction, were executed about the same time, because they also refused to renounce the Christian religion.

Perfectus was skilled in all the polite literature of the age in which he lived, and was admired for his piety. Having entered into orders as a minister, he laboured with great constancy and zeal to advance the Christian cause. The Mahometans arrested him, and accused him before a magistrate of blaspheming their great prophet. The allegation having been heard, the judge ordered him to be put in chains and confined in prison, until the time of a celebrated feast called the feast of Ramaden, when he should be made a victim to Mahomet. Perfectus heard with joy the determination of the judge, and prepared for his martyrdom with great fervency. When the time arrived, he was led to the place of execution, where he made an open declaration of his faith in the Saviour of the world, and declared Mahomet to be an impostor. He pronounced the Alcoran an absurdity, full of blasphemies, and proclaimed the way of life and salvation by Jesus Christ. He was then beheaded, cheerfully surrendering his life, in full hope of immortality.

Wenceslaus, duke of Bohemia, a pious and valiant prince, was surrounded by numerous and powerful enemies, who sought not only his destruction, but the total extirpation of Christianity throughout the country. In this situation he was faithful in the discharge of his duties, watchful over his morals, and diligent in all the means of grace. He passed much time in prayer, and made great efforts to establish peace, justice, and religion, throughout his dominions. His mother and brother being Pagans, were among his most violent enemies, and stirred up many factions among the people. Being determined on his destruction, and with a view to the accomplishment of their wicked purpose, they invited him to partake of an

entertainment. Not suspecting any evil design, he repaired to the place appointed, where they received him with the appearance of friendship. After the prince had remained a sufficient time, and the entertainment being over, he retired to his dwelling. His mother now advised that his brother should follow him immediately and put him to death! In conformity with this advice, his brother pursued him, but not finding him on the way, he repaired to his chamber. Wenceslaus had previously entered and was on his knees in fervent prayer to Almighty God; when his brother entering, fell upon him in all the rage of Pagan malice, and murdered him, A. D. 929.

From this time to the end of the eleventh century martyrdoms became less frequent; the spirit of intolerance, though raging at times with violence, was confined to particular places, and no longer possessed its former influence. Yet there were instances of cruel persecution and torture, and a considerable number of the pious sealed their testimony with their blood.

Among those who suffered death during this period, we may mention Alphage, archbishop of Canterbury in England. The Danish Pagans made incursions into this kingdom during the Saxon governments, and nothing could exceed the inveteracy which they manifested towards Christianity and its professors. They laid siege to Canterbury, took it by storm, murdered above seven thousand of the inhabitants, seized Alphage, dragged him through the streets, scourged him with great cruelty, and put him to death. During his sufferings he prayed for his enemies, manifested much patience and firmness, and joyfully resigned his life for a crown of righteousness, A. D. 1012.

Having taken a brief view of persecution during several ages among the Pagans, and chiefly under their influence, we proceed to consider the same spirit of intolerance and oppression, and the same inhuman cruelties, under the sanction of an apostate church, bearing the name of Christ, but having departed from the faith.

PART 2.

CHAPTER 1.

THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, BY MEANS OF PAPAL INFLUENCE.

When the darkness of popery had overspread the Christian world, so that kings and princes employed their authority to establish the Romish idolatry, appointing to slaughter such as denied transubstantiation, adoration of the host, bowing the knees before it, &c. many Christians loathing this superstition, as unknown to the apostles and primitive church, God raised up Peter Valdo, a citizen of Lions, in France, who courageously opposed the numerous inventions and popish innovations, which had been introduced into the church of Rome. Being in high esteem for his learning, piety, and his liberality to the poor, he was eagerly followed by multitudes who were ready to receive and obey the truth. The archbishop of Lions being informed that Valdo (or Waldo) thus instructed the people, and boldly condemned the vices, luxury, and pride of the pope and his clergy, forbade him on pain of excommunication; and proceeded against him as being a heretick.

Valdo replied, "that he could not be silent in a cause of so great importance as the salvation of men's souls, wherein he must obey God, rather than man." The archbishop then sought to have him apprehended, but could not effect it. Valdo's friends being numerous and powerful, and being generally beloved, he continued in Lions three years in obscurity.

Pope Alexander the Third, having been informed that divers persons in Lions questioned his supremacy over the whole church, cursed Valdo and his adherents; commanding the archbishop to proceed against them by ecclesiastical censures, to their utter extirpation; whereupon they were wholly driven from Lions. From Valdo, his followers were called Waldenses, who spread themselves into divers countries and companies.

The opinions of the Waldenses, for which they were declaimed against, and cruelly persecuted by the Romanists, were these:

1. That holy oil is not to be mingled in baptism.
2. That all such prayers are superstitious and vain, which are made over the oil, salt, wax, incense, boughs of olives and palms, ecclesiastical garments, chalices, church-yards, and such like things.
3. That time is spent in vain, in ecclesiastical singings, and saying the canonical hours.
4. That flesh and eggs may be eaten in Lent; and that there is no merit in abstinence at such times.
5. That when necessity requires, all sorts of persons may marry, ministers as well as others.
6. That auricular confession is not necessary.
7. That confirmation is not a sacrament.
8. That obedience is not to be performed to the pope.
9. That ministers should live upon tithes and offerings.
10. That there is no difference between a bishop and a minister.
11. That it is not the dignity, but deserts of a presbyter, that makes him a better man.
12. That they administer the sacrament, without the accustomed form of the Roman church.
13. They said that images were to be taken out of churches, and that to adore them was idolatry.
14. They contemned the pope's indulgences, and said, that they were of no virtue.
15. They refused to take any oath, whereby they should be enforced to accuse themselves, or their friends.
16. They maintained their ministers out of their own purses, thinking it unreasonable that such should be di-

verted from their studies, whilst they were forced to get their livings with their own hands.

17. They held, that the miracles done in the church of Rome were false miracles.

18. That the religion of the friars' mendicant was invented by the devil.

19. That no species of wickedness should be licensed by law, under pretence of avoiding adultery.

20. That there is no purgatory, wherein the souls of the deceased are to be purged, before they be admitted into heaven.

21. That a presbyter, falling into scandalous sin, ought to be suspended from his office, till he had sufficiently testified his repentance.

22. That the saints deceased are not to be worshipped and prayed unto.

23. That it matters not, for the place of their burial, whether it were holy or no.

24. They admitted no extreme unction amongst the sacraments of the church.

25. They said, that masses, indulgences, and prayers, do not profit the dead.

26. They admitted no prayers, but such as did correspond with the Lord's Prayer; which they made the rule of all their prayers.

27. Lastly, though their adversaries charged them with holding that every layman might freely preach to the people, yet they had bishops and orders among themselves; as the order of Bulgary, the order of Druguria: and they who were their ministers, were ordained thereunto, though they were not of the Romish institution, as Nicolaus Viguierius, and others, report of them.

Valdo himself went into Dauphiny, conversing in the mountains of the same province with the rude peasantry, capable of receiving his belief: his disciples also spread into Picardy, whence they were called Picards. Against these, king Philip, enforced by the ecclesiasticks, took arms, and overthrew three hundred gentlemen's houses, destroyed some walled towns, and pursued these protes-

tants into Flanders, and caused many of them to be burnt to death.

This persecution urged their flight into Germany and Alsatia, where they spread their doctrine; and shortly after, the bishops of Mayence and Strasburgh raised up a great persecution against them, causing five and thirty burgesses of Mayence to be burnt in one fire, and eighteen in another, who with great constancy suffered death.

At Strasburgh eighty were burnt, at the instance of the bishop; yet multitudes of people received such edification by the exhortations, constancy, and patience of the martyrs, that, A. D. 1315, in the county of Passau, and about Bohemia, above eighty thousand persons made profession of the faith of those martyrs.

A. D. 1160, some came into England, and at Oxford were punished in the most barbarous and cruel manner for religion's sake. Three years after, in the council of Tours in France, Pope Alexander the Third caused a decree to be made, "that the gossellers, and all their favourers, should be excommunicated; and that none should sell them any thing, or buy any thing of them."

In 1194, Alphonsus, King of Arragon, by the instigation of Pope Celestine, and misinformation of his clergy, published the following edict against this persecuted people.

"Alphonsus, by the grace of God, King of Arragon, &c. To all archbishops, bishops, and the rest of the prelates of the church in his kingdom; to earls, viscounts, knights, and all the people of his kingdom; and to all that are in authority, health, &c. Because God would have us to be over his people, it is a worthy and just thing that we take continual care, as far as in us lies, of the salvation and defence of them: wherefore, being imitators of our predecessors, and in obedience to the canons, we judge, that all hereticks cast out of the sight of God, and of all catholics, are to be condemned, and persecuted every where, namely, the Waldenses, or poor men of Lions, whereof there is no small number, who being cursed by his holy church, we also command to depart, and fly from all our kingdoms, and places within our power, as

enemies to the cross of Christ, ourselves, and this kingdom: Therefore, whosoever from this day forward shall presume to receive the foresaid Waldenses into their houses, or to hear their doleful preaching, or to give them meat, or any other relief; let him know, that he hath incurred the indignation of God, and of us, and that he shall be punished as a traitor, and all his goods shall be confiscated without remedy or appeal. And this our edict, we command to be published upon Sundays, by bishops, and all rectors of churches, &c. through all our dominions. And we command that the foresaid punishments be inflicted upon all transgressors of it, by our bailiffs, justices, &c. And if any of the foresaid naughty people, whether noble or ignoble, shall presume to stay three days after the publication hereof, and not haste their removal; we will and command all men to bring upon them all mischief, disgrace, and aggrivance (except death, or cutting off their members) which shall be grateful and acceptable to us; neither shall they fear any punishment for the same, &c."

But, by the just retribution of God, Alphonsus the very next year lost part of his kingdom to the Moors, and his son, fifty thousand of his men slain in one battle.

But Valdo, notwithstanding all the curses of the Pope, continued to publish, "that the pope was Anti-Christ, the mass an abomination, the host an idol, and purgatory a fable." Upon this, Pope Innocent the Third, A. D. 1198, finding that other remedies were insufficient to suppress these hereticks, as he called them, authorised monks as inquisitors, who by process should apprehend and deliver them to the secular power, by a far shorter, but much more cruel way than was formerly used. By these means the people were delivered by thousands into the magistrates' hands, and to the executioners; and in a few years all Christendom was moved with compassion, to see numbers burnt and hanged, for trusting only in Christ for salvation.

This measure of the Pope did not suppress, but rather increased the number of his enemies; he therefore sent bishops and monks to preach among the Waldenses; but their preaching converted none from their former opinions.

Amongst those monks was Dominic, a zealous persecutor of the saints of God; who instituted an order of begging monks, called Dominicans; this order was confirmed by the Pope, for their zealous assistance against the Waldenses; and Dominic laboured in the inquisition so much to the pope's satisfaction, that thence forward the monks of his order have always been employed in the Inquisition.

The power of these inquisitors was without limitation; they could assemble the people by the sound of a bell, whenever they pleased; proceed against bishops; imprison and release without control; any accusation was sufficient with them; a sorcerer, a debauchee, was a sufficient witness in the case of pretended heresy: it mattered not who accused, or whether by word of mouth, or ticket thrown in before the inquisitor; for process was thereby framed without party, without witness, or without other law than the pleasure of the inquisitors.

To be rich was a crime allied to heresy, and he that had any thing to lose was in the way to ruin, either as a heretick, or as a favorer of heresy: bare suspicion stopped the mouths of parents, kinsfolk, and friends, that they durst not intercede for each other! If any person conveyed a cup of cold water, or some straw to the poor sufferers, who lay in stinking dungeons, he was condemned as a favorer of the hereticks, and brought to the same or worse extremities.

No advocate dared to advocate the defence of his nearest kinsman, or friends: nor any notary to receive any act in their favour; even death itself made not an end of their punishment, for some times they passed sentence against the bones of the dead, to disinter and burn them, thirty years after the death of the party accused.

Such as were heirs had no certainty of their estates, for if their fathers or kindred were accused, they durst not undertake the defence of their own right, or possess their inheritance, without the crime or suspicion of heresy. The greatest and richest amongst the people were constrained even to adore those inquisitors, and to give them great sums for the building of their convents and houses, for fear of being accused as hereticks.

And the better to keep the people in awe, the inquisitors would sometimes lead in triumph their prisoners in their processions, enjoining some of them to whip themselves, others to go in their shirts bare-foot and bare-headed, having a withe about their necks; and a torch in their hands, for the greater terror to the beholders, seeing persons of all estates and sexes in so miserable a condition.

Some of the accused persons were sent into the Holy Land, or enrolled for some other expedition against the Turks and infidels, where they were to serve for a certain time at their own charge: in the mean time the fathers inquisitors took possession of their houses and goods, and when they returned home, they must not so much as inquire whether these monks had in their absence lain with their wives, lest they would be condemned as backsliders, and unworthy of favor.

A knight, one of these Waldenses, called Enraudus, A. D. 1201, whom Henry, earl of Nevers, had made governor of his land, was accused of heresy, and brought before the pope's legate, who called a council at Paris against him, consisting of archbishops, bishops, and ministers of Paris; who, after examination of witnesses, condemned him for a heretick, and delivered him to the secular power, by whom he was burned.

Between the years 1176 and 1228, there was such havock made of the Christians, that the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, being assembled at the request of the inquisitors, to confer with them about divers difficulties in the execution of their offices, had compassion on the great number that were accused and cast into prison, saying, "We hear that you have apprehended such a multitude of the Waldenses, that it is not only impossible to defray the charge of their food, but to provide lime and stone to build prisons for them; we therefore advise you to forbear this rigour till the pope be advertised, and direct what he will have done in this case," &c. Yet with all this cruelty, in the year 1260, according to Morrel's Memorials, p. 54, above eight hundred thousand persons had made profession of the faith of the Waldenses.

Besides the churches in Valantinois, where the faith was propagated from the father to the son, the true religion spread beyond the Alps into the valley of Pragela, within the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Turin, from whence were peopled the Waldensian valleys of Piedmont, La Perouse, St. Martain, Angrogne, &c. The valley of Pragela was one of the safest retiring places that the Waldenses had, being environed on all sides by mountains almost inaccessible. Into the caves of that valley they retired in the times of persecution: and though they were weakened on all sides, environed with enemies, and in danger of being apprehended, yet was there never any worldly respect that had power to alter their holy resolution.

The pastors also not only preached on the sabbath days, but went in the week days to instruct them in the villages and hamlets, not sparing themselves for the roughness of the rocks, the coldness of the air, and the cragginess of the country, where they were obliged to climb up high mountains to visit their flocks.

Holy discipline was also exercised among them: the people prayed with fervency at night when they went to their rest, and in the morning before they went about their labour; they also had schools wherein their children were taught and nurtured.

Whilst they thus busily sought the advancement of God's glory, and their own salvation, a persecution was raised against them, A. D. 1380, by an inquisitor named Francis Boralli, who had a commission to enquire after the Waldenses in Aix, Arles, Ambrun, Vienne, Geneva, Ambone, Savoy, the Venetian county, the principality of Orange, the city of Avignon, &c. from Pope Clement the seventh.

This monk cited to appear before him at Ambrun, all inhabitants of Frassiniera, Argentier, and of the valley Pute, upon pain of excommunication: but when they did not appear, they were condemned for contumacy, and excommunicated: and for the space of thirteen years, as he caught any of them, he delivered them to the secular power to be burnt at Grenoble. The number of these

amounted to a hundred and fifty men, many women, their sons and daughters, besides about eighty persons of Argentier.

The inquisitors also adjudged to themselves two parts of all their goods, and the third part to the temporal powers. They forbade all their bordering neighbours to assist, receive, visit, or defend them, or to converse with them in any sort, upon pain of being attainted, and punished as favourers of hereticks, &c.

The Waldenses of the valley of Pragela, in 1400, were assaulted by their enemies on the side of Susa in Piedmont: but most of their assaults proved in vain, as the Waldenses retired into high mountains, hiding themselves in caves and hollow places, from whence they resisted those that came to assail them. Their enemies then came upon them unsuspected in the depth of winter, when all the mountains were covered with snow; the persecuted then retired into the highest mountain of the Alps, with their wives and children, the mothers carrying some in their cradles, and leading others by the hand: but the enemy followed them till night, and slew many before they could recover the mountain; and they which were slain had the best fortune: for night coming on, these poor people being in the snow, without any means to make a fire for their infants, in the morning above eighty of them were discovered frozen to death in their cradles; most of their mothers also died, and divers others were at the last gasp: their enemies lay all night in these people's houses, which they ransacked and pillaged, and so returned to Susa; but, by the way, meeting with a poor Waldensian woman, they hanged her upon a tree, and so departed.

The Waldenses of the valley of Frassiniera were much persecuted by the Archbishop of Ambrun, in 1460, who made a monk called John Vayleti his commissioner against them. This monk proceeded with such diligence and violence, that scarcely any person could escape his hands, but was either apprehended for a heretick, or a favourer of hereticks, by which means many papists suffered amongst the rest, which caused them to petition king

Lewis the eleventh of France, by his authority to stay the course of that persecution. The king wrote to the governour of Dauphine, signifying, "that whereas the inquisitors had daily sent forth their process against many poor people in those parts without reasonable cause, putting some to the rack, and condemning them for matters whereof they were never guilty, and which they could not prove by any witness: and of others they had exacted great sums of money, and divers ways had unjustly vexed and molested them: he therefore decreed that for the time to come all such process should be void, and of none effect, nor any wrong done to them in body, goods, or good name, except there were any that obstinately maintained and affirmed any thing against the holy catholic faith."

Notwithstanding this, the archbishop prosecuted them to the uttermost of his power, and caused most of them to flee the country, except James Pateneri, who averring before the court that he was unjustly vexed, contrary to the king's letters, demanded a copy of the proceedings, that he might have his remedy by law: upon this the archbishop left him, and fell upon those whom he supposed to want similar courage, citing the consuls of Frassiniera to answer for themselves, and all the inhabitants of their valley: but they also refused, observing, "that they had nothing to say before the archbishop, seeing their cause was now depending before the king and his council, protesting against the archbishop's power, and demanding a copy of the king's letter." But the archbishop, notwithstanding this protestation, condemned them to the flames, without any other indictment. Shortly after, however, the archbishop died by the stroke of God's justice, and so ended his persecution, A. D. 1487.

The villany of the inquisitor on these occasions is not to be forgotten, when he examined any of the Waldenses, "whether they believed that the bread in the sacrament, after the consecration, was changed into the real and natural body of Christ which hung upon the cross?" If the Waldenses answered, "No," he set down his answer thus, "that they believed not in God." When he asked,

“whether we ought not to pray to saints?” If they answered, “No,” he set down, “that they railed upon, and spoke evil of the saints.” When he enquired, “whether we ought not to pray to the Virgin Mary in our necessities?” if they answered, “No,” he set down, “that they spoke blasphemy against the Virgin Mary,” &c. By God’s providence those records were kept in the archbishop of Ambrun’s house, till the city and their records fell into the hands of the protestants a hundred years after, and all their knavery was discovered.

The first persecution in Piedmont was occasioned by the priests, who complained to the archbishop of Turin that these people lived not according to the manner and belief of the church of Rome; that they offered not for the dead, cared not for masses, absolutions, or to get any of theirs out of the pains of purgatory, &c. The archbishop complained of them to the prince to make them odious: but he, enquiring of their neighbours, found the accusation to be a mere calumny. He therefore purposed not to molest them: but the priests and monks delivered them to the inquisitors, and the inquisitors to the executioners, so that there was scarcely a town in Piedmont where some of them had not been put to death.

To recite all the outrages, cruelties, and villanies practised against them, would be tedious: many fled, and their houses and goods were ransacked and spoiled. One of their ministers was apprehended, and put to a shameful and cruel death, but he evinced such admirable patience as astonished his very adversaries. Some were taken and sent to be galley-slaves; yet others yielded to their adversaries, and were more cruelly handled than those that remained constant in the truth.

Three of the most cruel persecutors of these faithful servants of Jesus Christ, were, Thomas Jacomel, a monk, an apostate, that had renounced the known truth, and persecuted mortally and maliciously the poor Christians against his own conscience: he was a debauchee and given over to all villanies. His delight was to spoil, rob, and torment the captive Waldenses. The second was a collateral, called Corbis, who, in the examination of the

prisoners, was very rigorous, and burnt many: but in the end, feeling remorse of conscience, he protested, "that he would meddle with them no more." The third was the provost of justice, who lay in wait in the high-ways to apprehend them, when they went abroad in the morning to the market.

The monks of Pignerol also persecuted the churches near them, took the clergy prisoners, and kept them in their abbeys: then they assembled a company of ruffians, sending them to spoil the churches, and to take prisoners men, women, and children; of whom some by torments they forced to abjure; some they sent to the galleys; others they burnt.

These poor people were so harrassed that they were compelled to forsake their houses, and fly into the mountains, leaving their estates to the pillage of the robbers; so that many who had lived in comfort, and relieved others, were now obliged to crave relief and succour in return.

The monks, with their troops of ruffians, continuing to molest and persecute these people, they asked their ministers, "whether it were not lawful for them to defend themselves against such violence?" the ministers answered, "that it was, only they advised them to avoid bloodshed as much as might be." This question being resolved, their neighbours of Luserne and Angrogne sent aid to their friends of St. Germain against the monks.

In the summer, many of these Waldenses went into the fields to reap their harvest, and were all taken prisoners; but they escaped out of prison, to the great astonishment of their adversaries. At the same time, others, who had been long in prison, and expected nothing but death, through divine providence, were delivered in a surprising manner.

During this time the inhabitants of Angrogne, being at their harvest, perceived a company of soldiers spoiling the inhabitants of St. Germain: upon which, the people of Angrogne ran thither; some by the valley, others over the mountain: those who went by the valley, to the number of fifty men, met with the spoilers, who were a

hundred and twenty men well armed, whom they fought and overthrew. Some were drowned, and but few escaped; not one of the Angrogne men being hurt in the fight.

This defeat so affrighted the monks, that they ran away from their abbey to Pignerol, to save their relics and images, which they carried thither: and if the protestant ministers would have suffered their people to have attempted it, they might easily have freed their brethren who were imprisoned in the abbey.

After this the monks, being assisted by a martial officer, took many of the inhabitants of the valley of Luserne prisoners, spoiling their goods, driving away their cattle, and causing them to be ransomed for great sums of money.

CHAP. II.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE ALBIGENSES.

The Albigenses were people of the reformed religion, who inhabited the country of Albi, now Languedoc; and were condemned in the council of Lateran, for their religious principles, by order of Pope Alexander the Third. Nevertheless, they increased so prodigiously, that many cities were inhabited by persons of that persuasion, and several eminent noblemen embraced their doctrines. Among the latter were—Raymond earl of Thoulouse, Raymond earl of Foix, the earl of Beziers, &c. The pope, at length, pretending that he wished to draw them to the Romish faith by sound argument and clear reasoning, ordered a general disputation, in which, however, the popish doctors were entirely overcome by the arguments of Arnold, a reformed clergyman, about which period a friar, named Peter, having been murdered in the dominions of the Earl of Thoulouse, the pope made that murder a pretence to persecute the earl and his subjects. To effect this he sent persons throughout all Europe, in order to raise forces against the Albigenses, and promised paradise to all that would engage in this war (which he termed a Holy War) and bear arms for forty days. The same in-

dulgences were likewise held out to all who should enter themselves for this purpose, as to such as engaged in crusades to the Holy Land.

The pope then sent orders to all archbishops, bishops, &c. to excommunicate the Earl of Thoulouse every sabbath and festival; at the same time absolving all his subjects from their allegiance to him, and commanding them to pursue his person, possess his lands, destroy his property, and murder such of his subjects as continued faithful to him, &c. &c.

The Earl of Thoulouse hearing of these mighty preparations against him, wrote to the pope in a submissive manner, desiring not to be condemned unheard, and assuring him, that he had not the least hand in Peter's death; for that friar was killed by a gentleman, who immediately after the murder fled out of his territories, or otherwise he would have punished him as the crime deserved.

But arguments were in vain, the pope being determined on his destruction. A formidable army, with several noblemen and prelates at the head of it, began their march against the Albigenses. The earl had only the alternative, to oppose force to force, or submit.^o As he despaired of success in attempting the former, he determined on the latter. The pope's legate being at Valence, the earl repaired thither, and expressed his surprise, "that such a number of armed men should be sent against him, before the least proof of his guilt had been deduced. He had, therefore, come voluntarily to surrender himself, armed only with the testimony of a good conscience, and hoped that the troops would be prevented from plundering his innocent subjects, as he thought himself a sufficient pledge for any vengeance they chose to take on account of the death of the friar."

To this reasonable proposal the legate replied, "that he was very glad the earl had voluntarily surrendered, but, with respect to the proposal, he could not pretend to countermand the orders to the troops, unless he would consent to deliver up seven of his best fortified castles, as securities for his future behaviour."

This demand made the earl perceive his error too late,

in submitting; but considering himself a prisoner, he sent an order for the delivery of the castles, which the pope's legate had so soon garrisoned, than he ordered the respective governours to appear before him. When they came, he said, "that the Earl of Thoulouse having delivered up his castles to the pope, they must consider that they were now the pope's subjects, and not the earl's; and that they must act conformably to their new allegiance."

The governours were astonished to see their lord thus in chains, and themselves compelled into a new allegiance, so much against their inclinations and consciences. But what afflicted them still more, were the affronts afterwards put upon the earl; for he was stripped to his drawers, led nine times round the grave of friar Peter, and severely scourged before the lowest populace. Not contented with this, they obliged him to swear that he would be obedient to the pope during the remainder of his life, conform to the church of Rome, and make irreconcilable war against the Albigenses. The legate even went further than this, and ordered him, by the oaths he had newly taken, to join the troops, and inspect the siege of Beziers. But thinking this too hard an injunction, he took an opportunity privately to quit the army, and determined to go to the pope, and relate all the ill usage he had received. The army, however, proceeded to besiege Beziers; and the Earl of Beziers, who was likewise governour of that city, thinking it impossible to defend the place, came out, and presenting himself before the pope's legate, implored mercy for the inhabitants; intimating, at the same time, that there were as many Roman catholicks as Albigenses in the city. The legate replied, that "all excuses availed nothing; that the place must be delivered up at discretion, or the most dreadful consequences should ensue."

The Earl of Beziers returning into the city, told the inhabitants he could obtain no mercy, unless the Albigenses would abjure their religion, and conform to the worship of the church of Rome. The Roman catholicks pressed the Albigenses to comply with this request; but the Albigenses nobly answered, "that they would not forsake their re-

igion for the base price of their frail life: that God was able, if he pleased, to defend them; but if he would be glorified by the confession of their faith, it would be a great honour to them to die for his sake. That they had rather displease the pope, who could but kill their bodies, than God, who could cast both body and soul into hell."

The popish party finding their importunities ineffectual, sent their bishop to the pope's legate, beseeching him not to include them in the chastisement of the Aibigenses; and representing, that the best means to win the latter over to the Roman catholick persuasion was by gentle means, and not by rigour. The legate, upon hearing this, flew into a violent passion with the bishop, and declared, that "if all the city did not acknowledge their fault, they should taste of one curse, without distinction of religion, sex, or age."

The inhabitants refusing to yield upon such terms, a general assault was given, and the place taken by storm; when it is impossible for the imagination to paint a more horrid scene than that which ensued. Every cruelty that barbarity and superstition could devise was practised; nothing was to be heard but the groans of men who lay weltering in their blood, the lamentations of mothers who were doubly wounded, wounded in the body by the spears of the soldiers, and to the soul, by having their children taken from them, and dashed to pieces before their faces. The plaints of violated maidens and ravished matrons, the cries of helpless infants, and the execrations of the barbarians who committed these cruelties, added to the sounds of horror. The city being fired in various parts, new scenes of confusion arose; in several places the streets were streaming with blood; lofty buildings appeared in clouds of smoke, and large ranges of houses were seen in flames. Those who had hid themselves in the recesses of their dwellings had only the dreadful alternative to remain and perish in the flames, or rush out and fall by the swords of the soldiers. The blood-thirsty legate, during these infernal proceedings, seemed to enjoy the carnage, and even cried out to the troops, "kill them, kill them all, kill man, woman, and child; kill Roman catholicks as well

the Albigenes, for when they are dead the Lord knows how to pick out his own." Thus the beautiful city of Beziers was reduced to a heap of ruins; and 60,000 persons of both sexes, and different ages, were inhumanly massacred.

The Earl of Beziers and a few others made their escape, and went to Carcasson, which they put into the best posture of defence they could. The legate, unwilling to lose an opportunity of spilling blood during the forty days which the troops were to serve, led them immediately against Carcasson. As soon as the place was invested, a furious assault was given, but the besiegers were repulsed with great slaughter; upon this occasion the Earl of Beziers gave the most distinguished proofs of his courage, saying, to encourage the besieged, "we had better die fighting than fall into the hands of such bigoted and merciless enemies."

It is to be observed, that two miles from the city of Carcasson there was a small town of the same name, which the Albigenes had likewise fortified. The legate, being enraged at the repulse he had received from the city of Carcasson, determined to wreak his vengeance upon the town. The next morning he made a general assault; and, though the place was bravely defended, the legate took it by storm, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and then consumed the town by fire.

During these transactions the King of Arragon arrived at the camp, and after paying his obedience to the legate, told him, he understood the Earl of Beziers, his kinsman, was in the city of Carcasson, and that if he would grant him permission he would go thither, and endeavour to make him sensible of the duty he owed both to the pope and church. The legate readily acquiescing, the king immediately repaired to the earl, and, among other questions, asked him "from what motives he shut himself up in that city, and against so great an army?" The earl answered, "it was to defend his life, goods, and subjects; that he knew the pope, under pretence of religion, resolved to destroy his uncle, the Earl of Thoulouse, and himself; that he saw the cruelty which they had used at Be-

ziers, even against the priests: adding also what they had done to the town of Carcasson, and that they must look for no mercy from the legate or his army; he, therefore, rather chose to die, defending himself with his subjects, than fall into the hands of so inexorable an enemy as the legate; that though he had in his city some that were of another religion, yet they were such as had not wronged any, were come to his succour in his greatest extremity, and for their good service he was resolved not to abandon them; that his trust was in God, the defender of the oppressed; and that he would assist them against those ill-advised men, who forsook their own houses to burn, sack, and kill other men without reason, judgment, or mercy."

The king reported to the legate what the earl had said: the legate, after considering for some time, replied, "for your sake, sir, I will receive the Earl of Beziers to mercy, and with him twelve others shall be safe, and be permitted to retire with their property; but as for the rest, I am determined to have them at my discretion."

This answer displeased the king; and when the earl heard it, he absolutely refused to comply with such terms. The legate then commanded another assault, but his troops were again repulsed with great slaughter, and the dead bodies occasioned a stench that was exceedingly offensive both to the besieged and the besiegers.

The legate, chagrined at this disappointment, determined to act by stratagem, and sent one of his attendants, well skilled in dissimulation and artifice, to the Earl of Beziers, with a seeming friendly message. The design was, by any means, to induce the earl to leave the city in order to have an interview with the legate; and to this end the messenger was to promise, or swear, whatever he thought proper; "for," says the legate, "swear to what falsehoods you choose in such a cause, I will give you absolution."

Unfortunately, this infamous plot succeeded: for the earl, believing the promises made him of personal security, and crediting the solemn oaths that the perjured agent swore upon the occasion, left the city, and went with him. The legate no sooner saw him, than he told him, "he was

a prisoner, and must remain so till Carcasson was surrendered, and the inhabitants taught their duty to the pope."

The earl, on hearing this, cried out that he was betrayed, and exclaimed against the treachery of the legate, and the perjury of the person he had employed. His complaints, however, availed him nothing, for he was ordered into close confinement, and the place summoned to surrender immediately.

The people, on receiving the summons, and hearing of the captivity of the earl, were thrown into the utmost consternation, when one of the citizens, begging to be heard, informed the rest, "that he had been formerly told by some old men, that there was a very capacious subterraneous passage, which led from thence to the castle of Cameret, at three leagues distance. If (continued he) we can find this passage, we may all escape before the legate can in the least be apprized of our flight."

This information was joyfully received; all were employed to search for the passage, and, at length, it was happily found. In the beginning of the evening the inhabitants began their flight, taking with them their wives, children, a few days provisions, and such moveables as were most valuable and portable. They reached the castle by the morning, and escaped to Arragon, Catalonia, and such other places as they thought would secure them from the power of the bloody legate.

In the morning, the troops were strangely astonished, not hearing any noise, or seeing any man stirring in the city; yet they approached the walls with much fear, lest it should be but a stratagem to endanger them; but finding no opposition, they mounted the walls, crying out, that the Albigenses were fled; and thus was the city, with all the spoils, taken, and the Earl of Beziers committed to prison in one of the strongest towers of Carcasson, where he soon after died.

The legate being now in possession of the city, called all the prelates and great lords of his army together, telling them, that though it was requisite there should be always a legate in the army, yet it was likewise necessary that there should be a secular general, wise and valiant,

to command in all their affairs, &c. This charge was first offered to the duke of Burgogne, then to the earl of Ennevers, and thirdly, to the earl of St. Paul: but they all refused it. At length it was offered to Simon, earl of Montfort, who, after some excuses, accepted it.

Four thousand men were left to garrison Carcasson, and the deceased earl of Beziers was succeeded in title and dignity by earl Simon, a bigoted Roman catholic, who threatened vengeance on the Albigenses, unless they conformed to the worship of the church of Rome.

CHAP. III.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE HORRID MASSACRE OF THE PROTESTANTS IN PARIS AND OTHER PARTS OF FRANCE.

Henry, the prince of Navarre, was, on August 17, A. D. 1572, married to lady Margaret, sister to the king of France; and the admiral Coligni, who was present at the wedding, was so far deluded, as to call it "not a marriage of individuals, but a marriage between the churches of the Roman catholics and protestants." Immediately after the marriage, the king of France took Coligni aside, and said, "Sir, I am sensible that you will carry yourself honourably towards the family of Guise; but I am not sensible that the individuals of that family will act with equal candour towards you: therefore, as they have brought a great number of armed men into Paris, under pretence of gracing the nuptials, although I did not require their attendance; I hope you will think it owing to my affection for you, if I introduce some troops for your protection."

Coligni, through the honesty of his own heart, still unsuspecting the fraud in that of another, believed the royal dissembler, and thanked him for introducing an armed force, which was designed to cut the throats of the protestants, and to perform one of the bloodiest tragedies ever recorded in history.

The day after this conference, Coligni was wounded as he was coming from the Louvre, by three musket balls

discharged from a window; one ball broke the fore-finger of his right hand; the other two entered his left arm.— He bore this affliction with admirable patience, and instead of repining, said, “If God had dealt with me according to my deserts, I should have been more severely treated; but blessed be his holy name, who hath dealt with me so lovingly and so kindly.” The king of France and queen-mother visited Coligni on the occasion, and sitting by his bedside, condoled with him, and acted with their usual dissimulation. The protestant nobility likewise assembled, when one of them told him, that the best thing he could do was to leave Paris immediately; “for,” said he, “this is only the prologue to a bloody tragedy, which I expect will shortly ensue. Many circumstances give me reason for the surmise: in particular, many papists, on the wedding-day of the king of Navarre, had been heard to say, that more blood should be spilt soon after, than wine had been drank at the nuptial feast.— The president of the senate advised a protestant nobleman for whom he had a friendship, to retire for a few days into the country with his family; and the bishop of Valentia, previous to his setting off on his embassy to Poland, said to the Count de Rochefoucault, a protestant nobleman, *Be not blinded with the smoke of a court, but withdraw yourself and friends in time, that you may be out of danger.* These particulars give me just reason to apprehend some impending mischief.” After, however, canvassing the matter fully, the motion for removing from Paris was unhappily overruled, and the chief persons of the reformed religion determined to remain in the city.

The next day a gentleman went to the king, and informed him of several suspicious circumstances, but more particularly of the great quantity of warlike weapons which were carrying to the houses of certain Roman catholick gentlemen; and therefore he humbly begged, that Coligni might be provided with a guard, to secure him from any insult. The king morosely replied, “Let Cossen, with fifty men, guard him.” The gentlemen objected to this for two reasons; because Cossen was a bigoted Roman catholick, and because he was an enemy to

the admiral. The king, however, in a peremptory tone, said, "it shall be so," and the gentleman, not daring to contradict him, departed.

Cossen, agreeably to the royal mandate, at the head of fifty men, took possession of the two houses adjoining that in which Coligni resided; and most of the other houses in the street were soon after filled with Roman catholic troops, who occupied them under various pretences. A council was then held at the palace, in which were present the king of France, the queen mother, the duke of Anjou, the duke of Nevers, the bastard of Angoulême, and several others; and the general massacre of all the protestants of Paris was now fully determined on, exempting only two by name, viz. the king of Navarre, and the young prince of Condé. (2)

A few hours previous to the massacre, the young duke of Guise, who was to be principally entrusted in the affair, called together the French and Swiss officers, and told them, "that the time was come in which the king was to be revenged of the protestants; the beast is caught," said he, "let him not therefore escape; your triumph will be glorious, your victory easy, and the spoils great." The duke then sent to the provost of the city, and commanded him to assemble the aldermen of the respective wards, that they might be ready to receive the king's commands: when they met together, the same orders were given to them as to the officers; and they were told, that the signal for beginning the bloody business, was to be the ringing of a bell in the Louvre; and the tokens, by which to know each other, were to be white crosses in their hats.

The dreadful hour arrived, and the fatal bell was tolled about twelve o'clock at night, on the eve of the solemnity of St. Bartholomew, 1572, which that year happened to be on a sabbath. The signal thus given, the duke of Guise hastened to Coligni's house, at the head of a body of troops, and joined Cossen, who, with his guard, it was pretended, were to defend the admiral. They knocked vio-

(2) The queen dowager of Navarre was destroyed by poison, before this massacre was begun; and was a noble martyr to the protestant cause.

lently at Coligni's door, when Labornius, one of his servants, immediately opened it, and was instantly stabbed by Cossen. A number of troops, with Cossen at the head of them, then entered the house; but the duke of Guise remained in the court-yard. These assassins ranged through the several apartments, murdered all they met, and at length came to Coligni's chamber. That brave devoted martyr, when he saw them, said, "I have long prepared myself for death, and now that I shall find it, commend my soul to the Almighty God." A German soldier, named Besme, first wounded him; after which Cossen, and several others, completed the murder. The duke of Guise called out from below, "Is the business done?" The murderers replied it was; and, to convince him, threw the body out of the window. The corpse was then treated with great indignity; and a person belonging to the duke of Nevers cut off the head, and carried it to the king.—The cruel monarch appeared pleased with the sight, and the bloody-minded queen-mother ordered it to be embalmed, and sent as a present to the pope. The headless corpse was dragged about the streets, with great indignity, for several days, indecently mangled, and then hung upon a gibbet, with the shoulders downwards. This was the end of one of the greatest men France ever produced; who, by a glorious martyrdom, concluded a life spent in the service of the Almighty.

Immediately after the murder of Coligni, the attendants and domesticks of the king of Navarre and the young prince of Condé were basely butchered, and the streets of Paris streamed with protestant blood. In some measure, to palliate their cruelties, the Roman catholicks, while they were murdering the innocent people, cried out, "Vile wretches, this is for wanting to overturn the constitution of your country; this is for conspiring to murder the king." Rank, sex, or age, were no protections; nobles sunk beneath the daggers of ruffians; the tears of beauty made no impression on the hearts of bigotry; the silver hairs of venerable age, and the piteous cries of helpless infancy, were alike disregarded. Malignity steelled the hearts of the papists; and infatuation directed the

sword of false zeal, to pierce the bosoms of piety and innocence. The lamentations of distress, the shrieks of terrour, and the groans of the dying, were music to the ears of the furious murderers: they enjoyed the horrors of slaughter, and triumphed over the mangled carcasses of those whom they had so inhumanly butchered.

Upon this dreadful occasion, swords, pistols, muskets, cutlasses, daggers, and other instruments of death, had been put into the hands of above sixty thousand furious and bigoted papists, who, in a frantic manner, ran up and down the streets of Paris, uttering the most horrid blasphemies, and committing the most unaccustomed barbarities. It is almost beyond the power of imagination to paint, or of language to describe, the cruelties that were acted on that fatal night, and the two succeeding days.—The infirm were murdered in the bed of sickness; the aged stabbed while tottering on their crutches; children snatched from their mothers, and tossed on the points of spears; infants strangled in their cradles; women ripped open, and men indiscriminately murdered by various means. The confusion and horrors of the scene were dreadful! Oaths, shoutings, shrieks, and the discharge of fire-arms, were heard in all quarters: houses were defiled with the blood of their owners; the streets strewed with carcasses; and the waters of the Seine appeared of a crimson colour, from the number of mangled bodies which had been thrown into that river.

Several ruffians entered the house of Monsieur De la Place, president of the court of requests, and having plundered it of above a thousand crowns, they took that gentleman into the street, stabbed him with their daggers, laid his body in a stable, covered his face with dung, and the next day threw him into the Seine.

Peter Ramus, the royal professor of logick, was seized in the college over which he presided, for professing protestant tenets; and after being murdered, his body was thrown out of the window, and trailed about the streets in derision, by several boys, who were ordered so to do by their popish tutors.

Some soldiers entering the house of a doctor of civil

law, demanded a sight of his library. With this he complied, when finding some protestant books, they took him into the street, and beat out his brains with a club. A cook, who had hid himself on the first alarm, being pressed by thirst, came from his lurking-place to procure food, but was immediately murdered; and an apothecary, who was carrying some medicines to a patient, met with the same fate.

Three hundred and fifty Protestants were confined in a place called the Archbishop's Prison. To this place a number of soldiers repaired, picked their pockets of what money they had, took from them such garments as they thought proper to appropriate to their own uses, and then drawing their swords, cut them to pieces without the least remorse.

A Protestant merchant, named Francis Bassu, expecting to share the fate of other Protestants, thus addressed his two sons: "Children, be not terrified at what may happen: it is the portion of true believers, to be hated and persecuted by unbelievers, as sheep are devoured by wolves. But remember, that if we suffer for Christ, we shall reign with him: therefore let not drawn swords terrify you, they will be but a bridge over which to pass to eternal life." He had scarcely uttered these words, ere the murderers broke in, and cut to pieces the father and both his sons.

After the massacre had subsided, the inhuman assassins paraded the streets, boasting that they had dyed their white cockades red with the blood of the Huguenots. On seeing a multitude of dead bodies lay about, a popish apothecary suggested that money might be made of the fat contained in them; the plumpest bodies were accordingly selected, and the fat being extracted from them, was sold for three shillings per pound: A shocking instance of the most depraved cruelty! The inhabitants of the villages which lay below Paris, on the borders of the Seine, were astonished to see the number of dead bodies that floated down the stream; and even some of the Roman catholicks were so much touched with compassion, as to exclaim, "It surely could not be men, but devils in their

appearance, who transacted these cruelties." The pope's legate, soon after, gave all who were concerned in these murders a general absolution, plainly evincing that the Roman catholicks themselves thought these transactions criminal.

The King of France gave a formal account to the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé of the whole affair; and told them, at the same time, "he expected they should renounce their religion, as he had saved their lives with that expectation only." The King of Navarre only answered, *I beg you will recollect our late alliance, and not think of forcing my conscience*, but the Prince of Condé, with more spirit, replied, *you may seize my estates, property, and life, but my religion is out of your power*. This answer so much enraged the king, that he fell into a vehement passion, and threatened him violently; but becoming cool again, he thought proper to let his resentment subside, and suffered anger to give way to policy.

It was now represented to the king by his council, that the massacre would be ineffectual, if it did not extend to every part of the kingdom; for though all the protestants of Paris were murdered, yet if any were suffered to live in other parts of France, they would again increase in numbers, and spread to the metropolis. This occasioned the massacre to become more general, for the king sent orders to all the provinces to massacre the protestants.

At *Meaux*, the king's attorney, Cosset, having received the bloody mandate, ordered a number of ruffians to attend him at seven o'clock in the evening. At the appointed time, he commanded the city gates to be shut, and all the Protestants to be seized, which was immediately executed; many were murdered that night, and about two hundred of the principal persons were confined till the next day. On the ensuing morning, Cosset, and his murderers, went to the prison, and having a list of the confined protestants, called them one by one, and murdered them as they answered. They then plundered the houses of those who had been murdered, divided the spoil, gave an entertainment upon the occasion, and concluded the evening with illuminations.

At *Troyes*, the protestants were all seized, and put into dungeons. The provost then commanded the common executioner to go and murder them all. Shocked, however, at the inhumanity of the thing, the executioner had spirit enough to refuse, with this remarkable expression: *My office obliges me to execute none but such as are legally condemned.* But this did not save the protestants, for the provost engaged the gaoler to perform what the executioner had refused; they were all murdered, and their bodies buried in pits, dug on purpose, within the prison. While the bloody tragedy was performing, one of the ruffians struck at a protestant two or three times without killing him: the protestant then taking hold of the point of the halberd with which he had been wounded, placed it close to the left side of his breast, and then boldly cried, "*Push it to my heart, fellow, push it to my heart.*"

At *Orleans*, the massacre continued for a week, and a prodigious number of men, women, and children, were murdered; the general cry being, "*kill the Huguenots and take the spoil.*" Some who were weak enough to apostatize from their faith to save their lives, had weapons put into their hands, and were compelled to kill those of the religion they had forsaken, or to be murdered themselves; the Roman catholicks crying, in derision, all the time, "*Smite them smite them.*"

At *Lyons*, all the protestants' houses were plundered, and the slaughter almost incredible; at *Rouen*, six thousand were massacred; at *Thoulouse*, about three hundred were martyred; many were drowned at *Angiers*, and several were butchered at *Bourdeaux*, though happily, at the latter place, several escaped on board ship to *England*.

As a corroboration of this horrid carnage, the following interesting narrative, written by a learned and sensible Roman catholick, appears in this place, with peculiar propriety.

"The nuptials (says he) of the young king of *Navarre* with the *French* king's sister, were solemnized with pomp; and all the endearments, all the assurances of friendship, all the oaths sacred among men, were profusely lavished by *Catherine*, the queen-mother, and by the king; during

which, the rest of the court thought of nothing but festivities, plays, and masquerades. At last, at twelve o'clock at night, on the eve of St. Bartholemew, the signal was given. Immediately all the houses of the protestants were forced open at once. Admiral Coligni, alarmed by the uproar, jumped out of bed; when a company of assassins rushed in his chamber. They were headed by one Besme, who had been bred up as a domestick in the family of the Guises. This wretch thrust his sword into the admiral's breast, and also cut him in the face. Besme was a German, and being afterwards taken by the protestants, the Rochellers would have bought him, in order to hang and quarter him; but he was killed by one Bretanville. Henry, the young Duke of Guise, who afterwards framed the catholick league, and was murdered at Blois, standing at the door till the horrid butchery should be completed, called aloud, 'Besme! is it done?' Immediately after which, the ruffians threw the body out of the window, and Coligni expired at Guise's feet.

"Count de Teligny also fell a sacrifice. He had married, about ten months before, Coligni's daughter. His countenance was so engaging, that the ruffians, when they advanced in order to kill him, were struck with compassion; but others, more barbarous, rushing forward, murdered him.

"In the mean time, all the friends of Coligni were assassinated throughout Paris: men, women, and children, were promiscuously slaughtered; every street was strewed with expiring bodies. Some priests, holding up a crucifix in one hand, and a dagger in the other, ran to the chiefs of the murderers, and strongly exhorted them to spare neither relations nor friends.

"Tavannes, Marshal of France, an ignorant, superstitious soldier, who joined the fury of religion to the rage of party, rode on horseback through the streets of Paris, crying to his men, 'Let blood! let blood! bleeding is as wholesome in August as in May.' In the memoirs of the life of this enthusiastick, written by his son, we are told, that the father, being on his death bed, and making a general confession of his actions, the priest said to him,

with surprise, 'What! no mention of St. Bartholemew's massacre?' to which Tavannes replied, 'I consider it as a meritorious action, that will wash away all my sins.' Such horrid sentiments can a false spirit of religion inspire!

"The king's palace was one of the chief scenes of the butchery: the King of Navarre had his lodgings in the Louvre, and all his domesticks were protestants. Many of these were killed in bed with their wives; others, running away naked, were pursued by the soldiers through the several rooms of the palace, even to the king's anti-chamber. The young wife of Henry of Navarre, awaked by the dreadful uproar, being afraid for her consort, and for her own life, seized with horreur, and half dead, flew from her bed, in order to throw herself at the feet of the king her brother. But scarce had she opened her chamber-door, when some of her protestant domesticks rushed in for refuge. The soldiers immediately followed, pursued them in sight of the Princess, and killed one who had crept under her bed. Two others, being wounded with halberds, fell at the queen's feet, so that she was covered with blood.

"Count de la Rochefoucault, a young nobleman, greatly in the king's favour for his comely air, his politeness, and a certain peculiar happiness in the turn of his conversation, had spent the evening till eleven o'clock with the monarch, in pleasant familiarity; and had given a loose, with the utmost mirth, to the sallies of his imagination. The monarch felt some remorse; and being touched with a kind of compassion, bid him, two or three times, not go home, but lie in the Louvre. The count said, he must go to his wife; upon which the king pressed him no farther, but said, 'Let him go! I see God has decreed his death.' And in two hours after he was murdered.

"Very few of the protestants escaped the fury of their enthusiastick persecutors. Among these was young La Forcé (afterwards the famous Marshal de la Forcé) a child about ten years of age, whose deliverance was exceedingly remarkable. His father, his elder brother, and himself were seized together by the Duke of Anjou's soldiers. These murderers flew at all three, and struck

them at random, when they all fell, and lay one upon another. The youngest did not receive a single blow, but appearing as if he was dead, escaped the next day; and his life, thus wonderfully preserved, lasted fourscore and five years.

“Many of the wretched victims fled to the water-side, and some swam over the Seine to the suburbs of St. Germaine. The king saw them from his window, which looked upon the river, and fired upon them with a carbine that had been loaded for that purpose by one of his pages: while the queen-mother, undisturbed and serene in the midst of slaughter, looking down from a balcony, encouraged the murderers, and laughed at the dying groans of the slaughtered. This barbarous queen was fired with a restless ambition, and she perpetually shifted her party in order to satiate it.

“Some days after this horrid transaction, the French court endeavoured to palliate it by forms of law. They pretended to justify the massacre by a calumny; and accused the admiral of a conspiracy, which no one believed. The parliament was commanded to proceed against the memory of Coligni; and his dead body was hung in chains on Montfaucon gallows. The king himself went to view this shocking spectacle; when one of his courtiers advising him to retire, and complaining of the stench of the corpse, he replied, ‘A dead enemy smells well.’—The massacres on St. Bartholomew’s day are painted in the royal salloon of the Vatican at Rome, with the following inscription: *Pontifex Coligni necem probat*, i. e. ‘The pope approves of Coligni’s death.’

“The young king of Navarre was spared through policy, rather than from the pity of the queen-mother, she keeping him prisoner till the king’s death, in order that he might be as a security and pledge for the submission of such protestants as might effect their escape.

“This horrid butchery was not confined merely to the city of Paris. The like orders were issued from court to the governours of all the provinces in France; so that, in a week’s time, above one hundred thousand protestants were cut to pieces in different parts of the kingdom! Two

or three governours only refused to obey the king's orders. One of these, named Montmorrin, governour of Auvergne, wrote the king the following letter, which deserves to be transmitted to the latest posterity.

“SIRE—I have received an order, under your majesty's seal, to put to death all the Protestants in my province. I have too much respect for your majesty, not to believe the letter a forgery: but if (which God forbid) the order should be genuine, I have too much respect for your majesty to obey it.”

These barbarities inflamed such protestants as escaped rather with rage than terrour: their irreconcilable hatred to the court supplied them with fresh vigour, and the spirit of revenge increased their strength. The King, Charles IX., under whose influence this dreadful havoc had been committed, never afterwards enjoyed his health, but, being in the prime of his youth, about twenty-four years old, fell sick of a languishing disease; his physicians let him blood and purged him, but to no purpose; for by degrees he so wasted away, as caused great astonishment. He long struggled against his disease, but at last betook to his bed, and during the last two weeks of his sickness, much blood issued from divers parts of his body, so that he literally rolled in his own blood, and a little before he died, he desired his mother to pursue his enemies to the uttermost, with great vehemency reiterating his speeches; saying, “Madam, I pray you heartily to do it.” He wretchedly died on the 30th of May, 1574.

CHAP. IV.

THE SIEGE OF SANCERRE.

A. D. 1573, Sancerre, a city chiefly inhabited by protestants, was besieged by the Lord of Chartres with a considerable army. He planted his cannon judiciously, and played incessantly on the place; so that more were wounded by the fragments of stones, and splinters of timber, broken by means of the artillery, than by the balls themselves.

Besides cannonading the city almost continually, the Lord of Chartres frequently gave furious assaults, in order to take it by storm; but was as often repulsed, with loss, by the besieged. The conflict was dreadful, and each side appeared resolved in their several purposes; the one to succeed in compelling the city to surrender; the other in defending it to the last extremity.

The want of provisions now seemed to threaten what the arms of the besiegers could not perform: the long continuance of the siege had caused a great scarcity of the necessaries of life, and the bravest of the besieged began to fear they must either give up the place, or fall victims to famine. So great, indeed, were the distresses of the people, that the flesh of horses, mules, and asses, was purchased at a great price; and many were compelled to live only upon the flesh of dogs, cats, mice, moles, &c. Even these disagreeable resources at length failed, and the severity of hunger forced them to put up with leather, parchment, beasts' hoofs, and horns stewed down to a jelly, or boiled sufficiently soft to be swallowed. The wild roots in the few gardens of the city, the grass and house-leek which grew on the tops of houses, walls, and sheds, were sought for with avidity, and devoured as delicacies. The substitutes for bread were dried herbs and bran, straw-meal, powdered nut-shells, and even pounded slates, made into cakes with grease.

During this extremity, a poor man and his wife were apprehended, for having eaten a part of their own daughter, a child three years old, who died of hunger: they had already devoured the head and entrails, and when taken were dressing some of the limbs. In their excuse they pleaded the horrid severity of the hunger with which they were tormented, and that they had not murdered the child: it was, however, proved against them, that on the very day when they began to eat their offspring, some humane person had charitably sent to their house a mess of pottage, made with herbs and some wine, which might have enabled them to refrain, at least another day, from the unnatural meal. The governour, therefore, to make an example which might deter others from practising any thing

so atrocious, ordered them to be hanged. Their fate, however, drew compassion from many, who, from what themselves felt, and considering the desperate circumstances of the persons, could not help sympathising with the criminals, though they abhorred their crime.

A labouring man and his wife, who had a little vineyard within the city walls, and who had fed themselves, for some time, with the leaves and branches of the vines, were found dead, and two young children crying by them. The children, however, were taken by a charitable widow, and sustained with as much care as her present circumstances would permit. Several others were found dead in their houses; many dropped down in the streets; the sorrowful lamentations of the living for the dead were equally mingled with the cries of hunger, and, in conjunction, formed the most doleful sounds of horror.

A boy falling, through weakness, at the feet of his father and mother, they bitterly lamented over him, when he heroically said, "don't weep to see me die with hunger; I do not ask you for food; I know you have none to give me: it is the will of God I should die, and, therefore, I cheerfully submit." He expired the moment he had uttered these words, leaving his parents astonished at his fortitude, and happy in his religious resignation.

Several soldiers and citizens, rather than stay and be starved, chose to escape from the place, and run all hazards: some were immediately killed in the attempt, and the rest put into prison, tried as traitors, and afterwards executed.

Charles IX. was so much exasperated at the long and valiant defence of the besieged, that he sent word to his general, the Lord of Chartres, "if he took the place, to massacre all within it; and if he could not, to block them up till they devoured each other." But the full completion of this cruel order was providentially defeated by the following circumstance: there being an election for a king of Poland, the Duke of Anjou, brother to the king of France, was elected, upon condition that the king of France should cease the persecution against his protestant subjects; these conditions were, for political reasons,

complied with; and Sancerre, among other places, had immediate relief. Eighty-four persons were killed during the siege; near six hundred perished by famine; and several were so emaciated from the same cause, that they died soon after the siege was raised. Thus, when we deem ourselves at the very last extremity, are we sometimes suddenly relieved by the most unexpected means: so inscrutable are the ways of that Providence, on which, in all emergencies, we ought to depend.

In the year 1684, persecution again broke with great cruelty, and soldiers were spread all over France to enforce the arbitrary maxims of popery. The dragoons were particularly employed in this service, as the most resolute and bloody of the troops; for none were admitted into the dragoon service, but such as were known to be rigid Roman catholicks. As Louis XIV. publicly declared he would exterminate the protestants from France, a general panic seized the devoted victims. Orders were sent to the intendants of provinces, to summon the protestant inhabitants of their respective districts, and inform them that they had only this alternative, to turn papists voluntarily, or be forced to it. Many resolutely replied: "Our lives and fortunes are due to the king, and our consciences to God; therefore we cannot dispose of them in any such manner." The consequence of such replies was a general persecution, or, as it was called, dragooning the protestants; for the dragoons seized all the gates and avenues of the cities and towns; guards were posted on the public roads, and the general cry was, "turn papists or die."

The dragoons, who were quartered upon protestants, had orders to live at discretion; but the word discretion was left to their own interpretation, and they, by way of exposition, deemed it acting discreetly to eat up the provisions, steal the property, and force the wives and daughters of those upon whom they were quartered.

All protestants were prohibited from leaving home, and commanded neither to hide or remove their effects; and all Roman catholicks received strict orders, neither to countenance, conceal, or assist them. The dragoons took a pleasure in the most wanton cruelties against the protes-

tants. Some were hung by the hair of their heads, and by their feet to the ceilings of their respective apartments. Many were made insensible with intoxicating liquors, and persuaded in that state to renounce their religion; but on the return of their reason, if they recanted what they had done, a funnel was placed in their mouths, and brandy poured into their throats till they were choked.

Several had their brains beat out with clubs, or otherwise ill-treated and mangled till they died. Many examples are recorded of fathers, husbands, and brothers being fastened to bed-posts, while their daughters, wives, or sisters, were forced before their faces.

In order to make some change their religion, they were told they should not sleep till they consented; and to prevent them from sleeping, the following mode was pursued: a number of dragoons watched the victim night and day, relieving each other alternately; and hindered those they guarded from falling asleep, by pinching them, throwing water in their faces, scorching them, or by beating upon brass kettles over their heads; till their spirits being exhausted they either changed their religion, grew delirious, or sunk under the oppression and died.

Protestants who were ill, they tormented, by ordering a number of drummers successively to beat their drums as loud as possible in the chambers of the sick, and indeed, practised such cruelties as none but the most infernal imaginations could suggest. Those who were not put to death suffered imprisonment, had their houses pulled down, their lands laid waste, their property stolen, and their wives and daughters, after being violated, sent into convents.

If any fled from these cruelties, they were pursued through the woods, hunted and shot like wild beasts.—Some presented petitions to the king, and were sent to the Bastile, others were transported to Canada, as it was falsely pretended, but in reality the officers of the ships had orders to throw them overboard in the passage.

At the head of the dragoons, in all the provinces of France, marched the bishops, priests, friars, &c. the clergy being ordered to keep up the cruel spirit of the military.

An order was published for demolishing all protestant churches, the execution of which was begun by pulling down the noble protestant church of Charenton. The oldest protestant minister in Paris was ordered to leave that city in twenty-four hours, and the kingdom in a few days; this was the celebrated Monsieur Claude, author of *Plaintes des Protestants*, or *Protestant Lamentations*, by whom most of these facts are recorded. Many others were proscribed, and received the sentence of banishment; and, concerning these, Monsieur Claude, says, "In the frontier places many were stopt and imprisoned on ridiculous pretences; such as the obliging them to prove themselves the identical persons specified in the certificates; the inquiring whether they were not subject to some criminal information, or prosecution; and obliging them to prove, that they did not carry off their effects. Sometimes, after thus detaining and amusing them, they were told, that the time allowed by the edict was expired, and that they were no longer at liberty, but must go to the gallies.—In a word, every chicane, every iniquity, was employed, in order to plague them."

Exclusively of those who were murdered, and kept in long imprisonment, it is computed, that about five hundred thousand persons were banished, or escaped from the kingdom. The refugees retired to England, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and America.

CHAP. V.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRDOM OF M. JOHN CALAS AND FOUR OTHERS, AT THOULOUSE, IN 1761-2.

Calas and his wife were protestants of the city of Thoulouse, and had five sons, whom they educated in the same religion; but Lewis, one of the sons, became a Roman catholick, having been converted by a maid-servant, who had lived in the family above thirty years. The father, however, did not express any resentment or ill-will upon the occasion, but kept the maid in the family, and settled an annuity upon the son. In October, 1761, the

family consisted of John Calas and his wife, one woman servant, Mark Anthony Calas, the eldest son, and Peter Calas, the second son. Mark Anthony was bred to the law, but could not be admitted to practice, on account of his protestanism: hence he grew melancholy, read all the books he could procure relative to suicide, and seemed determined to destroy himself. To this may be added, that he led a dissipated life, was greatly addicted to gaming, and did all which could constitute the character of a libertine. On which account his father frequently reprehended him, and sometimes in terms of severity, which considerably added to the gloom that seemed to oppress him.

On the 13th of October, 1761, M. Gober La Vaisse, a young gentleman about nineteen years of age, the son of M. La Vaisse, a celebrated advocate of Thoulouse, having been sometime at Bordeaux, came back to Thoulouse to see his father; but finding that he was gone to his country-house, at some distance from the city, he went to several places, endeavouring to hire a horse to carry him thither. No horse, however, was to be hired; and, about five o'clock in the evening, he was met by John Calas the father and the eldest son Mark Anthony, who was upon terms of friendship with him. Calas, the father, invited him to supper, as he could not set out for his father's that night, and La Vaisse consented. All three, therefore, proceeded to Calas's house together, and when they came thither, finding that Madame Calas was still in her own room, which she had not quitted that day, La Vaisse went up to see her. After the first compliments, he told her, he was to sup with her, by her husband's invitation, at which she expressed satisfaction, and a few minutes after left him, to give some orders to her servant. She then went to look for her son Anthony, whom she found sitting alone in the shop, very pensive: she gave him some money, and desired him to go and buy some Roquefort cheese, he being always the market-man for cheese, in the family.—She then returned to her guest La Vaisse, who very soon after went again to the livery-stable, to inquire if any horse was come in, that he might secure it for the next morning.

Anthony very soon returned, with the cheese, and La Vaisse also coming back about the same time, the family and their guest sat down to supper, in a room up one pair of stairs; the whole company consisting of Calas the father and his wife, Anthony and Peter Calas the sons, and La Vaisse the guest, no other person being in the house, except the maid-servant, who has been already mentioned.

It was now about seven o'clock: the supper was not long; but before it was over, or, according to the French expression, "when they came to the dessert" Anthony left the table, and went into the kitchen, which was on the same floor, as he was accustomed to do. The maid-servant asked him if he was cold? He answered, "quite the contrary, I burn;" and then left her. In the mean time his friend and family left the room in which they had supped, and went into a bed-chamber; the father and La Vaisse sat down together on a sofa; the younger son, Peter, in an elbow-chair; and the mother in another chair; and, without making any inquiry after Anthony, continued in conversation together till between nine and ten o'clock, when La Vaisse took his leave, and Peter, who had fallen asleep, was awakened to attend him with a light.

On the groundfloor of Calas's house was a shop and a warehouse; the latter of which was divided from the shop by a pair of folding-doors. When Peter Calas and La Vaisse came down stairs into the shop, they were extremely shocked to see Anthony hanging in his shirt, from a bar which he had laid across the top of the two folding-doors, having half opened them for that purpose. On discovery of this horrid spectacle, they shrieked out, which brought down Calas the father, the mother being seized with such a terrour as kept her trembling in the passage above. The unhappy old man rushed forward, and taking the body in his arms, the bar, to which the rope that suspended him was fastened, slipped off from the folding-door of the warehouse, and fell down. Having placed the body on the ground, he loosed and took off the cord in an agony of grief and anguish not to be expressed, weeping, trembling, and deploring himself and his child. The two young men, his second son and La Vaisse, who had not had pre-

sence of mind enough to attempt taking down the body, were standing by, stupid with amazement and horror. In the mean time the mother, hearing the confused cries and complaints of her husband, and finding no one come to her, found means to get down stairs. At the bottom she saw La Vaisse, and hastily demanded what was the matter. This question roused Calas in a moment, and instead of answering her, he urged her to go again upstairs, to which, with much reluctance, she consented; but the conflict of her mind being such as could not be long borne, she sent down the maid to know what was the matter. When the maid discovered what had happened she continued below, either because she feared to carry an account of it to her mistress, or because she busied herself in doing some good office to her master, who was still embracing the body of his son, and bathing it in his tears. The mother, therefore, being thus left alone, went down, and mixed in the scene, with such emotions as her intense feelings most naturally produced. In the mean time Peter had been sent for La Moire, a surgeon in the neighbourhood. La Moire was not at home, but his apprentice, M. Grosse, came instantly. Upon examination, he found the body quite dead; and upon taking off the neckcloth, which was of black taffeta, he saw the mark of the cord, and immediately pronounced that the deceased had been strangled. This particular had not been told, for the poor old man, when Peter was going for La Moire, cried out, "save at least the honor of my family; do not go and spread a report that your brother has made away with himself."

By this time a crowd of people were gathered about the house, and one Casing, with another acquaintance or two of the family, were come in. Some of those who were in the street had heard the cries and exclamations of the father, the mother, the brother, and his friend; and having by some means heard that Anthony Calas was suddenly dead, and that the surgeon, who had examined the body, declared he had been strangled, they took it into their heads he had been murdered; and as his family were protestants, they presently supposed that the young man, be-

ing about to change his religion, had been put to death for that reason. The cries they had heard they fancied were those of the deceased, while he was resisting the violence that was offered him. The tumult in the street increased every moment: some said that Anthony Calas was to have abjured the next day; others, that protestants are bound by their religion to strangle or cut the throats of their children when they are inclined to become catholicks. Others, who had found out that La Vaisse was in the house when the accident happened, very confidently affirmed, that the protestants, at their last assembly, appointed a person to be their common executioner upon these occasions, and that La Vaisse was the man, who, in consequence of the office to which he had been appointed, had come to Calas' house to hang his son.

The poor father, therefore, who was overwhelmed with grief for the loss of his child, was advised by his friends to send for the officers of justice, to prevent his being torn in pieces by the multitude, who supposed that he had murdered his son; a messenger was dispatched to David, the capitoul, or principal civil magistrate of the place; and another to an inferior officer, called an assessor. The capitoul had already set out, having been alarmed by the rumour of a murder, before the messenger sent from Calas' got to his house. He entered Calas' house with forty soldiers, took the father, Peter the son, the mother, La Vaisse, and the maid, all into custody, and set a guard over them. He sent for M. De la Tour, a physician, and M. La Marque and Perronet, surgeons, who examined the body for marks of violence, but found none except the mark of the ligature on the neck: they found also the hair of the deceased done up in the usual manner, perfectly smooth, and without the least disorder: his clothes were also regularly folded up, and laid upon the counter, nor was his shirt either torn or unbuttoned.

Notwithstanding these appearances the capitoul thought proper to agree with the opinion of the mob, and took it into his head that old Calas had sent for La Vaisse, telling him he had a son to be hanged; that La Vaisse had

come to perform the office of executioner; and that he had received assistance from the father and brother.

In consequence of these notions the capitoul ordered the body of the deceased to be carried to the town-house, with the clothes. The father and son were thrown into a dark dungeon; and the mother, La Vaisse, the maid, and Casing, were imprisoned in one that admitted the light. The next day what is called the process verbal was taken at the town-house, instead of the spot where the body was found, as the law directs, and was dated at Calas' house to conceal the irregularity. This process verbal is somewhat like the coroner's inquest in England: witnesses are examined, and the magistrate makes his report, which is the same there as the verdict of the coroner's jury in England. The witnesses examined by the capitoul were the physician and surgeon, who proved Anthony Calas to have been strangled. The surgeon, having been ordered to examine the stomach of the deceased, deposed also, that the food which was found there had been taken four hours before his death.

As no proof of the supposed fact could be procured, the capitoul had recourse to a monitory, or general information, in which the crime was taken for granted, and all persons were required to give such testimony against it as they were able, particularizing the points to which they were to speak. This monitory recites that "La Vaisse was commissioned by the protestants to be their executioner in ordinary, when any of their children were to be hanged for changing their religion:" it recites also, that "when protestants thus hang their children, they compel them to kneel," and one of the interrogatories was, "whether any person had seen Anthony Calas kneel before his father when he strangled him:" it recites likewise, that "Anthony died a Roman catholick, and requires evidence of his catholicism."

Such ridiculous and scandalous opinions being thus published by the principal magistrate of a considerable city, the church of Geneva thought itself obliged to send an attestation of its abhorrence of opinions so abominable and absurd, and of its astonishment that they should be sus-

pected of such opinions by persons whose rank and office required them to have more knowledge and better judgment.

But before the monitory was published, the mob had entertained a notion that Anthony Calas was the next day to have entered into the fraternity of the White Penitents. The capitoul immediately adopted this opinion also, without the least examination, and ordered Anthony's body to be buried in the middle of St. Stephen's church, forty priests, and all the White Penitents, assisting in the funeral procession.

A few days after the interment of the deceased, the White Penitents performed a solemn service for him in their chapel: the church was hung with white, and a tomb raised in the middle of it; on the top was placed a human skeleton, holding in one hand a paper, on which was written, "abjuration of heresy," and in the other a palm, the emblem of martyrdom.

The next day the Franciscans performed a service of the same kind for him; and it is easy to imagine how much the minds of the people were inflamed by this strange infatuation of their magistrates and priests.

The capitoul continued the prosecution with unrelenting severity; and though the grief and distraction of the family, when he first came to the house, were alone sufficient to have convinced any reasonable being that they were not the authors of the event which they deplored, yet having publicly attested that they were guilty in his monitory without proof, and no proof coming in, he thought fit to condemn the unhappy father, mother, brother, friend, and servant, to the torture, and put them all into irons on the 18th of November. Casing was enlarged upon proof that he was not in Calas' house till after Anthony was dead.

From these dreadful proceedings the sufferers appealed to the parliament of Thoulouse, which immediately took cognizance of the affair, and annulled the sentence of the capitoul as irregular; but yet the prosecution was continued with unremitting severity.

When the trial came on, the hangman, who had been

take of the doors, and the doors and the bars deposed, that it was pretended, that Anthony should hang himself as was pretended. Another witness swore, that she looked through the key-hole of Calas's door into a room, where she saw men running hastily to and fro. A third swore, that his wife had told him, a woman named Maundril had told her, that a certain woman unknown, had declared, she heard the cries of Anthony Calas at the farther end of the city.

Upon such evidence the majority of the parliament imbibed the opinion, that the prisoners were guilty, and therefore ordered them to be tried by the criminal court of Thoulouse.

Among those who presided at the trial was one La Borde, who had zealously espoused the popular prejudices; and though it was manifest to demonstration that the prisoners were either all innocent or all guilty, he voted that the father should first suffer the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, to discover his accomplices, and be then broken alive upon the wheel; to receive the last stroke when he had laid two hours, and then to be burnt to ashes. In this opinion he had the concurrence of six others; three were for the torture alone: two were of opinion that they should endeavour to ascertain upon the spot whether Anthony could hang himself or not; and one voted to acquit the prisoner. After long debates the majority were for the torture and wheel, and probably condemned the father by way of experiment, whether he was guilty or not, hoping he would, in the agony, confess the crime, and accuse the other prisoners, whose fate, therefore, they suspended.

Poor Calas, however, a worthy old man, of sixty-eight, was condemned to this dreadful punishment alone. He suffered the torture with great constancy, and was led to execution in a frame of mind which excited the admiration of all that saw him.

Two Dominicans, father Bourges and father Coldagues, who attended him in his last moments, wished "their latter end might be like his;" and declared, that they thought him not only wholly innocent of the crime laid to

his charge, but an exemplary instance of true Christian patience, fortitude, and charity.

One single shriek, and that not very violent, escaped him when he received the first stroke; after that he uttered no complaint. Being at length placed on the wheel, to wait for the moment which was to end his life and his misery together, he expressed himself with an humble hope of a happy immortality, and a compassionate regard for the judges who had condemned him. When he saw the executioner prepared to give him the last stroke, he made a fresh declaration of his innocence to father Bourges; but while the words were yet in his mouth the infamous David, the capitoul, the promoter of this catastrophe, and who came upon the scaffold merely to gratify his desire of being a witness of his punishment and death, ran up to M. Calas, and bawled out, "Wretch, there are the fagots which are to reduce your body to ashes; speak the truth." The martyr made no reply, but turned his head a little aside, and that moment the executioner did his office.

The popular outcry against this family was so violent in Languedoc, that every body expected to see the children of Calas broke upon the wheel, and the mother burnt alive. Even the attorney general expected it. So weak, it is said, had been the defence made by this innocent family, oppressed by misfortunes, and terrified at the sight of lighted piles, wheels, and racks.

After the popular fury had abated, some friends of this most unfortunate family applied for a revision of the proceedings of the judges at Thoulouse, before the king's council, and the petition was granted. Fifty masters of the court of requests unanimously declared the whole family of Calas innocent, and recommended them to the benevolent justice of his majesty. The Duke de Choiseul not only assisted them with money, but obtained for them a gratuity of thirty-six thousand livres from the king.

On the 9th of March, 1765, the arret was signed, which justified the family of Calas, and changed their fate. The 9th of March was the very day also on which the innocent and virtuous father of that family had been execu-

ted. All Paris ran in crowds to see them come out of prison, and clapped their hands for joy, while the tears streamed from their eyes.

To the honour of British benevolence, a very liberal subscription, at the head of which was Queen Charlotte, the principal nobility, bishops, &c. was formed for the support of the much-injured and worthy family of Calas. Thus have we traced, through all its circumstances, one of the most singular affairs that ever the annals of superstition, or the history of bigotry, produced; and lament, that a worthy and innocent man fell a sacrifice to that narrowness which a popish education bestows, and which settled prejudices always convert to cruelty. Hence we may perceive, to what a depraved state the human mind may be reduced, when left to the guidance of the passions, or suffered to be the slave of enthusiasm. A sect which would propagate its doctrines in blood, cannot be the favourer of truth; that persuasion alone can merit the sacred name of religion, which wishes to reform mankind.

During November 1761, M. Francis Rochette, a minister of the protestant persuasion, a young gentleman only twenty-seven years of age, of the most amiable disposition, and generally esteemed, having occasion to go to a village at a small distance from Montauban, where he resided, to drink the mineral waters, he was met by the guard belonging to Caussade, a small town about three leagues from Montauban, and carried before the judge. He declared, without any hesitation, who he was; whereupon he was loaded with irons, and conducted to prison.

Some short time after, several persons belonging to Caussade, having had intimation of the intended imprisonment of this minister, assembled in a riotous manner, laying hold of the first fire-arms they could find.

In this interval Messrs. Greniers (that is the name of the three brothers) ignorant of this tumult, and being at that juncture at Caussade, went with a few persons in order to try if M. Rochette could not get away by their means: in their way thither, they had to pass over a bridge, which they found guarded by fourteen or fifteen men. They endeavoured to return; but were pursued.

by some butchers' dogs, who tore their legs, and thus were stopped. In this condition the three brothers were conducted to prison, and some time after they and the minister were removed to Thoulouse, where, having remained for about four months, they were brought out on the 19th of February, 1762, in order to suffer their sentence.

When conducted to the gate of the cathedral of Thoulouse, the minister was desired to step out of the wagon, and to ask pardon, on his knees, of God, the king, and the law, in that he had *wickedly* persevered in performing the functions of his ministry in opposition to the Royal Edicts. This he twice refused to do. He was told that this was no more than a formality; to which he answered, "That he neither would acknowledge nor submit to any formality that was contrary to the dictates of his conscience."

At length, however, being obliged, by force and violent treatment, to leave the wagon, he fell upon his knees and expressed himself thus: "I humbly ask of Almighty God the pardon of all my sins, in the full persuasion of obtaining the remission of them, through the blood of Christ. With respect to the king, I have no pardon to ask of him, having never offended him. I always honoured him as the Lord's anointed; I always loved him as the father of my country; I have always been to him a good and faithful subject, and of this my judges themselves have appeared to be fully convinced; I always recommended to my flock patience, obedience, and submission, and my sermons have always been confined to the two great objects contained in these words of Holy Writ, 'fear God, and honour the king.' If I have acted in opposition to the laws, that prohibited our religious assemblies, I did this in obedience to the laws of him who is the king of kings. With respect to publick justice, I have nothing to say but this, that I never offended it, and I most earnestly pray that God will vouchsafe to pardon my judges." This was the only confession that the officers of justice, after much importunity and contestation, could obtain from Monsieur Rochette; and, though it did not answer their purpose, yet they were obliged to be satisfied with it, perceiving the invincible resolution

with which this noble martyr protested against going any farther.

No such acknowledgment was required of the three noblemen who suffered with him, as by the laws of France it is never demanded of such as are beheaded. They were, however, conducted with Monsieur Rochette to the place of execution. The ordinary place appointed for the execution of criminals was not chosen upon this occasion, but one much less spacious, that this glorious instance of martyrdom might have the fewer spectators. All the streets which led to it were lined with soldiers, on account of the pretended apprehension of a rescue; this, however, they could only fear from the Roman catholicks, on whom indeed the shedding thus deliberately the blood of the innocent seemed to make a lively impression, for the small number of protestant families that lived in that city, filled with consternation at this unrighteous sentence, had shut themselves up in their houses, where they were wholly employed in sending up their prayers and lamentations to heaven, while this terrible scene was transacting.

In the streets, which led to the place of execution, the windows were hired at very high prices; wherever the martyrs passed they were accompanied with the tears and lamentations of the spectators. One would have thought by the expressions of sorrow that appeared every where, that Thoulouse was, all of a sudden, become a protestant city. The curate of Faur could not bear the affecting spectacle. Yielding to the power of sympathy, and perhaps of conscience, he fainted away, and one of his vicars was sent for, to supply his place. The circumstance most affecting, and that made every eye melt into tears, was the inexpressible serenity that appeared in the countenance of the young clergyman as he went on to death. His graceful mien, the resignation and fortitude that reigned in his expressions, his blooming youth, every thing, in short, in his conduct, character, and appearance, interested all ranks of people in his favour, and rendered his fate the subject of universal affliction. This affliction was augmented by one particular circumstance, even its being universally known, that Monsieur Rochette might have

saved his life by an untruth, but refused to hold it at so dear a rate; for as his being a minister was his only crime, and as there were no complaints made against him, no advertisements describing his person, nor any witnesses to prove his pastoral character, he had only to deny his being a minister, and his life was saved; but he chose rather to lose his life than deny his profession. He was the first of the four that were executed; and in the face of death he exhorted his companions to perseverance, and sung those sublime verses of the 118th psalm, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will be glad," &c. When the executioner, among others, conjured him to die a Roman catholick, the minister answered him in this gentle manner: "Judge, friend, which of the two is the best religion, that which persecutes or that which is persecuted." He added, that his grand-father, and one of his uncles, had died for the pure religion of the gospel, and that he would be the third martyr of his family. Two of the three gentlemen that suffered with him, beheld him tied to the gibbet with an amazing intrepidity; but the third covered his eyes with his hand, that he might not see such a terrible spectacle. The commissaries of the parliament, and the deputies of the other courts of justice, discovered by their pensive looks and downcast eyes, how deeply they were affected upon this occasion. The three brothers embraced each other tenderly, and recommended mutually their departing souls to the father of spirits. Their heads were struck off at three blows. When the scene was finished, the spectators returned to their respective homes, in a solemn silence, reflecting on the fate of innocence and virtue, and scarcely able to persuade themselves, that the world could present such a spectacle of magnanimity, and such an instance of cruelty, as they had been just beholding.



PART 3.

CHAPTER I.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, &c. OF THE INQUISITION.

When the reformed religion began to diffuse the gospel light throughout Europe, pope Innocent the third entertained great fear for the Romish church. Unwilling that the spirit of free enquiry should gain ground, or that the people should attain more knowledge than the priests were willing to admit, he determined to impede, as much as possible, the progress of reformation. He therefore instituted a number of inquisitors, or persons who were to make enquiry after, apprehend, and punish hereticks, as the reformed were called by the papists.

At the head of these inquisitors was Dominic, who had been canonized by the pope, in order to render his authority the more imposing. Dominic, and the other inquisitors, spread themselves into various Roman catholick countries, and treated the protestants with the utmost severity. In process of time, the pope not finding these roving inquisitors so useful as he had imagined, resolved upon the establishment of fixed and regular courts of inquisition. After the order of these regular courts, the first office of inquisition was established in the city of Thoulouse, and Dominic became the first regular inquisitor, as he had before been the first roving inquisitor.

Courts of inquisition were now erected in several countries; but the Spanish inquisition became the most powerful, and the most dreaded. Even the kings of Spain

themselves, though arbitrary in all other respects, were taught to dread the power of the lords of the inquisition; and the horrid cruelties they exercised, compelled multitudes, who differed in opinion from the Roman catholicks, carefully to conceal their sentiments.

The most zealous of all the popish monks, and those who most implicitly obeyed the church of Rome, were the Dominicans and Franciscans: these, therefore, the pope thought proper to invest with an exclusive right of presiding over, and managing the different courts of inquisition. The friars of these two orders were always selected from the very dregs of the people, and therefore were not much troubled with the punctilios of honour: they were obliged, by the rules of their respective orders, to lead very austere lives, which rendered their manners unsocial and brutish, and, of course, the better qualified them for the horrid employment to which they were destined.

The pope gave to these inquisitors the most unlimited powers, as judges delegated by him, and immediately representing his person: they were permitted to excommunicate, or sentence to death, whom they thought proper, upon the most slight information of heresy. They were allowed to publish crusades against all whom they deemed hereticks, and enter into leagues with sovereign princes, to join those crusades with their forces.

In 1244 their powers were farther increased by the emperor Frederick the second, who declared himself the protector and friend of all inquisitors, and published two very cruel edicts, viz.

1. That all hereticks, who continued obstinate, should be burnt.
2. That all hereticks, who repented, should be imprisoned for life.

This zeal in the emperor for the inquisitors, and the Roman catholick persuasion, arose from a report which had been propagated throughout Europe, that he intended to renounce Christianity, and turn Mahometan; the emperor, therefore, attempted, by the height of bigotry, to contradict the report, and to show his attachment to popery by cruelty.

According to the latest establishment, the officers of the inquisitions are, three inquisitors, or judges, a fiscal proctor, two secretaries, a magistrate, a messenger, a receiver, a gaoler, an agent of confiscated possessions, several assessors, counsellors, executioners, physicians, surgeons, door-keepers, familiars, and visitors, who are all sworn to secrecy.

The principal accusation against those who are subject to this tribunal is heresy, which comprises all that is spoken, or written, against any of the articles of the Romish ritual, or the traditions of that church. The other articles of accusation are, renouncing the popish persuasion, believing that persons of any other religion may be saved, or even admitting that the tenets of any but papists are, in the least, reasonable or proper. Two principal things, however, which incur the most severe punishments, and show the inquisitors, at once, in an absurd and a tyrannical light, are, *First*—To disapprove of any action done by the inquisition. *Secondly*—To disbelieve any thing said by an inquisitor.

The grand article heresy is comprised in many subdivisions; and, upon a suspicion of any of these, the party is immediately apprehended: advancing an offensive proposition; failing to impeach others who may approve such contemning church ceremonies; defacing idols; reading books condemned by the inquisition; lending such books to read; deviating from the ordinary practices of the Romish church; letting a year pass without going to confession; eating meat on fast-days; neglecting mass; being present at a sermon preached by a heretick; not appearing when summoned by the inquisition; lodging in the house of, contracting a friendship with, or making a present to an a heretick; assisting a heretick to escape from confinement, or visiting one in confinement, are all matters of suspicion, and strictly prosecuted. Nay, all Roman catholicks are commanded, under pain of excommunication, to give immediate information, even of their nearest and dearest friends, if they judge them to be what are called hereticks, or in the smallest degree inclining to heresy.

Those who give the least countenance or assistance to

protestants, are called abettors of heresy, and the accusations against these usually turn upon some of the following points: comforting such as the inquisition have began to prosecute; assisting, or not informing against such, if they should happen to escape; concealing, abetting, advising, or furnishing hereticks with money; visiting, writing to, or sending them subsistence; secreting, or burning books and papers which might serve to convict them.

The inquisitors likewise take cognizance of such as are accused of being magicians, witches, blasphemers, soothsayers, wizards, and common swearers: and of such who read, or even possess the bible in the vulgar tongue, the Talmud, or the Alcoran.

The inquisitors carry on their processes with the utmost severity, and punish those who offend them with the most unbounded cruelty. A protestant has seldom any mercy shown him; and a Jew, who turns Christian, if he is known to keep company with another new-converted Jew, a suspicion immediately arises that they privately practise together some Jewish ceremonies; if he keeps company with a person who was lately a protestant, but now professes popery, they are accused of plotting together; but if he associates with a Roman catholick, an accusation is often laid against him for only pretending to be a papist, the consequence is, a confiscation of his effects as a punishment for his insincerity, and the loss of his life if he complains of ill usage.

A defence in the inquisition is of little use to the prisoner, for suspicion only is deemed sufficient cause of condemnation, and the greater the wealth the greater the danger. The principal part of the cruelties practised by the inquisitors, is owing to their rapacity: they destroy the life to possess the property; and, under the pretence of zeal, plunder the obnoxious individual.

A prisoner to the inquisitors is never allowed to see the face of his accuser, or of the witnesses against him; every method being taken, by threats and tortures, to oblige him to accuse himself, and by that means corroborate that evidence. If the jurisdiction of the inquisition is not fully allowed, vengeance is denounced against such as call

it in question; or if any of the officers are opposed, those who oppose them are almost certain to be sufferers for their temerity; the maxim of the inquisition being, to strike terror, and awe those who are the objects of its power, into obedience. High birth, distinguished rank, great dignity, or eminent employments, are no protections from its severities; and the lowest officers of the inquisition can make the highest characters tremble.

Such are the circumstances which subject a person to the rage of the inquisition, and the modes of beginning the process are,

1. To proceed by imputation, or prosecute on common report.
2. By the information of any indifferent person who chooses to impeach another.
3. On the information of those spies who are regularly retained by the inquisition.
4. On the confession of the prisoner himself.

When a person is summoned to appear before the inquisition, the best method (unless he is sure of escaping by flight) is immediately to obey the summons; for though really innocent, the least delay increases his criminality in the eye of the inquisitors, as one of their maxims is, that backwardness to appear always indicates guilt in the person summoned; and if he escapes, it is the same as perpetual banishment, for should such ever return, the most cruel death would be the certain consequence.

The inquisitors never forget nor forgive; length of time cannot efface their resentments; nor can the humblest concessions, or most liberal presents, obtain a pardon: they carry the desire of revenge to the grave, and would have both the property and lives of those who have offended them. Hence, when a person once accused to the inquisition, after escaping, is re-taken, he ought seriously to prepare himself for martyrdom, and arm his soul against the pangs of death. Every person, in such a situation, ought to be composed for the awful occasion, without expectation of remedy.

When a positive accusation is given, the inquisitors direct an order under their hands to the executer, who

takes a certain number of familiars with him to assist in the execution. The calamity of a man under such circumstances can scarcely be described, he being probably seized when surrounded by his family, or in company with his friends. Father, son, brother, sister, husband, wife, must quietly submit; none dare resist or even speak; either would subject them to the punishment of the devoted victim. No respite is allowed to settle the most important affairs, but the prisoner is instantaneously hurried away.

When the inquisitors have taken umbrage against an innocent person, all expedients are used to facilitate condemnation; false oaths and testimonies, founded on perjury, are directed by the virulence of prejudice to find the accused guilty; and all laws, divine and human, all institutions, moral and political, are sacrificed to bigoted revenge.

When a person accused is taken, and imprisoned, his treatment is truly deplorable. The gaolers first search him for books or papers which may tend to his conviction, or for instruments that might be employed in self-murder, or breaking from confinement. But it is to be observed, that the obvious articles of the search are not the only things taken from a prisoner; for the conscientious gaolers make free with money, rings, buckles, apparel, &c. under various pretences, such as, that money or rings may be swallowed, to the great detriment of the prisoner's health, the prongs of buckles may be used to take away life, by means of a neckcloth or a pair of garters a prisoner may hang himself, &c. &c. Thus is he robbed under the plausible pretext of humanity, and maltreated through pretended tenderness.

When the prisoner has been strictly searched under the name of care, and robbed beneath the mask of justice, he is committed to prison by way of security. "Here (says an authentic writer) he is conveyed to a dungeon, the sight of which must fill him with horreur, torn from his family and friends, who are not allowed access, or even to send him one consolatory letter, or take the least step in his favour in order to prove his innocence. He sees

himself instantly abandoned to his inflexible judges, to melancholy and despair, and even often to his most inveterate enemies, quite uncertain of his fate. Innocence on such an occasion is a weak reed, nothing being easier than to ruin an innocent person."

Death is usually the portion of a prisoner, the mildest sentence being imprisonment for life; yet the inquisitors proceed by degrees, at once subtle, slow, and cruel. The gaoler first of all insinuates himself into the prisoner's favour, by pretending to wish him well, and advise him well, and, among other hints falsely kind, tells him to petition for a hearing.

This is the worst thing a prisoner can do, for the mere petition is deemed a supposition of guilt, and he is persuaded to it only with a view to entrap him. When he is brought before the consistory, the first demand is, "what is your request?"

The prisoner very naturally answers that he would have a hearing.

One of the inquisitors replies, your hearing is this—confess the truth—conceal nothing, and rely on our mercy.

If the prisoner makes a confession of any trifling affair, they immediately found an indictment on it: if he is mute, they shut him up without light, or any food but a scanty allowance of bread and water till he overcomes his obstinacy, as they call it; and if he declares he is innocent, they torment him, till he either dies with the torment, or confesses himself guilty.

Upon the re-examinations of such as confess, they continually say, "you have not been sincere, you tell not all; you keep many things concealed, and therefore must be remanded to your dungeon." When those who stood mute are called for re-examination, if they continue silent, such tortures are ordered as will either make them speak, or kill them; and when those who proclaim their innocence are re-examined, a crucifix is held before them, and they are solemnly exhorted to take an oath of their confession of faith. This brings them to the test, they must either swear they are Roman catholicks, or acknowledge they are not. If they acknowledge they are not Roman

catholicks they are proceeded against as hereticks. If they acknowledge they are Roman catholicks, a string of accusations is brought against them, to which they are obliged to answer extempore, no time being given even to put their answer into proper method.

After they have verbally answered, pen, ink, and paper are given them, in order to produce a written answer, which it is required shall in every degree coincide with the verbal answer. If the verbal and the written answer differ, the prisoners are charged with prevarication, if one contains more than the other with wishing to conceal certain circumstances; if they both agree, they are accused with premeditated artifice.

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

The following is an account of an *Auto de Fé*, performed at Madrid in the year 1682.

The officers of the inquisition, preceded by trumpets, kettle-drums, and their banner, marched, on the 30th of May, in cavalcade, to the palace of the great square, where they declared by proclamation, that on the 30th of June the sentence of the prisoners would be put in execution.

There had not been a spectacle of this kind at Madrid for several years before, for which reason it was expected by the inhabitants with as much impatience as a day of the greatest festivity.

On the day appointed, a prodigious number of people appeared dressed as splendidly as their respective circumstances would admit. In the great square was raised a high scaffold; and thither from seven in the morning till the evening, were brought criminals of both sexes; all the inquisitions in the kingdom sending their prisoners to Madrid.

Of these prisoners twenty men and women, with one renegado Mahometan, were ordered to be burned; fifty Jews and Jewesses, having never before been imprisoned,

and repenting of their crimes, were sentenced to a long confinement, and to wear a yellow cap; and ten others, indicted for bigamy, witchcraft, and other crimes, were sentenced to be whipped, and then sent to the galleys: these last wore large pasteboard caps, with inscriptions on them, having a halter about their necks, and torches in their hands.

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

Among those who were to suffer was a young Jewess of exquisite beauty, and but seventeen years of age. Being on the same side of the scaffold where the queen was seated, she addressed her, in hopes of obtaining pardon, in the following pathetic speech: "Great queen! will not your royal presence be of some service to me in my miserable condition? have regard to my youth: and, oh! consider, that I am about to die for professing a religion imbibed from my earliest infancy!" Her majesty seemed greatly to pity her distress, but turned away her eyes, as she did not dare to speak a word in behalf of a person who had been declared a heretick.

Now mass began, in the midst of which the priest came from the altar, placed near the scaffold, and seated himself in a chair prepared for that purpose.

The chief inquisitor then descended from the amphitheatre, dressed in his cope, and having a mitre on his head. After bowing to the altar, he advanced towards the king's balcony, and went up to it, attended by some of his officers, carrying a cross and the gospels, with a book containing the oath by which the kings of Spain oblige themselves to protect the catholick faith, to extirpate hereticks, and support, with all their power, the prosecutions and decrees of the inquisition.

On the inquisitor's approach, and presenting this book to the king, his majesty rose up, bare-headed, and swore

to maintain the oath, which was read to him by one of his councillors: after which the king continued standing till the inquisitor was returned to his place; when the secretary of the holy office mounted a sort of pulpit, and administered the like oath to the councillors and the whole assembly. The mass was begun about twelve at noon, and did not end till nine in the evening, being protracted by a proclamation of the sentences of the several criminals, which were all separately rehearsed aloud one after the other.

After this, followed the burning of the twenty-one men and women, whose intrepidity in suffering that horrid death was truly astonishing: some thrust their hands and feet into the flames with the most dauntless fortitude; and all of them yielded to their fate with such resolution, that many of the amazed spectators lamented that such heroic souls had not been more enlightened.

The king's near situation to the criminals rendered their dying groans very audible to him: he could not, however, be absent from this dreadful scene, as it is esteemed a religious one; and his coronation-oath obliges him to give a sanction by his presence to all the acts of the tribunal.

Another Auto de Fé is thus described by the Rev. Doctor Gedde. "At the place of execution there are so many stakes set as there are prisoners to be burned, a large quantity of dry furze being set about them.

"The stakes of the protestants, or, as the inquisitor's call them, 'the professed,' are about four yards high, and have each a small board, whereon each prisoner is to be seated within half a yard of the top. The professed then go up a ladder betwixt two priests, who attend them the whole day of execution. When they come even with the board, they turn about to the people, and the priests spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting them to be reconciled to the see of Rome. On their refusing, the priests come down, and the executioner ascending, turns the professed from off the ladder upon the seat, chains their bodies close to the stakes, and leaves them.

"The priests then go up a second time to renew their exhortations, and if they find them ineffectual, usually tell

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

"A general shout is then raised, and when the priests get off the ladder, the universal cry is, 'let the dog's beards be made,' which implies, singe their beards, this is accordingly performed by means of flaming furzes thrust against their faces with long poles.

"This barbarity is repeated till their faces are burnt, and is accompanied with loud acclamations. Fire is then set to the furzes, and the criminals are consumed."

Numerous are the martyrs who have borne these rigours with the most exemplary fortitude.

What we have already said may be applied to all Popish inquisitions, as well as to that of Spain. The inquisition belonging to Portugal is exactly upon a similar plan, having been instituted much about the same time, and put under the same regulations, and the proceedings nearly resemble each other; we shall, therefore, introduce an account of it in this place. The house, or rather palace of the inquisition, is a noble edifice. It contains four courts, each about forty feet square, round which are about three hundred dungeons, or cells.

The dungeons on the ground-floor are allotted to the lowest class of prisoners, and those on the second story to persons of superior rank. The galleries are built of free-stone, and hid from view both within and without by a double wall of about fifty feet high, which greatly increases the gloom.

The whole prison is so extensive, and contains so many turnings and windings, that none but those well acquainted with it can find the way through its various avenues. The apartments of the chief inquisitor are spacious and elegant; the entrance is through a large gate, which leads into a court-yard, round which are several chambers, and some large saloons for the king, royal family, and rest of the court, to stand and observe the executions during an *Auto de Fé*.

With respect to the dungeons where the prisoners are

confined, they are not only gloomy in themselves, but as miserably furnished as can be imagined; the only accommodation being a frame of wood by way of bedstead, and a straw bed, mattrass, blankets, sheets, and urinal, wash-hand-basons, two pitchers, one for clean the other for foul water, a lamp, and a plate.

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

The above articles are charged to the prisoner at the rate of seventeen testons in the month; four are allowed for brandy, or wine; two for fruit, making in the whole twenty-three; and the rest of the money, to make up the number of testons for the month, is scandalously sunk in the articles of sugar and soap.

Some, who find their allowance too little, petition the lords inquisitors for a greater portion, when the petition is frequently granted; and in this particular the only mark of humanity that hath been casually shewn: in all other circumstances they are inhuman, cruel, and severe. They not only exclude the prisoners from every intercourse with their relations or friends, make them suffer every inclemency of a gaol, or torture them in confinement, but even prohibit them from making the least noise by speaking aloud, singing psalms or hymns, exclaiming, or even uttering the sighs of affliction.

Guards walk about continually to listen; if the least noise is heard they call to, and threaten the prisoners; if the noise is repeated, a severe beating ensues, as a punishment to what is deemed the offending party, and to intimidate others. As an instance of this is mentioned the following fact: a prisoner having a violent cough, one of the guards came and ordered him not to make a noise; to which he replied, that from the violence of his cold, it was not in his power to forbear. The cough increasing,

the guard went into the cell, stripped the poor creature naked, and beat him so unmercifully, that he soon after died of the blows.

This enforced silence prevents the prisoners from receiving any consolation, by conversing and condoling with each other: some, indeed, who are lodged in contiguous cells, have contrived to make holes in the partition, and communicate their thoughts through them; but as soon as this was discovered, they were removed to cells at a greater distance from each other.

In this inquisition, as in that of Spain, if the prisoners plead their innocence, they are condemned as obdurate, and their effects embezzled; if they plead guilty, they are sentenced on their own confession, and their effects confiscated of course; and if they are suffered to escape with their lives (which is but seldom the case) as penitent criminals who have voluntarily accused themselves, they dare not reclaim their effects, as that would bring on them an accusation of being "hypocritical and relaxed penitents," when a most cruel death would be the certain consequence.

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

The prisoner is then ordered by the president to kneel down, and lay his right hand upon a book, which is presented to him close shut. This being complied with, the following question is put to him: "Will you promise to conceal the secrets of the holy office, and speak the truth?"

If he answers in the negative, he is remanded to his cell, and cruelly treated. If he answers in the affirmative, he is ordered to be again seated, and the examination

proceeds; when the president asks a variety of questions, and the clerk minutes both them and the answers.

After the examination is closed, the bell is again rung, the gaoler appears, and the prisoner is ordered to withdraw, with this exhortation; "Tax your memory, recollect all the sins you have ever committed, and when you are again brought here, communicate them to the holy office."

The gaolers and attendants being apprized that the prisoner hath made an ingenuous confession, and readily answered every question, make him a low bow, and treat him with an affected kindness, as a reward for his candour.

In a few days he is brought to a second examination, with the same formalities as before. It is then demanded of him, "If he has taken a serious review of his past life, and will divulge its various secrets, and the crimes and follies into which he has run at different times." If he refuses to confess any thing, many ensnaring questions are put to him, and the arts of casuistry are exhausted to draw some secret from him. But if he accuses himself of any crimes or follies, they are written down by the secretary, and a process extracted from them. The inquisitors often overreach prisoners, by promising the greatest lenity, and even to restore their liberty, if they will accuse themselves. The unhappy persons who are in their power frequently fall into this snare, and are sacrificed to their own simplicity, and ill-placed confidence. Instances have been known of some, who, relying on the faith of the judges, and believing their fallacious promises, have accused themselves of what they were totally innocent, in expectation of obtaining their liberty speedily; and thus, being duped by the inquisitors, they become martyrs to their own folly, and suffer death for fictitious transgressions.

Another artifice used by the inquisitors is, that if a prisoner has too much resolution to accuse himself, and too much sense to be ensnared by their sophistry, they exhibit the copy of an indictment against the prisoner, in which, among many trivial accusations, he is charged with the most enormous crimes of which human nature is capable. This, of course, rouses his temper, and he exclaims

against such falsities. He is then asked which of the crimes he can deny? He naturally singles out the most atrocious, and begins to express his abhorrence of them, when the indictment being snatched out of his hand, the president says, "By your denying only those crimes which you mention, you implicitly confess the rest, and we shall therefore proceed accordingly."

The inquisitors make a ridiculous affectation of equity, by pretending that the prisoner may be indulged with a counsellor, if he chooses to demand one. Such a request is sometimes made, and a counsellor appointed, but upon these occasions, as the trial itself is a mockery of justice, so the counsellor is a mere cipher; for he is not permitted to say any thing that might offend the inquisitor, or to advance a syllable that might benefit the prisoner. Amazing profligacy, to turn that to a farce which ought to be revered as a superiour virtue.

It is evident, that a prisoner to the inquisitors is reduced to the sad necessity of defending himself against accusers he does not know, and of answering to the evidence of witnesses he must not see. The only person he is permitted to have a sight of upon his trial, exclusive of the judges and secretary, is the fiscal, who acts officially as the ostensible accuser, from the collected information of others. A desire of being informed of the real accuser's name, or to see the actual witnesses avail nothing, those things he is told are always kept secret. Thus is he continued in suspense respecting his fate, and frequently interrogated, perhaps for years together, before his trial is finally concluded. When that fatal time comes, if he is condemned to die, death is deferred for a considerable time. To put him out of his misery immediately would be too great a favour, and prevent the inquisitors from indulging their sanguinary dispositions with other sufferings which they intend to inflict. They begin by putting him to the torture, under the pretence of making the poor wretch discover his accomplices. For this purpose the tortures are various, and the torments inflicted excruciating to the last degree. Well might a late writer, in speaking of these cruelties, exclaim, "O, that I was able to give

some faint idea of that variety of tortures which the miserable victims are here forced to suffer; but no language can represent such a complicated scene of horrors. It is utterly impossible for any words to describe which of them is the most cruel and inhuman. Every one is so exquisite in its kind as to surpass all imagination. What detestible monsters then must those judges be who are the inventors and perpetrators of such misery? they are shaped, it is true, like other men, but surely they seem to have a different kind of souls. They appear as little affected with the groans and agonies of their fellow-creatures as the cords, chains, and racks and tortures, which are applied to their writhing limbs. The hearts of these ecclesiastical butchers are grown callous, and like those of common butchers, are so inured to the shedding of blood, and the horrid sight of mangled carcasses, as to have lost all the impressions of sensibility, and every touch and feeling of humanity. Perpetual scenes of horror and distress become so familiar to their minds, that what would rend the very heart-strings of some men, make no more impression on theirs than on a rock of adamant. Indeed, without such a fiend-like temper, it would be impossible for any man to act the part of an inquisitor.

The inquisitors allow the torture to be used only three times, but it is so severely inflicted, that the prisoner either dies under it, or continues always after a cripple, and suffers the severest pains upon every change of weather. An ample description of the severe torments occasioned by the torture from the account of one who suffered it the three respective times, but happily survived the cruelties he underwent, is the most accurate mode of description.

“On refusing to comply with the iniquitous demands of the inquisitors, by confessing all the crimes they thought proper to charge him with, he was immediately conveyed to the torture-room, where no light appeared but what two candles gave. That the cries of the sufferers might not be heard by the other prisoners, this room is lined with a kind of quilting, which covers all the crevices, and deadens the sound.

“Great was the prisoner’s horror on entering this infernal place, when suddenly he was surrounded by six wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, stripped him naked to his drawers. He was then laid upon his back on a kind of stand, elevated a few feet from the floor.

“They began the operation by putting an iron collar round his neck, and a ring to each foot, which fastened him to the stand. His limbs being thus stretched out, they wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh; which ropes being passed under the scaffold through holes made for that purpose, were all drawn tight at the same instant of time, by four of the men, on a given signal.

“It is easy to conceive that the pains which immediately succeeded were intolerable; the ropes which were of a small size cut through the prisoner’s flesh to the bone, making the blood gush out at eight different places thus bound at a time. As the prisoner persisted in not making any confession of what the inquisitors required, the ropes were drawn in this manner four times successively.

“It is to be observed, that a physician and surgeon attended, and often felt his temples, in order to judge of the danger he might be in; by which means his tortures were for a small space suspended, that he might have sufficient opportunity of recovering his spirits, to sustain each ensuing torture.

“In all this extremity of anguish, while the tender frame is tearing, as it were, in pieces, while at every pore it feels the sharpest pangs of death, and the agonizing soul is just ready to burst forth, and quit its wretched mansion, the ministers of the inquisition have the obduracy of heart to look on without emotion and calmly to advise the poor distracted creature to confess his imputed guilt, in doing which, they tell him, he may obtain a free pardon, and receive absolution. All this, however, was ineffectual with the prisoner, whose mind was strengthened by a consciousness of innocence, and the divine consolation of religion.

“Whilst he was thus suffering, the physician and surgeon were so barbarously unjust as to declare, that if he died under the torture he would be guilty, by his obsti-

nacy, of self-murder. In short, at the last time of the ropes being drawn tight, he grew so exceedingly weak, by the circulation of his blood being stopped, and the pains he endured, that he fainted away; upon which he was unloosed, and carried back to his dungeon.

“The barbarous savages of the inquisition, finding that all the torture inflicted, as above described, instead of extorting a discovery from the prisoner, only served the more fervently to excite his supplications to heaven for patience and power to persevere in truth and integrity, were so inhuman, six weeks after, as to expose him to another kind of torture, more severe, if possible than the former; the manner of inflicting which was as follows: they forced his arms backwards, so that the palms of his hands were turned outward behind him; when, by means of a rope that fastened them together at the wrists, and which was turned by an engine, they drew them, by degrees, nearer each other, in such a manner that the back of each hand touched, and stood exactly parallel to the other. In consequence of this violent contortion, both his shoulders became dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice; after which he was again taken to the dungeon, and put into the hands of the physician and surgeon, who, in setting the dislocated bones, put him to the most exquisite pain.

“Two months after the second torture, the prisoner, being a little recovered, was again ordered to the torture room; and there, for the last time, made to undergo another kind of punishment, which was inflicted twice without any intermission. The executioners fastened a thick iron chain twice round his body, which, crossing upon his stomach, terminated at the wrists. They then placed him with his back against a thick board, at each extremity whereof was a pulley, through which they run a rope that caught the ends of the chain at his wrists. The executioners then stretching the end of this rope, by means of a roller placed at a distance behind him, pressed or bruised his stomach in proportion as the ends of the chain were drawn tighter. They tortured him in this manner to such

a degree, that his wrists, as well as his shoulders, were quite dislocated. They were, however, soon set by the surgeons; but the barbarians, not yet satisfied with this series of cruelty, made him immediately undergo the like torture a second time; which he sustained (though if possible attended with keener pains) with equal constancy and resolution.

“After this he was again remanded to his dungeon, attended by the surgeon to dress his bruises and adjust the parts dislocated; and here he continued till their *Auto de Fé*,* or gaol delivery, when he was happily discharged.

* One of these *Auto de Fé*'s was appointed to be held at Lisbon on All Saint's day, the 1st of November, 1755, when a great number of prisoners, who had been a long time in confinement, were to have been brought to execution. It was prevented, however, from taking place, by a dreadful earthquake which happened on the morning of the day appointed, whereby the greatest part of the city was thrown into a heap of ruins. The shock happened just at the time of celebrating their first mass, so that thousands were assembled in the churches, the major part of whom were killed, for the great buildings, particularly those situated on eminences, suffered the most damage; and indeed very few of the churches or convents escaped. But what greatly added to the calamity was, that some time after the shock, almost a general conflagration took place, the city being in flames in various parts at the same time. It continued burning for eight successive days, so that the greater part of the buildings that had escaped the earthquake, were consumed by fire. The surviving inhabitants fled to the neighbouring fields, almost naked, where they lived for some time in tents, and were relieved by the munificence of the king of Spain. There was no distinction of persons, for the wealthy before were now become paupers, all property being entirely lost. The convulsions of the earth were repeated, at different times, for eight days, when they happily subsided. It was computed, that upwards of fifty thousand souls perished in the ruins of Lisbon; and among those that escaped, many of them had broken limbs, or were greatly bruised. In this calamitous circumstance, Providence seems to have particularly distinguished the protestants, (for amongst the numbers of them settled in Lisbon, only about twelve or fourteen were missing) some of whom were saved in a very strange and miraculous manner.

Mr. Baretto, who visited Lisbon soon after this dreadful accident, mentions the following particulars: “As far as I can judge,” says he, “after having walked the whole morning, and the whole afternoon, about these ruins, so much of Lisbon has been destroyed as would make a town more than twice as great as Turin. Nothing is to be seen but vast heaps of rubbish, out of which arise, in numberless places, the miserable remains of shattered walls and broken pillars. Along a street, which is full four miles in length, scarce a building stood the shock; and I see, by the materials in the rubbish, that many of the

“From the before mentioned relation, it may easily be judged what dreadful agony the sufferer must have laboured under, at being so frequently put to the torture. Most of his limbs were disjoined; and so much was he bruised and exhausted, as to be unable, for some weeks, to lift his hand to his mouth; and his body became greatly swelled from the inflammation caused by such frequent dislocations. After his discharge, he felt the effects of this cruelty for the remainder of his life, being frequently seized with thrilling and excruciating pains, to which he had never been subject, till after he had the misfortune to fall under the merciless and bloody lords of the inquisition.

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

“If the above mentioned modes of torturing force a confession from the prisoner, he is remanded to his horrid

houses along that street must have been large and stately, and intermixed with noble churches, and other publick edifices; nay, by the quantities of marble scattered on every side, it plainly appears, that one-fourth, at least, of that street, was built of marble. The rage of the earthquake (if I may call it rage) seems to have turned chiefly against that long street, as almost every edifice on either side is in a manner, levelled with the ground; whereas, in other parts of the town, houses, churches, and other buildings, are left standing, though all so cruelly shattered as not to be repaired without great expense; nor is there, throughout the whole town, a single building of any kind, but what wears visible marks of this horrible concussion. As I was thus rambling over those ruins, an aged woman seized me by the hand with some eagerness, and pointing to a place just by, ‘Here, stranger,’ said she, ‘do you see this cellar? It was only my cellar once, but now it is my habitation, because I have none else left! My house tumbled as I was in it, and in this cellar was I shut by the ruins for nine whole days. I had perished with hunger but for the grapes that I had hung to the ceiling. At the end of nine days I heard people over my head, who were searching the rubbish; I cried as loud as I could, when hearing me, they removed the rubbish, and took me out.’ Another deliverance, no less singular was the following: a gentleman was going in his calash along a kind of terrace, raised on the brink of an eminence, which commands the whole town. The frightened mules leaped down the eminence at the first shock; they and the rider were killed on the spot, and the calash broke to pieces; but the gentleman escaped unhurt.”

dungeon, and left a prey to the melancholy of his situation, to the anguish arising from what he has suffered, and to the dreadful ideas of future barbarities. If he still refuses to confess, he is in the same manner remanded to his dungeon, but a stratagem is used to draw from him what the torture fails to do. A companion is allowed to attend him, under the pretence of waiting upon and comforting his mind till his wounds are healed. This person, who is always selected for his cunning, insinuates himself into the good graces of the prisoner, laments the anguish he feels, sympathizes with him, and taking an advantage of the hasty expressions forced from him by pain, does all he can to dive into his secrets.

“Sometimes this companion pretends to be a prisoner like himself, and imprisoned for similar charges. This is to draw the unhappy person into mutual confidence, and persuade him, in unbosoming his grief, to betray his private thoughts.

“These snares frequently succeed, as they are the more alluring by being glossed over with the appearance of friendship, sympathy, pity, and every tender passion. In fine, if the prisoner cannot be found guilty, he is either tortured, or harassed to death; though a few have sometimes had the good fortune to be discharged, but not without having, first of all, suffered the most dreadful cruelties. If he is found guilty, all his effects are confiscated, and he is condemned to be whipped, imprisoned for life, sent to the galleys, or put to death. These sentences are put in execution at an *Auto de Fé*, which is not held annually, or at any stated periods, but sometimes once in two, three, or even four years.”

After having mentioned the barbarities with which the persons of prisoners are treated by the inquisitors, it will be necessary to recount the severity of their proceedings against books.

Immediately on the publication of a book, it is scrupulously read by some of the familiars belonging to the inquisition. These wretched criticks are too ignorant to have taste, too bigoted to search for truth, and too malicious to relish beauties. They pursue, not for the merits,

but for the defects of an author, and pursue the slips of his pen with unremitting diligence. Hence they read with prejudice, judge with partiality, pursue errors with avidity, and strain that which is innocent into an offensive meaning.

They misunderstand, misapply, confound, and pervert the sense; and when they have gratified the malignity of their disposition, charge their blunders upon the author, that a prosecution may be founded upon their false conceptions, and designed misinterpretations.

The most trivial charge causes the censure of a book; but the censure is three-fold,

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

Thus the inquisitors check the progress of learning, impede the increase of arts, nip genius in the bud, destroy national taste, and continue the cloud of ignorance over the minds of the people.

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

The publisher of such books, probably ruined in his circumstances is often obliged to pass the remainder of his life in the inquisition.

CHAP. II.

INSTANCES OF BARBARITIES EXERCISED BY THE INQUISITIONS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, FROM THE MOST GENUINE HISTORIANS AND THE BEST AUTHENTICATED RECORDS.

Francis Romanes, a merchant of Spain, was employed by those of Antwerp to transact some business for them at Breme. He had been educated in the Romish persuasion, but going one day into a protestant church, he was struck with the truths which he heard, and began to perceive the errors of popery.

He read the sacred scriptures attentively, and perusing the writings of some protestant divines, he plainly perceived the errors of the principles he had formerly embraced; and, therefore, renounced the impositions of popery for the doctrines of the reformed church.

He now studied religious truths more than trade, and purchased books rather than merchandise, convinced that the riches of the body are trifling to those of the soul.

He then resigned his agency to the merchants of Antwerp, giving them an account at the same time of his conversion; and resolving, if possible, to convert his parents, he went to Spain for that purpose. But the Antwerp merchants having given information to the inquisitors, he was seized, imprisoned, and condemned to be burnt as a heretick.

He was led to the place of execution in a garment painted with the representations of devils, and had a paper mitre put upon his head, by way of derision. As he passed by a wooden cross, one of the priests bade him kneel to it; this he absolutely refused to do, saying, "it is not for Christians to worship wood."

Being placed upon a pile of wood, the fire quickly reached him, when he suddenly lifted up his head; the priests thinking he meant to recant, ordered him to be taken down. Finding, however, that they were mistaken, and that he still retained his constancy, he was placed again upon the

pile, where, as long as he had life and voice remaining, he repeated verses of the seventh psalm.

Rochus, a carver at St. Lucar, in Spain, was usually employed in making images of saints and other Popish idols. Becoming, however, convinced of the errors of the Romish persuasion, he embraced the protestant faith, left off carving images, and for subsistence followed the business of a seal engraver only. He had, however, retained one image of the Virgin Mary for a sign; when an inquisitor passing by, asked if he would sell it; Rochus mentioned a price; the inquisitor objected to it, and offered half the money: Rochus replied, I would rather break it to pieces than take such a trifle. "Break it to pieces!" said the inquisitor, "break it to pieces if you dare!"

Rochus being provoked at this expression, immediately snatched up a chisel, and cut off the nose of the image. This was sufficient, the inquisitor went away in a rage, and soon after caused him to be apprehended. In vain did he plead that what he defaced was his own property, and that if it was not proper to do as he would with his own goods, it was not proper for the inquisitor to bargain for the image in the way of trade. Nothing, however, availed him; his fate was decided: he was condemned to be burnt; and the sentence was executed.

Doctor Cacalla, his brother Francis, and their sister Blanch, were burnt at Valladolid, for having spoken against the inquisitors. Doctor Cacalla, who was very old, when at the place of execution, repeated the words of Solomon, which Prior thus beautifully translated:—

"Behold where age's wretched victim lies,
 See his head trembling, and his half-clos'd eyes;
 Frequent for breath his panting bosom heaves,
 To broken sleep his remnant sense he gives, }
 And only by his pains, awaking, finds he lives,
 Loos'd by devouring time, the silver cord
 Dissever'd lies, unhonor'd from the board;
 The crystal urn, when broken, is thrown by,
 And apter utensils their place supply:
 These things and I must share one common lot;
 Die, and be lost; corrupt, and be forgot;
 While still another, and another race,
 Shall now supply, and now give up the place.
 From earth all came, to earth must all return;
 Frail as the cord, and brittle as the urn."

At Seville, a gentlewoman, with her two daughters, and her niece, were apprehended for professing the protestant religion; put to the torture; and when that was over, one of the inquisitors sent for the youngest daughter, pretended to sympathize with her, and pity her sufferings; then binding himself with a solemn oath not to betray her, he said, "if you will disclose all to me, I promise you I'll procure the discharge of your mother, sister, cousin, and yourself."

Made confident by such an oath, and entrapped by his promises, she revealed the whole of the tenets they professed; when the perjured wretch, instead of acting as he had sworn, immediately ordered her to be put to the rack, saying, "now you have revealed so much, I will make you reveal more." Refusing, however, to say any thing farther, they were all ordered to be burnt, which sentence was executed at the next *Auto de Fé*.

The keeper of the castle of Triano, belonging to the inquisitors of Seville, happened to be of a disposition more mild and humane than is usual with persons in his situation. He gave every possible indulgence to the prisoners, and showed them every favour in his power with much secrecy. At length, however, the inquisitors became acquainted with and determined to punish him severely for his kindness, that other gaolers might be deterred from showing the least traces of such compassion in future. With this view they superceded him, threw him into a dismal dungeon, and used him with such dreadful barbarity that he was bereaved of his senses.

This deplorable situation, however, procured him no favour, for he was brought, frantick as he was, from prison, at an *Auto de Fé*, to the usual place of punishment, clothed with a *sambenito* (or garment worn by criminals) and a rope about his neck. His sentence was then read, "that he should be placed upon an ass, led through the city, receive two hundred stripes, and then be condemned six years to the gallies."

The poor frantick wretch, just as they were about to begin his punishment, suddenly sprung from the back of the ass, broke the cords that bound him, snatched a sword from

one of the guards, and dangerously wounded an officer of the inquisition. Being overpowered by multitudes, he was prevented from doing farther mischief, seized, bound more securely on the back of the ass, and punished according to his sentence. But so inexorable were the inquisitors, that for the rash effects of his madness, four years were added to his slavery in the galleys.

A maid-servant to another gaoler belonging to the inquisition was accused of humanity, and detected in bidding the prisoners "keep up their spirits." For these heinous crimes, as they were called, she was publicly whipped, banished her native place for ten years, and had her forehead branded by red-hot irons, with these words, "a favourer and aider of hereticks."

John Pontic, a Spaniard by birth, a gentleman by education, and a protestant by persuasion, was, principally on account of his great estate, apprehended by the inquisitors, when the following charges were exhibited against him:—

That he had said he abhorred the idolatry of worshipping the host.—That he shunned going to mass.—That he asserted, the merit of Jesus Christ alone was a full justification for a christian.—That he declared there was no purgatory.—That he affirmed the pope's absolution not to be of any value.

On these charges his effects were confiscated to the avarice of the inquisitors, and his body burnt to gratify their revenge.

John Gonsalvo, originally a priest, having embraced the reformed religion, was seized by the inquisitors, as were his mother, brother, and two sisters. Being condemned, they were led to execution, where they were ordered to say the creed, which they immediately complied with, but coming to these words, The holy Catholick church, they were commanded to add the monosyllables "of Rome," which absolutely refusing, one of the inquisitors said, "put an end to their lives directly;" which the executioners obeyed, by strangling them.

Four protestant women were tortured and ordered for execution at Seville. On the way they began to sing psalms; but the officers of the inquisition, thinking that the

words of the psalms reflected on themselves, put gags into all their mouths. They were then burnt, and the houses in which they resided were ordered to be razed to the ground.

Ferdinando, a protestant schoolmaster, was apprehended for instructing his pupils in the principles of protestantism; and, after being severely tortured, was consigned to the flames.

A Monk, who had abjured the errors of popery, was imprisoned at the same time as Ferdinando; but through the fear of death, and to procure mercy, said he was willing to embrace his former communion. Ferdinando, hearing of this, got an opportunity to speak to him, reproached him with his weakness, and threatened him with eternal perdition. The monk, sensible of his crime, returned to, promised to continue in the protestant faith, and declare to the inquisitors, that he solemnly renounced his intended recantation. Sentence of death was therefore passed upon him, and he was burnt with Ferdinando.

Juliano, a Spanish Roman catholick, became a convert to the protestant religion in Germany; and being zealous for the faith he had embraced, undertook to convey from Germany into his own country, a great number of Bibles, concealed in casks, and packed up like Rhenish wine. This dangerous commission he succeeded in so far as to distribute the books. A pretended protestant, however, who had purchased one of the Bibles, betrayed and accused him to the inquisition.

Juliano was immediately seized, and strict enquiry being made for the respective purchasers of the Bibles, eight hundred persons were apprehended, who were all indiscriminately tortured, and most of them sentenced to various punishments. Juliano was burnt, twenty were roasted upon spits, several imprisoned for life, some were publicly whipped, many sent to the gallies, and a few discharged.

John Leon, a protestant tailor, of Spain, travelled to Germany, and from thence to Geneva, where hearing that a great number of English protestants were returning to their native country, he, and some more Spaniards, deter-

mined to go with them. The Spanish inquisitors, apprized of their intentions, sent a number of familiars so expeditiously in pursuit of them, that they overtook them at a sea-port in Zealand, one of the United Provinces, then under the jurisdiction of Spain, just before they had embarked. The prisoners were heavily fettered, handcuffed, gagged, and their heads and necks covered with a kind of iron net-work. In this miserable condition they were conveyed to Spain, thrown into a dismal dungeon, nearly famished with hunger, barbarously tortured, and then cruelly burnt.

A young lady, having been put into a convent, absolutely refused to take the veil, or turn nun. On leaving the cloister she embraced the protestant faith, which being known to the inquisitors, she was apprehended, and every method used to regain her to popery. This proving ineffectual, her inexorable judges condemned her to the flames, and she was burnt, persisting in her faith to the last.

Christopher Lósada, an eminent physician, and learned philosopher, having become extremely obnoxious to the inquisitors, on account of exposing the errors of popery, and professing the tenets of protestantism, was apprehended, imprisoned, and racked; but those severities not bringing him to confess the Roman catholic church to be the only true church, he was sentenced to the fire; the flames of which he bore with exemplary patience, and resigned his soul to that Creator by whom it was bestowed.

Arias, a monk belonging to the monastery of St. Isidore at Seville, was a man of great abilities, but of a vicious disposition. He sometimes pretended to forsake the errors of the church of Rome, and become a protestant, and soon after turned Roman catholic. Thus he continued a long time wavering between both persuasions, till God thought proper to touch his heart, and show him the great danger of inconstancy in religious matters. He now became a true protestant, and bewailed his former errors with contrition. The sincerity of his conversion being discovered, he was seized by the officers of the inquisition, severely tortured, and burnt at an *Auto de Fé*.

Maria de Coceicao, a young lady who resided with her

brother at Lisbon, was seized by the inquisitors, and ordered to be put to the rack. The exquisite torments she felt staggered her resolution, and she fully confessed the charges against her.

The cords were immediately slackened, and she was re-conducted to her cell, where she remained till she had recovered the use of her limbs; she was then brought again before the tribunal, and ordered to ratify her confession, and sign it. This she absolutely refused, telling them, "That what she had said was forced from her by the excessive pain she underwent." Incensed at this reply, the inquisitors ordered her again to be put to the rack, when the weakness of nature once more prevailed, and she repeated her former confession. She was immediately remanded to her cell till her wounds were again healed; when being a third time brought before the inquisitors, they, in a stern manner, ordered her to sign her first and second confessions. She answered as before, but added, "I have twice given way to the frailty of the flesh, and perhaps may, while on the rack, be weak enough to do so again; but depend upon it, if you torture me an hundred times, as soon as I am released from the rack I shall deny what was extorted from me by pain." The inquisitors ordered her to be racked a third time; and, during this last trial, she exceeded even her own expectations: bore the torments inflicted with the utmost fortitude, and could not be persuaded to answer any of the questions put to her. As her courage and constancy increased, the inquisitors imagined that she would deem death a glorious martyrdom, and therefore, to disappoint her expectations, they condemned her to a severe whipping through the publick streets, and a ten years' banishment.

Jane Bohorquia, a lady of a noble family in Seville, was apprehended on the information of her sister, who had been tortured, and burnt for professing the protestant religion. While on the rack, through the extremity of pain, that young lady confessed that she had frequently discoursed with her sister concerning protestanism, and upon this extorted confession was Jane Bohorquia seized.

and imprisoned. Being pregnant at the beginning, they let her remain tolerably quiet till she was delivered, when they immediately took away the child, and put it to nurse, that it might be brought up a Roman catholic.

The lady was not perfectly recovered from the weakness caused by her labour, when she was ordered to be racked, which was done with such severity, that she expired a week after of the wounds and bruises she received. Upon this occasion the inquisitors affected some remorse; and, in one of the printed acts of the inquisition, which they always publish at *Auto de Fé*, they thus mention this young lady:—

“Jane Bohorquia was found dead in prison; after which, upon reviving her prosecution, the inquisitors discovered that she was innocent.—Be it therefore known, that no farther prosecutions shall be carried on against her, and that her effects, which were confiscated, shall be given to the heirs at law. Thus have the lords of the holy office of inquisition generously restored to her innocence, reputation, and estate.” Strange inconsistency! to take the property, and torture the person, before conviction of guilt, and then to compliment themselves for moderation, in returning what they had no right to seize, and forgiving one, who, by their own acknowledgment, had never offended them. One sentence, however, in the above ridiculous passage wants explanation, viz. “That no farther prosecutions shall be carried on against her.” This alludes to the absurd custom of prosecuting, and burning the bones of the dead; for when a prisoner dies in the inquisition, the process continues the same as though the accused were living; the bones are deposited in a chest, and if a sentence of guilt is passed, they are brought out at the next *Auto de Fé*; the sentence is read against them with as much solemnity as against a living prisoner, and they are at length committed to the flames. In a similar manner are prosecutions carried on against prisoners who escape; and when their persons are far beyond the reach of the inquisitors, they are burnt in effigy.

Dr. Isaac Orobio, a learned physician, having beaten a

Moorish servant for stealing, was accused by him of professing Judaism. Without considering the apparent malice of the servant, the inquisitors seized the master upon the charge. He was kept three years in prison before he had the least intimation of what he was to undergo, and then suffered the following six modes of torture:—

First, a coarse linen coat was put upon him, and then drawn so tight that the circulation of his blood was nearly stopped, and the breath almost pressed out of his body. After this the strings were suddenly loosened, when the air forcing its way hastily into his stomach, and the blood rushing into its channels, he suffered the most incredible pains.

Secondly, his thumbs were tied with small cords, so hard that the blood gushed from under the nails.

Thirdly, he was seated on a bench with his back against a wall, wherein small iron pullies were fixed. Ropes being fastened to several parts of his body and limbs, were passed through the pullies, and being suddenly drawn with great violence, his whole frame was forced into a distorted heap.

Fourthly, after having suffered for a considerable time the pains of the last-mentioned position, the seat was snatched away, and he was left suspended against the wall in the most excruciating misery.

Fifthly, a little instrument with five knobs, and which went with springs, being placed near his face, he suddenly received five blows on the cheek, that put him to such pain as caused him to faint away.

Sixthly, the executioners fastened ropes round his wrists, and then drew them about his body. Placing him on his back with his feet against the wall, they pulled with the utmost violence, till the cords had penetrated to the bone.

The last torture he suffered three different times, and then lay seventy days before his wounds were healed. He was afterwards banished, and in his exile wrote the account of his sufferings, from which the above are extracted.

An excellent penman of Toledo, in Spain, and a protestant, was fond of producing fine specimens of writing,

and having them framed, to adorn the different apartments of his house. Among other curious examples of penmanship was a large piece, containing the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, thrown into verse, and finely written. This piece, which hung in a conspicuous part of the house, was seen by a person belonging to the inquisition, who observed that the versification of the commandments was not according to the church of Rome, but according to the protestant church, for the protestants retain the whole of the commandments as they are found in the Bible, but the papists omit that part of the second commandment which forbids the worship of images. The inquisition soon had information against this ingenious gentleman, who was seized, prosecuted, and burnt, for ornamenting his house with a specimen of his skill and piety.

CHAP. III.

THE SUFFERINGS OF MR. WILLIAM LITHSOW, A NATIVE OF SCOTLAND.

This gentleman descended from a very respectable family; having a natural propensity to travelling, had rambled, when very young, over the northern and western islands; after which he visited France, Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland, and Spain. He again set out on his travels in the month of March, 1609, and the first place he went to was Paris, where he stayed for some time. He then prosecuted his travels through Germany, and at length arrived at Malaga in Spain.

During his residence here, he contracted with the master of a French ship for his passage to Alexandria, but was prevented from going by the following circumstances. In the evening of the 17th of October, 1620, the English fleet, at that time on a cruise against the Algerine rovers, came to anchor before Malaga, which threw the people of the town into the greatest consternation, as they imagined them to be Turks. The morning, however, discovered the mistake, and the governour of Malaga perceiving the

cross of England in their colours, went on board Sir Robert Mansell's ship, who commanded on that expedition, and after staying some time returned, and silenced the fears of the people.

The following day many persons from on board the fleet came ashore. Among these were several well known by Mr. Lithgow, who, after reciprocal compliments, spent some days together in festivity and the amusements of the town. They then invited Mr. Lithgow on board, to pay his respects to the admiral. He accepted the invitation, was kindly received by him, and detained till the next day, when the fleet sailed. The admiral would willingly have taken Mr. Lithgow with him to Algiers; but having contracted for his passage to Alexandria, and his baggage, &c. being in the town, he could not accept the offer.

As soon as Mr. Lithgow got on shore he proceeded towards his lodgings by a private way (being to embark the same night for Alexandria) when, in passing through a narrow, uninhabited street, he found himself suddenly surrounded by nine sergeants, or officers, who threw a black cloak over him, and forcibly conducted him to the governour's house. After some little time the governour appeared, when Mr. Lithgow earnestly begged he might be informed of the cause of such violent treatment. The governour only answered, by shaking his head, and gave orders that the prisoner should be strictly watched till he (the governour) returned from his devotions; directing, at the same time, that the captain of the town, the alcaid-major, and town notary, should be summoned to appear at his examination, and that all this should be done with the greatest secrecy, to prevent the knowledge thereof reaching the ears of the English merchants then residing in the town.

These orders were strictly discharged, and on the governour's return, he, with the officers, having seated themselves, Mr. Lithgow was brought before them for examination. The governour began by asking several questions, namely, of what country he was, whither bound, and how long he had been in Spain. The prisoner, after answering these, and other questions, was conducted to a closet,

where, in a short space of time, he was visited by the town-captain, who enquired whether he had ever been at Seville, or was lately come from thence; and patting his cheeks with an air of friendship, conjured him to tell the truth; "for (said he) your very countenance shows there is some hidden matter in your mind, which prudence should direct you to disclose." Finding himself, however, unable to extort any thing from the prisoner, he left him, and reported the ill success of his visit to the governour and the other officers; on which Mr. Lithgow was again brought before them, a general accusation was laid against him, and he was compelled to swear that he would give true answers to such questions as should be asked him.

The governour then proceeded to enquire the quality of the English commander, and the prisoner's opinion what were the motives that prevented his accepting an invitation from the governour to come on shore. He demanded, likewise, the names of the English captains in the squadron, and what knowledge he had of the embarkation, or preparation for it before its departure from England. The answers given to the several questions asked were set down in writing by the notary; but the junto seemed surprised at his denying any knowledge of the fitting out of the fleet, particularly the governour, who said he lied, that he was a traitor and spy, and came directly from England to favour and assist in the designs that were projected against Spain; and that he had been for that purpose nine months in Seville, in order to procure intelligence of the time the Spanish navy was expected from the Indies. They exclaimed against his familiarity with the officers of the fleet, and many other English gentlemen, between whom, they said, unusual civilities had passed, but all these transactions had been carefully noticed.

To sum up the whole of the accusation, and put the truth, as they said, past all doubt, he came from a council of war, held that morning on board the admiral's ship, in order to put in execution the orders assigned him. They upbraided him with being accessory to the burning of the island of St. Thomas, in the West Indies; "wherefore (said they) these Lutherans, and sons of the devil, ought to have no credit given to what they say or swear."

In vain did Mr. Lithgow endeavour to obviate every accusation laid against him, and to obtain belief from his prejudiced judges. He begged permission to send for his cloakbag, which contained his papers, and might serve to show his innocence. This request they complied with, thinking it would discover some things of which they were ignorant. The cloak-bag was accordingly brought, and being opened, among other things, was found a license from king James I. under the sign manual, setting forth the bearer's intention to travel into Egypt; which was treated by the haughty Spaniards with great contempt. The other papers consisted of passports, testimonials, &c. of persons of quality. All these credentials, however, seemed rather to confirm than abate the suspicions of these unjust judges, who, after seizing all the prisoner's papers, ordered him again to be withdrawn.

A consultation was then held to fix the place where the prisoner should be confined. The alcade, or chief judge, was for putting him in the town prison; but this was objected to, particularly by the corrigidore, who said, in Spanish, "in order to prevent the knowledge of his confinement from reaching his countrymen, I will take the matter on myself, and be answerable for the consequences;" upon which it was agreed, that he should be confined in the governour's house with the greatest secrecy.

One of the sergeants went to Mr. Lithgow, and begged his money, with liberty to search him. As it was needless to make any resistance, the prisoner quietly complied, when the sergeant (after rifling his pockets of eleven ducatoons) stripped him to his shirt; and searching his breeches found, enclosed in the waistband, two canvass bags, containing one hundred and thirty-seven pieces of gold. The sergeant immediately took the money to the corrigidore, who, after having told it over, ordered him to clothe the prisoner, and shut him up close till after supper.

About midnight the sergeant and two Turkish slaves released Mr. Lithgow from his then confinement, but it was to introduce him to one much more horrible. They conducted him through several passages to a chamber in a remote part of the palace, towards the garden, where

they loaded him with irons, and extended his legs by means of an iron bar above a yard long, the weight of which was so great that he could neither stand nor sit, but was obliged to lie continually on his back. They left him in this condition for some time, when they returned with food, consisting of a pound of boiled mutton and a loaf, with a small quantity of wine; which was not only the first, but the best and the last of the kind, during his confinement in that place. After delivering these articles, the serjeant locked the door, and left Mr. Lithgow to his sufferings.

The next day he received a visit from the governour, who promised him his liberty, with many other advantages, if he would confess being a spy; but on his protesting that he was entirely innocent, the governour left him in a rage, saying, he should see him no more till farther torments constrained him to confess; commanding the keeper, to whose care he was committed, that he should permit no person whatever to have access to, or commune with him: that his sustenance should not exceed three ounces of musty bread, and a pint of water every second day; that he should be allowed neither bed, pillow, nor coverlet.—“Close up,” said he, “this window in his room with lime and stone; stop up the holes of the door with double mats: let him have nothing that bears any likeness to comfort.” These, and several other orders of the like severity, were given, to render it impossible for his condition to be known to those of the English nation.

In this wretched and melancholy state did this unhappy gentleman continue, without seeing any person for several days, in which time the governour received an answer to a letter he had written, relative to the prisoner, from Madrid; and, pursuant to the instructions given him, began to put in practice the cruelties devised, which they hastened, because christmas holydays approached, it being then the forty-seventh day of his imprisonment.

About two o'clock in the morning of that day, he heard the noise of a coach in the street; and some time after heard the opening of the prison doors; he had been deprived of sleep for two nights; hunger, pain, and melancholy reflection having prevented him from taking any

repose. Soon after the prison doors were opened, the nine sergeants, who had first seized him, with the notary, entered the place where he lay, and, without uttering a word, conducted him in his irons through the house into the street, where a coach waited, and into which they laid him at the bottom on his back, not being able to sit. Two of the sergeants rode with him, and the rest walked by the coach side, but all preserved the most profound silence. They drove him to a vine-press house, about a league from the town, to which place a rack had been privately conveyed; and here they shut him up for that night.

At day-break the next morning arrived the governour and the alcade, into whose presence Mr. Lithgow was immediately brought, to undergo another examination.—The prisoner desired he might have an interpreter, which was allowed to strangers by the laws of that country, but this was absolutely refused, nor would they permit him to appeal to Madrid, as being the superior court of judicature. After a long examination, which lasted from morn-till night, there appeared in all his answers so exact a conformity with what he had before said, that they declared he had learned them by heart, there not being the least prevarication. They, however, pressed him again to make a full discovery; that is, to accuse himself of crimes never committed, the governour adding, “You are still in my power; I can set you free if you comply: if not, I must deliver you to the alcade.” Mr. Lithgow still persisting in his innocence, the governour ordered the notary to draw up a warrant for delivering him to the alcade to be tortured.

In consequence of this, he was conducted by the sergeants to the end of a stone gallery, where the rack was placed. The encarouador, or executioner, immediately struck off his irons, which put him to very great pain, the bolts being so closely rivetted, that the sledge hammer tore away above half an inch of his heel, in forcing off the bolt; the anguish of which, together with his weak condition (not having had the least sustenance for three days) occasioned him to groan bitterly; upon which the merci-

less alcade said, "Villain! traitor! this is but the earnest of what you shall endure."

When his irons were off he fell on his knees, uttering a short prayer, that God would be pleased to enable him to be steadfast, and undergo courageously the grievous trial he had to undergo. The alcade and notary having placed themselves in chairs, he was stripped naked, and fixed upon the rack, the office of these persons being to be witness of, and set down the confessions and tortures endured by the delinquent.

- It is impossible to describe all the various tortures inflicted on him. Suffice it to say, that he lay on the rack for above five hours, during which time he received above sixty different tortures of the most hellish nature; and had they been continued a few minutes longer, he must have inevitably perished.

These cruel persecutors having glutted their infernal appetites, for the present, the prisoner was taken from the rack, and his irons being again put on, he was conducted to his former dungeon, having received no other nourishment than a little warm wine, given him rather to prevent his expiring, and to sustain him for future punishments, than from any principle of charity or compassion.

As a confirmation of this, orders were given for a coach to pass every morning before day by the prison; that the noise made by it might give fresh terrours and alarms to the unhappy prisoner, and deprive him of all possibility of obtaining the least repose.

He continued in this horrid situation, almost starved for want of the common necessaries to preserve his wretched existence, till Christmas-day, when he received some relief from Mariane, waiting woman to the governour's lady.— This woman, having obtained leave to visit him, carried with her some refreshments, consisting of honey, sugar, raisins, and other articles: and so affected was she at beholding his situation, that she wept bitterly, and at her departure expressed the greatest concern at not being able to give him farther assistance.

In this loathsome dungeon was Mr. Lithgow kept till he was nearly devoured with vermin. They crawled

about his beard, lips, eyebrows, &c. so that he could scarcely open his eyes; and his mortification was increased by not having the use of his hands or legs to defend himself, from his having been so miserably maimed by the tortures. The miscreant governour, to heighten his cruelty, even ordered the vermin to be swept on Mr. Lithgow twice in every eight days. He, however, obtained some little mitigation of this part of his punishment, from the humanity of a Turkish slave that attended him, who, at times, when he could do it with safety, destroyed the vermin, and contributed every refreshment to him that laid in his power.

From this slave Mr. Lithgow at length received that information which gave him little hopes of ever being released, but, on the contrary, that he should finish his life under new tortures. The substance of this information was, that an English seminary priest, and a Scot's cooper, had been for some time employed by the governour to translate from the English into the Spanish language, all his books and observations; and that it was commonly said in the governour's house, that he was an arch heretick.

This information greatly alarmed him, and he began, not without reason, to fear that they would soon finish him, more especially as they could neither, by torture, or any other means, bring him to vary from what he had all along said at his different examinations.

Two days after he had received the above information, the governour, an inquisitor, and a canonical priest, accompanied by two Jesuits, entered his dungeon, and being seated, after several idle questions, the inquisitor asked Mr. Lithgow if he was a Roman catholick, and acknowledged the pope's supremacy? He answered, "that he neither was the one, nor did the other: adding, that he was surprised at being asked such questions, since it was expressly stipulated by the articles of peace between England and Spain, that none of the English subjects should be liable to the inquisition, or any way molested by them on account of diversity in religion, &c." In the bitterness of his soul, he made use of some warm expressions not suited to his circumstances: "As you have almost

murdered me (said he) for pretended treason, so now you intend to make a martyr of me for religion." He also expostulated with the governour on the ill return he made the king of England (whose subject he was) for the princely humanity exercised towards the Spaniards in 1588, when their armada was shipwrecked on the Scottish coast, and thousands of the Spaniards found relief, who must have otherwise miserably perished."

The governour admitted the truth of what Mr. Lithgow said, but replied with a haughty air, "That the king, who then only ruled Scotland, was actuated more by fear than love, and therefore did not deserve any thanks."— One of the Jesuits said, "There was no faith to be kept with hereticks." The inquisitor then rising, addressed himself to Mr. Lithgow in the following words: "You have been taken up as a spy, accused of treachery, and tortured, as we acknowledge, innocently (which appears by the account lately received from Madrid of the intentions of the English); yet it was the divine power that brought those judgments upon you, for presumptuously treating the blessed miracle of Loretto with ridicule, and expressing yourself in your writings irreverently of his holiness, the great agent, and Christ's vicar upon earth; therefore you are justly fallen into our hands by their special appointment: thy books and papers are miraculously translated by the assistance of Providence influencing thy own countrymen."

This trumpery being ended, they gave the prisoner eight days to consider and resolve whether he would become a convert to their religion; during which time the inquisitor told him, he, with other religious orders, would attend to give him such assistance thereto as he might want. One of the Jesuits said (first making the sign of the cross upon his breast) "My son, behold, you deserve to be burnt alive; but by the grace of our lady of Loretto, whom you have blasphemed, we will both save your soul and body."

In the morning the inquisitor with the three ecclesiasticks returned, when the former asked the prisoner what difficulties he had on his conscience that retarded his conversion. To which he answered, "He had not any doubts

in his mind, being confident in the promises of Christ, and assuredly believing his revealed will signified in the gospels, as professed in the reformed catholick church, being confirmed by grace, and having infallible assurance thereby of the true Christian faith." To these words the inquisitor replied, "Thou art no Christian, but an absurd heretick, and without conversion a member of perdition." The prisoner then told him, "It was not consistent with the nature and essence of religion and charity, to convince by opprobrious speeches, racks, and torments, but by arguments deduced from the scriptures; and that all other methods would with him be totally ineffectual."

The inquisitor was so enraged at the replies made by the prisoner, that he struck him on the face, used many abusive speeches, and attempted to stab him, which he had certainly done had he not been prevented by the Jesuits; and from this time he never again visited the prisoner.

The next day the two Jesuits returned, and putting on a very grave supercilious air, the superior asked him, "What resolution he had taken?" To which Mr. Lithgow replied, "That he was already resolved, unless he could show substantial reasons to make him alter his opinion." The superior, after a pedantic display of their seven sacraments, the intercession of saints, transubstantiation, &c. boasted greatly of their church, her antiquity, universality and uniformity; all which Mr. Lithgow denied: "For (said he) the profession of the faith I hold hath been ever since the first days of the apostles, and Christ had ever his own church (however obscure) in the greatest time of your darkness."

The Jesuits, finding their arguments had not the desired effect, that torments could not shake his constancy, nor even the fear of the cruel sentence he had reason to expect would be pronounced and executed on him, after severe menaces, left him. On the eighth day after, being the last of their inquisition, when sentence is usually pronounced, they returned again, but quite altered, both in their words and behaviour. After repeating much the same kind of arguments as before, they,

with seeming tears in their eyes, pretended they were sorry from their hearts he must be obliged to undergo a terrible death; but above all, for the loss of his most precious soul; and falling on their knees, cried out, "Convert, convert, O dear brother, for our blessed Lady's sake convert!" To which he answered, "I fear neither fire nor death, being prepared for both."

The first effects Mr. Lithgow felt of the determination of this bloody tribunal was, a sentence to receive that night eleven different tortures, and if he did not die in the execution of them (which might be reasonably expected from the maimed and disjointed condition he was in) he was, after Easter holydays, to be carried to Grenada, and there burnt to ashes. The first part of the sentence was executed with great barbarity that night; and it pleased God to give him strength of body and mind, to stand fast to the truth, and to survive the horrid punishments inflicted on him.

After these barbarians had glutted themselves with exercising on the unhappy prisoner the most distinguished cruelties, they again put irons on, and conveyed him to his dungeon. The next morning he received some little comfort from the Turkish slave (before-mentioned) who secretly brought him, in his shirt sleeve, some raisins and figs, which he licked up in the best manner his strength would permit with his tongue. It was to this slave Mr. Lithgow attributed his surviving so long in such a wretched situation; for he found means to convey some of these fruits to him twice every week. It is very extraordinary, and worthy of note, that this poor slave, bred up from his infancy, according to the maxims of his prophet and parents, in the greatest detestation of Christians, should be so affected at the miserable situation of Mr. Lithgow, that he fell ill, and continued so for upwards of forty days. During this period Mr. Lithgow was attended by a negro woman, a slave, who found means to furnish him with refreshments still more amply than the Turk, being conversant in the house and family. She brought him every day some victuals, and with it some wine in a bottle.

The time was now so far elapsed, and the horrid situa-

tion so truly loathsome, that Mr. Lithgow waited, with anxious expectation, for the day, which, by putting an end to his life, would also end his torments. But his melancholy expectations were, by the interposition of Providence, happily rendered abortive, and his deliverance obtained from the following circumstances.

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

While the governour was relating this tragical tale, a Flemish youth (servant to the Spanish gentleman) who waited at table, was struck with amazement and pity at the sufferings of the stranger described. On his return to his master's lodgings he began to revolve in his mind what he had heard, which made such an impression on him that he could not rest in his bed. In the short slumbers he had, his imagination painted to him the person described, on the rack, and burning in the fire. In this anxiety he passed the night; and when the morning came, without disclosing his intentions to any person whatever, he went into the town, and enquired for an English factor. He was directed to the house of Mr. Wild, to whom he related the whole of what he had heard pass, the preceding evening, between his master and the governour; but could not tell Mr. Lithgow's name. Mr. Wild, however, conjectured it was him, by the servant's remembering the circumstance of his being a traveller, and his having had some acquaintance with him.

On the departure of the Flemish servant, Mr. Wild im-

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

Mr. Lithgow was released from his confinement on the eve of Easter Sunday, when he was carried from his dungeon on the back of the slave that had attended him to the house of one Mr. Busbich, where all proper comforts were given him. It fortunately happened, that there was at this time a squadron of English ships in the road, commanded by Sir Richard Hawkins, who being informed of the past sufferings, and present situation of Mr. Lithgow, came the next day ashore, with a proper guard, and received him from the merchants. He was instantly carried in blankets on board the *Vanguard*, and three days after was removed to another ship, by direction of the General Sir Robert Mansel, who ordered that he should have proper care taken of him. The factory presented him with clothes, and all necessary provisions, besides which they gave him two hundred reals in silver; and Sir R. Hawkins sent him two double pistoles.

Before his departure from the Spanish coast, Sir R. Hawkins demanded the delivery of his papers, money, books, &c. but could not obtain any satisfactory answer on that head.

After lying twelve days in the road, the ship weighed anchor, and in about two months arrived safe at Deptford. The next morning Mr. Lithgow was carried on a feather-bed to Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, at that time the residence of King James I. and royal family. His majesty happened to be that day engaged in hunting, but on his return in the evening Mr. Lithgow was presented to him,

and related the particulars of his sufferings, and his happy delivery. The king was so affected at the narrative, that he expressed the deepest concern, and gave orders that he should be sent to Bath, and his wants properly supplied from his royal munificence. By these means, under God, after some time, Mr. Lithgow was restored, from the most wretched spectacle, to a great share of health and strength; but he lost the use of his left arm, and several of the smaller bones were so crushed and broken, as to be ever after rendered useless.

CHAP. IV.

SOME PRIVATE ENORMITIES OF THE INQUISITION LAID OPEN,
BY A VERY SINGULAR OCCURRENCE.

When the crown of Spain was contested in the beginning of the last century, by two princes who equally pretended to the sovereignty, France espoused the cause of one competitor, and England of the other.

The Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II. who abdicated England, commanded the Spanish and French forces, and defeated the English at the celebrated battle of Almanza. The army was divided then into two parts; the one consisting of Spaniards and French, headed by the Duke of Berwick, advanced towards Catalonia; the other body, consisting of French troops only, commanded by the Duke of Orleans, proceeded to the conquest of Arragon.

As the troops drew near to the city of Arragon, the magistrates came to offer the keys to the Duke of Orleans; but he told them, haughtily, they were rebels, and that he would not accept the keys, for he had orders to enter the city through a breach.

He then made a breach in the walls with his cannon, and entered the city through it, with his whole army. When he had made every necessary regulation, he departed to subdue other places, leaving a strong garrison, at once to overawe and defend, under the command of his Lieutenant-general M. De Legal. This gentleman, though

brought up a Roman catholick, was totally free from the trammels of superstition: he united brilliant talents with great bravery; and was, at once, the skilful officer, and accomplished gentleman.

The duke, before his departure, had ordered that the following heavy contributions should be levied upon the city:

“1. That the magistrates and principal inhabitants should pay a thousand crowns per month for the duke’s table.

“2. That every house should pay one pistole, which would monthly amount to eighteen thousand pistoles.

“3. That every convent and monastery should pay a donative, proportionably to its riches and rents.

The two last contributions to be appropriated to the maintenance of the army.”

The money levied upon the magistrates and principal inhabitants, and upon every house, was paid as soon as demanded; but when the proper persons applied to the heads of the convents and monasteries, they found that the ecclesiasticks were not so willing, as other people, to part from their treasure.

Of the donatives to be raised by the clergy:

The College of Jesuits were to pay	2.000	pistoles.
————— Carmelites —————	1.000	
————— Augustins —————	1.000	
————— Dominicans —————	1.000	

M. De Legal sent to the Jesuits a peremptory order to pay the money immediately. The superior of the Jesuits returned for answer, that for the clergy to pay money to the army was against all ecclesiastical immunities; and that he knew of no argument which could authorize such a procedure. M. De Legal, by way of conviction, sent four companies of dragoons to quarter themselves in the college, with this sarcastick message: “To prove to you the necessity of paying the money, I have sent four substantial arguments to your college, drawn from the system of military logick; and, therefore, hope you will need no farther admonition to direct your conduct.”

Such proceedings greatly perplexed the Jesuits, who

dispatched an express to court to the king's confessor, who was of their order; but the dragoons were much more expeditious in plundering and doing mischief, than the courier in his journey: so that the Jesuits, seeing every thing going to wreck and ruin, thought proper to adjust the matter amicably, and paid the money before the return of their messenger. The Augustins and Carmelites taking warning by what had happened to the Jesuits, prudently went and submitted to the contribution, and by that means escaped the study of military argument, and of being taught logick by the dragoons.

But the Dominicans, who were all familiars of, or agents dependent on, the inquisition, imagined, that that very circumstance would be their protection; but they were mistaken, for M. De Legal neither feared nor respected the inquisition. The chief of the Dominicans sent word to the military commander, that his order was poor, and had no money whatever to pay the donative; "for," says he, "the whole wealth of the Dominicans consists only in the silver images of the apostles and saints, as large as life, which are placed in our church, and which it would be sacrilege to remove."

The insinuation was meant to terrify the French commander, who, the inquisitors imagined, would not dare to be so profane as to wish for the possession of the precious idols; but he sent word that the silver images would make admirable substitutes for money, and would be more in character in his possession, than in that of the Dominicans themselves, "for," says he, "while you possess them in the manner you do at present, they stand up in niches, useless and motionless, without the least benefit to mankind, or even to yourselves; but, when they come into my possession, they shall be useful, I will put them in motion; for I intend to have them coined, when they may travel like the apostles, be beneficial in various places, and circulate for the universal service of mankind."

The inquisitors, astonished at this treatment, which they never expected to receive, even from crowned heads, determined, from necessity, to deliver their precious images in a solemn procession, that they might excite the peo-

ple to an insurrection. The Dominican friars were ordered to march to De Legal's house, with the silver apostles and saints in a mournful manner, having lighted tapers with them, and bitterly crying all the way, "heresy, heresy."

M. De Legal hearing of these proceedings, ordered four companies of grenadiers to line the street which led to his house; each grenadier was ordered to have his loaded fuzee in one hand, and a lighted taper in the other; so that the troops might either repel force by force, or do honour to the farcical solemnity.

The friars did all they could to raise a tumult, but the common people were too much afraid of the troops under arms to obey them; the silver images were, therefore, delivered up to M. De Legal, who sent them to the mint, and ordered them to be immediately coined.

The project of raising an insurrection having failed, the inquisitors determined to excommunicate M. De Legal, unless he would release their precious silver saints from imprisonment in the mint, before they were melted down, or otherwise mutilated. The French commander absolutely refused to release the images, but said they should certainly travel and do good; upon which the inquisitors drew up the form of excommunication, and ordered their secretary to go and read it to M. De Legal.

The secretary punctually performed his commission, and read the excommunication deliberately and distinctly. The French commander heard it with great patience, and politely told the secretary he would answer it next day.

When the secretary of the inquisition was gone, M. De Legal ordered his own secretary to prepare a form of excommunication, exactly like that sent by the inquisition; but to make this alteration, instead of his name, to put in those of the inquisitors.

The next morning he ordered four regiments under arms, and commanded them to accompany his secretary, and act as he directed.

The secretary went to the inquisition, and insisted upon admittance; which, after a great deal of altercation, was granted. As soon as he entered, he read, in an audible

voice, the excommunication sent by M. De Legal, against the inquisitors. The inquisitors were all present, and heard it with astonishment, never having before met with any individual who had dared to behave so boldly. They loudly cried out against De Legal, as a heretick; and said, this was a most daring insult against the catholick faith. But, to surprise them still more, the French secretary told them, they must remove from their present lodgings; for the French commander wanted to quarter the troops in the Inquisition, as it was the most commodious place in the whole city.

The inquisitors now exclaimed still more incessantly, when the secretary put them under a strong guard, and sent them to a place appointed by M. De Legal to receive them. The inquisitors, in this predicament, begged that they might be permitted to take their private property, which was granted, and they immediately set out for Madrid, where they made the most bitter complaints to the king; but the monarch told them, he could not grant them any redress, as the injuries they had received were from his grandfather, the king of France's troops, by whose assistance alone he could be firmly established in his kingdom. "Had it been my own troops," said he, "I would have punished them; but as it is, I cannot pretend to exert any authority."

In the mean time, Monsieur De Legal's secretary sat open all the doors of the inquisition, and released the prisoners, who amounted, in the whole, to four hundred; and among these were sixty beautiful young women, who appeared to form a seraglio for the three principal inquisitors.

This discovery, which exhibited in their true colours the enormities of the inquisitors, greatly alarmed the archbishop, who desired M. De Legal to send the women to his palace, and he would take proper care of them; and at the same time he published an ecclesiastical censure against all such as should ridicule, or blame, the holy office of the inquisition.

The French commander sent word to the archbishop that the prisoners had either ran away, or were so secure-

ly concealed by their friends, or even by his own officers, that it was impossible for him to send them back again; and therefore, the inquisition having committed such atrocious actions, must now put up with their exposure.

One of the ladies, thus happily delivered from captivity, was afterwards married to the very French officer who opened the door of her dungeon, and released her from confinement. This lady related the following circumstances to her husband, and to M. Gavin, from the latter of whom are selected the following material particulars:—

“I went one day,” says the lady “with my mother, to visit the Countess of Attarass, and I met there Don Francisco Tirregon, her confessor, and second inquisitor of the holy office.

“After we had drank chocolate, he asked me my age, my confessor’s name, and many intricate questions about religion. The severity of his countenance frightened me, which he perceiving, told the countess to inform me, that he was not so severe as he appeared. He then caressed me in a most obliging manner, presented his hand, which I kissed with great reverence and modesty; and, as he went away, he made use of this remarkable expression: ‘My dear child, I shall remember you till the next time.’ I did not at the time mark the sense of the words; for I was inexperienced in matters of gallantry, being, at that time, but fifteen years old. Indeed, he unfortunately did remember me, for the very same night, when our whole family were in bed, we heard a great knocking at the door.

“The maid, who laid in the same room with me, went to the window, and inquired who was there.—The answer was, The Holy inquisition. On hearing this I screamed out, ‘Father! father! dear father, I am ruined for ever!’ My father got up, and came to me to know the occasion of my crying out; I told him the inquisitors were at the door. On hearing this, instead of protecting me, he hurried down stairs as fast as possible; and, lest the maid should be too slow, opened the street door himself; under such abject and slavish fears are bigotted minds! As soon as he knew they came for me, he fetched me with great solemnity, and delivered me to the officers with much submission.

“I was hurried into a coach, with no other clothing than a petticoat and a mantle, for they would not let me stay to take any thing else. My fright was so great, I expected to die that very night; but judge my surprise, when I was ushered into an apartment decorated with all the elegance that taste, united with opulence, could bestow.

“Soon after the officers left me, a maid-servant appeared with a silver salver, on which were sweetmeats and cinnamon-water. She desired me to take some refreshments before I went to bed; I told her I could not, but should be glad if she could inform me whether I was to be put to death that night or not.

“‘To be put to death!’ exclaimed she, ‘you do not come here to be put to death, but to live like a princess, and you shall want for nothing in the world, but the liberty of going out; so pray don’t be afraid, but go to bed and sleep easy; for to-morrow you shall see wonders within this house; and as I am chosen to be your waiting-maid, I hope you’ll be very kind to me.’

“I was going to ask some questions, but she told me she must not answer any more ’till the next day, but assured me that no body would come to disturb me; I am going then, said she, about a little business, but I will come back presently, for my bed is in the closet next yours; so she left me for about a quarter of an hour, and then returned. She then said, ‘madam, pray let me know when you will be pleased to have your chocolate ready in the morning.’”

“This greatly surprised me, so that without replying to her question, I asked her name;—she said, ‘my name is Mary.’—‘Mary, then,’ said I, ‘for heaven’s sake tell me whether I am brought here to die or not?’—‘I have told you already,’ replied she, ‘that you come here to be one of the happiest ladies in the world.’

“We then went to bed, but the fear of death prevented me from sleeping the whole night; Mary waked, she was surprised to find me up, but soon rose, and after leaving me for about half an hour, she brought in two cups of chocolate, and some biscuits on a silver plate.

“ I drank one cup of chocolate, and desired her to drink the other, which she did; when we had done, I said, ‘Well, Mary, can you give me any account of the reasons for my being brought here?’ To which she answered, ‘Not yet, madam, you must have patience,’ and immediately slipped out of the room.

“ About half an hour after, she brought a great quantity of elegant clothes, suitable to a lady of the highest rank, and told me, I must dress myself. Among several trinkets which accompanied the clothes, I observed, with surprise, a snuff-box, in the lid of which was a picture of Don Francisco Tirregon. This unravelled to me the mystery of my confinement, and at the same time roused my imagination to contrive how to evade receiving the present. If I absolutely refused it, I thought immediate death must ensue; and to accept it, was giving him too much encouragement against my honour. At length I hit upon a medium, and said to Mary ‘pray present my respects to Don Francisco Tirregon, and tell him, that, as I could not bring my clothes along with me last night, modesty permits me to accept of these garments, which are requisite to keep me decent; but since I do not take snuff, I hope his lordship will excuse me in not accepting his box.’

“ Mary went with my answer, and soon returned with Don Francisco’s picture elegantly set in gold, and richly embellished with diamonds. This message accompanied it: ‘That his lordship had made a mistake; his intent not being to send me a snuff-box, but his picture.’ I was at a great loss what to do; when Mary said, pray, madam, take my poor advice; accept of the picture, and every thing else which his lordship sends you; for if you do not, he can compel you to what he pleases, and put you to death when he thinks proper, without any body being able to defend you. But if you are obliging to him,’ continued she, ‘he will be very kind, and you will be as happy as a queen; you will have elegant apartments to live in, beautiful gardens to range in, and agreeable ladies to visit you: therefore, I advise you to send a civil answer, and even not to deny a visit from his lordship, or perhaps you may repent of your disrespect.’

“O, my God! exclaimed I, must I sacrifice my honour to my fears, and give up my virtue to his despotick power? Alas! what can I do? To resist is vain. If I oppose his desires, force will obtain what chastity refuses. I now fell into the greatest agonies, and told Mary to return what answer she thought proper.

“She said, she was glad of my humble submission, and ran to acquaint Don Francisco with it. In a few minutes she returned, with joy in her countenance, telling me his lordship would honour me with his company to supper. ‘And now give me leave, madam,’ says she, ‘to call you mistress,’ for I am to wait upon you. I have been in the holy office fourteen years, and know all the customs perfectly well; but as silence is imposed upon me, under pain of death, I can only answer such questions as immediately relate to your own person. But I would advise you never to oppose the holy father’s will; or if you see any young ladies about, never ask them any questions. You may divert yourself sometimes among them, but must never tell them any thing: three days hence you will dine with them; and at all times you may have musick, and other recreations. In fine, you will be so happy, that you will not wish to go abroad; and when your time is expired, the holy fathers will send you out of this country, and marry you to some nobleman.’ After saying these words she left me, overwhelmed with astonishment, and scarce knowing what to think. As soon as I recovered myself, I began to look about, and finding a closet, I opened it, and perceived that it was filled with books: they were chiefly upon historical and profane subjects, but not any on religious matters. I chose out a book of history, and so passed the interval, with some degree of satisfaction, till dinner-time.

“The dinner was served up with the greatest elegance, and consisted of all that could gratify the most luxurious appetite. When dinner was over, Mary left me, and told me, if I wanted any thing I might ring a bell which she pointed out to me.

“I read a book to amuse myself during the afternoon, and at seven in the evening Don Francisco came to visit

me in his night-gown and cap, not with the gravity of an inquisitor, but with the gayety of a gallant.

“He saluted me with great respect, and told me, ‘that he came to see me in order to shew the great respect he had for my family, and to inform me, that it was my lovers who had procured my confinement, having accused me in matters of religion; and that the informations were taken, and the sentence pronounced against me, to be burnt alive in a dry pan, with a gradual fire; but that he, out of pity and love to my family, had stopped the execution of it.’

“These words were like daggers to my heart; I dropped at his feet, and said, ‘Ah, my lord! have you stopped the execution for ever?’ He replied, ‘that belongs to yourself only,’ and abruptly wished me good night.

“As soon as he was gone I burst into tears, when Mary came and asked what could make me cry so bitterly. To which I answered, ‘Oh, Mary, what is the meaning of the dry pan and gradual fire? for I am to die by them.’

“‘Madam,’ said she, ‘never fear, you shall see, ere long, the dry pan and gradual fire; but they are made for those that oppose the holy father’s will, not for you that are so good as to obey it. But pray, said she, was Don Francisco very obliging?’—‘I don’t know,’ said I, ‘for he frightened me out of my wits by his discourse: he saluted me with civility, but he left me abruptly.’

“‘Well, said Mary, you do not yet know his temper: he is extremely obliging to them that are kind to him; but if they are disobedient, he is as unmerciful as Nero: so, for your own sake, take care to oblige him in all respects; and now, dear madam, pray go to supper, and be easy.’ I went to supper, indeed, and afterwards to bed; but I could neither eat or sleep, for the dry pan and gradual fire deprived me of appetite, and banished drowsiness.

“Early the next morning, Mary said, that as no body was stirring, if I would promise her secrecy, she would show me the dry pan and gradual fire; so taking me down stairs, she brought me to a large room, with a thick iron door, which she opened. Within it was an oven, with fire in it at the time, and a large brass pan upon it, with a cover of the same, and a lock to it. In the next room

there was a great wheel, covered on both sides with thick boards; opening a little window in the centre, Mary desired me to look in with a candle: there I saw all the circumference of the wheel, set with sharp razors, which made me shudder.

“She then took me to a pit, which was full of venomous animals. On my expressing great horror at the sight, she said, ‘Now, my good mistress, I’ll tell you the use of these things. The dry pan is for hereticks, and those who oppose the holy father’s will and pleasure: they are put alive into the pan, being first stripped naked, and the cover being locked down, the executioner begins to put a small fire into the oven, and by degrees, he augments it, till the body is reduced to ashes. The wheel is designed for those who speak against the pope, or the holy fathers of the inquisition; for they are put into that machine through the little door, which is locked after them, and then the wheel is turned swiftly, till they are cut all to pieces. The pit is for those who contemn the images, and refuse to give proper respect to ecclesiastical persons; for they are thrown into the pit, and so become the food of poisonous animals.’”

“We went back again to my chamber, and Mary said, that another day she would show me the torments designed for other transgressors; but I was in such agonies at what I had seen, that I begged to be terrified with no more such sights. She soon after left me, but not without enjoining my strict obedience to Don Francisco; ‘For if you do not comply with his will,’ says she, ‘the dry pan and gradual fire will be your fate.’”

“The horrors which the sight of these things, and Mary’s expressions, impressed on my mind, almost bereaved me of my senses, and left me in such a state of stupefaction, that I seemed to have no manner of will of my own.

“The next morning Mary said, now let me dress you as nice as possible, for you must go and wish Don Francisco good-morrow, and breakfast with him. When I was dressed, she conveyed me through a gallery into his apartment, where I found that he was in bed. He ordered

Mary to withdraw, and to serve up breakfast in about two hours time. When Mary was gone, he commanded me to undress myself, and come to bed to him. The manner in which he spoke, and the dreadful ideas with which my mind was filled, so terribly frightened me, that I pulled off my clothes, without knowing what I did, and stepped into bed, insensible of the indecency I was transacting: so totally had the care of self-preservation absorbed all my other thoughts, and so entirely were the ideas of delicacy obliterated by the force of terrour!

“Thus, to avoid the dry pan, did I entail upon myself perpetual infamy; and to escape the so much dreaded gradual fire, give myself up to the flames of lust.—Wretched alternative, where the only choice is an excruciating death, or everlasting pollution!

“Mary came at the expiration of two hours, and served us with chocolate in the most submissive manner; for she kneeled down by the bed-side to present it. When I was dressed, Mary took me to a very delightful apartment, which I had never yet seen. It was furnished with the most costly elegance; but what gave me the greatest astonishment was the prospect from its windows, of a beautiful garden, and a fine meandering river. Mary told me, that the young ladies she had mentioned would come to pay their compliments to me before dinner, and begged me to remember her advice, in keeping a prudent guard over my tongue.

“In a few minutes a great number of very beautiful young ladies, richly dressed, entered the room, and successively embracing me, wished me joy. I was so surprised, that I was unable to answer their compliments; which one of the ladies perceiving, said, ‘Madam, the solitude of this place will effect you in the beginning, but when you begin to feel the pleasures and amusements we enjoy, you will quit those pensive thoughts. We, at present, beg the honour of you to dine with us to-day, and henceforward three days in a week.’ I returned them suitable thanks in general terms, and so we went to dinner, in which the most exquisite and savoury dishes, of various kinds, were served up, with the most delicate and pleasant

fruits and sweetmeats. The room was long, with two tables on each side, and a third in the front. I reckoned fifty-two young ladies, the eldest not exceeding twenty-four years of age. There were five maid-servants, besides Mary, to wait upon us; but Mary confined her attention to me alone. After dinner we retired to a capacious gallery, where some played on musical instruments, a few diverted themselves with cards, and the rest amused themselves with walking about. Mary, at length, entered the gallery, and said, 'Ladies, this is a day of recreation, and so you may go into whatever rooms you please, till eight o'clock in the evening.'

"They unanimously agreed to adjourn to my apartment. Here we found a most elegant cold collation, of which all the ladies partook, and passed the time in innocent conversation, and harmless mirth: but none mentioned a word concerning the inquisition, or the holy fathers, or gave the least distant hint concerning the cause of their confinement.

"At eight o'clock Mary rang a bell, which was a signal for all to retire to their respective apartments, and I was conducted to the chamber of Don Francisco, where I slept. The next morning Mary brought me a richer dress than any I had yet had; and as soon as I retired to my apartment, all the ladies came to wish me good-morning, dressed much richer than the preceding day. We passed the time till eight o'clock in the evening, in much the same manner as we had done the day before. At that time the bell rung, the separation took place, and I was conducted to Don Francisco's chamber. The next morning I had a garment richer than the last, and they accosted me in apparel still more sumptuous than before. The transactions of the two former days were repeated on the third, and the evening concluded in a similar manner.

"On the fourth morning Mary came into Don Francisco's chamber, and told me I must immediately rise, for a lady wanted me in her own chamber. She spoke with a kind of authority that surprised me; but as Don Francisco did not speak a syllable, I got up and obeyed. Mary then conveyed me into a dismal dungeon, not eight feet in

length; and said sternly to me, 'This is your room, and this lady your bed-fellow and companion.' At which words she bounced out of the room, and left me in the utmost consternation.

"After remaining a considerable time in the most dreadful agonies, tears came to my relief, and I exclaimed, 'What is this place, dear lady! Is it a scene of enchantment, or is it a hell upon earth? Alas! I have lost my father and mother; and, what is worse, I have lost my honour, and my soul, for ever.'

"The lady took me by the hand, and said, in a sympathizing tone of voice, 'Dear sister, for this is the name I shall henceforth give you, forbear to cry and grieve, for you can do nothing by such an extravagant behaviour, but draw upon yourself a cruel death. Your misfortunes, and those of all the ladies you have seen, are exactly of a piece: you suffer nothing but what we have suffered before you; but we dare not show our grief, for fear of greater evils. Pray take courage, and hope in God, for he will surely deliver us from this hellish place; but be sure you discover no uneasiness before Mary, who is the only instrument either of your torments, or comfort. Have patience till we go to bed, and then I will venture to tell you more of the matter.'

"My perplexity and vexation were inexpressible; but my new companion, whose name was Leonora, prevailed on me to disguise my uneasiness from Mary. I dissembled tolerably well when she came to bring our dinners; but could not help remarking, in my own mind, the difference between this repast and those I had before partook of. This consisted only of plain, common food, and of that a scanty allowance, with only one plate, and one knife and fork for us both, which she took away as soon as we had dined.

"When we were in bed, Leonora was as good as her word; and, upon my solemn promise of secrecy, thus began to open her mind to me:

"My dear sister, you think your case very hard, but, I assure you, all the ladies in the house have gone through the same. In time you will know all their stories, as

they hope to know yours. I suppose Mary has been the chief instrument of your fright, as she has been of ours; and I warrant she has shown you some horrible places, though not all; and that, at the very thought of them, you were so terrified, that you chose the same way we have done, to redeem yourself from death. By what hath happened to us, we know that Don Francisco hath been your Nero, your tyrant; for the three colours of our clothes are the distinguishing tokens of the three holy fathers. The red silk belongs to Don Francisco, the blue to Don Guerrero, and the green to Don Aliaga; and they always give those colours (after the farce of changing garments, and the short-lived recreations are over) to those ladies whom they bring here for their respective uses.

“We are strictly commanded to express all the demonstrations of joy, and to be very merry for three days, when a young lady first comes amongst us, as we did with you, and as you must now do with others. But afterwards we live like the most wretched prisoners, without seeing any body but Mary, and the other maid-servants, over whom Mary hath a kind of superiority, for she acts as house-keeper. We all dine in the great hall three days in a week; when any one of the inquisitors hath a mind for one of his slaves, Mary comes about nine o'clock, and leads her to his apartment.

“Some nights Mary leaves the doors of our chambers open, and that is a token that one of the inquisitors hath a mind to come that night; but he comes so silently, that we are ignorant whether he is our patron or not. If one of us happens to be with child, she is removed into a better chamber till she is delivered; but during the whole of her pregnancy, she never sees any body but the person appointed to attend her.

“As soon as the child is born it is taken away, and carried we know not whither; for we never hear a syllable mentioned about it afterwards. I have been in this house six years, was not fourteen when the officers took me from my father's house, and have had one child. There are, at this present time, fifty-two young ladies in the house; but we annually lose six or eight, though we know not

what becomes of them, or whither they are sent. This, however, does not diminish our number, for new ones are always brought in to supply the place of those who are removed from hence; and I remember, at one time, to have seen seventy-three ladies here together. Our continual torment is to reflect, that when they are tired of any of the ladies, they certainly put to death those they pretend to send away; for it is natural to think, that they have too much policy to suffer their atrocious and infernal villanies to be discovered, by enlarging them. Hence our situation is miserable indeed, and we have only to pray that the Almighty will pardon those crimes which we are compelled to commit. Therefore, my dear sister, arm yourself with patience, for that is the only palliative to give you any comfort, and put a firm confidence in the providence of Almighty God.'

"This discourse of Leonora greatly affected me; but I found every thing to be as she told me in the course of time, and I took care to appear as cheerful as possible before Mary. In this manner I continued eighteen months, during which time eleven ladies were taken from the house; but in lieu of them we got nineteen new ones, which made our number just sixty at the time we were so happily relieved by the French officers, and providentially restored to the joys of society, and to the arms of our parents and friends. On that happy day, the door of my dungeon was opened by the gentleman who is now my husband, who, with the utmost expedition, sent both Leonora and me to his father's; and (soon after the campaign was over) when he returned home, he thought proper to make me his wife, in which situation I enjoy a recompense for all the miseries I before suffered."

From the foregoing narrative it must be evident, that the inquisitors were a set of libidinous villains, lost to every just idea of religion, and totally destitute of humanity. Those who possessed wealth, beauty, or liberal sentiments, were sure to find enemies in them. Avarice, lust, and prejudice, were their ruling passions; and they sacrificed every law, human and divine, to gratify their predominant desires. Their supposed piety was affectation; their pre-

tended compassion hypocrisy; their justice depended on their will; and their equitable punishments were founded on their prejudices. None were secure from them; all ranks fell equally victims to their pride, their power, their avarice, or their aversion.

CHAP. V.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SUFFERINGS OF JOHN COUSTOS.

Mr. John Coustos, a native of Berne, in Switzerland, was by trade a jeweller and lapidary; and as he intended to settle in England, got himself naturalized, and lived in London, twenty-two years. He then went to Paris, where he resided five years; after which he removed to Lisbon in Portugal, where he obtained the acquaintance of several substantial jewellers, and other persons of credit, who made him the kindest and most generous offers, in case he would reside among them; which he accepted, and settled in the above-mentioned city, equally to the satisfaction of his friends, his employers, and himself.

The officers of the inquisition were sent after Mr. Coustos; and they seized him in the name of the Holy Inquisition, in a coffee-house, between nine and ten at night.

Upon their seizing him, they divested him of his sword; then handcuffed him, and forced him into a chaise drawn by two mules, and in this condition he was hurried away to the prison of the inquisition.

Upon arriving at the prison, he was delivered up to the officer of this pretended holy place: who called four guards, and he was conveyed to an apartment, until such time as notice should be given to the President.

He was next searched, and stripped of every thing, and led to a lonely dungeon, and forbidden to speak loud, or knock at the walls, but, in case he wanted any thing, to beat against the door, with a padlock that hung on the outward door, and which he could reach by thrusting his hands through the iron grates.

He passed one day and two nights in great agitation of

mind, heightened, at every little interval, by the complaints, the dismal cries, and hollow groans of several other prisoners. It was now that time seemed to have lost all motion, and these three-score hours appeared to him like so many years.

His innocence, however, had so calmed his mind, that neither the supposed partiality of his judges, nor the dreadful ideas of their cruelty, could intimidate him at that time.

He was next shaved, and led bare-headed to the President and four inquisitors, who, upon his coming in, bid him kneel down and lay his right hand on the Bible, and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that he would speak truly with regard to all the questions they should ask him. They then asked him his christian and surname, those of his parents, the place of his birth, profession, religion, and how long he had resided in Lisbon.—These questions he duly answered; and then they proceeded to address him as follows:—

“Son, you have offended and spoken injuriously of the Holy Office, as we know from very good hands; for which reason we exhort you to make confession, and accuse yourself of the several crimes you have committed, from the time you was capable of judging between good and evil, to the present moment; in doing this, you will excite the compassion of this Tribunal, which is ever merciful and kind to those who speak the truth.”

In answer to this solemn charge and admonition, he besought them to let him know the cause of his imprisonment; that having been born and educated in the protestant religion, he had been taught from his infancy not to confess his sins before men, but to God, who, as he only can see into the inmost recesses of the human heart, knows the sincerity or insincerity of the sinner's repentance; and being his Creator, it was he alone who could absolve him.

Three days after, they brought him forward again, and asked him if he intended to confess his sins to them or not; upon which he replied as before. They then asked him if he was a Freemason; to which he answered in the affirmative. They then told him “that Freemasonry was

forbidden in Portugal; and that it was a great crime to be a Freemason; and all who belonged to the society were, by the laws of that kingdom, liable to be severely punished.

Some time afterwards they sent for him again, and read the sentence they had fixed on, which was—

“That he was adjudged to suffer the tortures employed by the Holy Office, being a heretick, and for refusing to discover the secrets of Masonry.”

He was thereupon instantly conveyed to the torture-room, built in the form of a square tower, where no light appeared but what two candles gave; and to prevent the dreadful cries and shocking groans of the unhappy victim from reaching the ears of the publick, the doors were lined with a sort of quilt.

He was seized with horror, when, at his entering this infernal place, he saw himself surrounded by six wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, stripped him naked (all except his linen drawers) and laid him on his back on a kind of table, when they began to lay hold of every part of his body. First, they put round his neck an iron collar, which was fastened to the scaffold; they then fixed a ring to each foot; and this being done, the inquisitors asked him “if he would now reveal those secrets?” he told them, “he would never reveal them.”

Upon which the signal was given; and these six wretches pulled with all their might, and stretched his limbs.

He was then asked again, “if he would reveal those secrets?” but he answered as before.

They next tied two ropes round each of his arms, and two round each of his thighs; which ropes passed under the scaffold, through holes made for that purpose, and being drawn tight at the same time by these men, upon a signal given for that purpose, the cords cut through the flesh to the bone, making the blood gush out at the eight different places that were thus bound.

By this time they thought they had so far overcome him with pain, that he would now certainly confess, and they put the question to him again, but he still persisted in refusing. Whereupon a fresh signal was given, and the

ropes were drawn tight four different times, piercing to the bone each time; and Mr. Coustos, with the fortitude of a christian, constantly persisted in his refusal, and declared that he would lose his life sooner than divulge any thing belonging to his fraternity; to which they replied, that, "he had only himself to thank for the sufferings he had endured, and if he were to die under the torture, he would be guilty, through his own obstinacy, of self-murder." However their wish was not to kill him immediately, for they placed a physician and surgeon at his side, who often felt his temples, to judge of the danger he might be in, by which means his tortures were suspended at intervals, that he might have an opportunity of recovering himself a little.

After having endured this torture three times in the course of half an hour, they again asked him if he were still determined to persist in his refusal, when poor Coustos gave the same answer as before: the signal was then given by the president and the ropes were immediately drawn tight once more, making the fourth time, upon which he grew so weak, occasioned by the excessive pain and loss of blood, that he fainted away, and the doctors declared he could bear no more at that time, so he was supported between two men, and taken to his dungeon in a state of insensibility; nor did he come to himself until the next morning, when he found himself unable to walk or stand; the surgeon, however, attended him to dress his wounds, and in the course of a month he found himself fast recovering, and hoped, after such cruelty, they would have set him at liberty; but in this he found himself mistaken, they cured him merely to have further revenge, when he was more able to endure a fresh torture; for it seems they were determined to put him in a more severe torture shortly, hoping thereby to get at the desired information, as the tortures he had already suffered seemed to make no impression on his fortitude. Thus, the more they made him suffer, the more fervently they heard him address his supplications to heaven, for patience and strength to go through the operations. In about six weeks he was so far recovered as to be thought able to undergo another

torture, more grievous, if possible, than the former; he was accordingly brought again into the torture-room; and the president then addressed him, and endeavoured to convince him that "it was through his own obstinacy that he had suffered so much, but that if he continued obstinate, there were still greater tortures for him to go through, and that he had better comply with the injunctions of the holy office; that in respect to the oath he had taken, it was nothing before them, for they could free and absolve him from his oath; and if he would turn from his own, and embrace the Roman catholick religion, his eyes would so far be opened, that he would be able to see right from wrong, and discover his own rashness in all the arguments he had used; that the holy office was merciful to such as would confess and speak the truth, and turn from their religion.

Coustos was in a trying situation: he had life and death placed before his eyes, and he was to choose which he would accept; but he told the wicked and barbarous inquisitors the same as he had repeatedly told them before, that "they might hang, burn, torture, or in any other manner destroy him, if they chose; for although he had suffered the torture many times already, and although another and more horrid torture now stared him in the face, ready to torture him afresh, yet all this gave him only more fortitude, and that he would smile at the executioners whilst they accomplished their bloody ends; he told them he would meet the fresh tortures with a smile.

This language did not obtain any lenity, but, on the contrary, irritated the inquisitors to such a degree, that they immediately proceeded with a fresh torture, in the following manner:—

They made him stretch his arms in such a manner, that the palms of his hands were turned outward, when, by the help of a rope that fastened them together at the wrist, and which they turned by an engine, they drew them gently nearer to one another behind, in such a manner, that the back of each hand touched, and stood exactly parallel one to the other; whereby both his shoulders were dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued

from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice, making the seventh torture he had undergone; after which he was again taken to his dungeon, and put into the hands of physicians and surgeons, who, in setting his bones, put him to exquisite pain.

Two months after, being a little recovered, he was again conveyed to the torture-room, and there made to undergo another kind of torture. The reader may judge of its horror, from the following description:—

The torturers turned a thick iron chain twice round his body, which, crossing upon his stomach, terminated afterwards at his wrist; they next set his back against a thick board, at each extremity whereof was a pulley, through which there was run a rope that caught the ends of the chains at his wrist. The tormentors then stretching these ropes, by means of a roller, pressed or bruised his stomach in proportion as the ropes were drawn tighter: they now tortured him to such a degree, that his wrists and shoulders were put out of joint. The surgeons, however, set them presently after; but the barbarians not having yet satiated their cruelty, made him undergo this torture a second time, making the ninth torture, which he sustained with fresh pains, though with equal constancy and resolution. He was then sent back to his dungeon, attended by the surgeons, who dressed his bruises; and here he continued till their *Auto de Fé*.

The reader may now judge of the dreadful anguish this worthy protestant had laboured under, the nine different times they put him to the torture. Most of his limbs were put out of joint, and bruised in such a manner, that he was unable, during some weeks, to put his hand to his mouth, his body being vastly swelled, by the inflammations caused by the frequent dislocations.

The day of the *Auto de Fé* being come, he was made to walk in the procession with the other victims of this tribunal. Being come to Saint Dominick's church, his sentence was publickly read; by which he was condemned to the galley during four years.

He was accordingly conveyed to this galley, which was a prison, standing by the river-side, consisting of two very

spacious rooms, built one over the other; that on the ground-floor for the slaves, and the other for the sick and officers of the prison. The slaves fastened two and two, by one foot only, with a chain eight feet long. At their girdle was an iron hook, by which they shortened or lengthened their chain to make the weight less troublesome. Their heads and beards were shaved once a month; and they wore coarse blue clothes, caps and coats.

Mr. Coustos was now obliged to join in the painful occupations of his fellow-slaves: however, the liberty he had of speaking to his friends, after having been deprived of even the sight of them during his tedious wretched abode in the prison of the inquisition; the open air he now breathed; with the satisfaction he felt in being freed from the dreadful apprehensions which always overspread his mind whenever he reflected on the uncertainty of his fate; these circumstances united, made him find the toils of the galley much more supportable.

As Mr. Coustos had suffered greatly in his body by the tortures, he was quite unfit to go about the painful labour that was immediately allotted him, such as carrying water to the other prisons of the city; and exerting himself beyond his strength, so that he shortly fell grievously sick. He was then sent to the infirmary, where he continued two months, during which time he was offered his release provided he would turn Roman catholic; but all these endeavours were fruitless, as he was determined not to become an apostate.

But he soon after found friends, who interceded with one of the principal secretaries of state of Great Britain, who supplicated for leave from his Sovereign that his minister at Lisbon might demand him as a subject of this country, which was granted, and the King of Portugal ordering him to be discharged; he soon afterwards received his liberation, and embarked on board a ship that was then about to sail for England; and he arrived at Portsmouth, after a long and dangerous voyage of about a week. Immediately on landing, he set off for the metropolis, and arrived in London on the 15th December, 1744, an object of commiseration; for although his bones were

set, and his wounds cured, yet his constitution was so impaired, that at intervals he felt the most excruciating pains, which never totally left him until the day of his death, a few years since, near Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire.

PART 4.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST PERSECUTIONS UNDER THE PAPACY, IN ITALY.

In the twelfth century the first persecutions began in Italy, at the time that Adrian IV. an Englishman, was pope, occasioned by the following circumstances.

A learned man, and an excellent orator of Brixia, named Arnold, came to Rome, and boldly preached against the corruptions and innovations which had crept into the church. His discourses were so clear, consistent, and breathed forth such a pure spirit of piety, that the senators, and many of the people, highly approved of, and admired his doctrines.

This so greatly enraged Adrian, that he commanded Arnold instantly to leave the city, as a heretick. Arnold, however, did not comply, for the senators and some of the principal people took his part, and resisted the authority of the pope.

Adrian now laid the city of Rome under an interdict, which caused the whole body of clergy to interpose; and, at length, persuaded the senators and people to give up the point, and suffer Arnold to be banished. This being agreed to, he received his sentence of exile, and retired to Germany, where he continued to preach against the pope, and to expose the gross errors of the church of Rome.

Adrian now thirsted for his blood, and made several attempts to get him into his hands; but Arnold, for a long time, avoided every snare laid for him. At length, Fred,

erick Barbarossa arriving at the imperial dignity, requested that the pope would crown him with his own hand. This Adrian complied with, and at the same time asked a favour of the emperor, which was, to put Arnold into his hands. The emperor very readily delivered up the unfortunate preacher, who soon fell a martyr to Adrian's vengeance, being hanged, and his body burnt to ashes, at Apulia. The same fate attended several of his friends and companions.

Encenas, a Spaniard, having been sent to Rome, to be brought up in the Roman catholic faith; by conversing with some of the reformed, and reading several treatises which they had put into his hands, he became a protestant. This being discovered, one of his own relations informed against him, when he was burnt by order of the pope, and a conclave of cardinals. The brother of Encenas had been taken up about the same time, for having a New Testament, in the Spanish language, in his possession; but before the time appointed for his execution, he found means to escape out of prison, and retired to Germany.

Faninus, a learned layman, by reading controversial books, became of the reformed religion. An information being exhibited against him to the pope, he was apprehended, and cast into prison. His wife, children, relations, and friends, visited him in his confinement, and so far wrought upon his mind, that he renounced his faith, and obtained his release. But he was no sooner free from confinement, than his mind felt the heavy weight of a guilty conscience. His horrors were so great, that he found them insupportable, till he had returned from his apostasy, and declared himself fully convinced of the errors of the church of Rome. To make amends for his falling off, he now openly and strenuously did all he could to make converts to protestantism, and was successful in his endeavours. These proceedings occasioned his second imprisonment; but his life was offered him if he would again recant. This proposal he rejected with disdain, saying, "that he scorned life upon such terms."—Being asked "why he would obstinately persist in his

opinions, and leave his wife and children in distress;" he replied, "I shall not leave them in distress, I have recommended them to the care of an excellent trustee."—"What trustee?" said the person who had asked the question, with some surprise: to which Faninus answered, "Jesus Christ is the trustee I mean, and I think I could not commit them to the care of a better." On the day of execution he appeared remarkably cheerful, which some one observing, said, "It is strange you should appear so merry upon such an occasion, when Jesus Christ himself, just before his death, was in such agonies, that he sweated blood and water." To which Faninus replied; "Christ sustained all manner of pangs and conflicts, with hell and death, on our accounts; and thus, by his sufferings, freed those who really believe in him from the fear of them." He was then strangled, and his body burnt to ashes.

Dominicus, a learned soldier, after reading several controversial writings, became a zealous protestant, and retired to Placentia, where he preached the gospel in its utmost purity, to a very considerable congregation. At the conclusion of his sermon one day, he said, "If the congregation will attend to-morrow, I will give them a description of Anti-Christ, and paint him out in his proper colours."

A vast concourse of people attended the next day; but just as Dominicus was beginning his sermon, a civil magistrate went up to his pulpit, and took him into custody.—He readily submitted; but, as he went along with the magistrate, made use of this expression: "I wonder the devil hath let me alone so long." When he was brought to examination, this question was put to him: "Will you renounce your doctrines?" He replied; "My doctrines! I maintain no doctrines of my own; what I preach are the doctrines of Christ, and for those I will forfeit my blood, and even think myself happy to suffer for the sake of my Redeemer." Every method was taken to make him recant, and embrace the errors of the church of Rome; but when persuasions and menaces were found

ineffectual, he was sentenced to death, and hanged in the market-place.

Galeacius, a protestant gentleman, whose residence was near the castle of St. Angelo at Rome, was apprehended on account of his faith. Great endeavours having been used by his friends, he recanted, and subscribed to several of the superstitious doctrines propagated by the Romish church. Becoming, however, sensible of his error, he publicly renounced his recantation; on which he was again apprehended, and condemned to be burnt; agreeably to this order, he was chained to a stake, where he was left several hours before the fire was put to the fagots, in order that his wife, relations, and friends, who surrounded him, might induce him to give up his opinions. Galeacius, however, now retained his constancy of mind, and entreated the executioner to put fire to the wood that was to burn him. This, at length, was done, and Galeacius was soon consumed in the flames, which burnt with amazing rapidity, and deprived him of sensation in a few minutes.

Soon after this gentleman's death, a great number of protestants were put to death in various parts of Italy, on account of their faith, giving a sure proof of their sincerity in their martyrdoms.

The state of Venice having been free from the power of the inquisition, many of the protestants fixed their residence there, and many converts were made by the purity of the doctrines they professed, induced by the inoffensiveness of their lives and conversation.

The pope being disturbed by the great increase of protestantism, sent inquisitors in the year 1542, to Venice, to apprehend such as they might deem obnoxious persons.— Thus commenced a severe persecution, by which many worthy persons were martyred for serving God with purity, and scorning the trappings of idolatry.

Various were the modes by which the protestants were deprived of life; but a particular method was invented upon this occasion: as soon as sentence was passed, the prisoner had an iron chain, which ran through a great stone, fastened to his body. He was then laid flat upon a plank, with his face upwards, and rowed between two

boats to a certain distance at sea, when the boats separated, and he was sunk to the bottom by the weight of the stone. This was, however, a more merciful mode of destruction than many we have been compelled to describe.

If any denied the jurisdiction of the inquisitors at Venice, they were sent to Rome, where, being committed purposely to damp prisons, and never called to a hearing, their flesh mortified, and they died miserably in their confinement.

A citizen of Venice, named Anthony Ricetti, being apprehended as a protestant, was sentenced to be drowned in the manner we have described. A few days previous to the time appointed for his execution, his son went to him, and begged him to recant, that his life might be saved, and himself not left fatherless. To which the father replied, "A good Christian is bound to relinquish not only goods and children, but life itself, for the glory of his Redeemer: therefore, I am resolved to sacrifice every thing in this transitory world, for the sake of salvation in a world that will last to eternity." The senators of Venice likewise sent him word, that if he would embrace the Roman catholick religion, they would not only give him his life, but redeem a considerable estate which he had mortgaged, and freely present it to him. This, however, he absolutely refused to comply with, sending word to the senators, that he valued his soul beyond all other considerations; and being told that a fellow-prisoner, named Francis Sega, had recanted, he answered, "If he has forsaken God I pity him; but I shall continue steadfast in my duty." Finding all endeavours to persuade him to renounce his faith ineffectual, he was executed according to his sentence, dying cheerfully, and commending his soul fervently to the Almighty.

What Ricetti had been told concerning the apostasy of Francis Sega was absolutely false, for he had never offered to recant, but steadfastly persisted in his faith, and was executed, a few days after Ricetti, in the same manner.

Francis Spinola, a protestant gentleman of very great learning, being apprehended by order of the inquisitors,

was carried before their tribunal. A treatise on the Lord's Supper was then put into his hands, and he was asked if he knew the author of it. To which he replied, "I confess myself to be the author of it, and at the same time solemnly affirm, that there is not a line in it but what is authorized by, and consonant to, the holy scriptures." On this confession he was committed close prisoner to a dungeon for several days.

Being brought to a second examination, he charged the pope's legate and the inquisitors with being merciless barbarians, and then represented the superstitions and idolatries practised by the church of Rome in so glaring a light, that not being able to refute his arguments, they sent him back to his dungeon, to make him repent of what he had said.

On his third examination, they asked him if he would not recant his errors? To which he answered, that "the doctrines he maintained were not erroneous, being purely the same as those which Christ and his apostles had taught, and which were handed down to us in the sacred writings." The inquisitors then sentenced him to be drowned, which was executed in the manner already described. He met death with the utmost serenity, seeming to wish for dissolution, and declaring, that the prolongation of this life did but tend to retard that real happiness which could be only expected in the world to come.

A. D. 1555, Algerius, a very learned student in the university of Padua, having embraced the reformed religion, did all he could to convert others. For these proceedings he was accused of heresy to the pope, and committed to the prison at Venice, where being allowed the use of pen, ink, and paper, he wrote to his converts at Padua the following celebrated epistle:

"DEAR FRIENDS:—I cannot omit this opportunity of letting you know the sincere pleasure I feel in my confinement; to suffer for Christ is delectable, indeed; to undergo a little transitory pain in this world, for his sake, is cheaply purchasing a reversion of eternal glory in a life that is everlasting.

"Hence, I have found honey in the carcass of a lion; a

paradise in prison; tranquility in the house of sorrow: where others weep I rejoice; where others tremble and faint, I find strength and courage. The Almighty alone confers these favours on me; be his the glory and the praise.

“How different do I find myself from what I was before I embraced the truth in its purity; I was then dark, doubtful, and in dread; I am now enlightened, certain, and full of joy. He that was far from me is now present with me; he comforts my spirits, heals my griefs, strengthens my mind, refreshes my heart, and fortifies my soul. Learn, therefore, how merciful and amiable the Lord is, who supports his servants under temptations, expels their sorrows, lightens their afflictions, and even visits them with his glorious presence in the gloom of a dismal dungeon.

Your sincere friend,

ALGERIUS.”

The pope, informed of Algerius's great learning, and surprising natural abilities, thought it would be of infinite service to the church of Rome, if he could induce him to forsake protestantism. He, therefore, sent for him to Rome, and tried, by the most profane promises, to win him to his purpose. But finding his endeavours ineffectual, he ordered him to be burnt, which sentence was executed accordingly.

A. D. 1559, John Alloysius, being sent from Geneva to preach in Calabria, was there apprehended as a protestant, carried to Rome, and burnt by order of the pope; and James Bovellus, for the same reason, was burnt at Messina.

A. D. 1560, pope Pius the fourth ordered all the protestants to be severely persecuted throughout the Italian states; the consequence was, that numbers of every age, sex, and condition, suffered martyrdom. Concerning the cruelties practised upon this occasion, a learned and humane Roman catholick thus speaks of them, in a letter to a noble lord: “I cannot, my lord, forbear disclosing my sentiments, with respect to the persecution now going on: I think it cruel and unnecessary: I tremble at the manner

of putting to death, as it resembles more the slaughter of calves and sheep, than the execution of human beings. I will relate to your lordship a dreadful scene, of which I was myself an eye-witness: seventy protestants were cooped up in one filthy dungeon together; the executioner went in among them, picked out one from among the rest, blindfolded him, led him out to an open place before the prison, and cut his throat with the greatest composure. He then calmly walked into the prison again, bloody as he was, and with the knife in his hand selected another, and despatched him in the same manner; and this, my lord, he repeated, till the whole number were put to death. I leave it to your lordship's feelings to judge of my sensations upon the occasion; my tears now wash the paper upon which I give you the recital. Another thing I must mention, the patience with which they met death: they seemed all resignation and piety, fervently praying to God, and cheerfully encountering their fate, I cannot reflect, without shuddering, how the executioner held the bloody knife between his teeth; what a dreadful figure he appeared, all covered with blood, and with what unconcern he executed his barbarous office!"

A young Englishman, who happened to be at Rome, was one day passing by a church, when the procession of the host was just coming out. A bishop carried the host, which the young man perceiving, he snatched it from him, threw it upon the ground, and tramped it under his feet, crying out, "Ye wretched idolaters, that neglect the true God to adore a morsel of bread." This action so provoked the people, that they would have torne him to pieces upon the spot; but the priests persuaded them to let him abide by the sentence of the pope.

When the transaction was represented to the pope, he was so greatly exasperated that he ordered the prisoner to be burnt immediately; but a cardinal dissuaded him from this hasty sentence, saying, "it were better to punish him by slow degrees, and to torture him, that they might find out if he had been instigated by any particular person to commit so atrocious an act."

This being approved, he was tortured with the most

exemplary severity, notwithstanding which they could only get these words from him, "it was the will of God that I should do what I did."

The pope then passed this sentence upon him:

1. That he should be led by the executioner, naked to the middle through the streets of Rome.

2. That he should wear the image of the devil upon his head.

3. That his breeches should be painted with the representation of flames.

4. That he should have his right hand cut off.

5. That after having been carried about thus in procession, he should be burnt.

When he heard his sentence pronounced, he implored God to give him strength and fortitude to go through it. As he passed through the streets he was greatly derided by the people, to whom he said some severe things respecting the Romish superstition. But a cardinal, who attended the procession, over-hearing him, ordered him to be gagged.

When he came to the church door, where he trampled on the host, the hangman cut off his right hand, and fixed it on a pole. Then two tormentors, with flaming torches, scorched and burnt his flesh all the rest of the way. At the place of execution he kissed the chains that were to bind him to the stake. A monk presenting the figure of a saint to him, he struck it aside, and then being chained to the stake, fire was put to the fagots, and he was soon consumed to ashes.

Soon after the last-mentioned execution, a venerable old man, who had long been a prisoner in the inquisition, was condemned to be burnt, and brought out for execution. When he was fastened to the stake a priest held a crucifix to him, on which he said, "If you do not take that idol from my sight, you will constrain me to spit upon it." The priest rebuked him for this with great severity; but he bade him remember the first and second commandments, and refrain from idolatry, as God himself commanded. He was then gagged, that he should not speak any more, and fire being put to the fagots, he suffered martyrdom in the flames.

CHAP. II.

PERSECUTIONS IN THE VALTOLINE.

This fine district composed part of the possessions of the Grison lords, who, as petty sovereigns, had granted several decrees in favour of the protestants. The papists, however, of the Valtoline, bore them great malice, which first appeared publickly at the village of Tell, where they broke into a protestant congregation whilst the minister was preaching, and murdered several of the people.

They afterwards surrounded the village, and guarded all the avenues: then parading the streets, they immediately shot every protestant they met. Many that were sick were strangled in their beds; others had their brains beat out with clubs; and several were drowned in the river Alba.

Among others, a nobleman, who had hid himself behind some bushes in the river, being discovered, implored their pity on account of his family, having a great number of children. The papists, however, told him, that this was no time for mercy, unless he would renounce his faith. To which he replied, "God forbid, that to save this temporary life, I should deny my Redeemer, and perish eternally." These words were scarcely out of his mouth, than they cut him to pieces.

They broke into the house of the chief magistrate of the village, who was a protestant, and murdered him and his family. Women and girls they defiled, and put them to death by various means, viz.

Hanging, broiling, ripping open, cutting the throat, worrying with dogs, worrying by fastening cats to several parts of the body, drowning, frying in a dry pan, stabbing, beheading, stoning, boiling in oil, pouring hot lead down the throat, racking, &c. &c.

In short, in Tell and its neighbourhood, there only escaped, with their lives, three persons, who providentially passed the Alps.

The papists, having thus exterminated the protestants

at Tell, now marched in triumph to a town at some miles distance, and persuading the popish inhabitants to join them, they determined to repeat the same bloody tragedy. Being informed by two friars, that a protestant congregation was then assembled in the town, they went to the place, surrounded it, shot many through the windows, knocked others on the head who attempted to run out, and then setting the town on fire, burnt the rest.

After thus destroying those who had met together to serve God, they visited the private houses of protestants, and having murdered all they could find, proceeded with drums beating, and colours flying, to the town of Sondres. On their approach, the papists of the town pretended they did not approve of the proceedings of those who were coming; and, therefore, if the protestants thought proper to put confidence in them, they would guard them from the impending danger. Most of the protestants indiscreetly believed them, and the papists arming themselves, surrounded the intended victims, under the pretence of protecting them; but no sooner did their bloody brethren appear, than they treacherously murdered those whom they had promised to defend. However, eighteen men, who suspected the sinister designs of the Roman catholicks, had well armed themselves, and taking their wives and children with them, they determined to attempt an escape. They marched with great regularity, and were frequently attacked by the papists, but they repulsed them with great bravery, and kept in so compact a body, that the papists could not break them. They proceeded in this manner till they came to a church, where they found seventy-three men armed, who were all protestants. This body they joined, and both proceeded together through the valley of Malone, where the papists made several unsuccessful attacks upon them; for, by the providence of God, they passed the Alps, and arrived in places of safety.

The property of those who were murdered, or made their escape, became the plunder of the papists who had committed these cruelties; and they paid themselves for their inhumanity, by stealing the effects of those they had destroyed.

In another place they seized a lady of very considerable fortune, and of the most eminent virtues, telling her, they insisted upon her renouncing her religion: this she absolutely refused to do, when one of the papists said, "If you won't recant for your own sake, do it for the sake of the child you hold in your arms; or else both yourself, and that too, shall be put to death." The lady, remaining inflexible, was hewn to pieces; but the child being remarkably pretty, they changed their resolution, and instead of killing it, put it to a popish nurse.

In a little town, from which the men had made their escape, a number of protestant women were seized, and taken to the top of a high precipice, when they were told that their only alternative was to be hurled down, or go to mass. One woman, through fear, consented; but the rest retained their resolution, when the papists suddenly pushed them all down the cragged rocks, saying to her that consented, "As we know you are not sincere, you shall go with the rest."

Dominico Berto, a protestant youth aged only sixteen, was set upon an ass with his face to the tail, and the tail in his hand for a bridle. In this manner he was led round the town for the derision of the populace; when being taken to the market-place, they cut off his nose and ears, bored holes in his cheeks, and scarified his body with red-hot pincers; so that he expired under the excess of his torments.

Theophilus Messina was shot with a musket-ball, but the wound not proving mortal, they stretched open his mouth, filled it with gunpowder, and setting fire to it, blew his head to pieces!

The papists stripped several of their victims naked, gave them many wounds, carried them into the woods, and there left them to perish. They threw many into the Adda, from the bridges over that river; some had their mouths slit to their ears, and numbers had slices of their flesh cut off till they expired.

A noble protestant lady was seized, and carried almost naked through the streets, with a paper mitre upon her head, and her face besmeared with dirt. A priest struck

her on the cheek, and said, "why don't you implore the mercy of the saints?" to which she replied, "my trust and salvation is in Jesus Christ only; 'tis not the saints, nor the Virgin Mary, but my Redeemer alone that can save me." Exasperated at this speech, they carried her into the fields, and stoned her to death.

The pope sent a letter to these bloody papists of the Valtoline, approving of their conduct in what they had done, and recommending them not to leave a protestant alive, if they could possibly help it. This gave the ruffians new spirits, and redoubled their ardour for blood: they sought their prey with the greatest avidity, killing the protestants in the streets, murdering them in their houses, and hunting them in the woods; or, if they fled to caves for shelter, shutting up the mouths of the caves till they were famished. By these means, they totally exterminated the protestants from the towns and villages of Tell, Bruse, Malenco, Caspano, Tyrane, Sondres, Berbenno, and Trahen.

Patience under sufferings, and perseverance in the faith, are the true signs of pure religion: these poor persecuted protestants met their martyrdoms with fortitude; conscious, that for the barbarities they underwent here, a glorious reward was reserved for them, in a life which should last to eternity.

CHAP. III.

PERSECUTIONS IN THE VALLIES OF PIEDMONT, DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Pope Clement the Eighth, sent missionaries into the vallies of Piedmont, to induce the protestants to renounce their religion; and these missionaries having erected monasteries in several parts of the vallies, became exceedingly troublesome to those of the reformed religion, where the monasteries appeared not only as fortresses to curb, but as sanctuaries for all such to fly to, as had any ways injured them.

The protestants petitioned the Duke of Savoy against these missionaries, whose insolence and ill usage were become intolerable; but instead of getting any redress, the interest of the missionaries so far prevailed that the duke published a decree, in which he declared, "that one witness should be sufficient in a court of law against a protestant; and that any witness, who convicted a protestant of any crime whatever, should be entitled to a hundred crowns."

It may be easily imagined, upon the publication of a decree of this nature, that many protestants fell martyrs to perjury and avarice; for the papists would swear any thing against the protestants for the sake of the reward, and then fly to their own priests for absolution from their false oaths. If any Roman catholick, of more conscience than the rest, blamed these fellows for their atrocious crimes, they themselves were in danger of being informed against, and punished as favourers of hereticks.

The missionaries did all they could to get the books of the protestants into their power, in order to burn them; when the protestants, doing their utmost endeavours to conceal their books, the missionaries wrote to the duke of Savoy, who, for the heinous crime of not surrendering their bibles, prayer-books, and religious treatises, sent a number of troops to be quartered on them. These military gentry did great mischief in the houses of the protestants, and destroyed such quantities of provisions, that many families were ruined.

To encourage, as much as possible, the apostasy of the protestants, the duke of Savoy published a proclamation, wherein it was declared, that, "To encourage the hereticks to turn catholicks, it is our will and pleasure, and we do hereby expressly command, that all such as shall embrace the holy Roman faith, shall enjoy an exemption from all and every tax for the space of five years, commencing from the day of their conversion." The duke of Savoy likewise established a court, called, "The council for extirpating the hereticks." This court was to enter into enquiries concerning the ancient privileges of the protestant churches, and the decrees which had

been, from time to time, made in favour of the protestants. But the investigation of these cases was carried on with the most manifest partiality; old charters were wrested to a wrong sense, and sophistry was used to pervert the meaning of every thing which tended to favour the reform.

As if these severities were not sufficient, the duke, soon after, published another edict, in which he strictly commanded, "that no protestant should act as a school-master, or tutor, either in publick or private, or dare to teach any art, science, or language, directly or indirectly, to persons of any persuasion whatever."

This edict was immediately followed by another, which decreed, "that no protestant should hold any place of profit, trust, or honour;" and to wind up the whole, the certain token of an approaching persecution came forth in a final edict, by which it was positively ordered, "that all protestants should diligently attend mass."

The publication of an edict, containing such an injunction, may be compared to unfurling the bloody flag; for murder and rapine were certain to follow. One of the first objects that attracted the notice of the papists was Mr. Sebastian Basan, a zealous protestant, who was seized by the missionaries, confined, tormented for fifteen months, and then burnt.

Previous to the persecution, the missionaries employed kidnappers to steal away the children of the protestants, that they might privately be brought up Roman catholicks; but now they took away the children by open force, and if they met with any resistance, murdered the parents.

To give greater vigour to the persecution, the Duke of Savoy called a general assembly of the Roman catholick nobility and gentry, when a solemn edict was published against the reformed, containing many heads, and including several reasons for extirpating the protestants; among which were the following:—

"1. For the preservation of the papal authority.

"2. That the church livings may be all under one mode of government.

"3. To make an union among all parties.

“4. In honour of all the saints, and of the ceremonies of the church of Rome.”

This severe edict was followed by a most cruel order, published on January 25, A. D. 1655, under the duke's sanction, by Andrew Gastaldo, doctor of civil laws. This order set forth, “that every head of a family, with the individuals of that family, of the reformed religion, of what rank, degree, or condition soever, none excepted, should, within three days after the publication thereof, depart, and be withdrawn out of the country.

“And all this to be done on pain of death, and confiscation of house and goods, unless within the limited time they turn Roman catholicks.”

A flight with such speed, in the midst of winter, must be a dreadful task, especially in a country almost surrounded by mountains. The sudden order affected all, and what would have been scarcely noticed at another time, now appeared in the most conspicuous light.

The papists, however, drove the people from their habitations at the time appointed, without even suffering them to have sufficient clothes to cover them; and many perished in the mountains through the severity of the weather, and for want of food. Many who remained behind after the decree was published, met with the severest treatment, being murdered by the popish inhabitants, or shot by the troops quartered in the vallies. A particular description of these cruelties is given in a letter, written by a protestant upon the spot, and who happily escaped the carnage. “The army,” says he, “having got footing, became very numerous, by the addition of a multitude of the neighbouring popish inhabitants, who finding we were the destined prey of the plunderers, fell upon us with an impetuous fury. Exclusive of the duke of Savoy's troops, and the popish inhabitants, there were several regiments of French auxiliaries, some companies belonging to the Irish brigades, and several bands formed of outlaws, smugglers, and prisoners, who had been promised pardon and liberty in this world, and absolution in the next, for assisting to exterminate the protestants from Piedmont.

“This armed multitude being encouraged by the Ro-

man catholick bishops and monks, fell upon the protestants in a most furious manner. Nothing now was to be seen but the face of horreur and despair; blood stained the floors of the houses, dead bodies bestrewed the streets, groans and cries were heard from all parts. Some armed themselves, and skirmished with the troops; and many, with their families, fled to the mountains. In one village they cruelly tormented one hundred and fifty women and children after the men were fled, beheading the women, and dashing out the brains of the children. In the towns of Villaro and Bobbio, most of those that refused to go to mass, who were upwards of fifteen years of age, they crucified with their heads downwards; and the greater number of those who were under that age were strangled."

Sarah Rastignole Des Vignes, a woman of sixty years of age, being seized by some soldiers, was ordered to pray to saints; which she refusing, they thrust a sickle into her bowels, ripped her up, and then cut off her head.

Martha Constantine, a handsome young woman, was treated with great indecency and cruelty by several of the troops, who killed her, by cutting off her breasts. These they fried, and set before some of their comrades, who ate them without knowing what they were. When they had done eating, the others told them what they had made a meal of, in consequence of which a quarrel ensued, swords were drawn, and a battle took place. Several were killed in the fray, the greater part of whom were those concerned in the horrid massacre of the woman, and who had practised such an inhuman deception on their companions.

Some of the soldiers seized a man at Thrassiniere, and ran the points of their swords through his ears and through his feet. They then tore off the nails of his fingers and toes with red-hot pincers, tied him to the tail of an ass, and dragged him about the streets; and, finally, fastened a cord round his head, which they twisted with a stick in so violent a manner as to wring it from his body.

Peter Simons, a protestant, about eighty years of age, was tied neck and heels, and thrown down a precipice. In the fall the branch of a tree caught hold of the ropes that fastened him, and suspended him in the mid-way, so

that he languished for several days, and at length miserably perished of hunger.

Esay Garcino, refusing to renounce his religion, was cut into small pieces; the soldiers, in ridicule, saying, they had minced him. A woman, named Armand, had every limb separated from each other, and then the respective parts hung upon a hedge. Two old women were ripped open, and left in the fields upon the snow, where they perished; and another aged matron, who was deformed, had her nose and hands cut off, and was left to bleed to death.

A great number of men, women, and children, were flung from the rocks, and dashed to pieces. Magdalen Bertino, a protestant woman of La Torre, was stripped naked, her head tied between her legs, and thrown down one of the precipices; and Mary Raymondet, of the same town, had her flesh sliced from her bones till she expired.

An inhabitant of La Torre, named Giovanni Andrea Michialin, was apprehended, with four of his children; three of them were hacked to pieces before him, the soldiers asking him, at the death of every child, "if he would renounce his religion?" which he constantly refused. One of the soldiers then took up the last and youngest by the legs, and putting the same question to the father, he replied as before, when the inhuman brute dashed out the child's brains. The father, however, at the same moment started from them, and fled: the soldiers fired after him, but missed him; and he, by the swiftness of his flight escaped, and hid himself in the Alps.

Giovanni Pelanchion, for refusing to turn papist, was tied by one leg to the tail of a mule, and dragged through the streets of Lucerne, amidst the acclamations of an inhuman mob, who kept stoning him, and crying out, "he is possessed with the devil, so that neither stoning, nor dragging him through the streets, will kill him, for the devil keeps him alive." They then took him to the river side, chopped off his head, and left that and his body unburied, upon the bank of the stream.

Magdalen, the daughter of Peter Fontaine, a beautiful child of ten years of age, was ravished and murdered by the soldiers. Another girl, of about the same age, *they*

roasted alive at Villa Nova; and a poor woman, hearing the soldiers were coming towards her house, snatched up the cradle in which her infant son was asleep, and fled towards the woods. The soldiers, however, saw and pursued her, when she lightened herself by putting down the cradle and child, which the soldiers no sooner came to, than they murdered the infant, and continuing the pursuit, found the mother in a cave, where they first ravished, and then cut her to pieces.

Jacopo Michelino, chief elder of the church of Bobbio, and several other protestants, were hung up by hooks fixed in their bodies, and left to expire in the most excruciating tortures.

Giovanni Rostagnal, a venerable protestant, upwards of fourscore years of age, had his nose and ears cut off, and slices cut from the fleshy parts of his body till he bled to death.

Seven persons; Daniel Saleagio and his wife, Giovanni Durant, Lodwick Durant, Bartholomew Durant, Daniel Revel, and Paul Reynaud, had their mouths stuffed with gunpowder, which being fired, their heads were blown to pieces.

Jacob Dirone, a school-master of Rorata, for refusing to change his religion, had the nails of his toes and fingers torn off with red-hot pincers, and holes bored through his hands with the point of a dagger. He then had a cord tied round his middle, and was led through the streets with a soldier on each side of him. At every turning, the soldier on his right-hand side cut a gash in his flesh, and the soldier on his left-hand side struck him with a bludgeon, both saying, at the same instant, "will you go to mass? Will you go to mass?" He still replying in the negative, he was at length taken to the bridge, where they cut off his head on the balustrades, and threw both that and his body into the river.

Paul Garnier, a very pious protestant, had his eyes put out, was then flayed alive, and being divided into four parts, his quarters were placed on four of the principal houses of Lucerne. He bore all his sufferings with the most exemplary patience, praised God as long as he could speak.

and plainly evinced what confidence and resignation a good conscience can inspire.

Daniel Cardon, of Rocappiata, was seized by some soldiers, who cut his head off, and having fried his brains, ate them. Two poor old blind women, of St. Giovanni, were burnt alive; and a widow of La Torre, with her daughter, were driven into the river, and stoned to death.

Paul Giles, on attempting to run away from some soldiers, was shot in the neck: they then slit his nose, sliced his chin, stabbed him, and gave his carcass to the dogs.

Some of the Irish troops having taken eleven men of Garcigliana prisoners, they made a furnace red-hot, and forced them to push each other in till they came to the last man, whom they pushed in themselves.

Michael Gonet, a man of ninety, was burnt to death; Baptista Oudri, another old man, was stabbed; and Bartholomew Frasche had holes made in his heels, through which ropes being put, he was dragged by them to the gaol, where his wounds mortified, and killed him.

Magdalene De La Peire, was thrown down a precipice by the soldiers, and dashed to pieces. Margaret Revella, and Mary Pravillerin, two very old women, were burnt alive; and Michael Bellino, with Ann Bochardino, were beheaded.

The son and daughter of a counsellor of Giovanni were rolled down a steep hill together, and suffered to perish in a deep pit at the bottom. A tradesman's family, viz. himself, his wife, and an infant in arms, were cast from a rock, and dashed to pieces; and Joseph Chairet and Paul Carniero were flayed alive.

Cypriania Bustia, being asked if he would renounce his religion, and turn Roman catholick, replied, "I would rather renounce life, or turn dog:" to which a priest answered, "for that expression you shall both renounce life, and be given to the dogs." They, accordingly, dragged him to prison, where he continued a considerable time without food, till he was famished; they then threw his corpse into the street before the prison, and it was devoured by dogs in a most shocking manner.

Margaret Saretta, was stoned to death and thrown into

the river; Antonio Bertina had his head cleft asunder; and Joseph Pont was cut through the middle of his body.

Daniel Maria, and his whole family, being ill of a fever, several papist ruffians broke into his house, telling him they were practical physicians, and would give them all present ease, which they did, by knocking the whole family on the head.

Three infant children of a protestant, named Peter Fine, were covered with snow, and stifled; an elderly widow, named Judith, was beheaded; and a beautiful young woman was stripped naked, and a stake driven through her body, of which she expired.

Francis Gros, the son of a clergyman, had his flesh slowly cut from his body into small pieces, and put into a dish before him: two of his children were minced before his sight; and his wife fastened to a post, that she might behold all these cruelties practised on her husband and offspring. The tormentors, at length, tired of exercising their cruelties, cut off the heads of both husband and wife, and then gave the flesh of the whole family to the dogs.

The Sieur Thomas Marcher, fled to a cave, when the soldiers shut up the mouth, and he perished with famine. Judith Ravelin, with seven children, were barbarously murdered in their beds; and a widow, of nearly fourscore years of age, was hewn to pieces by the soldiers.

Jacob Roseno was ordered to pray to the saints, which he absolutely refused to do: some of the soldiers beat him violently with bludgeons to make him comply, but he still refusing, several of them fired at him, and lodged a great many balls in his body. As he was almost expiring, they cried to him, "will you call upon the saints? Will you pray to the saints?" To which he answered, "No! no! no!" when one of the soldiers, with a broad-sword, clave his head asunder, and put an end to his sufferings.

A soldier, attempting to ruin a beautiful young woman, named Susannah Giacquin, she made strong resistance, and in the struggle pushed him over a precipice, when he was dashed to pieces by the fall. His comrades, instead of admiring the virtue of the young woman, and applauding her for so nobly defending her chastity, with their swords cut her to pieces.

Giovanni Pullius, a poor peasant of La Torre, was ordered, by the Marquis of Pionossa, to be executed in a place near the convent. When he came to the gallows, several Monks attended, and tried to persuade him to renounce his religion. But he told them, he never would embrace idolatry, and that he was happy in being thought worthy to suffer for the name of Christ. They then put him in mind of what his wife and children, who depended upon his labour, would suffer after his decease: to which he replied, "I would have my wife and children, as well as myself, to consider their souls more than their bodies, and the next world before this: and with respect to the distress I may leave them in, God is merciful, and will provide for them while they are worthy of his protection." Finding the inflexibility of this poor man, the monks cried, "turn him off, turn him off:" which the executioner did almost immediately, and the body being afterwards cut down, was flung into the river.

Paul Clement, an elder of the church of Rossana, being apprehended by the monks of a neighbouring monastery, was carried to the market-place of that town, where some protestants having just been executed by the soldiers, he was shown the dead bodies, in order that the sight might intimidate him. On beholding the shocking objects, he said calmly, "you may kill the body, but you cannot prejudice the soul of a true believer; but, with respect to the dreadful spectacles which you have here shown me, you may rest assured, that God's vengeance will overtake the murderers of these poor people, and punish them for the innocent blood they have spilt." The monks were so exasperated at this reply, that they ordered him to be hung up directly; and while he was hanging, the soldiers amused themselves in standing at a distance, and shooting at the body as at a mark.

Daniel Rambaut, of Villaro, the father of a numerous family, was apprehended, and, with several others, committed to prison, in the gaol of Paysana. Here he was visited by several priests, who, with continual importunities, endeavoured to persuade him to renounce the protestant religion, and turn papist; but this he peremptorily

refused, and the priests finding his resolution, pretended to pity his numerous family, and told him, that he might yet save his life, if he would subscribe to the belief of the following articles:

“1. The real presence in the host.

“2. Transubstantiation.

“3. Purgatory.

“4. The pope’s infallibility.

“5. That masses said for the dead will release souls from purgatory.

“6. That praying to saints will procure the remission of sins.”

M. Rambaut told the priests, that “neither his religion, his understanding, or his conscience, would suffer him to subscribe to any of the articles, for the following reasons:

“1. That to believe the real presence in the host, is a shocking union of both blasphemy and idolatry.

“2. That to fancy the words of consecration performs what the papists call transubstantiation, by converting the wafer and wine into the real and identical body and blood of Christ, which was crucified, and which afterwards ascended into heaven, is too gross an absurdity for even a child to believe, who was come to the least glimmering of reason; and that nothing but the most blind superstition could make the Roman catholicks put a confidence in any thing so completely ridiculous.

“3. That the doctrine of purgatory was more inconsistent and absurd than a fairy tale.

“4. That the pope’s being infallible was an impossibility, and the pope arrogantly laid claim to what could belong to God only, as a perfect being.

“5. That saying masses for the dead was ridiculous, and only meant to keep up a belief in the fable of purgatory, as the fate of all is finally decided, on the departure of the soul from the body.

“6. That praying to saints for the remission of sins, is misplacing adoration; as the saints themselves have occasion for an intercessor in Christ. Therefore, as God only can pardon our errors, we ought to sue to him alone for pardon.”

The priests were so highly offended at M. Rambaut's answers to the articles to which they would have had him subscribe, that they determined to shake his resolution by the most cruel method imaginable: they ordered one joint of his fingers to be cut off every day, till all his fingers were gone: they then proceeded in the same manner with his toes; afterwards they alternately cut off daily a hand and a foot; but finding that he bore his sufferings with the most admirable patience, increased both in fortitude and resignation, and maintained his faith with steadfast resolution, and unshaken constancy, they stabbed him to the heart, and then gave his body to be devoured by dogs.

Peter Gabriola, a protestant gentleman of considerable eminence, was seized by a troop of soldiers; and refusing to renounce his religion, they hung a great number of little bags of gunpowder about his body, and then setting fire to them blew him up.

Anthony, the son of Samuel Catieris, a poor and extremely inoffensive dumb lad, was cut to pieces by a party of the troops; and soon after the same ruffians entered the house of Peter Moniriat, and cut off the legs of the whole family, leaving them to bleed to death, as they were unable to assist themselves, or to help each other.

Daniel Benech had his nose slit, his ears cut off, and was then divided into quarters, each quarter being hung upon a tree; and Mary Monino had her jaw-bones broke, and was then left to languish till she was famished.

Mary Pelanchion, a handsome widow, belonging to the town of Villaro, was seized by a party of the Irish brigades, who having beat her cruelly, and defiled her, dragged her to a high bridge which crossed the river, hung her by the legs to the bridge, with her head downwards towards the water, and then going into boats, they fired at her till she expired.

Mary Nigrino, and her daughter, an idiot, were cut to pieces in the woods, and their bodies left to be devoured by wild beasts: Susanna Bales, a widow of Villaro, was immured till she perished through hunger; and Susanna Calvio running away from some soldiers, and hiding herself in a barn, they set fire to the straw and burnt her.

Paul Armand was hacked to pieces; *a child named Daniel Bertino was burnt*; Daniel Michialino had his tongue plucked out, and was left to perish in that condition; and Andrea Bertino, a very old man, who was lame, was mangled in a most shocking manner, and at length had his body ripped open, and his bowels carried about on the point of a halberd.

Constantia Bellione, a protestant lady, being apprehended on account of her faith, was asked by a priest if she would renounce the devil and go to mass; to which she replied, "I was brought up in a religion, by which I was always taught to renounce the devil, but should I comply with your desire, and go to mass, I should be sure to meet him there in a variety of shapes." The priest was highly incensed at what she said, and told her to recant, or she should suffer cruelly. The lady, however, boldly answered, that she valued not any sufferings he could inflict, and in spite of all the torments he could invent, she would keep her conscience pure and her faith inviolate. The priest then ordered slices of her flesh to be cut off from several parts of her body, which cruelty she bore with the most singular patience, only saying to the priest, "what horrid and lasting torments will you suffer in hell, for the trifling and temporary pains which I now endure." Exasperated at this expression, and willing to stop her tongue, the priest ordered a file of musketeers to draw up and fire upon her, by which she was soon despatched, and sealed her martyrdom with her blood.

A young woman, named Judith Mandon, for refusing to change her religion and embrace popery, was fastened to a stake, and clubs thrown at her from a distance. By this inhuman proceeding, the poor creature's limbs were beat and mangled in a terrible manner, and her brains were at last dashed out by one of the bludgeons.

David Paglia and Paul Genre, attempting to escape to the Alps, with each his son, were pursued and overtaken by the soldiers in a large plain. Here they hunted them for their diversion, goading them with their swords, and making them run about till they dropped down with fatigue. When they found that their spirits were quite

exhausted, and that they could not afford them any more barbarous sport, by running, the soldiers hacked them to pieces, and left their mangled bodies on the spot.

A young man of Bobbio, named Michael Greve, was apprehended in the town of La Torre, and being led to the bridge, was thrown into the river. As he could swim well, he swam down the stream, thinking to escape, but the soldiers and mob followed on both sides the river, kept stoning him, till receiving a blow on one of his temples, he was stunned, consequently sunk, and was drowned.

David Armand was ordered to lay his head down on a block, when a soldier, with a large hammer, beat out his brains. David Baridona being apprehended at Villaro, was carried to La Torre, where refusing to renounce his religion, he was tormented by means of brimstone matches tied between his fingers and toes, and set on fire; and afterwards, by having his flesh plucked off with red-hot pincers, he expired; and Giovanni Barolina, with his wife, were thrown into a pool of stagnant water, and, by means of pitch-forks and stones, their heads were forced under the water till they were suffocated.

A party of soldiers went to the house of Joseph Garniero, and before they entered, fired in at the window, to give notice of their approach. A musket ball entered one of Mrs. Garniero's breasts, as she was suckling an infant with the other. On finding their intentions, she begged hard that they would spare the life of the infant, which they promised to do, and sent it immediately to a Roman catholick nurse. They then took the husband and hanged him at his own door, and having shot the wife through the head, they left her body weltering in its blood, and her husband hanging on the gallows.

Isaiah Mondon, an elderly man, and a pious protestant, fled from the merciless persecutors to a cleft in a rock, where he suffered the most dreadful hardships; for, in the midst of the winter, he was forced to lay on the bare stone, without any covering; his food was the roots he could scratch up near his miserable habitation; and the only way by which he could procure drink, was to put snow in his mouth till it melted. In this dreadful retire-

ment some of the inhuman soldiers found him, and after having beaten him unmercifully, they drove him towards Lucerne, goading him with the points of their swords.— Being exceedingly weakened by his manner of living, and his spirits exhausted by the blows he had received, he fell down in the road. They again beat him to make him proceed; when, on his knees, he implored them to put him out of his misery, by despatching him. This they, at last, agreed to do; and one of them stepping up to him, shot him through the head with a pistol, saying, “There, heretick, take thy request.”

Mary Revel, a worthy protestant, received a shot in her back, as she was walking along the street. She dropped down with the wound, but recovering sufficient strength, she raised herself upon her knees, and lifting her hands towards heaven, prayed, in a most fervent manner, to the Almighty; when a number of soldiers, who were near at hand, fired a whole volley of shot at her, many of which took place, and put an end to her miseries in an instant.

Several men, women, and children, secreted themselves in a large cave, where they continued, for some weeks, in safety. It was the custom for two of the men to go when it was necessary, and, by stealth, to procure provisions.— These were, however, one day watched, by which the cave was discovered, and, soon after, a troop of Roman catholicks appeared before it. The papists who assembled upon this occasion were neighbours, and intimate acquaintances of the poor protestants in the cave; and some of them were even related to each other. The protestants, therefore, came out, and implored them, by the ties of hospitality, by the ties of blood, and as old acquaintances and neighbours, not to murder them. But superstition overcame every sensation of nature and humanity; so that the papists, blinded by bigotry, told them, they could not show any mercy to hereticks, and, therefore, bade them all prepare to die. Hearing this, and knowing the fatal obstinacy of the Roman catholicks, the protestants fell prostrate, lifted their hands and hearts to heaven, prayed with great sincerity and fervency, and then bow-

ing down, put their faces close to the ground, and patiently awaited their fate, which was soon decided, for the papists fell upon them with unremitting fury, and having cut them to pieces, they left the mangled bodies and limbs in the cave.

Giovanni Salvagiot, passing by a Roman catholick church, and not taking off his hat, was followed by some of the congregation, who fell upon, and murdered him; and Jacob Barrel and his wife, having been taken prisoners by the count De St. Secondo, one of the duke of Savoy's officers, was delivered by them to the soldiery, who cut off the woman's breasts and the man's nose, and then shot both through the head.

Anthony Guiguo, a protestant, of a wavering disposition, went to Periero, with an intent to renounce his religion, and embrace popery. This design he communicated to some priests, who highly commended it, and a day was fixed upon for his public recantation. In the meantime, Anthony grew fully sensible of his perfidy, and his conscience tormented him so much, night and day, that he determined not to recant, but to make his escape. This he effected, but being soon missed and pursued, he was taken. The troops on the way did all they could to bring him back to his design of recantation; but finding their endeavours ineffectual, they beat him violently on the road, when coming near a precipice, he took an opportunity of leaping down, and was dashed to pieces.

A protestant gentleman, of considerable fortune, at Bobbio, being highly provoked by the insolence of a priest, retorted with great severity; and, among other things, said, that "the pope was Anti-Christ, mass idolatry, purgatory a farce, and absolution a cheat." To be revenged, the priest hired five desperate ruffians, who, the same evening, broke into the gentleman's house, and seized upon him in a violent manner. The gentleman was terribly affrighted, fell on his knees, and implored mercy; but the desperate ruffians despatched him without the least remorse.

CHAP. IV.

PERSECUTIONS IN GERMANY.

The general persecutions in Germany were principally occasioned by the doctrines and ministry of Martin Luther. The pope was so terrified at the success of that courageous reformer, that he determined to engage the emperor, Charles the Fifth, at any rate, to attempt the extirpation of the protestants.

To this end he gave the emperor two hundred thousand crowns in ready money. He promised to maintain twelve thousand foot, and five thousand horse, for the space of six months, or during a campaign. He allowed the emperor to receive one half of the revenues of the clergy of the empire during the war, and permitted the emperor to pledge the abby-lands for five hundred thousand crowns, to assist in carrying on hostilities against the protestants.

Thus prompted and supported, the emperor undertook the extirpation of the protestants, against whom, indeed, he was particularly enraged himself; and raised a formidable army in Germany, Spain, and Italy.

The protestant princes, in the mean time, formed a powerful confederacy, in order to repel the impending blow. A great army was raised, and the command given to the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. The imperial forces were commanded by the Emperor of Germany in person, and the eyes of all Europe were turned on the event of the war.

The armies met, and a desperate engagement ensued, in which the protestants were defeated, and the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse both taken prisoners. This fatal blow was succeeded by a horrid persecution, the severities of which were such that exile might be deemed a mild fate, and concealment in a dismal wood pass for happiness; a cave might be considered a palace, a rock a bed of down, and wild roots delicacies.

The fugitives who were taken experienced the most

cruel tortures that infernal imaginations could invent; but they evinced, by their constancy, that a real christian can surmount every difficulty, and despise every danger, to acquire a crown of martyrdom.

Henry Voes and John Esch, apprehended as protestants, were brought to examination; when Voes, answering for himself and the other, gave the following answers to questions asked by a priest, who examined them by order of the magistracy:—

Priest. “Were you not both, some years ago, Augustine friars?”

Voes. “Yes.”

Priest. “How came you to quit the bosom of the church of Rome?”

Voes. “On account of her abominations.”

Priest. “In what do you believe?”

Voes. “In the Old and New Testament.”

Priest. “Do you believe in the writings of the fathers, and the decrees of the councils?”

Voes. “Yes, if they agree with scripture.”

Priest. “Did not Martin Luther seduce you both?”

Voes. “He seduced us even in the very same manner as Christ seduced the apostles; that is, he made us sensible of the frailty of our bodies, and the value of our souls.”

This examination was sufficient; they were both condemned to the flames, and, soon after, suffered with that manly fortitude which became Christians.

Henry Sutphen, an eloquent and pious preacher, was taken out of his bed in the middle of the night, and compelled to walk barefoot a considerable way, so that his feet were terribly cut. He desired a horse, but his conductors said, in derision, “A horse for a heretick! no, no, hereticks may go barefoot.” When he arrived at the place of his destination, he was condemned to be burnt; but, during the execution, many indignities were offered him, as those who attended, not content with what he suffered in the flames, cut and slashed him in a most terrible manner.

Many were murdered at Halle; Middleburgh being taken by storm, all the protestants were put to the sword, and great numbers were burnt at Vienna.

An officer being sent to put a minister to death, pretended, when he came to the clergyman's house, that his intentions were only to pay him a visit. The minister, not suspecting the intended cruelty, entertained his supposed guest in a very cordial manner. As soon as dinner was over, the officer said to some of his attendants, "Take this clergyman, and hang him." The attendants themselves were so shocked, after the civility they had seen, that they hesitated to perform the commands of their master; and the minister said, "Think what a sting will remain on your conscience, for thus violating the laws of hospitality." The officer, however, insisted upon being obeyed, and the attendants, with reluctance, performed the execrable office of executioners.

Peter Spengler, a pious divine, of the town of Schalet, was thrown into the river, and drowned. Before he was taken to the banks of the stream which was to become his grave, they led him to the market-place, that his crimes might be proclaimed; which were, *not going to mass, not making confession, and not believing in transubstantiation.* After this ceremony was over, he made a most excellent discourse to the people, and concluded with a kind of hymn.

A protestant gentleman being ordered to lose his head for not renouncing his religion, went cheerfully to the place of execution: A friar came to him, and said these words in a low tone of voice, "As you have a great reluctance publickly to abjure your faith, whisper your confession into my ear, and I will absolve your sins." To this the gentleman loudly replied, "Trouble me not, friar, I have confessed my sins to God, and obtained absolution through the merits of Jesus Christ." Then turning to the executioner, he said, "Let me not be pestered with these men, but perform your duty." On which his head was struck off at a single blow.

Wolfgang Scuch, and John Huglin, two worthy ministers, were burnt, as was Leonard Keyser, a student of the university of Wertemburgh: and George Carpenter, a Bavarian, was hanged for refusing to recant protestantism.

The persecutions in Germany having subsided for some

years, recommenced in 1630 in consequence of the war between the emperor and Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, a protestant prince; the protestants of Germany having espoused his cause, greatly exasperated the emperor against them.

The imperialists having laid siege to the town of Passewalk, defended by the Swedes, took it by storm, and committed the most horrid cruelties. They pulled down the churches, burnt the houses, pillaged the proprietors, murdered the ministers, put the garrison to the sword, hanged the townsmen, violated the women, smothered the children, &c. &c.

A most bloody tragedy was transacted at Magdeburg, in the ensuing year. The generals Tilly and Pappenheim, having taken that protestant city by storm, upwards of twenty thousand persons, without distinction of rank, sex, or age, were slain during the carnage, and six thousand drowned in attempting to escape over the river Elbe. The remaining inhabitants were stripped naked, severely scourged, had their ears cropped, and being yoked together like oxen, were turned adrift.

All the inhabitants of the town of Hoxter, as well as the garrison, were put to the sword; the houses fired, and the dead bodies consumed in the flames.

At Griphenburgh, the imperial forces shut up the senators in the senate-chamber, and surrounding it by lighted straw, suffocated them.

Franhental surrendered upon articles of capitulation; but the inhabitants were most cruelly used, and at Heidelberg many were shut up in prison and starved.

The cruelties used by the imperial troops, under Count Tilly, in Saxony, are thus enumerated:

Half strangling, and recovering the persons again repeatedly.

Rolling sharp wheels over the fingers and toes.

Pinching the thumbs in a vice.

Forcing the most filthy things down the throats, by which they were choked.

Tying cords round the head so tight that the blood gushed out of the eyes, nose, ears, and mouth.

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TORTURING.

Fastening burning matches to the fingers, toes, ears, arms, legs, and tongues.

Putting powder in the mouth and setting fire to it, by which the head was shattered to pieces.

Tying bags of powder to all parts of the body, by which the person was blown up.

Drawing cords backwards and forwards through the fleshy parts.

Making incisions with bodkins and knives in the skin.

Running wires through the noses, ears, lips, &c.

Hanging protestants up by the legs, with their heads over a fire, by which they were roasted.

Hanging up by one arm till it was dislocated.

Hanging upon hooks by the ribs.

Baking many in hot ovens.

Forcing people to drink till they burst.

Fixing weights to the feet, and drawing up several with pullies.

Hanging, roasting, stabbing, frying, racking, ravishing, ripping open, breaking the bones, rasping off the flesh, tearing with wild horses, drowning, strangling, burning, broiling, crucifying, immuring, poisoning, cutting off tongue, nose, ears, &c. sawing off the limbs, hacking to pieces, drawing by the heels through the streets.

Such enormous cruelties executed by count Tilly, will be a perpetual stain on his memory; he not only permitted, but even commanded his troops to put them in practice. Wherever he came, the most horrid barbarities and cruel depredations ensued: famine and conflagration marked his progress; for he destroyed all the provisions he could not take with him, and burnt all the towns before he left them; so that the results of his conquests were murder, poverty, and desolation.

An aged and pious divine was stripped naked, he was then tied on his back upon a table, and a large fierce cat fastened upon his body. The cat was pricked and tormented in such a manner, that the creature, with rage, tore him open, and gnawed his bowels.

Another minister, and his family, were seized by these inhuman monsters; when they violated his wife and daugh-

ter before his face, stuck his infant son upon the point of a lance, and then surrounding him with his whole library of books, set fire to them, and he was consumed in the midst of the flames.

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

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

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

In 1732, above thirty thousand protestants were, contrary to the treaty of Westphalia, driven from the archbishoprick of Saltzburg. They went away in the depth of winter, with scarcely clothes to cover them, and without provisions, not having permission to take any thing with them. The cause of these poor people not being publicly espoused by such states as could obtain them redress, they emigrated to various protestant countries, and settled in places where they could enjoy the free exercise of their religion, without hurting their consciences, and live free from the trammels of popish superstition, and the chains of papal tyranny.

CHAP. V.

THE LIVES, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOMS OF JOHN HUSS
AND JEROM OF PRAGUE.

As the names of these two eminent reformers have been often mentioned in the relations of the persecutions in Germany, the following anecdotes, we trust, will not be unacceptable:—

John Huss was born at Hussenitz, a village in Bohemia, about the year 1380. His parents gave him a good education, and having acquired a knowledge of the classicks at a private school, he was removed to the university of Prague, where he soon gave strong proofs of his mental powers, and was remarkable for his application to study.

In 1408 he commenced bachelor of divinity, and was afterwards successively chosen pastor of the church of Bethlehem in Prague, and dean and rector of the university. In these stations he discharged his duties with great fidelity, and became, at length, so conspicuous for his preaching, which was in conformity with the doctrines of Wickliffe, that it was not likely he could long escape the notice of the pope, and his adherents, against whom he inveighed with no small degree of asperity.

The English reformer, Wickliffe, had so kindled the light of reformation, that it began to illumine the darkest corners of popery and ignorance. His doctrines spread into Bohemia, and were well received by great numbers of people; but by none so particularly as John Huss, and his zealous friend Jerom.

Queen Anne, the wife of Richard II. of England, was daughter to the emperor Charles IV. and sister to Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and being a princess of great piety and knowledge, had strongly patronised Wickliffe. Upon her death, in 1394, several of her attendants returning into Bohemia, carried with them many of Wickliffe's books, which were read with much avidity, and tended greatly to promote the cause of the reformation.

The persecutions against the Protestants in England had been carried on for some time, and the most cruel scenes

were exhibited. They now extended as far as Germany and Bohemia, where Dr. Huss, and Jerom of Prague, were particularly marked out to suffer death in the cause of religion.

In the month of November, in the year 1414, a general council was assembled at Constance, in Germany, in order, as was pretended, "for the sole purpose of determining a dispute, then depending between three persons who contended for the papacy;" but the real motive was, to crush the progress of the reformation.

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

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

The civilities, and even reverence, which Huss met with on his journey, were beyond imagination. The streets, and sometimes the very roads, were lined with people, whom respect rather than curiosity had brought together. He was ushered into the towns with great acclamations; and it may be said, that he passed through Germany in a kind of triumph. He could not, however, help expressing his surprise at the treatment he received: "I thought (said he) I had been an outcast. I now see my worst friends are in Bohemia."

As soon as Huss arrived at Constance, he immediately took lodgings in a remote part of the city. A short time after his arrival came Stephen Paletz, who was employed by the clergy at Prague to manage the intended prosecution against him. Paletz was afterwards joined by Michael de Cassis, on the part of the court of Rome. These two declared themselves his accusers, and drew up a set of articles against him, which they presented to the pope, and the prelates of the council.

It has been already observed, that the attendance of Dr. Huss, at Constance, was by the emperour's own request, who gave him a safe-conduct; notwithstanding which, according to the maxim of the council, that "faith is not to be kept with hereticks," when it was known that he was in the city, he was immediately arrested, and committed prisoner to a chamber in the palace.

This violation of common law and justice was particularly noticed by one of Huss's friends, who urged the imperial safe-conduct; but the pope replied, "he never granted any safe-conduct, nor was he bound by that of the emperour."

Whilst Huss was in confinement, the council acted the part of inquisitors. They condemned the doctrines of Wickliffe, and ordered his remains in England to be dug up, and burnt to ashes; which orders were strictly complied with.

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

When he was brought before the council, the articles exhibited against him were read: they were upwards of forty in number, and chiefly extracted from his writings. But the principal allegations against him were, his propagating the following opinions:

"1. That there was no necessity for a visible head of the church.

"2. That the church was better governed in the apostolick times without one.

"3. That the title of holiness was improperly given to man.

“4. That a wicked pope could not possibly be the vicar of Christ; that he denied the very authority on which he pretended to act.

“5. That liberty of conscience was every person’s natural right.

“6. That ecclesiastical censures, especially such as touched the life of man, had no foundation in scripture.

“7. That ecclesiastical obedience should have its limits.

“8. That no excommunication should deter the priest from his duty.

“9. That preaching was as much required from the minister of religion, as alms-giving from the man of ability; and that neither of them could hide his talent in the earth, without incurring the divine displeasure.”

These, and many other frivolous allegations, Dr. Huss refuted with a manly eloquence; at the same time recommending himself, and his cause, to God. After his examination, he was taken from the court, and a resolution formed by the council, to burn him as a heretick if he would not retract. He was then committed to a filthy prison, where, in the day-time, he was so laden with fetters on his legs, that he could hardly move; and every night he was fastened by his hands to a ring against the wall of the prison.

On the 4th of July Dr. Huss was brought, for the last time, before the council. After a long examination he was desired to abjure, which he refused without the least hesitation. The bishop of Lodi then preached a sermon, concerning the destruction of hereticks, as the prologue to his intended punishment. After the close of the sermon the fate of Huss was determined, his vindication disregarded, and judgment was pronounced. His books were condemned, and he was declared a manifest heretick: he was convicted “of having taught many pernicious errors; of having despised the keys of the church and ecclesiastical censures; of having seduced and given scandal to the faithful by his obstinacy, and having rashly appealed to the tribunal of Christ.” The council therefore censured him for being obstinate and incorrigible, and ordained, “that he should be degraded from the priest-

hood, his books publicly burnt, and himself delivered to the secular power."

Huss heard this sentence without the least emotion.— At the close of it, he kneeled down with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and, with all the magnanimity of a primitive martyr, thus exclaimed: "May thy infinite mercy, O my God! pardon this injustice of mine enemies. Thou knowest the injustice of my accusations: how deformed with crimes I have been represented: how I have been oppressed with worthless witnesses, and a false condemnation; yet, O my God! let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can express, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs."

On his arrival at the place of execution, he fell on his knees, sang several portions of the Psalms, looked steadfastly towards heaven, and repeated these words: "Into thy hands, O Lord! do I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O most good and faithful God!"

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

When the fagots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of Bavaria was so officious as to desire him to abjure. "No (said Huss), I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips, I now seal with my blood." He then said to the executioner, "You are now going to burn a goose (Huss signifying goose in the Bohemian language), but in a century you will have a swan, whom you can neither roast nor boil." If he was prophetic, he must have meant Martin Luther, who shone about an hundred years after, and who had a swan for his arms.

The flames were now applied to the fagots, when the martyr sang a hymn, with so loud and cheerful a voice, that he was heard through all the crackling of the combustibles, and the noise of the multitude. At length his voice was interrupted by the severity of the flames, which soon closed his existence.

The Duke of Bavaria ordered the executioner to throw

all his clothes into the flames; after which his ashes were gathered together, and cast into the Rhine.

Thus fell Dr. John Huss, a martyr to the doctrines of the gospel which Wickliffe had propagated, and which struck so essentially at the root of corrupt religion, and the secular interest of the clergy, that it is little to be wondered at, he, as well as his friend Jerom, should be persecuted with the utmost severity.

Whilst this excellent divine was in prison he wrote several treatises, which were collected together after his death, and published at Nuremburg, in 1588. A second volume appeared, containing a harmony of the four Evangelists; and commentaries on several of the epistles in the New Testament, &c.

Jerom, denominated of Prague, the companion of Dr. Huss, and may be said to be co-martyr with him, was born at Prague, and educated in that university, where he particularly distinguished himself for his great abilities and learning. He visited several other learned seminaries in Europe, particularly the universities of Paris, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Oxford. At the latter place he became acquainted with the works of Wickliffe, and being a person of uncommon application, translated many of them into his native language, having, with great pains, made himself master of the English tongue.

On his return to Prague he professed himself an open favourer of Wickliffe, and finding that his doctrines had made a considerable progress in Bohemia, and that Huss was the principal promoter of them, he became an assistant to him in the great work of reformation.

When Huss went to the council of Constance, Jerom very earnestly exhorted him to bear up firmly in the cause he had undertaken; and in particular, to insist strenuously on the corrupt state of the clergy, and the necessity of a reformation. He added, if he should hear in Bohemia that Huss was overpowered by his adversaries, he would immediately repair to Constance, and furnish him with all the assistance that laid in his power.

Jerom promised no more than what he intended strictly to perform. As soon as he was informed of the difficulties

under which Huss laboured, he immediately set out for Constance, notwithstanding he received very pressing letters from Huss, insisting on his putting off the design, as dangerous to himself, and unprofitable to the cause of the reformation.

On the 4th of April, 1415, Jerom arrived at Constance, about three months before the death of Huss. He entered the town privately, and consulting with some of the leaders of his party, whom he found there, was easily convinced he could not be of any service to his friend.

Finding that his arrival at Constance was publickly known, and that the council intended to seize him, he thought it most prudent to retire. The next day, therefore, he went to Iberling, an imperial town, about a mile from Constance. From this place he wrote to the emperor, and proposed his readiness to appear before the council, if he would give him a safe-conduct; but this was refused. He then applied to the council, but met with an answer no less favourable than that from the emperor.

Thus disappointed, Jerom caused papers to be put up in all the publick places in Constance, particularly on the doors of the cardinals' houses, in which he professed his readiness to appear at Constance in the defence of his character and doctrine, both which, he said, had been greatly defamed. He also declared, that if any error should be proved against him, he would, with great readiness, retract it; begging only that the faith of the council might be given for his security.

Not receiving any answer to these papers, he sat out on his return to Bohemia. He had the precaution to take with him a certificate, signed with several of the Bohemian nobility then at Constance, testifying, that he had used all prudent means in his power to procure a hearing.

Jerom, however, did not thus escape. He was seized at Hirsaw, by an officer belonging to the Duke of Sulzbach, who, though unauthorized, made little doubt of obtaining thanks from the council for so acceptable a service.

The duke of Sulzbach, having Jerom in his power, wrote to the council for directions how to proceed. The council, after expressing their obligations to the duke, de-

sired him to send the prisoner immediately to Constance. The elector-palatine met him on the way, and conducted him into the city, himself riding on horseback, with a numerous retinue, who led Jerom in fetters by a long chain; and immediately on his arrival he was committed to a loathsome dungeon.

Jerom was treated nearly in the same manner as Huss had been, only that he was much longer confined, and shifted from one prison to another. At length, being brought before the council, he desired that he might plead his own cause, and exculpate himself; which being refused him, he broke into the following exclamation:

“What barbarity is this! For three hundred and forty days have I been confined in a variety of prisons. There is not a misery, there is not a want, which I have not experienced. To my enemies you have allowed the fullest scope of accusation: to me, you deny the least opportunity of defence. Not an hour will you now indulge me in preparing for my trial. You have swallowed the blackest calumnies against me. You have represented me as a heretick, without knowing my doctrine: as an enemy to the faith, before you knew what faith I professed: as a persecutor of priests, before you could have any opportunity of understanding my sentiments on that head. You are a general council: in you centre all this world can communicate of gravity, wisdom, and sanctity: but still you are men, and men are seducible by appearances. The higher your character is for wisdom, the greater ought your care to be not to deviate into folly. The cause I now plead is not my own cause: it is the cause of men: it is the cause of Christians: it is a cause which is to affect the rights of posterity, however the experiment is to be made in my person.”

This speech had not the least effect: Jerom was obliged to hear his charge read, which was reduced under the following heads:

- “1. That he was a derider of the papal dignity.
- “2. An opposer of the pope.
- “3. An enemy to the cardinals.
- “4. A persecutor of the prelates.
- “5. A hater of the Christian religion.”

To these several charges Jerom answered with an amazing force of elocution, and strength of argument. "Now," said he, "wretch that I am! whither shall I turn me! To my accusers? My accusers are as deaf as adders. To you, my judges? You are all prepossessed by the arts of my accusers."—After this speech Jerom was immediately remanded to his dungeon.

Poggius, a Roman catholick historian, and a great enemy to Jerom, candidly acknowledges, that in all he spoke, he said nothing unbecoming a great and wise man. "To confess the truth," says he, in a letter to his friend at Rome, "I never knew the art of speaking carried so near the model of ancient eloquence. It was amazing, with what force of expression, with what fluency of language, and with what excellent reasoning, Jerom answered his adversaries; nor was I less struck with the gracefulness of his manner, the dignity of his action, and the firmness and constancy of his whole behaviour. It grieved me to think so great a man was labouring under so atrocious an accusation. For myself, I inquire not into the merits of it; resting satisfied with the decision of my superiours."

The trial of Jerom was brought on the third day after his accusation, and witnesses were examined in support of the charge. The prisoner was prepared for his defence, which appears almost incredible, when we consider he had been three hundred and forty days shut up in loathsome prisons, deprived of day-light, and almost starved for want of common necessaries. But his spirit soared above those disadvantages under which a man less animated would have sunk; nor was he more at a loss for quotations from fathers and ancient authors, than if he had been furnished with the finest library.

The most bigoted of the assembly were unwilling he should be heard, knowing what effect eloquence is apt to have on the minds of the most prejudiced. At length, however, it was carried by the majority, that he should have liberty to proceed in his defence, which he began in such an exalted strain of moving elocution, that the heart of obdurate zeal was seen to melt, and the mind of superstition seemed to admit a ray of conviction.

Jerom received many interruptions from the impertinence of some, and the inveteracy of others; but he answered every one with so much readiness and vivacity of thought, that at last they were ashamed, and he was permitted to finish his defence. His voice was clear and pleasant: pliable to captivate every passion, and able to conciliate every affection. In short, he was pitied by his friends, and admired even by his enemies.

The trial being over, Jerom received the same sentence that had been passed upon his martyred countryman. In consequence of this he was, in the usual style of popish affectation, delivered over to the civil power; but as he was a layman he had not to undergo the ceremony of degradation. They had prepared a cap of paper painted with red devils, which being put upon his head, he said, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he suffered death for me, a most miserable sinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon his head; and I, for his sake, will wear this cap."

Two days were allowed him, in hopes that he would recant; in which time the cardinal of Florence used his utmost endeavours to bring him over. But they all proved ineffectual: Jerom was resolved to seal his doctrine with his blood; and he suffered death with the most distinguished magnanimity.

In going to the place of execution he sang several hymns; and when he came to the spot, which was the same where Huss had been burnt, he kneeled down, and prayed fervently. He embraced the stake with great cheerfulness and resolution; and when the executioner went behind him to set fire to the fagots, he said, "Come here, and kindle it before my eyes; for if I had been afraid of it, I had not come to this place, having had so many opportunities of making my escape."

The fire being kindled, he sang a hymn, but was soon interrupted by the flames; and the last words he was heard to say were these:

Hanc animam in flammis offero, Christe, tibi!

"This soul, in flames I offer, Christ, to thee!"

Thus died these two Bohemian martyrs, whose blood may be truly said to have been the seed of the reformed church.

CHAP. VI.

PERSECUTIONS IN THE NETHERLANDS.

From the same cause, that is to say, the success of the gospel, which had spread over the Netherlands, the pope instigated the emperor to commence a persecution against the protestants; thousands fell martyrs to superstitious malice and barbarous bigotry; among whom the most remarkable were the following.

Wendelinuta, a pious protestant widow, was apprehended in consequence of her religious profession, when several monks, unsuccessfully, endeavoured to persuade her to recant. As they could not prevail, a Roman catholic lady of her acquaintance desired to be admitted to the dungeon in which she was confined, and promised to exert herself strenuously towards inducing the prisoner to abjure the reformed religion. When she was admitted to the dungeon, she did her utmost to perform the task she had undertaken; but finding her endeavours ineffectual, she said, "If you will not embrace our faith, at least keep the things which you profess secret within your own bosom, and strive to prolong your life." To which the widow replied, "Madam, you know not what you say; for with the heart we believe to righteousness, but with the tongue confession is made unto salvation." Upon her positive refusal to recant, her goods were confiscated, and she was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution a monk held a cross to her, and bade her kiss and worship God. To which she answered, "I worship no wooden God, but the eternal God, who is in heaven." She was then executed, but through the before-mentioned Roman catholic lady, the favour was granted, that she should be strangled before fire was put to the fagots.

Two protestant clergymen were burnt at Cologne; a tradesman of Antwerp, named Nicholas, was tied up in a sack, thrown into the river, and drowned; and Pistorius, a learned student, was carried to the market of a Dutch village in a party-coloured coat, and committed to the flames.

Sixteen protestants having received sentence to be beheaded, a protestant minister was ordered to attend the execution. This gentleman performed the function of his office, exhorted them to repentance, and gave them comfort in the mercies of their Redeemer. As soon as they were beheaded, the magistrate cried out to the executioner, "There is another stroke remaining yet; you must behead the minister, he can never die at a better time than with such excellent precepts in his mouth, and such laudable examples before him." He was accordingly beheaded. Many of the Roman catholicks themselves reprobated this piece of treacherous and unnecessary cruelty.

In Louvain, a learned man, named Percival, was murdered in prison; and Justus Insparg was beheaded, for having Luther's sermons in his possession.

Giles Tilleman, a cutler of Brussels, a man of great humanity and piety, among others, was apprehended as a protestant, and many endeavours were made by the monks to persuade him to recant. He had once, by accident, a fair opportunity of escaping from the prison, and being asked why he did not avail himself of it, replied, "I would not do the keepers so much injury, as they must have answered for my absence had I got away." When he was sentenced to be burnt, he fervently thanked God for granting him an opportunity, by martyrdom, to glorify his name. Perceiving, at the place of execution, a great quantity of fagots, he desired the principal part of them might be given to the poor, saying, a small quantity will suffice to consume me. The executioner offered to strangle him before the fire was lighted, but he would not consent, telling him, that he defied the flames; and, indeed, he gave up the ghost with such composure amidst them, that he hardly seemed sensible of their effects.

In 1543 and 1544, the persecution pervaded all Flanders, in a most violent and cruel manner. Some were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, others to perpetual banishment; but most were but to death either by hanging, drowning, immuring, burning, the rack, or burning alive.

A fishmonger of Ghent, named Martin, had for many

years lived a very dissolute life, when the monks of a monastery, which he served with fish, took peculiar delight in his company. Becoming, however, sensible of his errors, he renounced them, embraced the protestant religion, and lived a very pious and exemplary life. This change for the better so greatly exasperated the monks, that they had him apprehended, and finding he would not recant, at their instigation he was condemned to be burnt.

At the stake one of the monks said, "Martin, unless you again return to the church, and embrace the Roman catholick faith, you will pass from this temporal to an eternal fire." To which he replied, "Were I to do as you advise me, I should be sure of an eternal fire; but while I remain as I am, my sufferings will be over with these temporal flames."

Two young ladies of rank were burnt at Delden; and at Dornick Adrian Taylor was beheaded, and his wife, being placed in an iron cage, was buried alive in the earth!

A family, consisting of a widow and four children, were apprehended as protestants at Mechlin. On their examination, the mother and two eldest sons remained stedfast in their faith; but the younger son and daughter consented to recant. This judgment was then passed:

"The mother to be imprisoned during life; the two eldest sons to be burnt; and the younger son, with the daughter, to be acquitted, and sent home." This sentence was strictly executed; the younger son and daughter were sent home, and allowed to take possession of the imprisoned parent's effects; the unhappy mother was closely confined, where she soon ended her days through want of fresh air, proper exercise, and necessary food; and the two elder sons received the crown of martyrdom with great fortitude, one of them saying, as soon as the flames touched him, "O what a trifling pain is this, compared to the glory which is to reward it."

The magistrates of Strasburg, having intelligence that a minister, named Peter Bruly, was very successful in his converts, issued an order for apprehending him, and commanded the sentinels at the gates very strictly to examine

all who attempted to leave the city, that he might not escape. Though the greatest vigilance was used to discover Bruly, yet some humane persons concealed him for the space of three days, and then designed to facilitate his escape, by letting him down from a window in a basket by night, to an open place without the walls of the city. This design was almost effected, when a stone tumbled from the walls just as he reached the ground, and falling on his leg, broke it in a most shocking manner. The noise alarming the guards, they went round and apprehended him, when, instead of repining at what to another might have appeared a misfortune, he exclaimed, in a kind of rapture, "Thank God! for by this accident it seems he intends I shall stay here to bear witness to the truth of the gospel; I am particularly happy in so distinguished an honour." He was kept several months in prison, and every endeavour used to persuade him to recant; but the magistrates, finding their labours for that purpose ineffectual, ordered him to be burnt in a slow fire, the excruciating torments of which he bore with a manly fortitude, and gave up his soul with a christian resignation.

A minister, named Moce, having been condemned to be burnt for his religion, a friar, at the stake, tied a bag of powder about his neck, which, when the flames reached, blew up, and shattered the minister's head to pieces; upon this the friar gravely told the people, that the noise they heard was the devil leaving the heretick's body through the force of the flames. To such ridiculous lengths did superstition carry the weak! and such were the absurdities propagated by bigotry!

Another minister was kept a long time in prison, and afflicted with various torments; at length they put out his eyes, pared off the ends of his fingers, and then skinning his head, rubbed it with salt 'till he expired.

At Antwerp a clergyman, named Christopher Fabri, was apprehended, and condemned to be burnt. The majority of the inhabitants of Antwerp being protestants, and Fabri having the affection of all who knew him, a tumult ensued, and an attempt was made to rescue him. The people began the attack by throwing stones at the

magistrates, officers, guards, priests, and executioner, which obliged them all to retire. The executioner, however, before he left the stake, took an opportunity to stab Fabri; so that the people, when they came to unbind him from the stake, to their great surprise found him dead.

Hostius, a pious protestant, was burnt at Norden, in Friesland, for speaking against transubstantiation. Bertrand, a German protestant, having snatched the host from the hands of a priest at Dornick, was tormented with all the cruelties that the most infernal imagination could devise, and then roasted by a slow fire. Soon after, two protestants were beheaded for singing psalms in the vulgar tongue.

James Fabar, an aged man, of excellent sense, but without elocution, being condemned to death, was asked to defend the tenets of the doctrines he followed; when he made this remarkable reply, "I cannot satisfy you by reasoning, but I can abide by, and suffer for, the gospel:" which he soon after did, being burnt for his constancy and steadfastness in truth.

A worthy protestant, named Godfrid, condemned to the flames, died in a most heroick manner. A priest at the stake called out to him, "Recant, and do not die a heretick." To which he replied, "Recant I shall not, but why call me heretick? Take that term back to yourself, and give me the appellation of an unprofitable servant of Christ." The executioner would have strangled him, as a favour, before fire was put to the fagots; but he said, "Friend, learn obedience to your superiours, perform your duty exactly, and execute, in the most precise manner, the sentence passed upon me by the judges, without showing me the least indulgence; for I'll assure you I am not afraid of the flames, and would not, on any account, decline experiencing any torment that might be inflicted for the sake of Christ."

Charles Connick, a friar of Ghent, by conversing with some of the reformed clergy, and attentively perusing protestant books, became at length fully sensible of the errors of the church of Rome, and his slavish superstitions. The absurdities that principally struck him were,

"1. That St. Peter was infallible, and received from Christ the keys of heaven and hell, with power to excommunicate, anathematize or curse people, and to forgive or absolve sins; and from these premises, founded in error, inferring that as St. Peter was the first bishop of Rome, his successors, the popes, must likewise be infallible, and have the power to curse those who offended them, or absolve the sins of such as pay their court to the Romish church.

"2. The supposition of the pope's being the universal head of the Christian church, and the supreme ruler in state affairs, as well as those which are merely ecclesiastical. Of his being empowered to inaugurate and depose kings and princes, as well as to ordain or excommunicate bishops and priests, &c.

"3. The belief that the pope can grant indulgences for committing sins, and dispensations for the perpetration of crimes.

"4. The vain imagination of such a place as purgatory, where souls are purified by fire, before they are qualified to enter into eternal bliss; and the silly supposition, that priests, by saying masses, can deliver souls from the fire of purgatory, at the instigation of, and being paid by the relations or friends of the deceased.

"5. Prohibiting the laity from reading the holy scriptures, and thus depriving people not only of the natural liberty of the mind, but preventing them from using that reason with which God hath blessed them in the thing that most essentially concerns them, the care of their salvation.

"6. Receiving the apocrypha into the canon of the authentick scriptures, and believing oral traditions, which are enveloped in fables and chimeras.

"7. Making seven sacraments instead of the two real ones, viz. Baptism, and the Lord's Supper; the other five being confirmation, penance, extreme unction, taking orders, and marriage.

"8. The doctrine of transubstantiation.

"9. The worship of the Virgin Mary, angels, saints, images, &c. and the making offerings and prayers to each.

“10. The enjoining a state of celibacy, or single life, to their priests.

“11. The making a distinction between mortal and venial sins, to serve the purposes of avarice and ambition; for if the guilty person is able and willing to pay for a pardon, the sin is called venial, and he receives absolution for his money.

“12. Auricular confession, in which one sinner hears the sins of another, and pretends to forgive them.

“13. The injunction of strictly keeping Lent, by abstaining from all kinds of flesh; yet, at the same time admitting the people to feast in the most luxurious manner, upon the finest fish, dressed in the richest sauces. Such is the affinity between popish divinity and philosophy, and such the ridiculous injunctions which are delivered with so much solemnity, commanded with such authority, and kept so very strictly.

“14. Saying masses for the dead as well as the living, in order to make a gain of godliness; by which theology is turned to a trade, prayers are converted to merchandize, and the imposition supplies the priests with regular annuities.

“15. The pretence that the fire of purgatory hath eight degrees of heat, by which the priests gain considerable sums of money: for they pretend to know the particular degree to which the soul of the deceased is confined, and charge accordingly for the masses, by which it is to be released.

“16. Making it a mortal sin for any person to doubt of the Roman tenets, though ever so ridiculous, absurd, or contradictory to sense and experience.

“17. The imposition of penance for sin, and the remission of penance for money, by which the painful may be exchanged for the pecuniary expiation; and the rich, if they sin most, may buy off the punishment, and suffer less than the poor, who sin least.

“18. Deeming all other religions heretical, and looking upon every one out of the pale of the Roman catholick church, as in a state of perdition.

“19. The persuasion that the Roman catholicks, who

live exemplary lives, have the power of working miracles.

“20. The canonization of many persons as saints, particularly such as have left large donations to the church.

“21. Confining men and women, in monasteries and convents, to a state of celibacy, contrary to the order of nature, and the ordinances of God.

“22. The inhumanity of propagating religion by persecution, which hath always been a principal rule and darling tenet of the church of Rome.

“23. The cruelty of erecting inquisitions, and other judicial offices, for the sole purpose of fettering the human mind, extorting confessions to serve popish designs, and forcing people to subscribe to, and believe religious tenets, to which, in their consciences, they cannot assent.

“24. Placing a great part of the essence of religion in vain and ridiculous ceremonials, fasts, festivals, processions, pilgrimages, orders, offices, and a variety of other innovations equally absurd, which have crept into the Romish church long since the gospel was delivered by Christ, and his apostles, in its primitive purity.”

Reflecting seriously on all these superstitions, defects, and errors in the church of Rome, and comparing them with the pure doctrines of the reformed church, Friar Connick, at length, became a zealous protestant. This change was no sooner known, than it drew upon him the indignation of the priesthood, who soon caused him to be apprehended. On his trial he boldly confessed his faith, pointed out the reasons of his change, and nobly declared, that he was ready to suffer whatever torments they could inflict, for the sake of the doctrines he had newly embraced. A person in authority then told him, if he would recant, a canonry should be immediately given him, and that he would take particular care of his future promotion in the church. To this Connick replied, “Sir, I thank you for your kindness, but cannot accept your offer without offending God. Wealth, badly obtained, is poverty; and promotion, which injures the conscience, degradation. I am ready to suffer any thing; but those horrors of mind which attend such as, for worldly views, sin against conviction.” Finding him resolute in his principles, sentence

of death was passed upon him, and he was, soon after, burnt. It is worthy of commemoration, that the person who informed against him, and was the principal cause of his suffering, soon after fell into a dejection of spirits, succeeded by the most dreadful horrors of conscience, which, in a short time, terminated his miserable life.

The Prince of Orange was one of the most amiable and illustrious men of his times. But having warmly espoused the protestant cause, and in many instances successfully defended their rights, he became an object of catholick vengeance, and was basely assassinated by a zealot of that party. He had triumphed over his enemies and persecutors; had founded the commonwealth of the seven United Provinces, and was hoping to close his brilliant career in quietness. But in the fifty-first year of his age, passing one day through the great hall of his palace, he was shot in the vitals by the murderer who had armed and concealed himself there for the purpose. On perceiving himself mortally wounded, he only said, "Lord have mercy upon my soul, and upon this poor people;" and immediately expired.

Besides the foregoing instances of suffering and cruelty, history records numerous other scenes of dreadful distress among the unoffending protestants in the Netherlands, a detail of which would swell the present work beyond its intended limits. Multitudes suffered, and multitudes died for the doctrines of the Reformation.

CHAP. VII.

PERSECUTIONS IN LITHUANIA AND POLAND.

The persecutions in Lithuania began in 1648, and were carried on with great severity by the Cossacks and Tartars. The cruelty of the Cossacks was so enormous, that even the Tartars grew ashamed of it, and rescued some of the intended victims from their hands.

The barbarities exercised were these: skinning alive, cutting off hands, taking out the bowels, cutting the flesh

open, putting out the eyes, beheading, scalping, cutting off feet, boring the shin bones, pouring melted lead into the flesh, hanging, stabbing, and sending to perpetual banishment.

The Russians taking advantage of the devastations which had been made in the country, and of its incapability of defence, entered it with a considerable army, and, like a flood, bore down all before them. Every thing they met with was an object of destruction; they razed cities, demolished castles, ruined fortresses, sacked towns, burnt villages, and murdered people. The ministers of the gospel were peculiarly marked out as the objects of their displeasure, though every worthy Christian was liable to the effects of their cruelty; the following were some of the more prominent of those barbarous transactions:

Adrian Chalinsky, a clergyman, venerable for his age, conspicuous for his piety, and eminent for his learning, was suddenly seized upon in his own house, partially tried, and speedily condemned. Having his hands and legs tied behind him, he was roasted alive by a slow fire, only a few chips, and a little straw, being lighted at a time, in order to make his death more lingering.

A father and son, named Smolsky, both ministers near Volna, had their heads sawed off. A gentleman, of the clerical order, in the town of Hawloczet, named Slawinskin, was cut piece-meal by slow degrees. Some perished by being exposed, during the frosty season, to the inclemency of the weather: many were flayed alive, several hacked to pieces, and great numbers sent into slavery.

As Lithuania recovered itself after one persecution, succeeding enemies again destroyed it. The Swedes, the Prussians, and the Courlanders, carried fire and sword through it, and continual calamities, for some years, attended that unhappy district. It was then attacked by the prince of Transylvania, who had in his army, exclusive of his own Transylvanians, Hungarians, Moldavians, Servians, Walachians, &c. These, as far as they penetrated, wasted the country, destroyed the churches, rifled the nobility, burnt the houses, enslaved the healthy, and murdered the sick.

In this juncture of affairs, all the ministers of Christ were forced to forsake their dwelling-places. And there are above forty, of whom it is not known what kind of death they suffered: but they are dead, is certain; because they are not found, nor were they carried into captivity. The churches, for the most part, as far as the enemy could reach, were destroyed by fire. The desolate fields, and water only, were left as witnesses of the insolency of a barbarous enemy; for all dwelling places and woods were pulled and cut down, and burned to ashes.

The protestants of Poland were persecuted in a dreadful manner. The ministers, in particular, were treated with the most unexampled barbarity; some having their tongues cut out, because they had preached the gospel truths; others being deprived of their sight, on account of having read the Bible; and great numbers were cut to pieces for not recanting.

Private persons were put to death by various methods; the most cruel being usually preferred. Women were murdered without the least regard to their sex; and the persecutors even went so far as to cut off the heads of sucking babes, and fasten them to the breasts of their mothers.

Even the solemnity of the grave did not exempt the bodies of protestants from the malice of persecutors; for they sacrilegiously dug up the bodies of many eminent persons, and either cut them to pieces, and exposed them to be devoured by birds and beasts, or hung them up in conspicuous and publick places.

In 1655, the Swedes made an irruption into Poland, and committed many depredations. The Roman catholics thought, though this was of disadvantage to their country, to turn it to the advantage of their religion, for they laid the whole affair upon the protestants, alleging, that the Polish protestants in general, and the protestants of Lesna in particular, had invited the Swedes, who were of the reformed religion, to make these incursions.—Hence the Polish nobility, of the Romish persuasion, began to embody themselves to repel the invaders. The clergy were very active upon the occasion, threatening excommunication to those who did not take up arms, and

promising great rewards, with a relaxation of the pains of purgatory, to such as would assist, not only to drive the Swedes from Poland, but to exterminate the protestants.

The Romish clergy having thus awakened the suspicions, and appealed to the passions of the people, the latter took it for granted that the protestants were guilty, and began a most furious persecution. Every city, town, and village, presented scenes of horror and cruelty; no inhumanity was left unthought of, no barbarity unpractised. Age, sex, or rank, made no distinction; all protestants fell alike, the undistinguished victims of bigoted rage. Fathers of families were butchered in the sight of their relations and domesticks, who beheld, while unable to assist them, the blood of worthy protestants besprinkle the floors of their own houses, and stain those apartments which had been the scenes of their former happiness.—Tender mothers had infants snatched from their arms, and barbarously stuck upon pikes, or cruelly thrown into the fire before their faces. Chaste matrons, faithful wives, and virtuous virgins, were, with the most indelicate inhumanity, violated in the presence of fathers, husbands, brothers, and friends; and then, to complete the scene of outrage and horror, they were cruelly murdered.

Thus it may be seen, that ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism, generally go hand in hand; and whether among the Pagans, Mahometans, or the followers of the man of sin, their progress is always marked with blood and merciless cruelty.

PART 5.

CHAPTER I.

PERSECUTIONS IN ENGLAND, BETWEEN THE FOURTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

We come now to speak of persecutions in the British dominions. Christianity was planted in Britain at an early period of the Church, and some suppose it was done by St. Paul himself. The first remarkable persecution in this country was under the reign of Dioclesian and Maximian. At this time, so great was the rage of the Pagans against the Christians, that seventeen thousand persons are said to have suffered martyrdom. In the fifth century the same spirit raged, and its effects were visible in the destruction of churches, and in the cruel deaths of many who were faithful ministers. From the times of these early scenes of distress and cruelty, to the times of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the spirit of intolerance often prevailed, and multitudes suffered martyrdom. Towards the close of this long period of Papal darkness, the victims to the malice of a corrupt priesthood became more numerous, and the punishment of burning *alive*, by a *slow* fire, or with *green* wood, became frequent. We shall mention a few of these sufferers, and hasten to the bloody reign of queen Mary.

In the year 1156, Henry II. held a parliament at Oxford, and before that court were brought eighty Germans, men and women, who, to avoid persecution, had left their own country, and come over to England. From the records in the British museum, which have been published, it ap-

pears, that these people possessed the same sentiments with those afterwards called Waldenses: they denied the papal supremacy, and rejected the sacrifice of the mass, which gave great offence to the clergy.

The king himself was of a humane disposition, and inclined to treat those persons rather as madmen than criminals. But the power of the clergy triumphed over the humanity of the king. It was debated in parliament, whether they should be put to death; but no law at that time authorizing such a proceeding, an order passed (for as Lord Littleton says, it was not an act) that these people should be set at liberty, and have leave to return to their own country.

With this order was a proclamation published, prohibiting any persons whatever from giving them any manner of assistance; they were not to furnish them with either victuals or lodging; and it was then in the depth of winter. In vain did they solicit a morsel of victuals from the people in the country; the priests watched to give information; and had any person given them any assistance, they would have been executed, outlawed, or imprisoned for life. In this forlorn condition they wandered from place to place, eating the leaves of trees, or any thing they could lay hold of.

At last the unhappy creatures sunk under their afflictions, and they died daily. In the compass of about one month, there was not one of them left; and it may be justly said of these people that they were starved to death.

John Wickliffe, Doctor of divinity, lived in the fourteenth century and was a conspicuous reformer. He wrote many volumes against the Romish corruption, was much hated and persecuted, but died in peace, A. D. 1385. After the body of this pious and learned minister had been forty-one years in his grave, such was at length the spirit of intolerance, that his bones were dug up by a decree of the catholick synod of Constance, publickly burned, and the ashes thrown into the river near the town.

The following are among the articles of Wickliffe which were condemned as heretical:—

“The substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration.

“The accidents do not remain without the subject in the same sacrament, after the consecration.

“That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar truly and really, in his proper and corporal person.

“That if a bishop or a priest be in deadly sin, he should not order, consecrate, nor baptize.

“That if a man be duly and truly contrite and penitent, all exterior and outer confession is but superfluous and unprofitable unto him.

“That it is not found or established by the gospel that Christ did make or ordain mass.

“If the pope be a reprobate and evil man, and consequently a member of the devil, he hath no power, by any manner of means, given unto him over faithful christians.

“That since the time of Urban VI. there is none to be received for pope, but every man is to live after the manner of the Greeks, under his own law.

“That it is against the scripture, that ecclesiastical ministers should have any temporal possessions.

“That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man, except he knew him first to be excommunicated of God.

“That he who doth so excommunicate any man, is thereby himself either a heretick, or excommunicated.

“That all such who do leave off preaching or hearing the word of God, or preaching of the gospel for fear of excommunication, they are already excommunicated, and in the day of judgment shall be counted as traitors unto God.

“That it is lawful for any man, either deacon or priest, to preach the word of God without authority or license of the apostolic see, or any other of his catholicks.

“That so long as a man is in deadly sin, he is neither bishop nor prelate in the church of God.”

Wickliffe having written divers works, they were, in the year 1410, burnt at Oxford, the abbot of Shrewsbury being then commissary. And not only in England, but in Bohemia likewise, his books were set on fire by Subinicus,

archbishop of Prague, who made diligent inquisition for them. The number of the volumes which he is said to have destroyed were most excellently written, and handsomely adorned with bosses of gold, and rich coverings, being about the number of two hundred.

The followers of Wickliffe, then called Lollards, were become extremely numerous, and the clergy were displeased to see them increase, because, whatever power or influence they might have to molest them in an underhanded manner, they had no authority by law to put them to death. However, the clergy embraced the favourable opportunity, and prevailed upon the king to suffer a bill to be brought into parliament, by which all Lollards who remained obstinate should be delivered over to the civil power and be burnt as hereticks. This act was the first in this island for the burning of people for their religious sentiments; it passed in the year 1401, and was soon after put into execution.

Among the early sufferers, after the passage of this act, was Lord Cobham, a British nobleman. He had from his youth embraced the doctrines of Wickliffe, and having spoken with freedom and independence of the Romish absurdities, charges were preferred against him before king Henry V. with a view to his destruction. Having escaped from the hands of his enemies, he fled to France; but afterwards returning to England, he was in 1419, arrested and brought before the parliament as an excommunicated heretick. He said but little in his own defence. They adjudged him worthy of death. He was ordered to the Tower, and from thence to the gallows, where he was to be hanged and burnt. The sentence was executed with great severity. They lighted the fagots as soon as he was hanged, and he was burnt and strangled at the same time. History has recorded the worth of this pious nobleman.

The next man who suffered under this bloody statute was Thomas Badley, a layman. A letter having been tendered to him, which he refused, he was declared an obstinate heretick, and chained to the stake in Smithfield; where he was burnt alive. After having been placed in

án empty barrel, bound with iron chains, and fastened to the stake, surrounded with dried wood, young Prince Henry, out of pity, intreated Badley to save his life by a recantation; but nothing could induce the martyr to profane his principles, and he died a pious protesting christian.

Another who was tried upon this statute was William Thorpe. He was first imprisoned in Shrewsbury, afterwards removed to the castle of Saltwood, whence he was brought before the archbishop Arundel, who charged him for going about many years, to teach and disperse his heretical opinions; the archbishop then required him to kneel down, and swear upon a book to submit to his correction, and to stand to his award. Thorpe answered, "since you consider me a heretick, I beseech you give me leave to make a confession of my faith before you:" to which the archbishop assenting, he made an ample confession of his faith, and added: "to the rule and ordinances of God's laws I meekly, gladly, and willingly submit me with all my heart, and whosoever shall by the same convince me of any errour, I am ready and willing to recant." Upon this, the archbishop said, "I will that thou presently swear to me, to forsake all the opinions which the sect of the Lollards hold, and that thou shalt neither favour any man or woman that holds any of the aforesaid opinions, and that thou shalt publish their names, and make them known to the bishop of the diocese where they live." Thorpe, in answer, said, "sir, I may not do this, for it would be the doom of my conscience, if I should be the cause of the death of so many men and women which are now in the way of salvation, who would justly charge me as being a traitor both to God and them; and therefore, from this wickedness preserve me, O Almighty God now and forever, for thy holy name's sake." The archbishop was enraged at this answer, and ordered him to prison, where he was afterwards put to death.

In the reign of Henry V. the rage of persecution was such, that the intolerant party procured a law, requiring that the followers of Wickliffe should be punished as guilty of high treason, and therefore be both hanged and burned.

In this reign, Sir Roger Acton, Mr. John Brown, and

Mr. John Beverly, were put to death in St. Giles's in the Fields, together with divers others, to the number of thirty-six, by being hanged with fires made under them, thus suffering a double death; Sir Roger was stripped naked, and executed in that indecent manner.

These persons, and Mr. Beverly their preacher, in those dangerous times, used to meet in the night in St. Giles's Fields, to pray and hear preaching. The bishops having notice of this, informed the king that a dangerous conspiracy was intended against him, and to seize upon the city of London, &c. On this information the king with many armed men went to seize them at midnight; but though only the above thirty-six persons were found, yet the number was greater, for some escaped by flight.

The people of England were for a while miserably harassed by Henry Chichley, archbishop of Canterbury. This dreadful persecutor first wreaked his vengeance on John Claydon, a free man of London, who was arrested by the mayor, and taken before the archbishop. This man being called to give an account of his opinions, frankly acknowledged, that for twenty years before, he had considered it as his highest glory, to rank himself among those people called Lollards. He added, that he had suffered many years imprisonment in different gaols, particularly three years in the Fleet, out of which prison he had been brought before John Searl, the chancellor, when he was weak enough to abjure; but having considered the affair more maturely, he returned to his former opinions, and wrote several books on religious subjects.

Having made this confession, the archbishop ordered a warrant to be made out, that his house should be searched for what were then called heretickal books. A diligent search was made, and some books were found, particularly one, entitled, "The Lanthorn of Light," which Claydon had written himself.

In this book he maintained; "First, that the pope was anti-christ, and that he was the enemy to the laws of Christ."

Secondly, "that the archbishops and bishops are the children of the beast anti-christ."

Thirdly, "that the bishop's licence for a man to preach the gospel is the character of the beast."

Fourthly, "that the court of Rome is the head of anti-christ, and the bishops the body."

Fifthly, "that no reprobate can be a member of the church."

Sixthly, "that Christ did never teach any but one religion."

Seventhly, "that the material church should not be decorated with gold."

Eighthly, "that all persecutions were owing to the pride and avarice of the priests."

Ninthly, "that no man had a right to give away that as an alms, which he had not justly obtained; that often singing in the church is not founded on scripture; that bread and wine remain in the sacrament; that the pope's decrees are unnecessary and unprofitable; that the laity are not bound to obey the bishops, unless they command what is consistent with the sacred scriptures; and that images are not to be worshipped."

Such were the sentiments of this man; and we may here find, that however the followers of Wickliffe differed in some things, yet in general they agreed in the most leading principles in religion, namely, that the whole frame of popery was corrupted; and that the scriptures alone, with the grace of God, could lead men to salvation.

However, the archbishop, and the other bishops, ordered his books to be burnt, and then proceeded to declare him a heretick. He was then consigned over to the civil power, who condemned him to be burnt in Smithfield, which sentence was executed with circumstances of cruelty; but the martyr died, rejoicing in the Lord his God.

Ralph Mungin, a minister, was charged before the archbishop with divers heretickal opinions; and because he could by no means be induced to recant them, the archbishop condemned him to perpetual imprisonment. Many others were driven to forsake their houses and families, and to retire into private places, to preserve themselves from the rage of these bloody persecutors.

About the same time, Richard Turning was burned

alive in Smithfield, and suffered with all that constancy, fortitude, and resignation, which have so much distinguished the primitive Christians.

In 1430, Richard Hovenden, a citizen of London, was convicted for holding and professing the opinions of Wickliffe, and when he could not be brought to recant them, he was condemned and burnt near the Tower of London.

Mr. Nicholas, a canon of Ely, was condemned to endure three whippings about the cloister of the cathedral church in Norwich, and was afterwards kept in prison, for turning his face from the high altar, and reproving those who did reverence to the host.

A. D. 1431, Thomas Bagly, a minister of Christ, and an adherent to the doctrine of Wickliffe, was condemned at London by the bishops, then degraded, and burnt in Smithfield.

In 1439, Richard White, a minister, was apprehended and examined, and when he would not retract his opinions, he was condemned to be burnt on Tower-hill for heresy. In the flames he resigned up his spirit unto God; and the people much admired him for a holy man, as well as a martyr.

In the reign of King Edward IV. John Goose, or Husse, in 1473, was called before the bishops, and accused for heresy; he was condemned, and delivered to the sheriff of London to be burnt: the sheriff being a man of compassion, took Husse home to his house, labouring much with him to recant his heresies, and deliver himself from death. Husse answered, "that for his religion he was at a pass, and neither could, nor would recant," but desired the sheriff to give him some meat, for that he was very hungry. The sheriff commanded meat to be brought, of which Husse ate heartily, saying to the bye-standers, "I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I shall pass a little sharp shower ere I come to supper." When he had dined, he gave thanks, and requested that he might be led to the place of execution; where, in the flames, he meekly resigned up his spirit unto God.

A. D. 1494, Joan Boughton, a widow, being about eighty years old, was accused of heresy, in holding many of

Wickliffe's opinions. She was so constant a defender of the truth, that all the doctors in London could not turn her from one of her opinions, and when they told her that she should be burnt for her obstinacy and heresy, she set light by all their threats. In the flames she cried unto God to receive her soul into his holy hands, and quietly expired.

In 1506, William Tilsworth was summoned before Doctor Smith, Bishop of Lincoln, by whom he was condemned for heresy, and burnt in the town of Amersham. At his burning, his only daughter, Mrs. Clarke, was compelled, with her own hands, to set fire to her father: and at the same time John Clarke, her husband, with many others, did penance by bearing fagots.

Mr. Roberts, a miller of Missenden, was burnt at Buckingham: at the time of whose burning, above twenty persons were compelled to bear fagots, and to do penance.

Two years after, Thomas Bernard, a husband-man, and James Melton, a labourer, were both burnt at one fire at Amersham.

A. D. 1506, at Amersham, Thomas Chase, having been arrested by some wicked men, was brought before the bishop at Woburn, who propounded many questions to him, which he intermixed with many reproaches. Chase strongly defended the truth, and opposed idolatry, for which the bishop put him into his prison called, "the Little Ease;" where he was cruelly bound in chains, and almost famished with hunger. The bishop sent his chaplains often to him with checks, taunts, rebukes, and threatenings; all which the martyr bore with invincible patience and constancy. When the bishop saw that by his cruelty he could not prevail against Mr. Chase, but that rather he was more fervent and zealous in defending the truth, and that he patiently bore all his wicked persecution, he consulted to put him to death privately, for fear of an uproar amongst the people; and shortly after, he caused him to be cruelly strangled, and pressed to death in the prison.

During the year in which this faithful martyr suffered, several persons were apprehended in the dioceses of Norwich and Lincoln, for having spoken disrespectfully of the

clergy, and were brauded in the churches with red-hot irons.

Father Roberts, a priest, was convicted of being a Lollard before the bishop of Lincoln, and burnt at Buckingham; he suffered with great constancy, piety, and resignation; embraced the faggots, and rejoiced that God had accounted him worthy to die for the truth of the gospel.

In 1507, Thomas Norris was burned at Norwich, for the testimony of the truth. This was a poor inoffensive person, but his parish priest conversing with him one day, conjectured he was a Lollard. In consequence of this supposition, he gave information to the bishop, and Norris was apprehended. It does not appear that he was guilty of any other crime than that of condemning the vices of the clergy; but that was sufficient to produce his destruction in this world. The priests, finding themselves convicted by the evidence of their own consciences, imagined the best way was to put the protestants to death. This was a diabolical work, but it was, in all respects, consistent with the notions of the people in those barbarous and ignorant times.

In 1508, Lawrence Guale, who had been kept in prison two years, was burnt alive at Salisbury, for denying the real presence in the sacrament. This man kept a shop in Salisbury, and entertained some Lollards in his house; for which he was presented to the bishop; but abiding by his first testimony, he was condemned to suffer as a heretic. Lawrence had a wife and seven children, and the bishop, hoping to overcome him by fatherly affection to his children, when he was fastened to the stake, his wife and seven children were brought to him: but, religion overcoming nature in him, he remained constant and unmoveable, and when his wife began to exhort him to favour himself, he desired her not to be in his way; that he was running towards the mark of his salvation. Fire being put to him, he renounced his wife and children to follow Christ, and in the midst of the flames resigned up his spirit unto God.

About the same time at Sodbury, a pious woman was summoned before the Chancellor, Doctor Whitting-

ton, when she made a confession of her faith, not shrinking for any of his terrible threats, so that he condemned her to be burnt. Against the day of her execution, multitudes of people flocked together to Sodbury, and among them Doctor Whittington came to see her executed. This faithful servant of Jesus Christ, neither daunted with the sight of the stake, nor shrinking at the torments of the fire, quietly expired.

CHAP. II.

PERSECUTIONS IN ENGLAND, FROM THE FIRST PART, TO THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

From the days of Wickliffe, there were many that differed from the doctrines commonly received. He wrote many books that gave great offence to the clergy, yet being powerfully supported by the Duke of Lancaster, they could not have their revenge during his life. The Bible which he translated into English, with the preface which he set before it, produced the best effects. In it he reflected on the ill lives of the clergy, and condemned the worship of saints and images, and the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament; but the most criminal part was, the exhorting of people to read the Scriptures,* where the testimonies against those corruptions

* Perhaps there cannot be a stronger proof of the depravity of the Roman catholick religion, or its perversion of truth, than its denying to the laity the use of the sacred volume—"To the law and to the testimony," saith the prophet; "If they speak not according to this, it is because there is no light in them."—"Search the Scriptures," saith the Lord.—"These were more noble than those of Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the scriptures daily, Acts xvii. 11. There are some who would pervert the gospel."

The following article respecting Wickliffe and his followers, appeared in the 16th volume of the Monthly Magazine, for 1803, p. 225.

Wickliffe, the celebrated priest and reformer in the end of Edward III.'s reign, was not educated at Cambridge, but at Oxford; in which university, being a man of distinguished learning, he possessed considerable authority and influence. But his doctrines soon made their way among all ranks of people; and Cambridge, as may be supposed, was

were such, that there was no way but to silence them. His followers were not men of letters, but being wrought on by the easy conviction of plain sense, were determined in their persuasions. They did not form themselves into a body, but were contented to hold their opinions secretly; and did not attempt to spread them, but to their particular confidants. The clergy sought them out every where, and delivered them after conviction to the secular arm, to be destroyed by fire.

The canons of the council of the Lateran being received in England, the proceedings against hereticks grew to be a part of the common law, and a writ for burning them was issued upon their conviction.

In the reign of Henry the VIII. persecution raged with great violence, and many were called upon to abjure the truth, or suffer for refusing. Among several who were arrested in Coventry were Mrs. Smith, Messrs Hatcher, Archer, Haukins, Bond, Wrigsham, and Landsdale, for teaching their children and servants the Lord's Prayer, the ten Commandments, and the creed in the English tongue: on which some of them were put into prison, and others into dungeons under ground, and thence sent to Maxtoke-abbey. In the mean time their children were examined by the warden of the Grey-friars, in Coventry, concerning their belief, and what heresies their parents had taught them, and charging them upon pain of death not to meddle any more with the Lord's Prayer, &c. in English. Shortly after, those people were brought back to Coventry, where they were condemned to be burnt; and only Mrs. Smith was dismissed for that time. It being night, Morton, the sumner, was ordered to conduct her to her home; as he led her by the arm, he perceived a paper in her sleeve, and on taking it out, the paper discovered that it contained the Lord's Prayer, the ten Commandments, and the Creed, in English. He then

not behind in giving them a hearing. Many of its members were foremost among Wickliff's advocates; but as the Lollards (so Wickliff's followers were called, from Lollardus, a German reformer) did not form themselves into societies or churches; they were obliged to maintain their opinions privately, and in the hearing only of their particular confidants.

said, "Ah! come, as well now as any other time;" and so brought her back to the bishop, who immediately condemned her, and the whole six were burnt in the little park!

Robert Silkeb, at the apprehension of the others, ran away; but two years after being taken, and carried to Coventry, he was condemned, and burnt the next day. On the martyrdom of these persons, the sheriffs presently went to their houses, seized upon all their goods, not leaving their wives and children any thing to support them.

October 18, 1511, William Succling, and John Banister, who had formerly recanted, returned again to the profession of the faith, and were burned alive in Smithfield. The crime alleged against them was, for denying the real presence in the sacrament; they died with a constancy and fortitude which would have done honour to the ancient martyrs.

September 24, 1518, John Stilman, who had before recanted, was apprehended, brought before Fitz James, bishop of London, and on the 25th of October was condemned as a heretick. He was chained to the stake in Smithfield amidst a vast crowd of spectators, and sealed his testimony to the truth with his blood. He declared that he was a Lollard, and that he had always believed the opinions of Wickliffe; and although he had been weak enough to recant his opinions, yet he was now willing to convince the world that he was ready to die for the truth.

In the year 1517, one John Brown (who had recanted before, in the reign of Henry VII. and borne a fagot round St. Paul's) was condemned by Dr. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and burnt alive at Ashford. Before he was chained to the stake, the archbishop and the bishop of Rochester caused his feet to be burned in a fire 'till all the flesh came off, even to the bones. This was done in order to make him again recant, but he persisted in his attachment to the truth 'till the last.

March 29, 1519, Thomas Mann was brought before the bishop of London, for declaring, "That auricular confession was not necessary.

“That the real presence was not in the bread, after the words of consecration. .

“That the worshipping of images was idolatry.

“That pilgrimages were no more than a human invention.” For these sentiments he was degraded from his clerical habit, and condemned to be burnt alive in Smithfield.

The constancy with which this martyr suffered was very remarkable. Dark and confined as men’s notions might have been in that age, when light was only beginning to break in upon the human mind; yet this faithful sufferer met the fire and the fagots with fortitude and resolution.

The same year, Robert Celin, a plain honest man, was condemned by the bishop of Lincoln, and burned alive at Buckingham, for speaking against image worship and pilgrimages.

About the same period, James Brewster, a native of Colchester, was executed in Smithfield, for following the doctrines of Wickliffe; and notwithstanding the innocence of his life, and the regularity of his manners, he was obliged to submit to papal revenge.

One Christopher Shoomaker, of Missenden, was burnt alive at Newbury, in Berkshire, for denying the popish articles already mentioned. This man had got some books in English, which were sufficient to render him obnoxious to the Romish clergy.

We here pass over a multitude of persons, men, women, and children, who were arranged on account of their religious opinions, in these perilous times. Persecutions, imprisonments, and various punishments, more or less cruel were made the common occurrences of the day; and heresy, as it was then called, was treated as the worst of all crimes.

Among others who experienced the dreadful effects of superstition and bigotry, was Thomas Bilney, Doctor of Laws, a man of great learning and piety. He had been educated at the University of Cambridge and was skilful in all the general science, particularly in law and divinity. He was arrested for preaching what were called the doc-

trines of Luther, for censuring the vices of the Romish clergy, and for calling in question the authority of the pope. After a tedious trial, he was condemned to be burnt alive. In the midst of the flames, he cried with a loud voice "*Credo!*"(5) And after lingering some time, as the wind often blew away the flames, he joyfully received the crown of martyrdom.

John Scrivener, a plain honest man, was condemned by the bishop of Lincoln, and his own children were condemned to suffer as hereticks, unless they would set fire to the fagots which were to burn their father. This was not unusual, for the popish priests, who at that time had the greatest part of the civil power in their own hands, domineered over the consciences of the people; and the more unnatural the executions, the more they considered it as conducive towards preserving church power.

A question has been stated by bishop Kennet, namely, what could induce the Roman catholicks to burn those whom they call hereticks, rather than to put them to any other death or punishment. All respect should be paid to what has been declared by that honoured prelate; and yet he has not entered into the spirit of the argument.—The truth is, the papists, in order to domineer over the consciences of the people, taught them to believe, that all hereticks, being deemed accursed and condemned to everlasting torments, so it was necessary that their punishment in eternity should immediately begin.

Persecution, during the reign of Henry VIII. was not confined to one part of the kingdom: its baleful influence spread far and wide; there was a continual struggle between truth and superstition.

Some pious men had translated into English the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the ten commandments: these were eagerly copied, and thousands of them were dispersed over the kingdom; for although the art of printing had been known many years before, yet it was not then much practised. Many of the pious people kept copies, written on vellum, and for that, many were apprehended and committed to prison.

(5) "I believe."

Robert Silks, who had been condemned in the bishop's court as a heretick, made his escape out of prison, but was taken two years afterwards, and brought back to Coventry, where he was burned alive. The sheriffs seized the goods of the martyrs for their own use, so that their wives and children were left in want and wretchedness.

In 1523, Thomas Harding, at Chesham, in Buckinghamshire, on easter-day, when other people went to church to commit idolatry, went into the woods, solitarily to worship the true and living God. Whilst he was reading an English book of prayers, a person espied him, and immediately informed the officers of what he had seen: on this his house was searched for books; and in searching very narrowly under the boards of a floor, some portions of the holy Scriptures in English were found. Harding, with his books, was carried before bishop Longland, who with his chaplains mocked and derided him.

He was then sent to the bishop's prison, where he endured hunger and pain, till the bishop called him to judgment, and condemned him to be burnt, appointing Rowland Missenden, vicar of High Wickham, to see execution done. This vicar, with a rabble, like himself, carried him to Chesham, where he continued all night in prayer and meditation, and next morning was carried to the place of execution. When tied to the stake, he desired the spectators to pray for him, and forgiving his enemies and persecutors, commended his spirit to God, and lifting up his hands to heaven, cried, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit." A billet was then thrown at him, which dashed out his brains. This worthy man was thus cruelly martyred at the age of upwards of sixty years.

Many persons of both sexes were at this time apprehended, but they had not the fortitude to suffer. Among these were the following:—

John Raimund, a Dutchman, in 1528, was abjured in London, for causing 1500 of Tyndal's New Testaments to be printed at Antwerp, and for bringing 500 of them to England.

During 1529, Sigar Nicholson, stationer, in Cambridge, was hung for having in his house some of Luther's books.

and others which were prohibited, and for not presenting them to the ordinary.

Paul Luther, a grey-friar, was abjured for saying in his sermon, that "it was pity so many images were suffered in churches; that there was no need to go on pilgrimages; and, that if a man were near drowning, or any other danger, he should call only upon God; for the saints in heaven could neither hear nor afford the least help."

William Tracy, Esq. of Todington, in Gloucestershire, dying about this period, ordered in his will, "that he would have no funeral pomp, mass, &c. but trusted in God alone through Christ." The archbishop of Canterbury exhibited this will in the convocation house, when Tracy's son brought the will to be proved: on which the father's corpse was adjudged to be taken out of the grave and burnt; which sentence was executed with due strictness.

In 1530, Thomas Hitten, a minister at Maidstone in Kent, was summoned before archbishop Warham, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and accused of heresy.—And when, after a long imprisonment, and various torments, those prelates were unable to prevent him from his religious principles, they condemned him, delivered him over to the secular power, and caused him to be burnt at Maidstone.

Richard Byfield, was cast into prison and endured severe whipping, for his adherence to the doctrines of Luther. This Mr. Byfield had been some time a monk, at Barnes, in Surry, but was converted, by reading Tindal's version of the New Testament. He saw that either popery, or the New Testament, was false. He had an opportunity of reading some of the ancient fathers, and from them he learned, that there was a material difference between the primitive church and popery. The sufferings this man underwent for the truth were so great, that it would require a volume to contain them. Sometimes he was shut up in a dungeon, where he was almost suffocated by the offensive and horrid smell of filth and stagnated water. At other times, he was tied up by the arms, till almost all his joints were dislocated. He was whipped at

a post several times, till scarce any flesh was left on his back; and all this was done to make him recant. He was then taken to the Lollard's Tower in Lambeth-palace, where he was chained by the neck to the wall, and once every day beaten in the most cruel manner by the archbishop's servants.

At last he was brought before the Bishop of London, in St. Paul's cathedral in London, where he was condemned as a heretick, and a certificate of his condemnation was sent into the Court of Chancery.

Sir Thomas More, at that time high chancellor of England, granted a writ for his execution, directed to the sheriffs of London. He was then taken from Newgate to St. Paul's, where he was degraded, stripped of all his canonical habits, and delivered over to the secular power. The next day he was taken from Newgate to Smithfield, where he was chained to a stake, and burned alive, amidst a crowd of spectators. While he was in the fire, he lifted up his right arm in a praying posture, but it soon dropped into the flames, and he expired. He continued calling on his Saviour as long as he was able to speak, and at last slept in the bosom of his God.

In 1533, John Frith died a martyr for the truth. This gentleman had been some time student in Cambridge, but was afterwards removed to Christ's Church, Oxford. Having received priest's orders, he obtained a living in the neighbourhood of London; but through the force of conviction, he publicly declared his assent to the doctrines of Luther, for which he was taken into custody, and brought before the bishop of London. The bishop asked him several questions in the usual form, and in the end declared him to be an obstinate heretick.

With Mr. Frith was burnt Andrew Hewet, a young man, twenty years of age. When he was brought before the chancellor of the Bishop of London, it was objected against him, "that he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be but a signification of the body of Christ, and that the host consecrated was not the body of Christ."

When they were at the stake, Doctor Cook, a parson in

London, openly admonished all the people, "that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would do for a dog."

Both these sufferers endured much torment, for the wind blew the flames away from them, so that they were above two hours in agony before they expired.

Mr. Tindal the translator of the New Testament, was an Englishman, born near the borders of Wales, and finished his studies in the university of Oxford; whence he went to Cambridge, where he remained some time, and was afterwards a school-master in Worcestershire. Thence he removed to London, where he undertook the translation of the New Testament, which was afterwards printed at Antwerp.

He continued some years in Germany, embraced the doctrines of Luther, and commenced a preacher, exhorting such of his countrymen as were at that time exiles for their religion. His followers being numerous, highly offended the popish clergy; and at last a warrant was issued out by the emperour to apprehend him. For some time he concealed himself from popish rage, by shifting from place to place, and at last settled in that city. Here, however, he met with real enemies, and false or pretended friends.

While he resided in that city, one Henry Philips, an Englishman, arrived, and getting acquainted with Tindal, pretended much friendship for him. But he went from Antwerp to the court of Brussels, where at that time resided no English ambassador. Here he gave information against Tindal, and returned to Antwerp with the emperour's attorney, and several other officers.

Through the agency of Philips, the unfortunate Tindal was apprehended by the emperour's officers, and hurried to the castle of Fulford, a distance from Antwerp of fifteen miles, where he was confined several months in a dungeon, and then burnt alive at a stake. It was about the latter end of the year 1535, that this pious man met his fate.

Grateful people erect statues, and embellish monuments with florid inscriptions, in honour of those who have done

service to their country. We may venture to affirm, that the pious Mr. Tindal, by translating the New Testament into English, did as much towards expelling darkness and superstition, as any man in the age. He was learned and pious. Concerning his translation of the New Testament, he says in the preface, "I call God to witness, when I shall appear at the judgment-seat of Christ, to give an account of all my actions, that I have not altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience; nor would I for all the honours of this world, if they were laid at my feet."(4)

In 1538, John Lambert, a valuable preacher of the gospel fell a victim to intolerance. Many articles of heresy were charged against him, and he was condemned to the flames. The manner of his death was terrible. It is even said, that none who perished in the fires of Smithfield, ever endured such tortures. After his legs were burnt off, while he was standing on the remaining stumps, the fire was partly withdrawn so as to prolong his sufferings. In this situation, two who stood near him, picking him upon their pikes, raised him as high as his chain would permit. He then lifted up his hands, his fingers flaming with fire, and cried, "None but Christ, none but Christ." They then dropped him from their pikes into the fire, and after lingering awhile in his agony, he resigned his spirit to God.

In these days of ignorance and superstition, the agents of oppression and cruelty took advantage of the political dissensions that arose from time to time among the nobility, and excited prejudices against such of them as favoured the protestant cause. Thomas Cromwell, who was earl of Essex, and private counsellor to the reigning king, fell a victim to this policy. He had taken an active part in favour of the reformation, was pious and highly esteemed; but his enemies found means to turn the king against him, and to raise up many enemies who desired his destruction. In 1540, he was thrown into prison, and

(4.) Mr. Tindal is mentioned here, because, being a native of England, it seemed proper to reckon him among the English martyrs.

after remaining some time in that situation, was brought to the scaffold and beheaded. He was charged by his enemies with treason and heresy, and though evidently innocent and pious, was condemned without trial.

Dr. Barns, William Jerome, and Thomas Garret, all suffered martyrdom by being burnt at Smithfield, under sentence for heresy. Like others who had previously suffered in the fires of that place, they were joyful in the flames.

Richard Menkin, a lad under fifteen years of age, was accused of speaking well of Dr. Barns, and of some irreverent words concerning the sacrament. The first jury finding no indictment against him, were dismissed, and another jury was called, who found a bill, by which this child was condemned and burnt at Smithfield.

John Porter was arrested for heresy, loaded with irons, thrown into a most loathsome dungeon, and treated with so much hardship and severity, that he expired under his sufferings.

Robert Testwood, Anthony Person, and Henry Filmer, were all condemned for their religious opinions, and burnt at one time. Robert Clark, and a man by the name of Kerby, were burnt for heresy under circumstances of great cruelty. Clark was burnt with green wood, and his tortures were almost indescribable.

Ann Askew, a lady of great merit, was a dissenter from the doctrines of popery, for which she was thrown into prison, and endured long and tedious sufferings. She was cruelly tortured upon the rack, and became so feeble and sickly under her oppressions, that she was unable to walk, and was carried in a chair to the stake. Her mind was superiour to the terrours of death in its most dreadful form, and she died a true witness for the truth, calmly resigning her spirit to him who gave it. With her were burnt, under similar charges, Nicholas Belenian, John Adams, and John Larrels. The courage and constancy of Mrs. Askew greatly strengthened the others, and they all joyfully received the crown of martyrdom.

From the commencement of the sixteenth century to the reign of queen Mary, there were many others who

suffered persecution in England, in various ways, and under divers pretences, whose names are not here mentioned.—The reader who wishes a more full account, may find it in the history of Martyrs by Mr. Fox.

CHAP. III.

PERSECUTIONS IN SCOTLAND, IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Though the persecutions against the protestants in Scotland were not conducted with such vigour as in England, yet there were many innocent people who fell victims to bigotted malevolence, and cheerfully resigned up their souls in testimony of the truth.

The first person who suffered in Scotland on account of religion, was Patrick Hamilton, a gentleman of an independent fortune, and descended from a very ancient and honourable family.

Having acquired a liberal education, and desirous of improving himself in useful knowledge, he left Scotland, and went to the university of Wittenburg, in Germany, in order to finish his studies.

During his residence here, he became intimately acquainted with those eminent lights of the gospel, Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon; from whose writings and doctrines he strongly attached himself to the protestant religion.

After staying some time at Wittenburg, he left that place, and went to the university of Marpurg, lately established by Philip, landgrave of Hesse. Here he formed an intimacy with several distinguished characters, friends to the reformation, among whom was Francis Lambert.

From him, Mr. Hamilton received such enlightened assistance, that he set up public disputations on religion at Marpurg; and from the solidity of his arguments, joined to his well-known piety, and regular conduct in life, he soon obtained a number of followers, who were happy in having the opportunity of hearing the true gospel of Christ displayed in its proper colours.

After labouring here some time, he determined to re-

turn to his own country, and exert himself in behalf of the protestant religion; and from his great diligence, as well as singular abilities as a preacher, soon became popular, and was followed by great numbers of advocates for the cause of Christ.

Cadinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, a rigid papist, hearing of Mr. Hamilton's proceedings, cited him to appear before him at his palace, where, after several conferences with him on different points of religion, he was dismissed, the archbishop seeming to approve of his doctrines, and acknowledging, that in many particulars there needed a reformation in the church.

This, however, was all hypocrisy and deceit; the archbishop's intentions were to make a sacrifice of Mr. Hamilton; but he was fearful that his attempts would prove abortive by Mr. Hamilton's acquaintance and connexion with many personages who had free access to the king; so that if he should convict him of heresy, he would escape by means of their intercession.

To obviate this difficulty, the archbishop, who had great ascendancy over the Scottish king, persuaded him to go on a pilgrimage to St. Dothesse, in Rosse. The king, also a strong bigot, readily took the bishop's advice, and a few days after set out on his journey, little suspecting the archbishop's intentions.

The next day after his departure, the archbishop caused Mr. Hamilton to be seized, and being brought before him, after a short examination relative to his religious principles, he committed him a prisoner to the castle, at the same time ordering him to be confined in the most loathsome part of the prison.

The next morning Mr. Hamilton was brought before Beaton, and several others for examination, when the principal articles exhibited against him were, his publicly disapproving of pilgrimages, purgatory, prayers to saints, prayers for the dead, &c.

These articles Mr. Hamilton acknowledged to be true, in consequence of which he was immediately condemned to be burnt; and that his condemnation might have the greater authority, they caused it to be subscribed by all

those of any note who were present; and to make the number as considerable as possible, even admitted the subscription of boys, sons of the nobility.

So anxious was this bigotted and persecuting prelate for the destruction of Mr. Hamilton, that he ordered his sentence to be put in execution on the afternoon of the very day it was pronounced. He was accordingly led to the place appointed for the horrid tragedy, attended by a prodigious number of spectators. The greatest part of the multitude would not believe it was intended he should be put to death, but that it was only done to frighten him, and thereby bring him over to embrace the principles of the Romish religion. But they soon found themselves mistaken.

Arrived at the stake, he knelt down, and for some time, prayed with the greatest fervency. After this he arose, and was accosted by a priest, who told him, that "if he would recant, his life should be spared: but the martyr was so furnished with strength, that neither the love of life, nor the fear of the most cruel death, could in the least move him to deviate from the truth of that gospel he had so religiously professed, and for which he was determined to relinquish a miserable existence.

Having finished his devotions, he took off his gown, coat, cap, and other garments, and delivered them to a faithful servant that attended him, saying, "these will not profit in the fire, but they will profit thee: after this, of me thou canst receive no commodity except the example of my death, which I pray thee to bear in mind; for though it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before men, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, which none shall enjoy who deny Christ Jesus before this wicked generation.

After this he was fastened to the stake, and the fagots placed round him. A quantity of gunpowder having been fastened under his arms, was first set on fire, which scorched his left hand and one side of his face, but did him no material injury, neither did it communicate with the fagots. In consequence of this, more powder and combustible matter were brought, which being set on fire took effect, and the fagots being kindled, he called out, with

an audible voice, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit! How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? and how long will thou suffer the tyranny of these men?"

The fire burning slow put him to great torment; but he bore it with christian magnanimity. What gave him the greatest pain was, the clamour of some wicked men set on by the friars, who frequently cried out, "turn, thou heretic; call upon our lady; say, *Salve Regina*, &c." To whom he replied, "depart from me, and trouble me not, ye messengers of satan." One Campbell, a friar, who was the ringleader, still continuing to interrupt him by opprobrious language; he said to him, "wicked man, God forgive thee." After which, being prevented from farther speech by the violence of the smoke, and the rapidity of the flames, he resigned up his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

This steadfast believer in Christ suffered martyrdom in the year 1527.

Campbell, the friar, who had so interrupted him at the place of execution, afterwards became distracted, and died within the year. These two circumstances put together, made an impression upon the people; and as these points began to be inquired into, many embraced the new opinions.

Henry Forest, a young inoffensive Benedictine, being charged with speaking respectfully of the above Patrick Hamilton, was thrown into prison; and, in confessing himself to a friar, owned that he thought Hamilton a good man; and that the articles, for which he was sentenced to die, might be defended. This being revealed by the friar, it was received as evidence; and the poor Benedictine was sentenced to be burnt.

Whilst consultation was held, with regard to the manner of his execution, John Lindsay, one of the archbishop's gentlemen, offered his advice, to burn Friar Forest in some cellar; "for," said he, "the smoke of Patrick Hamilton hath infected all those on whom it blew."

This advice was taken, and the poor victim was rather suffocated than burnt.

The next who fell victims for professing the truth of the

gospel were, David Stratton and Norman Gourlay. The first of these was by trade a fisherman, and a very illiterate person, paying little regard either to morality or religion.

The archbishop one day sent to Stratton, and demanded of him a tithe of the fish he caught; to which he returned for answer, that if they would have tithe of what his servants took in the sea, they should receive it in the place where it was caught, and immediately ordered the man to carry every tenth fish, and throw it into the sea.

Though the bishop was greatly irritated at the behaviour of Stratton, yet he took no notice of him for the present, but determined to be revenged on him at some future opportunity.

In the mean time, Stratton having accidentally fallen into the company of some pious and christian people, was so struck with their conversation, that it impressed his mind with a sense of his duty, to which he had hitherto been a stranger.

From this period he attended, with the greatest diligence, to hear the word of God, which, before, he had despised; and in a short time he became so serious a convert, that he exhorted others to follow his example, and not to fix their minds on the concerns of this world.

The great attention these two persons paid to the duties of religion, made them so distinguished, that an information of heresy was laid against them by their enemies before the archbishop, who now determined to punish Stratton for the treatment he had received from him before his conversion.

They were both apprehended, and committed to prison, where they were confined for several weeks, during which they were very cruelly treated. They had scarcely sufficient refreshment allowed them to preserve their miserable existence; nor were they suffered to be seen by any of their friends or acquaintances.

At length they were brought before the archbishop, at Holy Rood-house, for examination, the king himself being present.

Several articles of heresy were exhibited against them,

all which they answered with great fortitude and composure. The archbishop endeavoured to prevail on them to recant their errors, and return to the mother-church; but they denied having committed any offence, and said that they were determined to preserve their religious sentiments, in opposition to every effort that might be offered to make them alter their opinions.

In consequence of this, the archbishop pronounced on them the dreadful sentence of death, which was, that they should be first hanged, and then burnt; and in the afternoon of the same day they were led to the place appointed for their execution.

As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot, they both kneeled down, and prayed for some time, with great fervency. They then arose, when Stratton, addressing himself to the spectators, exhorted them "to lay aside their superstitious and idolatrous notions, and employ their time in seeking the true light of the gospel." He would have said more, but was prevented by the officers, at the desire of the archbishop, who attended.

Their sentence was then put into execution, and they cheerfully resigned up their souls to that God who gave them, hoping, through the merits of the great Redeemer, for a glorious resurrection to life immortal.—They suffered in the year 1534.

These martyrdoms were soon followed by that of Mr. Thomas Forret, for a considerable time Dean of the Romish church.

Having himself been enlightened with the truth of the gospel, he was desirous of conveying the knowledge of it to others. To effect this he preached every sabbath to his parishioners, from the epistles and gospels of the day; which highly offending the friars, who claimed that privilege to themselves only, they accused him of heresy, and laid an information against him before the bishop of Dunkeld.

Though the bishop would willingly have avoided concerning himself in this matter, yet, from the persons who laid the information, he thought it most prudent to take some notice of it. He accordingly ordered Dean Forret

to appear before him; which being immediately complied with, the following dialogue ensued:

Bishop. "My good dean, I love you well, and therefore I must give you counsel how to govern yourself. I am informed that you preach the epistle and gospel every Sunday to your people, and that you take not your dues from them, which is very prejudicial to the churchmen. Therefore, my good Dean Thomas, I would advise you to take your dues, otherwise it will be too much to preach every Sunday; for by so doing you make the people think we should do the same. It is enough for you, when you find a good epistle or gospel, to set fourth and preach the liberty of the holy mother-church."

Dean. "My lord, I presume none of my parishioners complain for my not taking my dues. And whereas you say it is too much to preach every Sunday, I think it is too little, and wish your lordship would follow my example."

Bishop. "Nay, nay, Dean Thomas, let that be, for we are not ordained to preach."

Dean. "My lord, you told me to preach when I meet with a good epistle and gospel: I have read them all over, and I know no bad ones among them, but when your lordship shows me such I will pass by them."

Bishop. "I thank God I never knew what the Old and New Testament were; and I desire not to know any thing more than my pontifical. Go your ways, and lay aside all these fancies; for if you persevere herein, you will repent when it is too late."

Dean. "I trust my cause is good and just in the presence of God, and therefore I care not what follows."

The dean then took leave of the bishop, but was, a short time after, summoned to appear before Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, by whom, after a short examination, he was condemned to be burnt as a heretick.

The like sentence was pronounced, at the same time, on four others, namely, Killor and Beverage, two blacksmiths; Duncan Simson, a priest; and Robert Forester, a gentleman; who were all burnt together, on the Castle-hill at Edinburgh, the last day of February, 1538.

They endured their sufferings with great fortitude, and died in the most lively exercise of faith in Christ, to obtain eternal life in that glorious state, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

The year following the martyrdoms of these persons, two others were apprehended on a suspicion of heresy; namely, Jerom Russel, and Alexander Kenedy, a youth about eighteen years of age.

These persons, after having been some time confined in prison, were brought before the archbishop for examination. Kennedy's tender years inclining him to pusillanimity, he would at first have recanted; but being suddenly refreshed by divine inspiration, and feeling himself a new creature, his mind was changed; and falling on his knees, he uttered a short, but very appropriate prayer. He then said to his judges, "do with me as you please, I praise God, I am ready."

In the course of their examination Russel, being a very sensible man, reasoned learnedly against his accusers. They, in return, made use of very opprobrious language; to which Russel replied as follows: "This is your hour and power of darkness: now ye sit as judges, and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day will come when our innocence will appear, and ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion. Go on, and fill the measure of your iniquity."

The examination being over, and both of them deemed hereticks, the archbishop pronounced the dreadful sentence of death, and they were immediately delivered over to the secular power in order for execution.

The next day they were led to the place appointed for them to suffer; in their way to which, Russel, seeing his fellow-sufferer have the appearance of timidity in his countenance, thus addressed him: "Brother, fear not; greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world. The pain that we are to suffer is short, and shall be light; but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us, therefore, strive to enter into our Master and Saviour's joy, by the same strait way which he hath taken before us. Death cannot hurt us; for it is already destroyed by him, for whose sake we are now going to suffer."

When they arrived at the fatal spot, they both kneeled down and prayed for some time; after which, being fastened to the stake, and the fagots lighted, they cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of him who gave them, in full hopes of an everlasting reward in the heavenly mansion.

In 1543, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's made a visitation into various parts of his diocese, where several persons were informed against at Perth for heresy. Among these the following were condemned to die;

William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Finlayson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, Helen Stark.

The accusations laid against these respective persons were as follows:

The four first were accused "of having hung up the image of Sir Francis, nailing horns on his head; but the principal matter on which they were condemned was, having regaled themselves with a fowl on a fast-day."

James Raveleson was accused "of having ornamented his house with the three-crowned diadem of Peter, carved in wood, which the archbishop conceived to be done in mockery to his cardinal's cap."

Helen Stark was accused "of not having accustomed herself to pray to the Virgin Mary!"

On these respective accusations they were all found guilty, and immediately received sentence of death; the four men, for eating the goose, to be hanged; James Raveleson to be burnt; and the woman, with her suckling infant, to be put into a sack, and drowned.

The four men, with the woman and child, suffered at the same time; but James Raveleson was not executed till some days after.

On the day appointed for the execution of the former, they were all conducted, under a proper guard, to the place where they were to suffer, attended by a prodigious number of spectators.

As soon as they arrived at the place of execution, they all fervently prayed for some time; after which Robert Lamb addressed himself to the spectators, exhorting them "to fear God, and to quit the practice of papistical abominations."

The four men were all hanged on the same gibbet; and the woman, with her sucking child, conducted to a river adjoining, when being fastened in a large sack, they were thrown in and drowned!

They all suffered their fate with becoming fortitude and resignation, committing their departing spirits to that Redeemer who was to be their final judge.

When we reflect on the sufferings of these unhappy persons, we are naturally induced, both as men and christians, to lament the times. The putting to death four men, for little other reason than that of satisfying nature with an article sent by providence for that very purpose, merely because it was on a day prohibited by ridiculous bigotry, is shocking; but the fate of the innocent woman, and her still more harmless infant, makes human nature shudder.

Besides the above-mentioned persons, many others were cruelly persecuted during the archbishop's stay at Perth, some being banished, and others confined in loathsome dungeons. In particular, John Rogers, a pious and learned man, was, by the archbishop's orders, murdered in prison, and his body thrown over the walls into the street; after which the archbishop caused a report to be spread, that he had met with his death by attempting to make his escape.

CHAP. IV.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED—PERSECUTION OF GEORGE WISHART.

Mr. George Wishart was born in Scotland; but after receiving a grammatical education at a private school, he left that country, and finished his studies at the university of Cambridge.

In order to improve himself as much as possible in the knowledge of literature, he travelled into various parts abroad, where he distinguished himself for his great learning and abilities, both in philosophy and divinity. His

desire to promote true knowledge and science among men, accompanied the profession of it himself. He was very ready to communicate what he knew to others, and frequently read various authors both in his own chamber, and in the public schools.

After being some time abroad he returned to England, and took up his residence at Cambridge, where he was admitted a member of Bennet college. Having taken up his degrees, he entered into holy orders, and expounded the gospel in so clear and intelligible a manner, as highly to delight his numerous auditors.

Being desirous of propagating the true gospel in his own country, he left Cambridge in 1544, and in his way thither preached in most of the principal towns, to the great pleasure of himself, and the satisfaction of his hearers.

On his arrival in Scotland, he first preached at Montrose, and afterwards at Dundee. In this last place, he made a public exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, which he went through with such grace and freedom as greatly alarmed the papists.

In consequence of this, at the instigation of cardinal Beaton, Robert Miln, a principal man at Dundee, went to the church where Wishart preached, and in the middle of his discourse publicly told him "not to trouble the town any more, for he was determined not to suffer it."

This sudden rebuff greatly surprised Wishart, who, after a short pause, looking sorrowfully on the speaker and the audience, said, "God is my witness, that I never minded your trouble but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more grievous to me than it is to yourselves: but I am assured, to refuse God's word, and to chase from you his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but shall bring you into it: for God shall send you ministers that shall neither fear burning or banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation. With the hazard of my life I have remained among you: now ye yourselves refuse me; and I must leave my innocence to be declared by my God."

He then went into the west of Scotland, where he

preached God's word, which was gladly received by many; till the archbishop of Glasgow, at the instigation of cardinal Beaton, came with his train to the town of Air, to suppress Wishart, and insisted "on having the church himself to preach in." Some opposed this; but Wishart said, "Let him alone, his sermon will not do much hurt; let us go to the market-cross." This was agreed to, and Wishart preached a sermon that gave universal satisfaction to his hearers, and at the same time confounded his enemies.

He continued to propagate the gospel to the people with the greatest alacrity, preaching sometimes in one place and sometimes in another; but coming to Macklone, he was, by force, kept out of the church. Some of his followers would have broken in; upon which he said to one of them, "Brother, Jesus Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the church; and himself often preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places. The like word of peace God sends by me: the blood of none shall be shed this day for preaching it." He then went into a field and preached during three hours, with such energy and success, that those who heard him were astonished and edified.

A short time after this, Mr. Wishart received intelligence that the plague had broken out in Dundee. It began four days after he was prohibited from preaching there, and raged so extremely, that it was almost beyond credit how many died in the space of twenty-four hours. This being related to him, he, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends to detain him, determined to go thither, saying, "They are now in troubles, and need comfort.—Perhaps this hand of God will make them magnify and reverence the word which before they lightly esteemed."

Here he was with joy received. He chose the east-gate for the place of his preaching; so that the healthy were within, and the sick without the gate. He took his text from these words, "*He sent his word and healed them, &c.*" In this sermon he chiefly dwelt "upon the advantage and comfort of God's word, the judgments that ensue upon the contempt or rejection of it, the freedom of God's

grace to all his people, and the happiness of those of his elect, whom he takes to himself out of this miserable world." The hearts of his hearers were so raised by the divine force of this discourse, as not to regard death, but "to judge them the more happy who should then be called, not knowing whether they might have such a comforter again with them."

After this the plague abated; though in the midst of it, Wishart constantly visited those that lay in the greatest extremity, and comforted them by his exhortations.

He went thence to Montrose, where he sometimes preached, but spent most of his time in private meditation and prayer.

It is said, that before he left Dundee, and while he was engaged in the labours of love to the bodies, as well as to the souls, of those poor afflicted people, Cardinal Beaton engaged a desperate popish priest, called John Weighton, to kill him; the attempt to execute which was as follows: one day, after Wishart had finished his sermon, and the people departed, the priest stood waiting at the bottom of the stairs, with a naked dagger in his hand, under his gown. But Mr. Wishart, having a piercing eye, and seeing the priest as he came from the pulpit, said to him, "My friend, what would you have?" And immediately clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him. The priest being terrified, fell on his knees, confessed his intention, and craved pardon. A noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the ears of those who were sick, they cried, "Deliver the traitor to us, we will take him by force;" and they burst in at the gate. But Wishart, taking the priest in his arms, said, "Whatsoever hurts him shall hurt me; for he hath done me no mischief, but much good, by teaching me more heedfulness for the time to come." By this conduct he appeased the people, and saved the life of the wicked priest.

Soon after his return to Montrose, the cardinal conspired his death, causing a letter to be sent to him as if it had been from his familiar friend, in which he was desired, with all possible speed, to come to him, because he was taken with a sudden sickness. In the mean time the car-

dinal had provided sixty men armed, to lie in wait within a mile and a half of Montrose, in order to murder him as he passed that way.

The letter coming to Wishart's hand by a boy, who also brought him a horse for the journey, Wishart, accompanied by some honest men, his friends, set forward; but something particular striking his mind by the way, he returned back, which they wondering at, asked him the cause; to whom he said, "I will not go; I am forbidden of God; I am assured there is treason. Let some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you find." Which doing, they made the discovery; and hastily returning, they told Mr. Wishart: whereupon he said, "I know I shall end my life by that blood-thirsty man's hands, but it will not be in this manner."

A short time after this he left Montrose, and proceeded to Edinburgh, to propagate the gospel in that city. By the way he lodged with a faithful brother, called James Watson, of Inner-Goury. In the middle of the night he got up, and went into the yard, which two men hearing, they privately followed him.

While in the yard, he fell on his knees, and prayed for some time with the greatest fervency; after which he arose, and returned to his bed. Those who attended him, appearing as though they were ignorant of all, came and asked him where he had been? But he would not answer them. The next day they importuned him to tell them, saying, "Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and saw your gestures."

On this he, with a dejected countenance, said, "I had rather you had been in your beds." But they still pressing upon him to know something, he said, "I will tell you; I am assured that my warfare is near at an end, and therefore pray to God with me, that I shrink not when the battle waxeth most hot."

When they heard this they wept, saying, "This is small comfort to us." Then, said he, "God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be built

in it; yea, it shall not lack, in despite of all enemies, the top-stone; neither will it be long before this be accomplished. Many shall not suffer after me, before the glory of God shall appear, and triumph in despite of satan.— But, alas, if the people afterwards shall prove unthankful, then fearful and terrible will the plagues be that shall follow.”

The next day he proceeded on his journey, and when he arrived at Leith, not meeting with those he expected, he kept himself retired for a day or two. He then grew pensive, and being asked the reason, he answered, “What do I differ from a dead man? Hitherto God hath used my labours for the instruction of others, and to the disclosing of darkness; and now I lurk as a man ashamed to show his face.” His friends perceived that his desire was to preach, whereupon they said to him, “It is most comfortable for us to hear you, but because we know the danger wherein you stand, we dare not desire it.” “But,” said he, “if you dare hear, let God provide for me as best pleaseth him:” after which it was concluded, that the next day he should preach in Leith. His text was of the parable of the sower, Matt. xiii. The sermon ended, the gentlemen of Lothian, who were earnest professors of Jesus Christ, would not suffer him to stay at Leith, because the governour and cardinal were shortly to come to Edinburgh; but took him along with them; and he preached at Branstone, Longniddry, and Ormiston. He also preached at Inveresk, near Muselburgh; he had a great concourse of people, and amongst them Sir George Douglas, who after sermon said publicly, “I know that the governour and cardinal will hear that I have been at this sermon; but let them know that I will avow it, and will maintain both the doctrine, and the preacher, to the uttermost of my power.”

Hence he went and preached at Branstone, Languedine, Ormiston, and Inveresk, where he was followed by a great concourse of people. He preached also in divers other places, the people flocking after him; and in all his sermons he foretold the shortness of the time he had to travel, and the near approach of his death.

Cardinal Beaton, being informed that Mr. Wishart was at the house of Mr. Cockburn, of Ormiston, in East-Lothian, applied to the regent to cause him to be apprehended; with which, much against his will, he complied.

The Earl of Bothwell beset the house of Mr. Cockburn, with proper attendants, about midnight. The laird of the house, greatly alarmed, put himself in a posture of defence, when the earl told him that it was in vain to resist, for the governour and cardinal were within a mile, with a great power; but if he would deliver Wishart to him, he would promise, upon his honour, that he should be safe, and that the cardinal should not hurt him. Wishart said, "Open the gates, the will of God be done;" and Bothwell coming in, Wishart said to him, "I praise my God, that so honourable a man as you, my lord, receive me this night; for I am persuaded that for your honour's sake you will suffer nothing to be done to me but by order of law: I less fear to die openly, than secretly to be murdered." Bothwell replied, "I will not only preserve your body from all violence that shall be intended against you without order of law; but I also promise, in the presence of these gentlemen, that neither the governour nor cardinal shall have their will of you; but I will keep you in my own house, till I either set you free, or restore you to the same place where I receive you." Then said the laird, "my lord, if you make good your promise, which we presume you will, we ourselves will not only serve you, but we will procure all the professors in Lothian to do the same."

This agreement being made, Mr. Wishart was delivered into the hands of the earl, who immediately conducted him to Edinburgh.

As soon as the earl arrived at that place, he was sent for by the queen, who being an inveterate enemy to Wishart, prevailed on the earl, notwithstanding his promises, to commit him a prisoner to the castle.

The cardinal, informed of Wishart's situation, went to Edinburgh, and immediately caused him to be removed thence to the castle of St. Andrew's.

The inveterate and persecuting prelate, having now got his victim fully at his own disposal, resolved to proceed

immediately to try him as a heretick; for which purpose he assembled the prelates at St. Andrew's cathedral on the 27th of February, 1546.

At this meeting the Archbishop of Glasgow gave it as his opinion, that application should be made to the regent, to grant a commission to some nobleman to try the prisoner, that all the odium of putting so popular a man to death might not lie on the clergy."

To this the cardinal readily agreed; but upon sending to the regent, he received the following answer: "That he would do well not to precipitate this man's trial, but delay it until his coming; for as to himself, he would not consent to his death before the cause was very well examined; and if the cardinal should do otherwise, he would make protestation, that the blood of this man should be required at his hands."

The cardinal was extremely chagrined at this message from the regent; however, he determined to proceed in the bloody business he had undertaken; and therefore sent the regent word, "that he had not written to him about this matter, as supposing himself to be any way dependent upon his authority, but from a desire that the prosecution and conviction of hereticks might have a show of publick consent; which, since he could not this way obtain, he would proceed in that way which to him appeared the most proper."

In consequence of this the cardinal immediately proceeded to the trial of Wishart, against whom no less than eighteen articles were exhibited, which, in substance, were as follows:

1. "That he had despised the holy mother-church, and had deceived the people; and that when he was ordered to desist from preaching at Dundee by the governour, he would not obey, but still persevered in the same.

2. "That he had said, the priest standing at the altar, and saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail.

3. "That he had preached against the sacraments, saying, that there were not seven, but two only, viz. baptism and the supper of the Lord.

4. "That he had taught, that auricular confession was

not a blessed sacrament; and had said confession should be made to God only, and not to a priest.

5. "That he had said it was necessary for every man to know and understand his baptism, contrary to the established maxims of the Roman catholick church.

6. "That he had said the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon the ashes; and the ceremonies attending it was but a superstitious rite against the commandment of God.

7. "That he had said extreme unction was not a sacrament.

8. "That holy water was equally simple and insignificant as water not consecrated; and that he had said the curses of the Romish clergy availed nothing.

9. "That he had said every layman was a priest; and that the pope had no greater authority or power than another man.

10. "That he had said, a man had no will, but was like the stoicks, who said, that it was not in man's will to do any thing, but that all desire came from God, of what kind soever it might be.

11. "That it was as lawful to eat flesh on a Friday as on a Sunday.

12. "That the people should not pray to saints, but to God only.

13. "That in his preaching he had said, that there was no purgatory, and that it was a false conception to imagine there was any such thing after death.

14. "That he had taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests; and had said, that whoever was bound to such vows, they vowed themselves to the state of damnation. Moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry, and not to live single.

15. "That he had spoken disrespectfully of the general and provincial councils.

16. "That he had said, it was in vain to build costly churches to the honour of God, seeing that he remained not in churches made with men's hands; nor yet could God be in so small a space as between the priest's hands.

17. "That he had despised fasting, and had taught the people to do the like.

18. "That in his preaching he had said, the soul of man should sleep till the last day, and should not obtain immortal life till that time."

Mr. Wishart answered these respective articles with great composure of mind, and in so learned and clear a manner, as greatly surprised most present.

After the examination was finished, the archbishop endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Wishart to recant; but he was too firmly fixed in his religious principles, and too much enlightened with the truth of the gospel, to be in the least moved.

In consequence of this the archbishop pronounced on him the dreadful sentence of death, which he ordered should be put into execution on the following day.

As soon as the sentence of death was pronounced on Mr. Wishart, he fell on his knees, and after uttering a short prayer to Almighty God, in which he prayed earnestly for the preservation of the true church, and expressed entire resignation, he rose and was conducted to prison whence he had been brought.

In the evening he was visited by two friars, who asked him to make his confession to them; to whom he said, "I will not make any confession to you;" on which they immediately departed.

Soon after this came the sub-prior, with whom Wishart conversed in so feeling a manner on religious matters, as to make him weep. When he left him, he went to the cardinal, and told him, he came not to intercede for Wishart's life, but to make known his innocence to all men. At these words, the cardinal expressed great dissatisfaction, and forbid the sub-governour from again visiting Wishart.

Towards the close of the evening the martyr was visited by the captain of the castle, with several of his friends; who bringing with them some bread and wine, asked him if he would eat and drink with them. "Yes," said Wishart, very willingly, for "I know you are honest men." After this he gave thanks to God, and blessing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, giving some to each, saying, at the same time, "eat this, remember that

Christ died for us, and feed on it spiritually." Then taking the cup, he drank, and bade them "remember that Christ's blood was shed for them, &c." After this he gave thanks, prayed for some time, took leave of his visitors, and retired to his chamber.

On the morning of his execution there came to him two friars from the cardinal; one of whom put on him a black linen coat, and the other brought several bags of gunpowder, which they tied about different parts of his body.

In this dress he was conducted from the room in which he had been confined, to the outer chamber of the governor's apartments, there to stay till the necessary preparations were made for his execution.

The windows and balconies of the castle, opposite the place where he was to suffer, were all hung with tapestry and silk hangings, with cushions for the cardinal and his train, who were from thence to feast their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. There was also a great guard of soldiers, not so much to secure the execution, as to show a vain ostentation of power; besides which, brass guns were placed on different parts of the castle.

The necessary preparations being made, Mr. Wishart, after having his hands tied behind him, was conducted to the fatal spot. In his way thither he was accosted by two friars, who desired him to pray to the Virgin Mary, to intercede for him. To whom he meekly said, "Cease!—tempt me not, I entreat you."

As soon as he arrived at the stake, the executioner put a rope round his neck, and a chain about his middle; upon which he fell on his knees and thus exclaimed:

"O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands."

After repeating these words three times he arose, and turning himself to the spectators, addressed them as follows:

"Christian brethren and sisters, I beseech you, be not offended at the word of God for the torments which you see prepared for me; but I exhort you, that ye love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort; I pray

you also, show my brethren and sisters, who have often heard me, that they cease not to learn the word of God, which I taught them according to the measure of grace given me, but to hold fast to it with the strictest attention; and show them, that the doctrine was the truth of God; for if I had taught men's doctrine, I should have had greater thanks from men: but for the word of God's sake I now suffer, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind."

He then prayed for his accusers, saying, "I beseech thee, Father of heaven, forgive them that have, from ignorance, or an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have ignorantly condemned me."

Then, again turning himself to the spectators, he said, "I beseech you, brethren, exhort your prelates to learn the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; or also there will shortly come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew."

As soon as he had finished this speech, the executioner fell on his knees before him, and said, "Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not the cause of your death."

In return to this, Wishart cordially took the man by the hand, and kissed him, saying, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee: My heart, do thine office."

He was then fastened to the stake, and the fagots being lighted, immediately set fire to the powder that was tied about him, and which blew into a flame and smoke.

The governour of the castle, who stood so near that he was singed with the flame, exhorted our martyr, in a few words, to be of good cheer, and to ask pardon of God for his offences. To which he replied, "this flame occasions trouble to my body, indeed, but it hath in no wise broken my spirit. But he who now so proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place (pointing to the cardinal) shall, ere long, be as ignominiously thrown down as now he proudly lolls at his ease."

When he had said this, the executioner pulled the rope which was tied about his neck with great violence, so that he was soon strangled; and the fire getting strength, burnt with such rapidity that in less than an hour his body was totally consumed.

Thus died, in confirmation of the gospel of Christ, a sincere believer, whose fortitude and constancy, during his sufferings, can only be imputed to the support of Divine aid, in order to fulfil that memorable promise, "as is thy day, so shall thy strength be also."

The prediction of Mr. Wishart, concerning Cardinal Beaton, is related by Buchanan, as also by archbishop Spotswood, and others; but it has been doubted, by some late writers, whether he really made such prediction. Be that as it may, the cardinal was soon afterwards murdered, through the agency of one Norman Lesley, eldest son of the Earl of Rothes; and his dead body was exposed to publick view in the window from whence he had so recently beheld the sufferings of Mr. Wishart.

CHAP. V.

FURTHER ACCOUNT OF PERSECUTION IN SCOTLAND, IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The death of Cardinal Beaton, for a short time, gave new spirits to the reformed in all parts of Scotland; but their pleasing expectations were damped, when they discovered the disposition of his successor, who was no less a rigid papist, and violent persecutor of the protestants than his predecessor.

No sooner did he assume the archiepiscopal dignity, than he dedicated the principal part of his time in oppressing those who favoured the reformed doctrine; many of whom he caused to be imprisoned till they recanted; and others, who would not, were banished the kingdom.

The first person who fell a martyr, to satisfy this bigotted man, was Adam Wallace, of Winton, in East-Lothian, who having obtained a true knowledge of the gospel of Christ, spent the greater part of his time in endeavouring to propagate it among others.

His conduct being noticed by some bigotted papists, information was laid against him for heresy, on which he was apprehended, and committed to prison.

A few days after, he was brought before the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and several other prelates, in Edinburgh, in order to be examined relative to his religious opinions, when three separate articles were exhibited against him, which, with the questions that ensued thereon, and his respective answers, were as follow:

1. *“That he had said and taught, that the bread and wine in the altar, after the words of consecration, were not the real body and blood of Christ.”*

To this he replied, “I never said, or taught, any thing but what I found in this book, (pointing to a bible that hung by his side) which contains the word of God. From this I am informed, as you may likewise be, that after our Lord had eaten the paschal lamb, at his last supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament, in remembrance of his death then to come. He took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, *Take, eat; this is my body.* And he took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, *Drink ye all of it: for this is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for the remission of many. As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.*”

The Earl of Huntley, addressing himself to Wallace, said, “Thou answerest not to that which is laid against thee; say, either yes or no.”

To this our martyr replied, “If ye will admit God, and his word, spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son, ye will admit what I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but what the word, which is the trial and touchstone, saith, and which ought to be judge to me, and to all the world.”

He then quoted several texts of scripture, tending to prove the absurdity of the popish doctrine; which not being agreeable to his judges, they desisted from asking any farther questions relative to the first article; and therefore proceeded to state the second.

2. *“That he had said and openly taught, that the mass was very idolatry, and an abomination in the sight of God.”*

To this he replied, that “he had read the Bible in three

different tongues, and never met with the word mass in either; therefore he thought it idolatry, and an abomination in the sight of God."

3. "That he had said, and openly taught, that the God which was worshipped by the members of the holy mother-church, was but bread made from corn growing on the earth, and that it was brought to the form in which it was used by the hands of men."

Wallace, in answer to this, said, "I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead, which made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therein. I know of no other God, and him only will I worship so long as I live."

The archbishop, after telling Wallace he had been guilty of many other errors, which he should pass over, asked him "whether he granted or denied the articles propounded?" To which he answered in the affirmative.

He then pronounced sentence of death on him as a heretick; and he was immediately delivered over to the secular power, in order for execution.

In the evening of the same day, Wallace was visited by several Romish priests, who endeavoured to prevail on him to recant; but he stood so steadfast in the faith he professed, and used such forcible arguments in vindication of the true gospel, that they left him with some wrath, "he was too abandoned to receive any impression."

The next morning he was conducted to the Castle-hill at Edinburgh, when, being chained to the stake, and the faggots lighted, he cheerfully resigned up his soul into the hands of him who gave it, in full assurance of receiving a crown of glory in the heavenly mansions.

It was supposed that the persecutors of Wallace were more violent against him than they would otherwise have been, on account of his wife, who being employed as tutoress to the children of Lady Ormiston, catechised them in the new forms of Religion.

The next, and last person who suffered martyrdom in Scotland, for the cause of Christ, was Walter Mill, burnt at Edinburgh in the year 1558.

In his younger years, he had travelled into Germany,

and on his return was installed a priest of the church of Lunan in Angus; but, on an information of heresy, in the time of Cardinal Beaton, he was forced to abandon his charge, and abscond.

After the death of that prelate he returned, not knowing the persecuting spirit of his successor. Being well known by several bigotted papists in the neighbourhood, they laid an information against him for heresy; in consequence of which he was apprehended, and committed to prison.

A few days after, he was brought before the archbishop and his suffragans, to be examined relative to his religious opinions; when Sir Andrew Oliphant, by order of the archbishop, interrogated him as follows:

Oliph. "What think you of priest's marriage?"

Mill. "I hold it is a blessed band; for Christ himself maintained and approved it, and made it free to all men."

Oliph. "You say there are not seven sacraments."

Mill. "Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and take you the rest."

Oliph. "You say the mass is idolatry."

Mill. "It undoubtedly is so, and highly derogatory to the principles of all true christians."

Oliph. "You deny the sacrament of the altar to be the very body and blood of Christ."

Mill. "The scripture of God is only to be considered in a spiritual light; and as to the mass, it is wrong, and contradictory to all reason; for Christ having once offered himself up for the sins of men, all sacrifice then ended."

After being thus interrogated, Sir Andrew Oliphant asked Mill, "if he would recant his opinions?" to which he answered in the negative, saying, "he would sooner forfeit ten thousand lives, than relinquish a particle of those heavenly principles he had received from his blessed Redeemer."

In consequence of this, sentence of condemnation was immediately passed on him, and he was conducted to prison for execution the following day.

This steadfast believer in Christ was eighty-two years of age, and exceedingly infirm; whence it was supposed, that

he could scarcely be heard. However, when he was led to the place of execution, he expressed his religious sentiments with such courage, and at the same time composure of mind, as astonished even his enemies. As soon as he was fastened to the stake, and the fagots lighted, he addressed the spectators as follows:

“The cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime, (though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner) but only for the defence of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ; and I praise God who hath called me, by his mercy, to seal the truth with my life; which as I received it from him, so I willingly offer it up to his glory. Therefore, as you would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies of the seat of anti-christ: but depend solely on Jesus Christ, and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation.” And then added, “That he trusted he should be the last who would suffer death in Scotland, upon a religious account.”

Thus did this pious christian cheerfully give up his life, in defence of the truth of Christ's gospel, not doubting but he should be made a partaker of his heavenly kingdom.

The people were so grieved at the death of this good man, that, as a monument of it to future ages, they raised a pile of stones on the spot where he suffered. This, however, was removed by order of the popish clergy, but replaced again by the people several times, till at length a guard was appointed to apprehend all persons who should carry stones to that place.

It is remarkable that from the universal esteem in which this man was held by the people, a cord could not be found to tie him after his condemnation; and on that very account his execution was postponed till the next morning, when they were reduced to the necessity of using the cords belonging to the archbishop's pavilion.

The death of these men proved the overthrow of popery in Scotland. The clergy were so sensible that their affairs were falling to decay, that they, from that time, never dared to proceed to a capital punishment, on account of

religion: insomuch, that in the synod held in Edinburgh, in July, 1558, some persons who had been impeached of heresy were only condemned, upon their non-appearance, to make a public recantation at the market-cross, on the 1st of September, being St. Giles' Day, the tutelar saint of that city.

It was usual, at the feast of this saint, which now nearly approached, to carry his image in procession, and the queen-regent was to honour the solemnity with her presence. But when the time had arrived, the image was missing; it having been stolen by them who were too wise to pray to it.

This caused a halt, till another image was borrowed from the Grey-friars, with which they set forward: and, after the queen had accompanied them a considerable way, she withdrew into the castle, where she was to dine. But no sooner was she gone, than some persons, who had been purposely appointed, tore the picture from off the shoulders of those who carried it, threw it into the dirt, and totally destroyed it.

This gave such universal satisfaction to the people, that a general shout ensued, and a riot continued in the street during some hours; which was at length suppressed by the vigilance of the magistrates.

About the same time a similar disturbance happened at Perth; a reforming minister having preached to a numerous congregation, after sermon was over, some persons remained in the church, when a Romish priest was so imprudent as to open a case, in which was curiously engraved the figures of saints; after which he made preparations for saying mass. A young man observing this, said aloud, "This is intolerable! As God plainly condemns, in scripture, idolatry, shall we stand and see such an insult?"—The priest was so offended at this, that he struck the youth a violent blow on the head, on which he broke one of the figures in the case, when immediately all the people fell on the priest, and destroyed every thing in the church that tended to idolatry. This being soon known abroad, the people assembled in large bodies, and proceeded to the monasteries of the Grey and Black friars, both of

which they stripped; and then pulled down the Carthusian monastery; so that in the space of two days, nothing remained of those noble buildings but the bare walls. Similar outrages were committed in many other towns in the kingdom.

At this time there were many persons who made it their business to solicit subscriptions in order to carry on the work of reformation, and to abolish popery. Among these were the Earl of Argyle, Lord James Stuart, the Earl of Glencairn, &c. The endeavours of these reformists were attended with such success, that, at length, they effected a reformation throughout the kingdom.



PART 6.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY—COMMENCEMENT OF HER PERSECUTIONS.

The reign of the pious young king Edward VI. was short and full of confusion. Much however was done towards promoting the reformation; and probably it would have been completed, had it not been for the intrigues of the Duke of Northumberland; who from motives of ambition, in attempting to raise his son lord Dudley to the crown, by marrying the lady Jane Gray, brought ruin upon himself and his family. It is in this circumstance, that the fallacious part of the papists' argument lies; and in consequence of their managing it with dexterity, they have made thousands of proselytes among the lower ranks of the people.

The argument they make use of is, "That all those who suffered death during the reign of queen Mary, had been adjudged guilty of high-treason, in consequence of their having stood up in defence of lady Jane Gray's title to the crown."

To disprove this, would be no difficult matter for those who have read the history of England; and it will appear very evidently, that those tried on the statute of 25th Edward I. were sentenced to be hanged and quartered; but no one can assert, that in England burning was the punishment for high-treason. We shall admit the plea, that some few suffered death in the ordinary way of process at common law, for their adherence to lady Jane, but

none of these were burned. Why, if they were traitors, take them before the bishops, who possessed no power to judge in criminal actions? Nay, allowing the bishops to have had power to judge, yet their own bloody statute did not give them power to condemn. Otherwise, why were they obliged to certify to the chancellor, that the accused person was a heretick before they could obtain a warrant for his execution?

The proceedings against these martyrs are still extant, and they were carried on directly according to the forms prescribed by their own statute.

Mary succeeded to the throne, and laid the foundation of her government in blood. To a disagreeable person, and a weak mind, she joined all that bigotry, superstition, and cruelty, for which the family of Austria, from whence her mother was descended, had been held so long in abhorrence.

She was crowned at Westminster in the usual form; but her exaltation was the presage of blood and slaughter. Imprisonments, tortures and death marked every stage of her administration. That narrowness of spirit which always distinguishes a weak mind from one that has been enlarged by education, pervaded all the actions of this princess. Unacquainted with the constitution of the country, and a slave to superstition, she thought to domineer over the rights of private judgment, and trample on the privileges of mankind.

The first exertion of her regal power was, to wreak her vengeance upon those who had not supported her title to the crown.

The first of these was the duke of Northumberland, who was beheaded on Tower-hill, and who, in consequence of his crimes, arising from ambition, died unlamented.

The next sacrifice was the amiable Lady Jane Gray; whose virtues and sufferings will be kept long in remembrance. She was considered by a large portion of the English nation as justly entitled to the crown. Being urged and solicited by her friends, and almost compelled by those whose judgment she respected, she consented, contrary to her own desires, to receive the dangerous diadem.

The government afterwards declared for Mary, and Lady Jane was notified, that she must prepare for death. This fate she met with the utmost fortitude and resignation. She died upon the scaffold, amidst the sympathies and lamentations of thousands. Had she been a papist instead of a protestant, there is no doubt but her fate would have been in the issue very different from what it was.

Many executions followed that of Lady Jane, but as they were conducted under the name of punishments for high treason, we shall pass by them without any farther notice.

Mary having satiated her malice upon those persons who had adhered to Lady Jane Gray, she had next recourse to the executions by fire.

Mr. John Rogers, the aged minister of St. Sepulchre's church, was an early sacrifice offered up in this reign to popery, and led the way for those sufferers, whose blood has been the foundation, honour, and glory of the church of England.

Mr. Rogers had been chaplain to the English factory at Antwerp, where he became acquainted with Mr. Tindal, and assisted him in his translation of the New Testament. Several other worthy protestants were resident at Antwerp at the same time, most of whom had been driven out of England, on account of the persecutions for certain articles, in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. Mr. Rogers, considering that marriage was lawful, and even enjoined in scripture, entered into that state with a virtuous woman, and soon after, in consequence of an invitation, set out for Saxony.

But, King Edward having ascended the throne of England, Mr. Rogers returned to his native country, and was promoted by Bishop Ridley to a prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was also appointed reader of the divinity lecture in the same cathedral, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's.

After the accession of Mary, as the queen was returning from the Tower, where she had been attending Gardiner's councils, Mr. Rogers was preaching at St. Paul's Cross. He inveighed much against popery, expatiated on the many virtues of the late King Edward, and exhorted the people to abide by the protestant religion.

For this sermon he was summoaed before the council; but he vindicated himself so well, that he was dismissed.

This lenity shown by the council was rather displeasing to the queen; and Mr. Rogers's zeal against popery being equal to his knowledge and integrity, he was considered as a person who would prevent the re-establishment of popery.

For this reason, he was summoned a second time before the council; and, although there were many papists among them, yet such was the respect that most people had for Mr. Rogers, that he was again dismissed, only that he was commanded not to go out of his own house. This order he complied with, although he might have made his escape if he would. He knew he could have had a living in Germany, and he had a wife and ten children: but all these things did not move him; he did not court death, but met it with fortitude when it came.

He remained in prison, in his own house several weeks, till Bonner, bishop of London, procured an order to have him committed to Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers.

He was brought a third time before the council, where Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, presided. It was not with any view of showing lenity to the prisoner; it was not with a view of convincing him of error, supposing him to be guilty of any; it was not to recall him to the Romish Church: no, his destruction was designed, and he was singled out to be an example to all those who should refuse to comply with Romish idolatry.

After he had been examined several times before the council, which was only a mere farce, he was turned over to Bonner, bishop of London, who now began to appear in his proper character. He caused Mr. Rogers to go through a mock examination, and, at last, declared him to be an obstinate heretick. A certificate, in the ordinary course, was sent into chancery, and a writ was issued for the burning of Mr. Rogers in Smithfield. This sentence did not in the least affright the martyr, who, by faith in the blood of Christ, was ready to go through with his attachment to the truth, without paying any regard to the malice of his enemies.

On the 4th of February he was taken from Newgate, to the place of execution, when the sheriff asked him if he would recant his opinions? To this he answered, "That what he had preached he would seal with his blood."—"Then," said the unfeeling sheriff, "thou art a heretick." To which Mr. Rogers answered, "That will be known when we meet at the judgment-seat of Christ."

As they were taking him to Smithfield, his wife and children went to take their last farewell of a tender husband, and an indulgent parent. The sheriffs, however, so unfeeling is bigotry, so merciless is superstition! would not permit them to speak to him! When chained to the stake, he took notice, that God would, in his own good time, vindicate the truth of what he had taught, and appear in favour of the protestant religion. Fire was set to the pile, and in about two hours this worthy was consumed to ashes. (5)

The next victim was the reverend Mr. Laurence. His father had a considerable estate in Oxfordshire, but dying young, he left a large family of children, of whom Laurence was admitted to Eton college, as a king's scholar.

From Eton, according to the rules of the foundation, he was sent to King's college, Cambridge, where he studied three years, and made great progress in the different sorts of learning then taught in the schools.

At the beginning of King Edward's reign, when the true religion began to be countenanced, he entered into holy orders, and preached with great success. His first appointment was at Fotheringham, where he read a divinity lecture; but the college at that place having been dissolved, he was appointed a preacher in Litchfield. In that station his conduct entitled him to great respect; for such was his sweetness of temper, his knowledge in his profession, his eloquent manner of addressing his hearers, the purity of his manners, and his affectionate addresses to the heart, that all conspired to render him amiable, and his ministry useful.

(5.) It has been said, that this martyr was seen washing his hands in the flames.

After being some months in Litchfield, he removed to the living of Church-Langton, in Leicestershire: where he instructed many, who before were ignorant of the true principles of the christian religion. He was the same to men's bodies as to their souls. All that he received, besides the small pittance for his mere support, was given to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked.

His next removal was to Allhallows Bread-street, London; of which living having taken possession, he went down to the country, to part, in an affectionate manner, with his friends.

It was while he was in the country that King Edward died, and Mary succeeding, published a proclamation, commanding all her subjects to attend mass. Many pious ministers refused to obey the royal proclamation, and none more forward in doing so than Mr. Saunders. He continued to preach whenever he had an opportunity, and read the prayer-book, with the scriptures, to the people, till he was apprehended in the following manner:—

Mr. Saunders was advised to leave the nation, as Dr. Jewel, and many others did; but he would not, declaring to his friends that he was willing to die for the name of the Lord Jesus. Accordingly, he left his people in Leicestershire, and travelled towards London. On his arrival near the city, he was met by Sir John Mordant, a privy-counsellor to queen Mary, who asked him, "where he was going?" Mr. Saunders said, "to his living in Bread-street, to instruct his people." Mordant desired him "not to go:" to which Mr. Saunders answered, "how shall I then be accountable to God? if any be sick and die before consolation, then what a load of guilt will be upon my conscience, as an unfaithful shepherd, an unjust steward!"

Mordant asked him "whether he did not frequently preach in Bread-street?" and being answered in the affirmative, he endeavoured to dissuade him from doing so any more. Saunders, however, was resolute, and told him he would continue to preach as long as he lived, and invited the other to come and hear him the next day; adding, "that he would confirm him in the truth of those sentiments which he taught." Upon this they parted, and

Mordant gave information to bishop Bonner, that Saunders would preach in his church the next Sunday.

In the mean time, Saunders went to his lodgings, with a mind resolved to do his duty; when a person came to visit him, and told him, "That he seemed to be in trouble." He said he was; adding, "I am, as in prison, till I speak to my people." So earnest was his desire to discharge his duty, and so little did he regard the malice of his enemies!

The next Sunday he preached in his church, and made a most elaborate discourse against the errors of popery: he exhorted the people "to remain steadfast in the truth; not to fear those who can only kill the body, but to fear him who can throw both body and soul into hell." He was attended by a great concourse of people, which gave much offence to the clergy, particularly to bishop Bonner.

No notice, however, was taken of him in the forenoon, but in the afternoon, when he intended to have preached again, Bonner sent an officer to apprehend him; he went with the officer, and Sir John Mordant appeared to give evidence against him.

Mr. Saunders was charged with treason and sedition, for having disobeyed the queen's proclamation; but Bonner had other objects in view than that of bringing this man to a trial at common law. Heresy was the main thing he had in view, and nothing else would go down.

After much conversation on the different points in religion, the bishop desired Mr. Saunders to write what his sentiments were concerning transubstantiation. To this request he replied, "My lord, I know you want to ensnare me; you seek for my blood, and you shall have it. Perhaps the reflection of taking my life without cause may bring you to a sense of guilt, and make you a better man."

The next thing the bishop did was, to send Mr. Saunders, under the care of Sir John Mordant, to the house of the chancellor, who happened not to be at home; so that he was obliged to tarry for him four hours in the servant's hall. During the whole of this space of time,

Mr. Saunders did not so much as receive the least refreshment, but stood bareheaded, while Mordant kept walking backwards and forwards across the room.

At length bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, arrived, and sending for Mr. Saunders into his chamber, asked him "how he could be so bold as to disobey the queen's proclamation?" Saunders acknowledged that "he had preached contrary to the proclamation, and that he thought it his duty to do so, even although it should cost him his life." He added, that what he did, arose from the dictates of his heart, which commanded him to preach the gospel in season, and out of season: that he could not be accountable at the judgment-seat of Christ, if he neglected any part of his duty in teaching and comforting his people in their most holy faith, so as to meet them on the right-hand of the judge.

The chancellor poured out much abuse on Mr. Saunders, telling him "he was a hypocrite and a heretick, notwithstanding all his pretensions to a tender conscience." Saunders told the chancellor, "he had no objection against suffering for that God who had given him courage to declare his sentiments without fear, and would support him under all sorts of afflictions; and although he would never give intentional offence, yet he was not, by any means, to injure his conscience, by giving up the truth as it was revealed in the word of God."

Gardiner, upon this, remanded Mr. Saunders to prison; but first told him "he was out of his mind, and a disturbed madman, without the use of either sense or reason."

Gardiner was a doctor of the canon law, and knew that none of the canons admitted madmen to come under the denomination of hereticks. A heretick is one of those men who wilfully, either from caprice or humour, oppose or speak contrary to, the religion established by law.—Now supposing Mr. Saunders had been a madman, how then could he be a heretick? Gardiner knew by the laws, both civil, canon, and common, "That the act of God shall injure no man."

There was another person lay in the same room with Saunders, who declared, the more he was treated with

cruelty and contempt, the more he appeared comforted; and felt that consolation in his mind, which only can arise from a belief of the truth.

Mr. Saunders continued in prison no less than one year and three months, during which time he wrote several letters to those great and worthy persons who afterwards suffered for the truth.

As this pious minister saw no hopes of getting released from prison, he drew up a paper which he sent to the chancellor, containing sentiments to the following purport; namely, "That he did not believe he had transgressed against the proclamation, for it did not command ministers to preach against the dictates of their consciences.

"As for his religion, he said it was the same as that taught in the New Testament. He worshipped the God of his fathers, after the manner they called heresy: that it was an easy matter to call people hereticks, and to proceed against them by the assistance of the civil power; but the best way was to attempt, and, if possible, to confute their notions by solid argument."

The next observations made use of by Mr. Saunders were of a striking nature indeed. He declared, "that no man could be a faithful servant of Christ, who acknowledged the papal supremacy." He said, "it was the noblest of his glory; and this is no more than what has been certified by most of the martyrs who suffered under the papal power." He observed that "traditions were not commanded by the word of God, nor did they make any part of religion." We should have thought, that such sentiments as these, especially where law itself was commenced, would have gone a considerable way to exculpate this man from all the horrid imputations that had been brought against him; but this availed nothing, Gardiner had been stung to the quick by the rebuff, or rather sarcasm, made use of by Saunders, and consequently meditated severe revenge.

In some other of his letters, Mr. Saunders speaks of his entire confidence in God, and in every one of them there is something or other inviting the faithful to abide by the truth.

Mr. Saunders was a married man, and in a letter to his wife, he declared his firm attachment to the truth of the gospel, according to the reformed religion, as it had been set forth in the reign of king Edward VI. The sentiments in this letter are truly evangelical, and such as would have done honour to one of the primitive martyrs.

He told her, "There could be no confidence in the Divine Being, where a fixed truth was not placed in the righteousness of a Redeemer. He added further, that she must not consider him any longer as a husband for her in this world, but that he hoped to spend an eternity with her. He told her, that if she should be molested for the truth, that it was her duty to examine her own mind, and attend to every thing that could lead her to happiness. That the blessings of the everlasting covenant could only be insured to believers in consequence of the death of Christ, and that the firm persuasion of the resurrection of our Redeemer, was the only means the infinite wisdom could contrive, in order to bring us to a state of happiness."

In another letter to his wife, he dwelt concerning "that long friendship and happiness which he had enjoyed with her." He expressed "his earnest desire still to have enjoyed her company, had it been consistent with the will of God. But as he knew his death was resolved on, he begged she would pray that God would enable her to bear with such an event, and that he might likewise be enabled to go through with it as became a good soldier of Jesus Christ." He gave her the usual encouragement "to trust in the merits and mercies of Christ Jesus; to make him her only friend, and then he would never leave her nor forsake her." He said much "concerning the strength he had in Christ Jesus, who had gone the road of suffering before him, and cautioned her much against denying the truth, whatever punishments the papists, and other enemies of Christ, might threaten her with."

He was confined in the Marshalsea prison, and strict orders were given to the keepers, not to suffer any person to converse with him. His wife, however, came to the prison with her young child in her arms, and the keeper had so much compassion, that he took the child and carried it to its father.

On the 4th of February, the sheriff of London delivered him to the bishop, who degraded him; and Mr. Saunders said, "Thank God, I am now out of your church."

The day following, he was given up to some of the queen's officers, who were appointed to convey him to Coventry, to be burned. The first night they lay at St. Alban's, where Mr. Saunders took an opportunity of rebuking a person who had ridiculed the christian faith.

The next night he spent in the common prison, praying for, and exhorting all those who went to hear him.

The next day, the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution, in the park, without the gate of that city, going in an old gown and a shirt, barefooted, and often fell flat on the ground and prayed. When he approached the place of execution, the under-sheriff told him "he was a heretick, and that he led the people away from the true religion; but yet, if he would recant, the queen would pardon him." To this Mr. Saunders answered, "That he had not filled the realm with heresy, for he had taught the people the pure truths of the gospel; and in all his sermons, while he exhorted the people, firmly desired his hearers to be obedient to the queen."

When brought to the stake he embraced it, and after being fastened to it, and the fagots lighted, he said, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life:" soon after which he resigned his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

CHAP. II.

AN ACCOUNT OF DR. JOHN HOOPER, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER,
WHO WAS BURNT IN HIS EPISCOPAL CITY.

We shall now produce another martyr, whose name will ever be esteemed for his sincere attachment to the protestant religion: this person was Dr. John Hooper, educated in Oxford, but in which of the colleges does not appear; probably it was in Queen's college. because he

was a north countryman, that seminary of learning being appropriated for those of the northern counties.

He made the most astonishing progress in his studies, and was remarkable for his early piety. He studied the sacred scriptures with the most unremitting assiduity, and indeed was an ornament to the university. His piety increased with his knowledge, and even while there was a cloud of darkness fixed on the public mind, Hooper was making such progress in scripture and divinity, as led him to set their due value upon those things of no real importance.

When the six articles were published, Hooper did all he could to oppose them, as maintaining every thing in the popish system, except the supremacy.(6) He preached frequently against them, which created him many enemies in Oxford; but Henry VIII. had such an opinion of him, that he would not suffer him to be molested. Soon after this he left the university, to assume a lay character, and became steward to Sir Thomas Arundel, who, at first, treated him with great kindness, till, having discovered his sentiments as to religion, he became his most implacable enemy.

Mr. Hooper having received intelligence that some mischief was intended against him, left the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and hired a horse, and rode off towards the sea-side, intending to go to France, sending back the horse with a servant. He resided some time at Paris, in as private a manner as possible. Returning again to England he was informed against, and obliged to leave his native country a second time.

He went over again to France, but not being safe there he travelled into Upper Germany; whence he went to Basil, where he married a pious woman, and afterwards settled at Zurick, in Switzerland. There he applied so closely to his studies, that he made himself master of the Hebrew language.

(6.) The articles here meant, are certain articles, six in number, which were enacted in the reign of Henry VIII. They related to the *communion*, to the *celibacy of the clergy*, *vows of chastity*, *private masses*, and *auricular confession*.

At length, when the true religion was set up after the death of King Henry VIII. amongst other English exiles that returned, was Mr. Hooper. In the most grateful manner he returned thanks to all his friends abroad, who had shown him so much compassion; particularly to the learned Bullinger, who was a friend to those who were persecuted for the gospel.

When Dr. Hooper arrived in London, he was so filled with zeal to promote the gospel, that he preached every day to crowded congregations. In his sermons he reprov'd sinners in general, but particularly directed his discourse against the erroneous vices of the times.

In the whole of his conversation, with those who waited on him in private, he spoke of the purity of the gospel, and of the great things of God, cautioning the people from returning again to popery, if any change should take place. This was the more necessary, as the people in general were but ill-grounded, though Cranmer, Ridley, and many other pious men, were using every means in their power to make them acquainted with the true principles of the christian religion. In this pious undertaking, none were more forward than Dr. Hooper; for at all times, in season, and out of season, he was ready to discharge his duty as a faithful minister of the Gospel.

After he had preached some time, with great success in the city, he was sent for by King Edward VI. who appointed him one of his chaplains, and soon after made him Bishop of Gloucester, by letters-patent under the great seal; having at the same time the care of the bishoprick of Worcester committed to him.

Dr. Hooper had been some time abroad, and had contracted an aversion to popish ceremonies, and before he went to his bishoprick, he requested of the king that he might not be obliged to give countenance to certain ceremonials in the church, which was complied with, though much against the inclinations of the other bishops. Dr. Hooper and his brethren had many disputes about these tenets.

Having the care of two dioceses, he held and guided them both together, as if they had been but one. His leis-

ure time, which was but little, he spent in hearing causes, private prayer, and reading the scriptures. He likewise visited the schools, and encouraged the youth in their learning. He had children of his own, whom he likewise instructed, and treated them with all the tenderness of an indulgent parent.

After this manner, Bishop Hooper continued to discharge his duty as a faithful pastor, during the whole of King Edward's reign. But no sooner was the pious young king laid in the grave, and Mary proclaimed, than a serjeant at arms was sent to arrest Bishop Hooper, in order to answer to certain charges.

Bishop Hooper was desired, by some of his friends, to get away; but his answer was, "I once fled for my life, but I am determin'd, through the strength and grace of God, to witness the truth to the last."

Being brought before the queen and council, Gardiner was sitting as president, who accused Bishop Hooper of heresy, calling him by the most opprobrious names. This was in the month of September, 1553, and he lay in prison, on a charge of being indebted to the queen in several sums of money. The 19th of March, 1554, when he was called again to appear before Gardiner, the chancellor and several bishops would not suffer him to plead his cause, but deprived him of his bishoprick.

Being asked whether he was a married man, he answered in the affirmative, and declared that he would not be unmarried until death occasioned the separation; hence he looked upon the marriage of the clergy as necessary.

He was now committed to the Tower, under charge of being indebted to the queen, for the rents of his bishoprick; for which pretence he was afterwards sent to the fleet. This, however, was an unjust charge, for the protestant religion had been established in the first year of the reign of Edward, by act of parliament; so that Dr. Hooper's accepting of a bishoprick was in all respects legal and constitutional.

He was now in a very dreadful situation; and the warden, whose name was Babington, informed against him for not going to mass; upon which he was locked up in a

small room, where he had nothing but straw to lie upon, with a rotten covering, till at last some pious people sent him a bed to lie on.

During this time he was taken ill, and the doors being all fast locked, he mourned and called for help; but the warden would neither give him any assistance, nor suffer the prisoners, who were willing to do so, telling them, it would be well if he should die.

After he had been eighteen months in prison, on the 22d of January, 1555, the warden of the Fleet was ordered to bring him before the chancellor Gardiner, who, with other bishops, were appointed to examine him a second time, at Winchester-house, in Southwark.

When brought before these merciless persecutors, the chancellor made a long speech to him, desiring him "to forsake the opinions he had embraced, and return to the bosom of the church; adding, that as the pope was the head of the church, so it was breaking through her unity to separate from her. He promised to procure him the pope's absolution if he would recant his opinions;" but this was nothing more or less than a farce; for Gardiner knew well, that Hooper was too well grounded in his religious opinions to comply with any such request.

To this Dr. Hooper answered, that "as the pope's doctrine was contrary to the sacred scriptures; and as he could not be the head of the church, because there was no head of it but Christ, so he would live and die asserting the doctrines he had taught."

Gardiner replied, that "the queen would never show any mercy to the enemies of the pope;" whereupon Babington, the warden, was commanded to take him back to the fleet. It was likewise ordered, "that he should be shifted from his former chamber," which was done; and he was searched to find, if possible, whether he had any books concealed about him, but none were found.

On the 25th of January, he was again brought before the chancellor to be examined whether or no he would recant; but nothing could shake his constancy.

A few hours after he was degraded, the keeper came to him, and told him he was to be sent down to Gloucester

to suffer death. Upon this he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, praising God that he was to die among his own people, as it would be the means of confirming them in the truth of what he had taught them. He immediately sent to his servant for his boots and cloak, that he might be in readiness to attend them whenever they should come for him.

About four in the morning he was taken out of prison by the sheriff, and conducted to the sign of the Angel, near St. Dunstan's church, Fleet-street. There he was received by the queen's officers, who had the warrant for his execution; after which they permitted him to take some refreshment.

About break of day he cheerfully mounted on horseback without help, having a hood on his head under his hat, that he should not be known; and thus equipped, with a serene and cheerful countenance, proceeded on the road for Gloucester, attended by his keepers. The guards asked him what houses he was accustomed to use on the road; and when they were informed, in order to perplex him, they took him to others.

On the Thursday following they arrived at Cirencester, where they dined at a woman's house who had always hated the protestants, and had traduced Bishop Hooper's character as much as possible. This woman, seeing his sufferings and his constancy, was so affected, that she lamented with tears, and begged his pardon for the manner in which she had treated him.

They arrived at Gloucester about five in the afternoon. A great crowd of people had assembled about a mile without the town; so that one of the guard, fearing a rescue, rode up to the mayor's house, to demand aid and assistance. This being granted, the officers desired the people to disperse, which they very readily obeyed.

The bishop lodged that night in the house of one Ingram, where he eat his supper with a good appetite, and slept very quietly, as the guard declared, for they continued in the chamber with him all the night. In the morning, having prayed most fervently, he was visited by Sir Anthony Kingston, one appointed to see him executed.

When Sir Anthony came into the chamber he found him at his prayer's, and waiting till he had done, asked if he did not know him? To this Bishop Hooper answered, "that he did know him, and was glad to see him in good health." He added, that "he was come there to end his life, and blessed God that it was to be in the midst of his diocese." He said he loved life as well as it ought to be loved, but he was not to enjoy it at the expense of his future welfare. He was not to blaspheme his Saviour by denying his name, through which alone he looked for salvation; but trusted that he should be endowed with fortitude sufficient to bear all the torments his enemies could inflict upon him."

Sir Anthony Kingston had profited much from the preaching of bishop Hooper, and taking his leave, told him, with tears, that he was extremely sorry to lose such a worthy person. Dr. Hooper answered, "that it was his duty to persevere in the truth, and not to be ashamed of the gospel, lest Christ should refuse to acknowledge him before his father in heaven."

In the afternoon, a poor blind boy came to visit the bishop; and, falling on his knees before him, said, "Ah, my lord, I am blind in my eyes, but your pious instructions have removed a spiritual blindness from my heart. May God support you under all your sufferings, and bring you, even through flames, to heaven!"

At the time appointed for the execution of this pious bishop, he was delivered to the sheriffs of Gloucester, one of whose names was Bind, and the other Jenkins; who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to his lodgings, and, at the first meeting, having saluted him, took him by the hand. The resigned martyr, "thanked the mayor, and the rest of the officers, for taking a condemned man by the hand, and for all the friendship that had formerly subsisted between them, for he had been long acquainted with them. He begged of the sheriffs that they would make the fire as violent as possible, that his pains might be of the shorter duration;" adding, that "he might have had his life if he had chosen it, but could not, consistent with that duty he owed to God, and his own conscience."

He said, "he knew the bishop of Rome was anti-christ, and, therefore, he could not be obedient to him." He desired "they would not deny his request, but let him suffer as soon as possible, without exercising any circumstances of cruelty, which was unbecoming the dignity of men of honour, and particularly those who enjoyed such offices as they did."

A consultation had been held by the sheriffs, whether or not they should lodge him, the preceding evening of his execution, in the common gaol over the north gate of the city; but the gaurds, who had brought him from London, interceded so earnestly in his favour, that he was permitted to remain in his former lodgings; and he spent the evening in prayer, during as much of the night as he could spare from his ordinary rest.

When the bishop arose in the morning, he desired that no person whatever should disturb him in his devotions, till the officers came to lead him out to execution. About eight o'clock, the lord Chandois, attended by several other noblemen and gentlemen came to conduct him to the place of execution; at nine, being brought down from his chamber, when he saw the guards, he told the sheriffs that "he was no traitor, but one who was willing to die for the truth; and that if they would have permitted him, he would have willingly gone unguarded to the stake, without troubling any officers." Afterwards, looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, who were above seven thousand in number, it being the market-day, he said, "Alas! why are so many people assembled? I dare not speak to them as formerly."

He was led forward between the two sheriffs, as a lamb to the slaughter, having on a gown which the man of the house, where he was confined, had given him; and being much afflicted with an illness he had contracted in prison, he was obliged to walk with a stick in his hand. The sheriffs, having commanded him not to speak one word, he was not seen to open his mouth, but beholding the people, who mourned bitterly, he sometimes lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and looked cheerfully upon such as he knew; and, indeed, his countenance was more cheerful than it had been for a long time previous.

When he was brought to the stake, he embraced it, and looked with cheerfulness at a place where he used formerly to preach. He then kneeled down to pray, and beckoned several times to one whom he knew well, to come near to hear him, that he might give an account of what he said after his death, as he was not permitted to speak aloud. When he had been some time at prayer, a pardon was brought, and laid down before him, on condition he would recant his opinions; but neither promises of pardon, nor threatenings of punishment, could have any effect on him; so immovable was he in the faith, and so well established in the principles of the gospel. That religion which can support men under such torments, must be of God, and must be for his glory!

Prayers being ended, he prepared himself for the stake, by taking off his landlord's gown, which he delivered to the sheriffs, requesting them to see it restored to the owner. He then took off the rest of his clothes, except his doublet and hose, in which he designed to be burned; but the sheriffs not permitting that, he patiently submitted.—After this, a pound of gunpowder was placed between his legs, and the same quantity under each arm; three chains were then fixed round him, one to his neck, another to his middle, and a third to his legs; and with these he was fastened to the stake.

This being done, fire was put to the faggots; but they being green, he suffered inexpressible torment. Soon after this, another load of dry faggots was brought, but still the wind blew away the flames; so that he begged for more, that he might be put out of his misery.

At length the fire took effect, and the martyr went triumphant into heaven, after such a fiery trial as almost exceeds any thing we meet with in the primitive ages.—His last words were, "Lord Jesus have mercy upon me; enable me to bear my sufferings for thy name-sake, and receive my spirit."

CHAP. III.

THE SUFFERINGS AND MARTYRDOM OF DR. ROWLAND TAYLOR.

Dr. Rowland Taylor was born in the town of Hadleigh, one of the first places in England that received the gospel. Here it was that Dr. Taylor, who was in many respects a very learned man, preached constantly to the people during the reign of king Edward. Archbishop Cranmer, who was a good judge of merit, and loved to reward it in learned men, took him into his family, and presented him to this living, where he behaved as a most excellent preacher and a faithful pastor. He made himself acquainted with every individual in his parish; and taught them like the apostles and primitive christians who went from house to house. The love of Christ wrought so strongly on his mind, that every sunday and holiday he preached in the most fervent manner to his people.

His preaching was not all: his life was one continued comment on his doctrine; it was a life of holiness: he studied nothing so much as doing good; he was a stranger to pride; and it might be justly said of him, that he was clothed with humility. He was, in a particular manner, attentive to the concerns of the poor, and all that he could spare was given to them. While he rebuked sinners for their enormities, he was ready to relieve all their wants. This was a godlike disposition, and the mark of a true character of the real christian.

In this heavenly manner Dr. Taylor continued to discharge his duty as long as king Edward lived; but no sooner was that pious monarch dead, than things took a different turn.

Two persons in his parish, one named Clarke, and the other Foster, hired a Romish priest to come to Hadleigh to say mass. For this purpose, they ordered an altar to be built up with all convenient speed, and appointed that the mass should be said on palm sunday. But the people met together in the evening, and beat the altar to pieces: however, it was built up again, and a watch appointed, lest it should be demolished a second time.

The day following, Clarke and Foster came, bringing with them their popish priest, who was to perform the service of the mass. The priest was dressed in all his robes for that purpose, and had a guard with him, lest he should be interrupted by the populace.

When Dr. Taylor heard the bells ring, he went into the church to know the reason, according to the duty of his station, but found the doors of the chancel barred against him. However, getting within the chancel, he saw the popish priest at the altar, attended by several persons with their swords drawn. The doctor accused the priest of idolatry, but the priest retorted upon him, and called him traitor, for disobeying the queen's proclamation. Dr. Taylor said he was no traitor, but a minister of the gospel, commanded to teach the people, and then ordered the popish priest to retire, as one who came in there to poison the flock of Christ with his most abominable doctrines.—Foster, who had a large share in this business, called Dr. Taylor a traitor, and violently dragged him out of the church; while his wife, on her knees, begged that God would vindicate his innocence, and avenge the injuries he had so wrongfully received, which was what he had not deserved, because he had not done more than his duty.

On this, Foster and Clarke exhibited a charge of heresy against Dr. Taylor, to Gardiner the chancellor. The chancellor sent a messenger, commanding Dr. Taylor to appear before him, in order to answer to the charge that had been exhibited.

When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this they were much grieved; and suspecting what was likely to happen, as law and justice were both trodden under foot, desired him to flee the country and save his life. But with this request he would by no means comply; for he said, that it was more honourable to suffer for the cause of God, than to flee from the wrath of wicked men. "God (said he) will either protect me from sufferings, or he will enable me to bear them." He added, "that he knew his dying for the truth would be of more service to Christ, than his flying away from the malice of his persecutors."

When his friends saw that nothing could prevail upon

him, they took farewell of him with tears; after which, he set out for London, accompanied by a servant, named John Hull, who had been a considerable time in his family. This faithful servant advised him to make his escape, but all to no purpose; for he said, that the good shepherd should never leave his sheep, till he was torn from them by force. In the same heavenly manner he exhorted John to be constant in the profession of christianity, and not return again to popery.

When Dr. Taylor was brought before the chancellor Gardiner, that prelate reviled him in the most shocking manner, calling him a traitor and a heretick; to all which our pious martyr patiently submitted.

Dr. Taylor answered the chancellor with becoming firmness: he told him, that "he was the persecutor of God's people, and that he had not adhered to our Saviour and his word:" he put bishop Gardiner in mind of the oath he had taken in the beginning of king Edward's reign, to maintain the protestant religion, and oppose the papal supremacy; but Gardiner answered, that "the oath had been extorted, so that he was not obliged to abide by it."

Dr. Taylor having explained to the bishop the nature of his oath, told him; that, "as he had not been forced to take one contrary to the dictates of conscience, so he was either prejudiced in what he did, or what was still worse, he trifled with a sacred obligation: that no man whatever could dispense with an oath, unless he knew it was his duty to do so, in consequence of its having been imposed on him by violence."

Gardiner, who was self-convicted, exclaimed, "Tush! tush! it was Herod's oath; and therefore proper to be broken!" and, evading the subject, turned to the disputed points concerning the real presence, and some other things in popery.

Dr. Taylor, after being interrogated by the chancellor for a considerable time, was at length committed to prison.

The prison in which Dr. Taylor was confined, was the King's bench, where he met with that pious man Mr. Bradford, whose affinity in religious sentiments contributed

to mitigate his sufferings. If two virtuous or pious persons are of the same opinion, and under the same afflicting circumstances, they generally feel for each other. This was the case with Dr. Taylor and Mr. Bradford; for no sooner did they meet each other in prison, than they blessed God who had brought them together, to suffer for the truth of the gospel.

After Dr. Taylor had laid a considerable time in prison, he was cited to appear at Bow church, in Cheapside, to answer to the dean of the arches why he had married a wife.

When he was brought before the dean of the arches, he defended marriage in such a masterly manner, that the dean would not venture to pronounce a divorce, but only deprived him of his benefice. He was then remanded to prison, and kept there above a year and a half; when he, and several others, were brought to be examined before the chancellor.

Gardiner asked him "whether he adhered to the form of religion, as established by king Edward VI? Whether he approved of the English book of common prayer? Whether he was married?" and many other questions. To all these Dr. Taylor gave clear and satisfactory answers, justifying his conduct; but these were not sufficient; his death was resolved on.

The next time he was brought before the chancellor, was in company with Mr. Saunders before mentioned, and Mr. Bradford. Dr. Taylor was charged with heresy by the chancellor, and the other bishops present. He acknowledged that "he abhorred all the popish doctrines of the church of Rome; that the pope was anti-christ; that to deny the clergy the privilege of marrying was the doctrine of devils. That there were but two sacraments in the New Testament; that the mass was idolatry, the body of Christ being in heaven; and last of all, that he would abide by these sentiments to the last, being convinced that they were consistent with the doctrines laid down by Christ and his apostles."

The chancellor then pronounced sentence on him, and he was taken to the Clink prison in Southwark, where he

remained till night, and was then sent to the Poultry compter. Here he remained seven days; when, on the 4th of February, Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to degrade him, bringing with them the popish habits.

The night after he was degraded, his wife, with his son Thomas, came to see him; and such was the good nature of the keeper, that he permitted them to go into his apartment to sup with him. Thus he found a great difference between the keeper of the bishop's prison, and the keeper of the compter. The bishop's keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannical, like their master; but the keepers of the king's prisons, for the most part, showed as much favour as could be granted to those whom they had in custody. John Hull, the servant, came with the wife and son of Dr. Taylor; and, at their first coming in, they all kneeled down and prayed.

Having spent some time in conversing with them and giving them his farewell advice, he fell down and prayed with them once more. He then gave his wife an English prayer-book, as set forth by king Edward VI. and unto his son Thomas he gave a latin book, containing a collection of sentiments from the writings of the primitive fathers, relating to the courage and constancy of the ancient martyrs.

On the fifth day of February, the sheriff of London, attended by his officers, came to the compter, and took Dr. Taylor to the Woolpack, near Aldgate, at the early hour of two in the morning. His wife, having some suspicion that he was to be taken out that morning, waited all night in the church of St. Botolph, near Aldgate, having with her a poor orphan girl, whom the doctor had brought up, and one of her own children. When the sheriff and his company came opposite Botolph church, the orphan girl cried out, "O, my dear father; mother, mother, here is my father led out." Then Mrs. Taylor cried out, "Rowland! Rowland! where art thou?" for the morning was extremely dark. To this Dr. Taylor answered, "Here I am, but I am confined." The sheriff's officers wanted to hurry him away; but the sheriff, who had

more humanity, ordered them to let him speak with his wife.

She then came to him, when taking his wife and daughter, with the orphan girl, by the hands, he kneeled down, and prayed with them; which, when the sheriff, and the other people present saw, they shed tears. Prayers being over, he rose up, and taking his wife by the hand, bid her have good comfort, for he had a clear conscience. "God, said he, will provide a father for my children, but let them be steadfast in the faith." To which his wife answered, "God be with you, my dear Rowland, and I will, with his grace, meet you at Hadleigh."

He was then put into a chamber, with four of the yeoman of the guard, and the sheriff's officers. As soon as he entered the chamber he gave himself wholly up to prayer. There the sheriffs seeing his wife, told her that "she must not speak to her husband; but that she might go to his house, and he would provide for her, so as she should not want for any thing." To this she answered, that "she would rather go to her mother's house," and two officers were sent to conduct her thither.

This part of the sheriffs conduct seems to have arisen from principles of humanity; for what man can see a wife and children weeping beside a father and husband, condemned for a disputable offence, without shedding a tear of compassion?

Dr. Taylor remained at the Woolpack till eleven in the forenoon, when the sheriff of Essex came to receive him, and they prepared to set out on horseback. As they came out of the gate of the Inn, John Hull, his old servant, whom we have mentioned before, was there waiting, having with him Dr. Taylor's son Thomas; John lifted up the boy that he might see his father, and then set him on the horse before him. Dr. Taylor taking off his hat, said, "Good people, this is my own son. He then lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son; laid his hat upon the boy's head, and blessed him. After this he delivered him to John Hull, whom he shook by the hand and said, "thou hast been the most faithful servant I ever had."

The procession then set out on the Essex road, but when they came near Brentwood, one Arthur Taisie, who had been formerly a servant with Dr. Taylor, not knowing he had been condemned, came up and shook hands with him, for he thought he had been at liberty: the sheriff told him that he was not, but that he was his prisoner.

When they arrived at Brentwood, they made a close hood for Dr. Taylor, having two holes for his eyes, and one for his mouth to breathe at. They did this, that no man should know him or speak to him; which practice they frequently used with others.

All the way Dr. Taylor was as joyful as if he had been going to take the possession of an estate; and, indeed, how could it be otherwise? He knew he was suffering for the faith, and that the truth was able to support him.

At Chelmsford they were met by the sheriff of Suffolk, who was to take him into that county to be executed. While they were at supper, the sheriff of Essex laboured earnestly with him to return to the popish religion. He told him, "that as he was a man of universal learning, so his death would be a great loss to the nation." The sheriff, whatever his own opinions were, said a great deal to Dr. Taylor, and falling before him on his knees, with the tears running down his cheeks, earnestly begged of him to recant his opinions, and be reconciled to the church, promising that he, and all his friends, would procure his pardon.

Dr. Taylor then took the cup in his hand, and looking forward to the company, particularly to the sheriff of Essex, said, "I heartily thank you for your good-will; I have hearkened to your words, and minded well your councils; and, to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself; and am like to deceive a great many in Hadleigh of their expectations." At these words the whole company clapped their hands with joy: "God bless you, (said the sheriff of Essex) keep to that, it is the most comfortable word we have heard from you. Why should you cast away yourself? Play a wise man's part, and then I am certain you will find favour." Upon this Dr. Taylor told him, "That there were a great number of worms in Hadleigh church-yard, who would have

had the feasting, which no doubt they wished for many a day; but I know I am deceived, said he, and the worms are so too; for my body is to be burned to ashes, and they will lose their feast."

When the sheriff, and his companions, heard him say this, they were amazed at his constancy; for the nearer his sufferings approached, the more he was strengthened to endure them.

When he came within two miles of Hadleigh, he desired to alight from his horse, which done, he leaped two or three times, as men do at country scenes of diversion. The sheriff being surprised, asked him what he meant by acting in that manner? His answer was, "good Mr. Sheriff, I am almost at home." When he was arrived at Aldham Common, the place where he was to be burnt, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and thanked God that the last struggle was come, and he hoped he should be enabled to go through with it.

He tore the hood from his face, that he might be seen by the numerous spectators, many of whom had formerly been his parishioners. He then began to speak to the people who were praying for him; but the officers thrust sticks into his mouth, and threatened to cut his tongue out, unless he would promise to keep silence at the place of execution.

When he had prayed, he kissed the stake, and set himself into a barrel filled with pitch, which had been placed for that purpose. Fire being set to the pitch, Dr. Taylor continued praying in the most devout manner, till one of the officers, more humane than the rest, knocked out his brains with a halbert; which put an end to his misery.

We have here an instance of popish superstition, in some respects more violent than any we have yet taken notice of. Dr. Taylor was not only a pious man, but he had been, for his knowledge of the canon and civil laws, long esteemed as the glory of Cambridge. He had, from his distinguished abilities, confuted the chancellor in his arguments concerning the marriage of the clergy; and, indeed, in all other respects he was so well acquainted with the ancient fathers, that he was with great propriety

called "the Walking Library." But no mercy is to be shown, where religious rancour takes place. There is something in all such persecutions that shuts up the bowels of compassion, even towards the nearest relations. Civil persecutors may have some compassion, but those who persecute from erroneous notions of religion, are generally strangers to every tender sensation.

CHAP. IV.

MARTYRDOM OF MESSRS. TOMKINS, HUNTER, AND OTHERS.

Thomas Tomkins, the first person on the bloody list, was by trade a weaver, and lived, with great reputation, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch. Being accused of heresy, he was summoned before the merciless Bonner, who confined him, with many others, in his palace at Fulham.

During his imprisonment he was treated by the bishop in a manner not only unbecoming a prelate, but a man: he several times beat him with unbounded cruelty, and tore the greatest part of his beard from his face, for no other reason but his not assenting to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Another instance of this cruel wretch's inhumanity to Mr. Tomkins, was exhibited before several gentlemen who came to visit him. Bonner finding him inflexible, took hold of him by the wrist, and held his hand over the flame of a wax-candle. in order, if possible, to make him deviate from those uncorrupted truths of the gospel he had so strongly preserved. This punishment Mr. Tomkins submitted to with great fortitude, till the veins burst, and water issuing from the hand flew into the face of a by-stander, who was so affected, that he requested Bonner to forbear, saying, he had sufficiently punished the prisoner.

A few days after this Mr. Tomkins was brought before Bonner, at his consistory court at St. Paul's, to whom he delivered articles of confession in writing, sealed up, and signed with his own hand.

Bonner, and the rest of the tribunal, strongly pressed Mr. Tomkins to recant his errors, and return to the mother-church; but he only answered, "I was born and brought up in ignorance till of late years, and now I know the truth, I will continue therein unto death."

Finding him inflexible, they declared him a heretick, and ordered the sheriff of London, who attended, to conduct him immediately to Newgate. Here he remained till the 16th of March, 1555, when he was conducted to Smithfield, and burnt, triumphing in the midst of the flames, and adding to those martyrs who had preceded him through the path of the fiery trial to the realms of immortal glory.

William Hunter. This pious young man was the son of poor, but honest and religious parents, who trained him up in the doctrines of the reformation, and when at a proper age put him apprentice to one Thomas Taylor, a silk-weaver, in Coleman-street, London.

On the accession of Queen Mary, orders were issued to the priests of every parish to summon all their parishoners to receive the communion at mass the Easter following, when young Hunter, who was then only nineteen years of age, refusing to obey the summons, was threatened with being brought before the bishop to answer for his disobedience.

After this, he was repeatedly brought before the bishop; who, sometimes by soothing him, and sometimes by threats, endeavoured to bring him to a recantation; but all his efforts proved ineffectual. In consequence of this, the persecuting prelate passed sentence on him; which was, that he should be remanded to Newgate for a time, from whence he should be removed to Brentwood; "where (said the bishop) thou shalt be burned."

A few days after this, the bishop sent for him again, and promised him preferment if he would recant: to which he replied, "my lord, I thank you for your great offer; but, if you cannot enforce my recantation from scripture, I cannot, in my conscience, turn from God for the love of the world, for I count all things but dross for the love of Christ."

On the morning of the 27th of March, 1555, the sheriff gave orders for the necessary preparations to be made for

his execution. In the mean time the sheriff's son, who was his friend, visited him, and encouraged him not to fear the men who were making preparations for his death; to whom he said, that, "thank God, he was not in the least intimidated, for that he had cast up his account, and well knew the happy consequences that would attend his strict adherence to the cause of Christ."

A short time after this, he was led from the inn to the stake, between one of the sheriff's officers, and his brother Robert. In their way he was met by his father, who, with tears flowing from his eyes, said to him, "God be with thee, son William."

When he arrived at the place of execution, he kneeled on a fagot, and repeated the 51st psalm, till he came to these words: "The sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit; a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." He was then interrupted by one of the officers, who told him the translation was wrong, the words being an humble spirit; but he said the translation was a contrite heart, on which he was told, that the hereticks translated books as they pleased.

The sheriff then produced him a letter from the queen, containing his pardon if he would recant; but he refused life on those terms, went up to the stake, and was chained to it, saying to the spectators, "good people, pray for me, and make quick dispatch; pray for me while you see me alive, and I will pray for you."

He then took a fagot, and embraced it in his arms; and, on a priest's offering him a book, said, "away thou false prophet, beware of him, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest ye be partakers of their plagues."

As soon as the fire was kindled, our martyr gave his prayer-book to his brother, who, to encourage him, reminded him of the passion of his dear Redeemer, and bid him be of good cheer: to which he replied; "I fear neither torture nor death; Lord Jesus, receive my departing spirit!" The fire burning rapidly, he was soon consumed, yielding up his life, with patience and humility, to him who gave it and in testimony of the truth of that God.

who cannot change, but whose word is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

On the same day that Hunter was executed, Thomas Higbed, and Thomas Causton, two gentlemen of Essex, suffered the like fate; the former being burnt at Horndon on the hill, and the latter at Rayleigh.

William Pigot, Stephen Knight, and John Lawrence, the two former laymen, the latter a priest, were all arrested as enemies to the popish doctrine, pronounced here-ticks, and condemned to be burned.

Pigot and Knight were first led to execution, the one at Braintree, the other at Malden.

Both these martyrs suffered with amazing fortitude and resignation, proving to the spectators, that, as is the day of the sincere believer, so likewise will be his strength.

The next day, March 29, John Lawrence suffered at Colchester. He was carried to the place of execution in a chair, being unable to walk, from the pressure of the irons with which his legs were bound, and the weakness of his body, through want of proper nourishment while in prison. The chair was fastened to the stake, and he sat in it for some time with great composure, praying to God to enable him to undergo the fiery trial; at length the fagots were lighted, and he triumphantly expired in the cause of his glorious Master in sure and certain hope of an eternal existence in heaven.

CHAP. V.

MARTYRDOM OF BISHOP FARRAR, AND OTHERS.

The emissaries of the persecuting bishops had, for some time, fixed their eyes on this worthy and pious prelate; who, not only in the former reign, but also after the accession of Mary, had been particularly zealous in promoting the reformed doctrines, and exploding the errors of popish idolatry. Information of this being given to the bishop of Winchester, lord-chancellor, Dr. Farrar, with several others, was summoned to appear before him, and the

other commissioners, appointed for the cruel work of massacring protestants.

After some previous harangue, the bishop formally told him, that "the queen and parliament had restored religion to the state in which it was at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. that he was in the queen's debt, but her majesty would cancel the same, and re-admit him to her favour, if he would return to the holy catholick church.

Undismayed by this information, Dr. Farrar answered; that, "with respect to the debt, he submitted it to the lord-treasurer; but his lordship might well remember, that upon two former occasions he had solemnly sworn never to acknowledge the papal jurisdiction over the realm of England, and therefore it was needless to rehearse what he had already so peremptorily declared."

After a long debate, Gardiner sternly demanded, "if he would recant, and acknowledge the papal supremacy?" to which Farrar, with a resolution becoming a true christian, and worthy bishop, expressed a degree of contempt, "that his lordship should even think he would recede from an oath he had made to his Maker: an oath he could not break, consistently with his duty to God, and his regard to the interest of the reformed religion in his native country."

The relentless Gardiner was so highly incensed at this spirited behaviour in Dr. Farrar, that, according to his custom, he treated him with scurrility, calling him "froward knave," and telling him, "that he should know his fate in a short time." To this, Farrar coolly replied, that "he would ever readily obey his summons, but would never retract what he had solemnly sworn, either at the instigation of him, or any other man whatever."

The examination being over, Dr. Farrar was ordered to Newgate, where he was a short time confined, and then sent into Wales, there to receive his sentence of condemnation.

On his arrival at Carmarthen, he was delivered to the sheriff of the county, who took him before Henry Morgan, the bishop of St. David's, and Constantine, the publick notary, by whom he was committed to the custody of the keeper of Carmarthen gaol.

A few days after his commitment to that prison, he was sent for by bishop Morgan, who exhorted him to recant, on condition of which he assured him of the queen's clemency, as well as preferment to an office of dignity in the church. But our martyr was inflexible: he would not listen to any proposals derogatory to the oath he had taken; upon which, bishop Morgan asked him the two following questions:

“1. Whether he believed the marriage of priests, allowed by the laws of the holy church?”

“2. Whether he believed, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration duly pronounced by the priest, the very body and blood of Christ are really and substantially contained, without the substance of bread and wine.”

Dr. Farrar refused to answer to these questions, unless the bishop produced a commission, authorizing him to ask them; upon which he was remanded to prison.

At length, after various disputes with bishop Morgan, he appealed from him, as an incompetent judge, to cardinal Pole; notwithstanding which, sentence was pronounced against him as a heretick, and he was delivered over to the secular power, having been previously degraded by Morgan.

Thus, for his steadfast adherence to the uncorrupted doctrines of the reformation, and resolute denial of the papal jurisdiction, was Dr. Farrar condemned, degraded, delivered up to the secular power, and, on the eve of Passion Sunday, in the bloody year 1555, executed in the market-place of Carmarthen, amidst a numerous crowd of spectators.

The following circumstance is an evincing proof what constancy and resolution this good man possessed, and how determined he was to retain those religious principles to the last; to which, during his life, he had so strongly adhered.

The son of a person of distinction visiting him a few days before his execution, and lamenting the cruel fate that awaited him, the doctor told him, that “if he saw him once stir in the pains of burning, he might then give

no credit to his doctrine, but look upon it as the effects of enthusiasm."

He resolutely fulfilled his promise, and greatly surprised his friend, who came to condole his fate: for he stood motionless in the midst of the flames, holding both his hands till they were burnt to the stumps, at which time, one of the officers struck him on the head with a staff, and put a period to his life.

As Dr. Farrar gave many signal instances of his sincere and unshaken zeal for the honour of Christ, and exaltation of his name, during life; so, at his death, he suffered and expired with a degree of christian heroism, at least equal to the most primitive martyrs.

Rawlins White, a fisherman, had been so attentive to the preaching of the gospel during the late reign, that he attained to a very competent knowledge of the holy scriptures, and became a zealous asserter of the protestant doctrines, having wholly renounced the superstition and idolatry of the popish religion, and conformed to the publick worship of God, according to the English common prayer book then set forth.

Having been himself converted to the true faith of Christ, he took great pains to instruct his son in the same faith, causing him to read a portion of holy scripture every night and morning, till he likewise became well grounded in the principles of true religion, as contained in the gospel.

White was not only desirous of acquiring saving knowledge himself, but also of communicating it to others; in-somuch that he took every opportunity of visiting his neighbours, and endeavouring to instruct those whom he found desirous of obtaining a knowledge of the truth.

He continued to practice those devout exercises in a publick manner, till the death of king Edward, when popery being restored, and the pure religion discouraged and restrained, he used to meet privately with his friends, pray, and encourage them to hold fast to the truth. At length he was apprehended by one of the officers of the town, on a suspicion of heresy, who taking him before the bishop of Landaff, he was, by that prelate, committed to prison.

During his confinement, several of his friends sent him money privately; and he was visited by many, whom he instructed in the faith of Christ, and exhorted to beware of popish emissaries, as wolves in sheep's clothing.

After a long imprisonment, Dr. Kitchen, bishop of Landaff, summoned White to appear before him, and endeavoured to bring him over to the popish idolatry and superstition; but all his exhortations proving ineffectual, he told him in anger, either to recant his heretical opinions, or endure the rigour of the law against those who maintained tenets repugnant to the doctrines of the holy see.

On the day appointed for his examination, the bishop, in the presence of his chaplains, and many of the neighbours, assembled in the chapel: declared, that White was known "not only to maintain heretical principles himself, but to inculcate the same amongst his acquaintance." Then addressing himself to White, he told him, that "he had frequently, since his first warning, both there and in his house, been admonished to relinquish his heretical tenets, and yet had always turned a deaf ear to the most salutary advice." He added, that "out of clemency they had once more sent for him, mildly to endeavour to bring him to an humble sense of his errors, and assured him, that, upon due penitence for the crimes he had committed, both against God and the law of his sovereign, they were disposed to show him mercy: but that if in spite of the royal clemency, and admonition of the reverend fathers, he obstinately persisted in his heresies, they were determined to execute on him the utmost rigour of the law, as a most damnable heretick."

White, without the least sign of fear at the peremptory declaration of the bishop, told his lordship, that "he blessed God he was a christian, and held no doctrines contrary to the divine mind and will, as revealed in the scriptures of truth: if he did, he begged to be convinced of the same out of the divine word, to which he determined ever most implicitly to conform."

After much more exhortation, the bishop assured him, that "if he would not recant, he must condemn him as a heretick." To which White replied, that "he might pro-

ceed as he thought proper, but that he could not condemn him as a heretick, as he did not maintain any opinion that was not supported by the word of God."

The bishop then desired the people present to join with him in prayer, that it would please God to turn White's heart, and bring him to the acknowledgement of the true religion.

Our martyr applauded this behaviour of the bishop "as becoming his profession," assuring him, that "if their request was agreeable to the divine will, God would doubtless hear and grant the same; and that, while he was praying to his God, he (White) would pray to his God, who he knew would hear and perform his desire."

Accordingly, they all went to private prayer, which being finished, the bishop asked him "how he found himself disposed in his mind?" He replied, "the very same as before."

The bishop, incensed that no change could be wrought upon him, was ready to have read the sentence, but he was advised first to say mass, during which ceremony, White standing at the door of the choir, cried out to the populace, "Bear witness that I bow not to this idol," meaning the host, which the priest held over his head.

Mass having been concluded, he was again warmly admonished to recant, but all exhortation was ineffectual; the bishop, therefore, read the definitive sentence; after which, he was carried to Cardiff, and imprisoned in a place called Cockmarel, a most filthy and loathsome dungeon, where he continued till the writ for his execution came from London.

Upon the day appointed for terminating his life, March 30, 1555, he was brought from prison; and, in his way to the place appointed for the bloody scene, met his wife and children, wringing their hands, and most bitterly lamenting his approaching fate. This affecting sight drew tears from his eyes; but soon recollecting himself, and striking his breast with his hand, he said, "Ah! flesh, stayest thou me, wouldest thou fain prevail? Well, do what thou canst, by God's grace thou shalt not get the victory."

As soon as he arrived at the stake, he fell on his knees,

and kissed the earth, saying, "Earth to earth, and dust to dust; thou art my mother, to thee I must return."

When he was fastened to the stake, and the straw, reeds, and wood were placed round him, a priest, appointed for the purpose, stood up and harrangued the spectators, who were exceedingly numerous, it being Market-day.

The priest, having finished his discourse, in which he inveighed against the opinion of the protestants concerning the sacrament of the altar, our martyr rebuked him, proved his doctrine to be false, and cited, as his authority, those words of our Lord, "Do this in remembrance of me."

The fire being kindled, he was soon surrounded by the flames, in the midst of which this good old man, for he was sixty years of age, held up his hands till the sinews shrunk, crying earnestly, "O Lord, receive my soul; O Lord, receive my spirit!" the flames were so vehement about his legs, that they were almost consumed, before the upper part of his body caught the fire; notwithstanding which he bore his sufferings with the greatest composure and resignation, cheerfully resigning his soul into the hands of him who gave it, in sure and certain hopes of being hereafter rewarded with a crown of eternal life.

George Marsh, a minister of the gospel. This eminent and pious divine was descended from poor, but honest and religious parents, who educated him, from his earliest years, in the principles of the reformed religion; so that when he arrived at manhood, he was well versed in the doctrines of the pure gospel of Christ.

He had originally followed the business of farming, and by his honest endeavours maintained his family with decency and reputation for some years: but on the decease of his wife, being disposed to study, he placed his children with his father, quitted his farm, and went to Cambridge, where he made such progress in literature, that he soon entered into holy orders.

He officiated as curate in several parishes in the county of Lancaster, kept a school at Dean, and was a zealous promoter of the true religion, as well as a vigorous

opposer of the idolatries of the church of Rome, during the reign of king Edward VI. But when popery raised its destructive head, he, among many others, became the object of its persecution, as one that propagated doctrines contrary to the infallible church, and therefore liable to the severest censure and punishment.

Mr. Marsh, on hearing that search was made after him, absconded for some time, and in his retirement often deliberated with himself, whether he should fly abroad to save his life, or surrender himself up, in order to ward off the mischief which threatened his mother and brother, who were supposed to have concealed him from the persons employed to search out hereticks.

During this unsettled state of his mind, he consulted with his friends, and earnestly sought direction of God, that he might be guided in the way which most conduced to his glory, and his own spiritual and eternal interest.

At length, thinking that flight would evince cowardice in the best of causes, he determined, by the grace of God, to abide by the consequence, and accordingly surrendered himself to the earl of Derby, at his seat at Latham, in the county of Lancaster.

When brought into the earl's presence, he was charged with propagating heresy, and sowing sedition amongst the people; but he denied the charge, and declared, that "he preached no other doctrine than what was contained in the word of God, and that he always enforced allegiance to his sovereign, according to the will of God."

Being asked to deliver a summary of his belief, he declared, that "he believed in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to the creeds of the apostles, the council of Nice, and the saints Athanasius, Austin, and Ambrose."

A Romish priest, present, then proceeded to enquire his opinion concerning the favourite tenet of the church of Rome, relating to the sacrament. Marsh answered in general, that he believed whosoever received the holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, according to his own appointment, did eat and drink his body and blood, with all the benefits arising from the same, because our lord was ever present at his own ordinances."

This general reply not appearing satisfactory, they descended to particulars, and peremptorily demanded his opinion, "whether or not the elements were changed into the very body and blood of Christ after consecration?" Our martyr briefly observed, that "what he believed he had already declared, and desired them not to propose to him such hard and unprofitable questions, in order to endanger his life, and, to suck from him his very blood."

Incensed at this reply, the earl told him, that instead of seeking his destruction, he meant to preserve his life in this world, and secure his happiness in that which is to come, by converting him from damnable errors and heresies, and bringing him over to the holy mother-church, out of which there was no salvation."

After many questions and exhortations, finding he still persevered in the faith which opposed that of the infallible church, the earl gave him pen and ink, and ordered him to write down his belief concerning the sacrament of the altar; and on his writing just what he had before delivered, he was commanded to be more particular, when he wrote only the following words: "Further I know not."

This resolute behaviour exposed him to the keenest resentment of his popish prosecutors, who committed him to prison, and suffered no one to come near him but the keeper, who brought him daily the scanty allowance of the place.

Various attempts were made, during his confinement, to bring him to a recantation; but as he still remained fixed and determined in his faith, they administered to him the four following articles, to which the earl declared, if he would not subscribe, he should be sent to the county gaol, and proceeded against with the utmost severity.

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

"2. Whether Almighty God, by the words pronounced by the priest, did change the bread and wine, after the words of consecration, into the body and blood of Christ; whether it were received or reserved?

“3. Whether the lay-people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

“4. Whether confession to the priest now used in England was godly and necessary?”

Having retired for some time to consider of these articles, he returned, and delivered his opinion of them as follows:

“The first he absolutely denied.

“The second he answered in the very words he had before written.

“With respect to the third, he declared, that lay-people, according to the institution of Christ, ought to receive under both kinds, and that, therefore, to receive under one kind only was not sufficient.

“To the last he observed, that though auricular confession was a good means to instruct ignorant people, it was not necessary to salvation, because not commanded by God.

“To these points he added, that his faith in Christ, founded on the infallible word of the only living and true God, he never would deny at the instance of any living creature, or through fear of any punishment whatsoever; and moreover desired of the earl, that his friends might be permitted to visit him during his confinement.”

In a few days he was committed to Lancaster gaol, laid in irons, and arraigned at the bar with the common felons, where they endeavoured to extort from him informations of several persons in that county, whom they suspected of maintaining heretical opinions; but no means could prevail with him to utter a word that might endanger the lives or liberties of his faithful brethren in Christ.

He was severely reprimanded for reading aloud to the people, who flocked every morning and evening under the prison window, the litany and prayers of the reformed church, together with select passages of holy writ in the English tongue, which they termed preaching, and, therefore, deemed criminal.

After remaining some weeks in confinement at Lancaster, he was removed to Chester, and placed in the bishop's

liberty, where his lordship frequently conferred with him, and used his utmost endeavours to bring him to an acknowledgment of the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar, the mass, confession, and, in short, of all the tenets and practices of the church of Rome.

When the bishop (Dr. Cotes) found he would not assent to a single point, he remanded him back to prison; and in a few days summoned him before him in the cathedral church of Chester, where, in the presence of the mayor, chancellor, and principal inhabitants of that city, both laity and clergy, he caused him to take a solemn oath, to answer truly to such articles as might be alledged against him.

After he was sworn, the chancellor accused him "of having preached and published most heretically, and blasphemously, within the parishes of Dean, Eccles, Berry, and many other parishes within the bishop's diocese, directly against the pope's authority, the catholick church of Rome, the mass, and the sacrament of the altar;" with many other articles.

To all these charges Mr. Marsh answered in brief, that "he had neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or published against any of the articles, but as occasion served; and as his conscience obliged him to maintain the truth, as declared in God's word, and as all then present had acknowledged in the preceding reign."

Being examined as to every particular article, he modestly answered, according to the doctrine publickly taught in the reign of King Edward VI.

After a confinement of three weeks longer in prison, Marsh was again brought into the cathedral, where the chancellor made a formal harrangue "on the bishop's care of his flock, in order to prevent infection from scabby sheep," and the like; which ended, the former articles were propounded to Mr. Marsh; to which he severally answered in the negative.

Being charged with having declared that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in King Edward's time was the true church, and that the church of Rome is not

the true catholick church;" he acknowledged the declaration, and ratified it by a repetition.

Several persons present taking occasion to ask him, "as he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England, whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, who were bishops of Rome, were not good men," he replied in the affirmative, but reminded them, that "they claimed no more authority in England than the Archbishop of Canterbury doth in Rome."

As this observation highly reflected on the validity of the papal supremacy, the bishop was so incensed, that he gave Marsh very abusive language, calling him "a most damnable, irreclaimable, unpardonable heretick."

All endeavours proving ineffectual, the bishop proceeded in passing sentence, which being ended, Marsh was delivered up to the sheriffs, who conveyed him to the Northgate prison, where he was confined in a dungeon till the day of his execution.

On the 4th of April, 1555, this firm believer was led to the place appointed for the bloody scene, amidst a crowd of lamenting spectators. It was near a village, called Spittle-Boughton, at a small distance from Chester. As soon as he arrived at the place, the chamberlain of that city showed him a box, containing the queen's pardon, on condition that he would recant. Our martyr coolly answered, that "he would gladly accept the same, (for he loved the queen) but as it tended to pluck him from God, who was king of kings, and lord of lords, he could not receive it on such terms."

Then turning to the spectators, he told them the cause of the cruel death which awaited him, and exhorted them to remain stedfast in the faith of Christ; which done, he kneeled on the ground, directed his prayer to God, for strength equal to the fiery trial, arose, and was chained to the stake, having a number of fagots under him, and a cask full of pitch and tar hanging over his head. As soon as he was chained to the stake, he again addressed himself earnestly in prayer to God.

The fire being kindled, he suffered, for a considerable time, the most exquisite torture, his flesh being so broiled

and puffed up that those who stood before him could not see the chain with which he was fastened. At length, with the utmost fortitude, he spread forth his arms, and said, with a voice to be universally heard by the spectators, "father of heaven, have mercy upon me." Soon after which he yielded up his spirit into the hands of him who gave it.

William Flower was born in Snow-hill, in the county of Cambridge. He was educated in the Roman catholick persuasion; and being brought up to the church, when, at a proper age, he was admitted into orders, and became a professed monk in the abbey of Ely.

After residing some time in the monastery, he threw off the monkish habit, became a secular priest, returned to the place of his nativity, and officiated, for some years, in a clerical capacity.

But on a serious review of the sacred scriptures, and candid comparisons of them with the doctrines and practices of the Romish church, he began to doubt of the authenticity of the latter; and, by a farther inspection, finding them wholly repugnant to the word of God, and founded on the mere inventions of men, he abjured them, and earnestly embraced the doctrines of the reformation.

After having thus departed from the Romish church, he came to London, and took up his residence at Lambeth, where he married, and kept a school.

Going one day from Lambeth to Westminster, he went into St. Margaret's church, at the time that mass was performing. As he refused to kneel at the elevation of the host, he was severely reprimanded by the priest; at which Flower was so irritated, that he struck him on the head, the priest having, at the same time, in his hand a chalice, containing some consecrated wafers.

As his behaviour, on this occasion, proceeded rather from rash zeal than well-grounded knowledge, he submitted himself to the award of bishop Bonner, willing to endure, for his folly, whatever punishment he should think proper to inflict.

The bishop would have mitigated his punishment for the crime he had committed on the priest, if he would have

subscribed to the popish faith; but that he would not consent to on any terms whatever; in consequence of which he was committed a prisoner to the Gatehouse.

After remaining some time in prison, he was brought before the bishop, who administered to him, on oath, several articles. But not answering satisfactorily, he was committed to the Fleet prison, when he was brought before the warden, and found guilty of abusing a priest in the duty of his office, and also of maintaining damnable heresies.

He was again brought before the bishop, who used the most forcible arguments to induce him to recant; but these all proving ineffectual, he asked him, "if he knew any matter, or cause, why sentence should not be pronounced against him as a heretick?" To which he answered, "I have nothing at all to say, for I have already said unto you all that I had to say; and that I have said I will not go from: and, therefore, do what you will."

The bishop then proceeded to the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him as a heretick: after which he was degraded, and delivered over to the secular power; the 24th of April being the day appointed for his execution in St. Margaret's church-yard, Westminster.

On the morning of the fatal day he was led to the stake, amidst a prodigious number of spectators. Immediately on his arrival at the place, he knelt down, and prayed to God, acknowledging his faith, as follows:—

"O eternal God, most mighty and merciful father, who hast sent down thy son upon the earth, to save me, and all mankind; who ascended up into heaven again, and left his blood upon the earth behind him, for the redemption of our sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for thy dear son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, in whom I confess only to be all salvation and justification, and that there is no other means, nor way, nor holiness, in which, or by which, any man can be saved in this world. This is my faith, which I beseech all men here to bear witness of."

He then repeated the Lord's prayer very deliberately, and with an audible voice; after which he arose, and prepared himself for undergoing his destined punishment.

A Romish priest, who was present, desired him to re-

cant his heresy, and thereby save his life: to whom he said; "Sir, I beseech you, for God's sake, to be contented, for that I have said, I have said; and I trust to the living God, he will give me his holy spirit to continue to the end."

He then desired all the world to forgive him, whom he had offended, as he, from his heart, forgave all the world.

This done, he was chained to the stake, and his left hand fastened to his side. The other hand, with which he had struck the priest, was then held up, and cut off, the blood plentifully gushing from the wrist; which punishment he bore without the least apparent emotion. The fagots were then piled round him, and being immediately kindled, he cried out, with a loud voice, "O the Son of God, have mercy upon me; O the Son of God, receive my soul." These words he repeated three times, when the violence of the smoke took away his speech; but he still showed the spectators that he was not yet deprived of life, by holding up the arm from whence the hand had been cut, with the other, as long as he was able. There not being a sufficiency of fagots, he underwent great torture, the lower parts being consumed a considerable time before the others were scarcely affected. At length, however, they finished his miseries, by striking him a violent blow on the head, which brought the upper part of him into the fire; and in this dreadful manner he yielded up his life.

John Cardmaker, for some years a friar of the order of St. Francis. After the dissolution of religious houses by Henry VIII. he attended with such diligence to the preaching and writing of pious and learned divines, that he became a convert to the protestant faith, obtained a living in the reformed church, and was an eminent preacher of the gospel.

In the reign of Edward VI. he was appointed reader at St. Paul's, and prebendary of Wells, in which functions he continued indefatigable till the accession of Queen Mary, when he was apprehended, together with Dr. Barlow, bishop of Bath and Wells, and committed to the fleet, though the laws of King Edward were then in full force.

When the papal supremacy and jurisdiction prevailed in England, and bishops had authority, by virtue of the

statute *ex officio*, to proceed against hereticks, Cardmaker was removed from the fleet to the Compter, where he contracted an acquaintance with Mr. Lawrence Saunders, by whom he was animated and encouraged to continue steadfast in his faith and profession.

He was summoned to appear before the arrogant Bonner, who alledged against him divers charges, some of which, with Cardmaker's answers, were as follows:—

1. "That after his professing the Roman catholick religion, and entering into holy orders, he took a wife, and had by her a child, thereby breaking his vow, and the order and ordinance of the church."

The first part of this charge he allowed, but "denied his having broken any vow by this marriage; because he was allowed to marry, both by the laws of the realm, and also by the laws of the church of England.

2. "That he had believed and taught, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the visible signs, that is, under the forms of bread and wine, there is really the body of Christ; and that he now denied that doctrine."

He replied, that "he had once so believed and taught, but now believed differently."

Several other questions were put to him which he answered, and to his answers he subscribed his name.

For persisting in these answers he was condemned, and sent to Newgate, where he was visited by a messenger from the council, to know "whether or not he would recant."

He told the messenger, that "since God, of his mercy, had opened his eyes to see his eternal truth, he had called upon his name to give him his grace to understand his word, and was determined, by the aid of the same grace, to continue steadfast in the same."

After some debate, concerning the corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar, the messenger, finding Cardmaker inflexible in his opinion, departed, and acquainted the council with the result of his message.

John Warne, fellow-martyr with Cardmaker, lived in the parish of Walbrook, with great credit and reputation, being a very pious and conscientious man.

As all who professed the protestant faith, in these persecuting times, were liable, not only to molestation in the performance of religious duties, but also to be arraigned at the bloody tribunal of the relentless Bonner; Warne, among the rest, was suspected of heresy, brought before the bishop, and had the following articles laid to his charge:—

1. “That he believed that in the sacrament, called the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very, true, and natural body of our Saviour Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.

2. “That he believed, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not (as the church of England doth believe and teach) the body of Christ, but that there doth only remain the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration, and that the said bread is no ways altered and changed.

3. “That he believed, that if the catholick church doth believe and teach, there is in the mass (now used in England, and in other places of Christendom) a sacrifice, wherein there is a sacrament concerning the body and blood of Christ, really and truly, then that belief and faith of the church is nought, and against God’s truth and the scripture.

4. “That neither in Lent past, nor any time since the queen’s reign, he had been at church, nor heard mass, nor had been confessed, or had received the sacrament of the altar; and said that he was not sorry for the same, because his conscience was not defiled, as it would otherwise have been.”

Warne underwent several examinations, in the presence of different persons, on these articles; at all of which he declared, that he did believe and confess the same to be true.

At length, the bishop of London having frequently warned him to abjure his heretical tenets, and return to obedience to the church of Rome, but all without effect, the definitive sentence was pronounced, when he was delivered up to the sheriffs, and sent to Newgate.

On the 30th of May, 1555, these two martyrs were con-

ducted, under a strong guard, from Newgate to Smithfield, the place appointed for their execution.

As soon as they arrived at the stake, Warne began his prayer, which having finished, he prepared himself for the fiery trial. While Warne was at prayers, Cardmaker was discoursing with the sheriffs, insomuch that the friends of the reformation feared he would recant; but these apprehensions soon subsided, for after his conference with the sheriffs, and a short prayer, he courageously went to the stake, took his fellow-sufferer by the hand, comforted him, and cheerfully submitted to be bound.

When the people beheld this they were greatly rejoiced, as it totally removed their fearful apprehensions that he would recant; and they exclaimed, with the most distinguished satisfaction, "God be praised, the Lord strengthen thee, the Lord Jesus receive thy spirits."

The executioner having set fire to the fagots, they burnt with great rapidity, and the bodies of the two martyrs soon perished in the flames, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory, prepared for the true soldiers of Christ in his blessed kingdom.

On the same day these martyrs suffered in Smithfield, John Ordeley and John Simpson were burnt in Essex; the former at Rayleigh, and the latter at Rochford.

Thomas Hawkes was the son of reputable and pious parents, who gave him a good education, and brought him up in the reformed religion. He strictly adhered to his religious principles; so that finding the gospel, after the death of king Edward, began to decline, especially among great families, in one of which he lived, he quitted his service, and returned home, where he hoped quietly to enjoy the worship of God, according to the dictates of his own conscience.

In these expectations, however, he soon found himself disappointed. As there were now popish emissaries in every corner, laying in wait to give information if any one was only suspected of favouring the doctrines of reformation, Hawkes was apprehended, and brought before the earl of Oxford, in whose service he had formerly lived, for being unsound in religion, and contemning the sacra-

ments of the church, in that he had kept a son unbaptized three weeks, because he would not suffer him to be baptized after the popish manner.

The earl referred him to bishop Bonner; to whom, having written that he had refused to have his child baptized according to the order of the church now in use, he left him to his lordship's discretion.

When Hawkes was brought before the bishop, he was asked the cause of keeping the child unbaptized so long; to which he returned for answer, that "he was bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God."

The Bishop then urged, that "baptism being a sacrament contained in the word of God, and incumbent on every christian; he was, consequently, criminal in denying, or not conforming to the same." To this he said, that "he, by no means, denied God's institution, but men's invention therein; such as the use of oil, cream, spittle, salt, candle," &c.

After much debate on the subject, the bishop asked him if he would have his child baptized according to the service-book set out in the reign of Edward VI. To which he replied, that "it was the very thing he desired from his soul."

This, however, was but mere equivocation to learn his sentiments; for it appeared in the sequel, that Bonner's drift was to compel him to submit to the superstitions of the church of Rome, which, however, with all his artifice, he was not able to effect.

On his stedfastly persevering in the faith which he professed, the bishop read the sentence of condemnation against him, and five others; after which, he was sent back to prison, where he remained till June following, when he was delivered into the hands of lord Rich, who caused him to be conveyed to Chelmsford, and from thence to Coggeshall, in Essex, where he was burned on the tenth of the same month.

Mr. Hawkes gave many pious exhortations, and admonitions to his friends who came to visit him; and several of them requesting, "if it was possible, that he would show them some token, by which might appear the possi-

bility of burning without repining," he promised, "by the help of God, to show them, that the most exquisite torments were to be endured in the glorious cause of Christ, and his gospel, the comforts of which were able to lift the believing soul above all that men or devils could inflict."

Accordingly, it was agreed between them, that if the rage of pain was tolerable, he should lift up his hands towards heaven, before he gave up the ghost.

A short time after this agreement, he was led to the place of execution, where being fastened to the stake with a chain, he addressed the multitude, and especially lord Rich, reasoning with him on the iniquity and dreadful consequences of shedding the innocent blood of the saints.

Having fervently prayed to Almighty God, the flames were kindled around him, and he continued in them so long, that his speech was taken away by their violence; his skin was contracted, and the spectators thought he was dead; when, on a sudden, and contrary to all expectation, this eminent and zealous servant of God, mindful of the promise he had made to his friends, held his hands flaming over his head, and, as if in an extacy of joy, clapped them thrice together!

The astonished multitude testified their approbation of his faith and patience, and his friends, to whom he made the promise, were exceedingly confirmed in the most holy faith, by being eye-witnesses to the power of divine strength, which is able to support the servants of God, under every trial that may befall them, for the sake of the truth, as it is in our blessed Redeemer.

Mr. Thomas Watts was born of reputable and pious parents in the county of Essex, educated in the reformed religion, and during the reign of Edward VI. was a zealous professor of the protestant faith. On the accession of Queen Mary to the throne, apprehending that he should be troubled, if not persecuted, on account of his following a religion contrary to that which was then introduced, he relinquished business, sold his goods, and disposed of his substance to his wife and children.

As he lived in the county of Essex, he came under the cognizance of lord Rich, before whom he was brought, and by whom was demanded the reason of his disobeying the queen's laws, absenting himself from church, neglecting the mass, and setting up unlawful conventicles, contrary to her majesty's command.

Mr. Watts replied, with composure, that "if he had offended against the law, he was subject to the penalty of the law;" upon which a justice of the peace, then present, enquired of him, "from whom he had imbibed his new-fangled religion?" Watts upbraided the justice with hypocrisy, reminding him, that "in the days of the late king, no one inveighed more strenuously against the Romish doctrines than himself, pronouncing the mass to be abominable, earnestly exhorting none to believe therein, and that their belief should be only in Christ; nay, adding further, that whosoever should introduce any strange notion here, should be deemed a traitor, and punished as such."

The justice reviled Watts as "an insolent, lying knave," and persuaded the sheriff not to pay any regard to what he had said.

Soon after this, information was given to bishop Bonner, that Thomas Watts "maintained, inculcated, and encouraged heretical opinions." In consequence of this, he was brought into the consistory court in London, and there examined concerning the discourse he had with lord Rich, and other commissioners, at Chelmsford, when he publicly related the truth.

Several propositions and questions were read to him, and his answers minuted down; after which the bishop used the most forcible arguments to bring him to a denial of, what he called, "his errours," and to be obedient to the holy-mother church.

Mr. Watts, however, remaining inflexible, and beseeching of God that "he might be enabled to hold out to the end in the true faith of Christ," sentence of condemnation was pronounced against him, and he was delivered up to the sheriffs of London, who conducted him to Newgate.

On the 9th of June, he was carried from Newgate to

Chelmsford, his execution being appointed at that place on the 11th. On the evening of his arrival at Chelmsford, he was in company with Thomas Hawkes, and others, and they all joined together in the most fervent prayer.

The day preceding his execution, he was visited by his wife, and six children, whom he addressed in the following manner:

“My dear wife, my good children, the time of my departure is at hand; therefore, henceforth I know you no more, but as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom I charge you to obey and fear; beware that ye turn not to this abominable popery, as a testimony against which, I shall shortly, by God’s grace, shed my blood. Let not the murdering God’s saints cause you to recant, but take occasion thereby, more earnestly, to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints. My dear children, I trust God will be a merciful father unto you.”

This affecting address made such an impression on two of his children, that they desired to be burned with him. So sympathetic a feeling, from such tender branches, for a time discomposed our martyr, the man giving way to the parent; but after having a little recovered himself, he embraced them with all the tenderness of a dying father, took his leave, and was led to the stake, where he quietly yielded up his spirit into the hands of him who gave it, saying, “Into thy hands, O God, I commend my spirit.”

About the same time that Mr. Watts suffered, three others shared the same fate, for their adherence to the truth of the gospel; namely, Nicholas Chamberlain, Thomas Osmond, and William Bamford. The first of these was burnt at Colchester on the 14th of June; the second suffered the next day at Manningtree; and the third the following day at Harwich.

CHAP. VI.

THE SUFFERINGS AND DEATHS OF THE REV. JOHN BRADFORD, JOHN LEAFE, AN APPRENTICE, AND OTHERS.

The first of these martyrs was born at Manchester, where he received an education sufficiently liberal to qualify him for the more exalted offices of life, having attained to a considerable knowledge in classical and mathematical literature.

On his arrival at years of maturity, having some distinguished friends, by their interest he became secretary to sir John Harrington, who was treasurer to Henry VIII.

After having been in this office for some time, being of a studious turn of mind, he quitted it, and went to Cambridge, where he made such great improvements, that in the space of one year that university conferred on him the degree of master of arts; soon after which he was admitted to a fellowship in Pembroke college.

At this time there was at Cambridge the famous Martin Bucer, a zealous advocate for the reformed religion.— This person discovered a great regard for Mr. Bradford, and persuaded him to follow those studies which most conduced to qualify him for the work of the ministry.

Mr. Bradford having that diffidence of himself, which is generally the attendant on real merit, excused himself from taking upon him that important office, as not being sufficiently qualified; but Bucer, at length, brought him to consent to enter on the solemn work, and he was ordained a deacon, by Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, who made him a prebendary of Kentish Town, in the Cathedral of St. Paul, where, in rotation, he preached for three years the true gospel of Christ; namely, the doctrines of salvation by faith and repentance unto life, together with the necessity of a life of holiness, as the evidence of that faith; at the end of which time the protestant cause suffered a violent shock, in the death of the pious young king.

After the accession of queen Mary, Mr. Bradford continued his course of preaching till he was obstructed by the following incident.

In the first year of the reign of that princess, Bonner, then bishop of London, ordered Mr. Bourn, a canon of St. Paul's, and afterwards bishop of Bath, to preach a sermon, wherein he took occasion, from the gospel of the day, to justify Bonner, then restored to his bishoprick, in preaching on the same text that very day four years, and enforcing doctrines, for which, according to the terms of the preacher, he was thrown into the Marshalsea, and there kept prisoner during the time of king Edward VI.

These words occasioned great murmurings amongst the people, nay, so incensed were they, that one of them threw a dagger at the preacher, and threatened to drag him from the pulpit, insomuch that he was obliged to withdraw, and desired Mr. Bradford to advance, and endeavour to appease the people, who were so tumultuous, that they could not be quelled even from the authority of the lord-mayor.

As soon as Mr. Bradford ascended the pulpit, the people shouted "God save thy life, Bradford;" and then quietly attended to his discourse, in which he reprov'd them for their disorderly behaviour, and exhorted them to peace and tranquility; on which, after he had finished, they peaceably dispersed.

In the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Bradford preached at Bow church, when he took occasion to rebuke the people for their tumultuous behaviour at St. Paul's in the morning.

Three days after this incident, he was summoned before the queen and her council, and there charged as the cause of the late riot about Bourn's preaching at St. Paul's, though he was the very person that preserved him from the outrage of the people, and appeased the tumult.

He was also accused for preaching to the people at Bow church, though he then warmly exhorted them to peace. But nothing that he could allege, in vindication of his innocence, availed, for he was committed to the Tower on a charge of sedition, because they found he was a popular man, and greatly caressed by the people.

He was confined above a year and six months, till the popish religion was restored by act of parliament. He

then took occasion to examine himself concerning his faith, because he could not speak against the doctrine of the church of Rome, without incurring much danger; whereas, while the laws of king Edward were unrepealed, he might freely speak according to the dictates of his conscience, and the rules of God's most holy word.

The principal articles alledged against Mr. Bradford were, his denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, or the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, and asserting, that wicked men did not partake of Christ's body in the said sacrament.

Several bishops, and other learned men, were appointed to confer with him, but their arguments had no weight, because they were not founded on scripture, but human tradition.

As Mr. Bradford would not admit of any tenets, or practices, but what were contained in the revealed word of God, he was deemed a heretick, first excommunicated, then condemned, and committed to the custody of the sheriffs of London, by whom he was conducted, the night before his execution, to the prison of Newgate; and the following day brought to the stake, with the martyr which succeeds in the order of this catalogue.

John Leafe was an apprentice to a tallow-chandler, and at the age of nineteen years, on an information laid against him of heresy, was committed to the Compter, by the alderman of the ward in which he lived.

After being some time confined in that prison, he was brought before bishop Bonner, and by him examined concerning his faith in the sacrament of the altar, and other points; to all which he answered in such a manner as gave little satisfaction.

A few days after he underwent another examination; but his answers being the same as before, he was condemned, and delivered over to the secular power, "for not believing that the bread and wine in the sacrament, by the words of consecration, are changed into the very body and blood of Christ, really and substantially."

After his condemnation the bishop sent two bills to him, the one containing a recantation, and the other his confes-

sion. The messenger, after reading the former to him, for he could neither read or write himself, asked if he would sign it; to which, without the least hesitation, he answered in the negative. He then read to him his confession, when he immediately took a pin, and pricking his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the bill, desiring the messenger to show the bishop that he had already signed it with his blood.

When these two martyrs were conducted to the place of execution in Smithfield, Mr. Bradford fell prostrate on one side of the stake, and Leafe on the other. In this position they continued praying some minutes, till Mr. Bradford was desired by the sheriff to make an end, and arise, the multitude of people being very great.

On this notice they both arose, and after Mr. Bradford had made a short harangue to the people, they were both fastened to the stake, and the reeds and fagots placed round them.

Thus prepared, Mr. Bradford, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, exclaimed, "O England, England, repent thee of thy sins; beware of Anti-Christ, beware of idolatry; take heed they do not deceive you." Then turning to young Leafe, who was to suffer with him, he said, "be of good comfort, brother, the time of our deliverance is at hand." The young man said, "Lord Jesus receive our departing spirits."

The fire was then put to the fagots, and they both endured their sufferings with the utmost composure and resignation, reposing an unshaken confidence in that blessed Redeemer, who died to save mankind. Thus died the worthy martyrs, one of whom was now commonly known by the name, "Holy John Bradford."

Information being given against a Mrs. Margaret Polley, to Maurice Griffith, bishop of Rochester, her ordinary, and diocesan, she was brought before him, when his lordship, according to the pontifical solemnity of the church of Rome, rose from his chair, and, in solemn parade, harangued her as follows:—

"We, Maurice, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our mere office in a cause of

heresy, against thee, Margaret Polley, of the parish of Poppingberry, in our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay, and object against thee, all and singular the ensuing articles:—

“To these, all and singular, we require of thee a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given.”

The oath being administered by the official, the bishop looked stedfastly at the woman, and demanded of her a peremptory answer to each of the following articles.

1. “Are not those hereticks, who maintain and hold other opinions than our holy mother and catholick church doth?”

Ans. “They are, indeed, hereticks, and grossly deceived, who hold and maintain doctrines contrary to the will of God, contained in the holy scriptures, which I sincerely believe were written by holy men immediately taught and instructed by the Holy Ghost.”

2. “Do you hold and maintain that in the sacrament of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of Christ, and that the said body is verily in heaven only, and not in the sacrament.”

Ans. “What I have learned from the holy scriptures, those living oracles of God, I do, and will stedfastly maintain, viz. that the very body which was crucified for the very sins of all true believers, ascended into heaven, is there placed at the right hand of the Majesty on high; that such body has ever since remained there, and therefore cannot, according to my belief, be in the sacrament of the altar.

“I believe that the bread and wine in the sacrament are to be received as symbols and representatives of the body and blood of Christ, but not as such really and substantially.

“I think, in my weak judgment, that it is not in the power of any man, by pronouncing words over the elements of bread and wine, to transubstantiate them into the real body and blood of Christ.

“In short, it is my belief, that the eucharist is only a

commemoration of the death of our Saviour, who said, 'As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.'"

These pertinent and frank replies greatly provoked the haughty prelate, who exclaimed against the woman, as an obstinate heretick; and, after much scurrilous language, told her, "she was a silly woman, knew not what she said, and that it was the duty of every christian to believe as the mother-church hath and doth teach."

The bishop then asked her the following question: "Will you, Margaret Polley, recant the error which you maintain, be reconciled to the holy church, and receive the remission of sins?" To which she replied, "I cannot believe otherwise than I have spoken, because the practice of the church of Rome is contrary not only to reason, and my senses, but also to the word of God."

Immediately on this reply, the bishop pronounced sentence of condemnation against her; after which, she was carried back to prison, where she remained, daily celebrating the praises of God, for upwards of a month.

She was a woman in the prime of life, pious, charitable, humane, learned in the scriptures, and beloved by all with whom she was acquainted.

During her imprisonment she was repeatedly exhorted to recant; but she refused all offers of life on such terms, choosing glory, honour, and immortality hereafter, rather than a few days here in this vale of tears, and those purchased at the expense of truth and conscience.

When the day arrived appointed for her execution she was conducted from the bishop's prison at Rochester, to Tunbridge, where she was burned, sealing the truth of what she had testified with her blood, and showing that the God of all grace, out of the weakest vessel, can give strength, and cause the meanest instruments to magnify the glories of his redeeming love.

On the same day that Margaret Polley suffered, one Christopher Wade, a weaver, of Dartford, in Kent, who had also been condemned by bishop Griffiths, shared the same fate, and at the same place; but they were executed separately, he first submitting to the dreadful sentence.

About the same time, John Bland, John Frankesh,

Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphrey Middleton, were all burnt together at Canterbury. The two first were ministers and preachers of the Gospel, the one being rector of Adesham, and the other vicar of Rolvindon, in Kent. They all resigned themselves to their fate with christian fortitude, fervently praying to God to receive them into his heavenly kingdom.

John Launder, of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, husbandman; and Dirick Carver, of Brighthelmstone, in the county of Sussex, brewer, were apprehended in the dwelling-house of the latter, as they were at prayers, and sent up to the queen's council at London, where being examined, and not giving satisfactory answers to the questions proposed, they were committed prisoners to Newgate, to wait the leisure, and abide the determination of the cruel and arrogant bishop Bonner.

Launder, on his examination, confessed, that "the occasion of his being at Brighthelmstone was to transact some business for his father, and that hearing Mr. Carver was a great promoter of the doctrines of the reformation, he went to his house in order to join in prayer to God, with the pious christians which resorted thither; on which he was apprehended by Mr. Gage the officer appointed for that purpose."

He also confessed that "there is here on earth one whole and universal catholick church, the members of which are dispersed throughout the world; that he believed the same church doth set forth and teach only two sacraments, which are, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper; that whosoever doth teach or use any more sacraments, or any other ceremonies, he doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart."

He further said and believed, that "all the service, sacrifices, and ceremonies, now used in this realm of England, and in other parts of the world, where they are used after the same manner, are erroneous, contrary to Christ's institution, and the determination of Christ's catholick church, whereof he believeth himself to be a member."

He also confessed and believed, that "in the sacrament,

called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of christ in substance; but that when he did receive the material bread, he received the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and no otherwise."

Having openly acknowledged and maintained these opinions, in the bishop's consistory court, and refusing to recant, he was condemned, and delivered over to the secular power.

Dirick Carver, being examined by bishop Bonner "concerning his faith in the sacrament of the altar, the mass, auricular confession, and the religion then taught and set forth in the church of England," delivered the following, as his invariable tenets, because founded on the infallible word of the only living and true God.

To the first point he declared, that "he had, and did believe, that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar; and that there is no other substance remaining in that sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, but the substance of bread and wine."

As to the mass, he believed "there was no sacrifice in it, nor any salvation for a christian, except it was said in the mother-tongue, that he might understand it."

With respect to auricular confession, he believed that "it was necessary to apply to a priest for spiritual council; but that the absolution of the priest, by the imposition of hands, was not profitable to salvation, acknowledging, at the same time, that he had not been confessed, nor received the sacrament since the coronation of the queen."

Concerning the last point, he declared it as his opinion and belief, that "the faith and religion then taught, and set forth, was not agreeable to God's word, and that bishop Hooper, Mr. Cardmaker, Rogers, and other pious men, who were lately burned, were sound divines, and preached the true doctrine of Christ."

Being farther examined, he confessed, that "since the queen's coronation he had the bible and psalter read in English divers times, at his house in Brighthelmstone;

and that, about twelve months then past, he had the English litany said in his house, with other prayers, in English."

After these examinations he was strongly urged to recant, but this he peremptorily refused; on which, sentence of condemnation was passed on him at the same time as on Launder, and the time of his execution was fixed for the 22d of July, at Lewes, in Sussex.

On his arrival at the stake, he kneeled down and prayed; and when he had finished his prayers, he arose, and addressed in a few words the spectators.

Being then fastened to the stake, and the fire kindled round him, he patiently submitted to his fate, and expired, calling out, "O Lord, have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus receive my spirit."

His fellow-martyr, John Launder, was burnt the following day at Steyning; where he cheerfully gave up his life to that God, from whose hands he had received it.

Mr. Denley and Mr. Newman were travelling together into Essex, on a visit to some friends, when they were accidentally met by Mr. Tyrrel, justice of the peace for the county, who, suspecting them of heresy, caused them to be apprehended, and searched; and at the same time took from Mr. Denley a confession of his faith in writing, concerning the sacrament of the altar, together with certain notes collected from the holy scriptures.

The justice immediately sent them to London, and with them a letter to be presented to the queen's council, together with the papers he found on the former.

On their being brought before the council, they were admonished, and desired to yield obedience to the queen's laws; but this advice proving ineffectual, their examination was referred to Bonner, bishop of London.

On the 28th of June, 1555, Denley and Newman, together with Patrick Pakingham, who had been apprehended two days before, were brought before Bonner, at his palace in London.

The bishop having examined the two former upon their confessions, and finding them inflexible, he used his customary exhortation; on which Denley said, "God save me

from your counsel, and keep me in the mind I am in; for that which you count heresy, I take to be the truth."

Bonner then ordered them to appear in the bishop's consistory court, where the following articles were jointly and severally exhibited against them:—

1. "That they were now in the diocese of London, and under the jurisdiction of the bishop of London."

This they acknowledged to be true.

2. "That they had not, nor did believe, that there is a catholick church of Christ here on earth."

This they severally denied; "for that they did believe the holy catholick church, which is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head; and that where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, they are the members of the said holy catholick church, which is dispersed throughout the world; which church doth preach God's word truly, and doth also minister the two sacraments, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord according to his blessed word."

3. "That each of them had not, nor did believe that this church of England is any part or member of the said catholick church."

They severally answered, that "they did believe that this church of England, using the faith and practice that is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid holy catholick church, but is the church of anti-christ, the bishop of Rome being the head thereof."

4. "That they had believed, and did believe, that the mass, now used in the church of England, was abominable, and blasphemy against God's word."

They answered in the affirmative; "for Christ, in his holy supper, instituted the sacrament of bread and wine, to be eaten together, in remembrance of his death, till he come, and not to have them worshipped and idolized. It also appeareth, by his commandment, that we ought not to worship the sacrament of bread and wine, because it is plain idolatry; for the commandment saith, 'thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them,' meaning plainly, any created thing; besides, it is plain from many passages in scripture, that the body of Christ is in heaven, and not

in the sacramental bread and wine; and, therefore, that it is idolatry to worship them."

5. "That they had believed, and did believe, that auricular confession, now used in the realm of England, was not profitable, but contrary to God's word."

To this they all answered in the affirmative.

6. "That they had believed, and did believe, that absolution given by the priest, and hearing confession, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the same."

To this they answered, that "remission of sins is only to be obtained from God, through the blood of Jesus Christ."

7. "That they had believed, and did believe, that christening of children, as it is used now in the church of England, is not good nor allowable by God's word. Likewise confirming of children, giving of orders, saying matins and vespers, anointing or oiling of sick persons, making holy bread and holy water, with other rites of the church."

To this they replied, that "christening of children, or the sacrament of baptism, is altered and changed, for John the baptist used nothing but preaching of the word and water, as appears from Christ's desiring to be baptized by him; for we do not read that he asked for any cream, or oil, or spittle, or wax, or salt, but used merely water, nor was this water consecrated."

8. "That they had believed, and did believe, that there are but two sacraments in Christ's catholick church, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the altar."

To this they briefly replied, that "they believed no more, except they would make the rainbow a sacrament, for there is no sacrament but hath a promise annexed to it."

The bishop then stated one article to Pakingham alone, which was, "that he, Patrick Pakingham, being of the age of twenty-one years at least, did irreverently stand in the great chapel, having his cap on his head during the time of mass, on the 23d of June; that he refused holy bread, and holy water at the priest's hands, thereby contemning and despising both the mass, holy water, and holy bread."

This article he acknowledged to be true.

On the 5th of July, the bishop proceeded in the usual form, against these three persons, in his consistory court at St. Paul's. After various articles and answers were publicly read, they were exhorted to recant, and both promises and threats were used by Bonner, in order to prevail with them; but, on their remaining steadfast in their faith and profession, they were all condemned as hereticks, and delivered into the custody of the sheriffs of London, who conducted them to Newgate, where they were kept till writs were issued for their respective executions.

Denley was ordered to be executed at Uxbridge; where, being conveyed on the day appointed, he was chained to the stake, and when the flames began to be powerful, he expired in the midst of them, singing a psalm to the praise of his Redeemer. A popish priest, who was present at his execution, was so incensed at his singing, that he ordered one of the attendants to throw a faget at him, which was accordingly done, and he received a violent fracture in his skull, which, with the fire, soon deprived him both of speech and life.

A few days after, Packingham suffered at the same place; but Newman was executed at Saffron-Walden, in Essex. They both died with great fortitude and resignation, cheerfully resigning their souls into the hands of him who gave them, in full expectation of receiving crowns of glory in the heavenly mansions.

Information having been given, at the same time, against the following six persons, namely: William Coker, William Hooper, Henry Lawrence, Richard Collier, Richard Wright, and William Steer, they were brought before Dr. Richard Thornton, Suffragan of Canterbury, and Bishop of Dover; Dr. Harpsfield, arch-deacon; and Richard Fawcet, and Robert Collins, of the spiritual court of Canterbury; when divers articles were respectively exhibited against them; to all which they answered, as men determined to adhere to the truth of that gospel they had professed.

When again brought before the above persons, they were farther examined, and the substance of their respective answers was as follows:—

William Coker declared "he would answer no otherwise than as he had done before." Being offered six days respite to consider of it, he refused to accept their indulgence; in consequence of which, he immediately received sentence of death.

William Hooper, at first, seemed to assent to the faith and determination of the Roman catholick church; but, on serious reflection, he retracted, and firmly professed his faith in the pure gospel of Christ, as well as renounced the errors of popery. He was, therefore, immediately sentenced to be burned.

Henry Lawrence denied auricular confession, and refused to receive the sacrament of the altar, because the order of the holy scripture was changed in the order of the said sacrament.

Being charged with not taking off his cap, when the suffragan mentioned the sacrament, and did reverence the same, he said, "there was no need for him so to do."

Being likewise asked concerning "the verity of the sacrament given to Christ's disciples," he affirmed, that "even as Christ gave his very body to his disciples, so likewise Christ himself said, he was a door, &c. adding, moreover, that as he said before, so he still said, that the sacrament of the mass is an idol, and no resemblance of Christ's passion."

Being required to subscribe to these articles, he wrote under the bill of examination as follows:—

"Ye are all of anti-christ, and him ye follow." He was then prevented from speaking farther, and sentence of condemnation was pronounced on him in the usual form.

Richard Collier being examined with respect to the sacrament of the altar, answered, "he did not believe there was the real and substantial body and blood of Christ, but only bread and wine; and that it was most abominable, detestable, and wicked, to believe otherwise." In consequence of which, he also received sentence of death.

Richard Wright being asked by the judge "what he believed of the real presence in the sacrament?" answered, that, "touching the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he was ashamed to speak of it; nor would he, there-

fore, by any means allow it." In consequence of which, he likewise received sentence of condemnation.

William Steer, the last examined, was required by the judge "to answer the articles laid before him." But he denied the judge's authority, for which he was deemed guilty of denying the authority of the queen. He also observed, "that Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, then in prison, was his diocesan; and, therefore, required Dr. Thornton to show his authority from the archbishop, or otherwise he would deem it invalid.

"With respect to the sacrament of the mass, he said, as he found not the popish belief contained in the scriptures, he entirely disbelieved it;" in consequence of which, he received the same sentence with his fellow-prisoners.

These six men being thus condemned for professing the truth of Christ's gospel, were immediately delivered over to the secular power. They continued in prison, consoling each other daily in prayer, till the 31st of August, the day appointed for their execution, when they were conveyed to Canterbury, and there led to the stakes, of which there were three, two of them chained to each. They all joyfully yielded up their lives as sacrifices to God, in testimony of their regard to the word of truth.

George Tankerfield was brought up by his parents in the popish religion, to which he zealously adhered till the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, when the horrid cruelties exercised on those who dissented from that church so strongly impressed his mind, that he began to detest the principles of that religion which abounded in cruelty and persecution.

This deviation from the principles he had before so warmly professed, and zealously maintained, excited the astonishment of his acquaintances, and raised the resentment of the popish faction, especially those who were more immediately concerned in its restoration; insomuch that sir Roger Cholmondely, and Dr. Martin, two of the queen's commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs, dispatched a yeoman to Tankerfield's house, in order to apprehend, and bring him before them.

The messenger not finding him at home, he was on the

next day seized and committed to prison. After remaining some time in confinement, he was brought before, and repeatedly examined by bishop Bonner, and others, concerning divers articles and tenets of religion. He was chiefly required to give his opinion "concerning auricular confession, the popish sacrament of the mass, and other ceremonies."

In answer to the first of these he said, "he had not confessed to any priest for several months, and that he would not be confessed by any priest hereafter, because he found no such duty commanded in the word of God, which he now took as his only guide in all matters of religion.

"With respect to the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, he declared he did not believe that in the said sacrament there was the real body and blood of Christ, because the body of Christ, was ascended into heaven, and there sat at the right hand of God the father."

To the last point he answered, that "the mass then used in the church of England was full of idolatry, abomination, and wholly inconsistent with the word of God; adding, that there were but two sacraments in Christ's church, namely, baptism, and the Lord's supper."

Bonner, used many enticing words to bring him to the mother-church; but our martyr boldly told him, without the least reserve, that "the church of which the pope is supreme, is no part of Christ's catholick church;" and pointing to the bishop, he said, "Good people, beware of him, and such as he is, for these be they that deceive you."

The bishop proceeded to read the sentence of condemnation; immediately after which, Mr. Tankerfield was delivered over to the secular power.

The place allotted for his execution was St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, whither being conveyed, he, with patience and constancy, resigned his life into the hands of that God who gave it.

Mrs. Elizabeth Warne, according to the dying request of her husband (who, some time before had sealed the truth with his blood, in company with Mr. Cardmaker)

persisted in worshipping God according to the dictates of her own conscience, and the form she conceived was contained in the divine command.

Information being given against her, she was apprehended in a house in Bow-church-yard, in company with several others, who were assembled for prayer and other spiritual exercises, and with them sent to the compter, whence she was committed to Newgate.

She had been but a few days confined before she was sent for by the queen's commissioners, who after some examination, gave her up to the bishop of London.

The chief article alleged against her by Bonner was, "her not believing the real presence in the sacrament of the altar: she was also accused of absenting herself from church, speaking against the mass, despising the ceremonies of the holy mother-church, &c.

To these accusations she gave such answers as highly offended the bishop, who warmly exhorted her "to recant her erroneous and heretical opinions." She replied, "do with me what you will; for if Christ was in an error, then I am in an error."

On this peremptory declaration she was condemned as a heretick, delivered to the sheriff of London, and conducted to Newgate.

When the day appointed for her execution arrived, she was carried from Newgate to Stratford-le-Bow, where she suffered martyrdom for the cause of Christ and his gospel, following her husband through the path of a fiery trial, to the heaven of rest.

Robert Smith, was originally educated in the Roman catholick religion; but having for some time enjoyed a place under the provost of Eton college, he was converted to the true faith by the preaching of several reformed ministers in that learned seminary.

By continually searching into the scriptures, he soon became well acquainted with the doctrines of the gospel, and was also very exemplary in his life and conversation, attracting the veneration and esteem of all those with whom he was acquainted.

But as he was known to profess the protestant religion,

he was, on the accession of queen Mary, deprived of his post in the college, and sent up prisoner to the bishop of London, by whom he was committed to Newgate, after having been examined by him divers times, at his palace and in other places.

Being questioned by the bishop "concerning auricular confession," he declared "he had never been confessed since he arrived at years of discretion, because he never thought it needful, nor commanded of God to confess his faults to any of that sinful number called priests."

The bishop then enquired, "how long it was since he had received the sacrament of the mass, and what was his opinion concerning the same?"

To this he replied, that "he had never received the same, since he arrived at years of discretion, nor, by the grace of God, ever would; neither did he esteem it in any point necessary, because it was not God's ordinance, but rather set up in mockery of God, and to deprive him of the honour which is his due."

Being questioned "concerning his belief in the corporeal presence in the sacrament, after the words of consecration pronounced by the priest?" he replied, "I have once told you, that it was not God's ordinance, much less can it be of God, or any part of his substance, but only mere bread and wine, and to be received in a figurative sense alone;" adding further, that "if he could prove from scripture that it was the very body, he would believe it, but till then he should esteem it a detestable idol, not God, but contrary to God and truth."

This answer so irritated the haughty prelate, that he greatly reviled Mr. Smith; but his passion abating, he afterwards examined him in milder terms, and coolly enquired his opinion concerning the catholick church.

Mr. Smith replied, "I believe there is one catholick church, or congregation of the faithful, which, as the apostle saith, is built upon the prophets and apostles, Christ Jesus being the chief corner-stone. I also believe, that this church, in all words and works, maintaineth the word of God, and bringeth the same for her authority; of this church I am assured, that by grace I am made a member."

He was then examined "concerning holy bread, holy water, and other ceremonies of the church;" but these points he denied "as unscriptural," and persisting in his opinions, notwithstanding the repeated admonitions of the bishop, he was summoned to appear at the consistory court, where having made the same confession as before, sentence of condemnation was passed upon him, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

After this Mr. Smith was carried back to Newgate, where he was closely confined till the 8th of August, which was appointed for his execution. On the morning of that day he was conducted, under a proper guard, to Uxbridge, and led to the stake. He bore his punishment with the most amazing fortitude, in full hopes that he was giving up a temporary existence for one that would be immortal.

About the same time that Mr. Smith was burnt, three others, who had been condemned by bishop Bonner, shared the same fate; namely, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, and William Hale. The first of these suffered at Stratford, Bow; the second at Ware; and the third at Barnet.

Mr. Robert Samuel was a very pious man, and an eminent preacher of the gospel, according to the principles of the reformation, during the reign of Edward VI. He attended his charge with indefatigable industry, and by his preaching and living, recommended and enforced the truth of the gospel.

Soon after the accession of queen Mary he was turned out of his living, and retired to Ipswich; but he could not withstand using his utmost efforts to propagate the reformed religion, and therefore, what he was denied doing in publick, he did in private. He assembled those who had been accustomed to hear him, in a room belonging to his house, and there daily taught them such precepts as might lead them to salvation.

Whilst he was spending his time in this christian manner, the queen commanded the commissioners, for ecclesiastical affairs, to publish an order, "that all priests, who had been married in the days of king Edward, should put

away their wives, and be compelled again to chastity," as their hypocritical term expressed it, "and a single life."

This order Mr. Samuel could by no means obey, because he knew it to be abominable, contrary to the law of Christ, and every tie, social and humane. Therefore, determining with himself that God's laws were not to be violated for the traditions of men, he still kept his wife at Ipswich, and omitted no opportunity of instructing his christian friends in the neighbourhood.

At length, his conduct reaching the ears of Foster, a justice of peace in those parts, and very probably the enemy of Dr. Rowland Taylor, before-mentioned; every artifice was used by that popish zealot to apprehend Mr. Samuel, who was taken into custody by some of his myrmidons, when on a visit to his wife at Ipswich. Many efforts had been made without success, but, at length, information having been given of the precise time when he was to visit his wife, they deferred the surprise till night, fearing the resentment of the people, if they should attempt to apprehend him by day, when great numbers beset him, and he, without the least resistance, quietly resigned himself into their hands.

Being taken before Foster, he was committed to Ipswich gaol, where he conversed and prayed with many of his fellow-sufferers, during his confinement in that place.

In a short time he was removed from Ipswich to Norwich, where Dr. Hopton, the persecuting bishop of that diocese, and Dunning the chancellor, exercised on him the most intolerable cruelties.

Among all the inhuman wretches with which the nation abounded at that time, none could be compared for cruelty with these two tyrants; for whilst the rage of others was glutted with imprisonment and death, these were notorious for new-invented tortures, by which some were brought to recant, and others were driven into horrors of the most bewildered madness.

In order to bring Mr. Samuel to recant, they confined him in a close prison, where he was chained to a post in such a manner, that standing only on tiptoe, he was, in that position, forced to sustain the whole weight of his body.

To aggravate this torment, they kept him in a starving condition twelve days, allowing him no more than two bits of bread, and three spoonfuls of water each day, which was done in order to protract his misery, till they could invent new torments, to overcome his patience and resolution.

At length, when all the torture that they could invent proved ineffectual, and nothing could induce our martyr to deny his great Lord and master, he was condemned to be burned, an act less cruel than what he had already suffered.

On the 31st of August 1555, he was led to the stake, where he declared to the people around him what cruelties he had suffered during the time of his imprisonment, but that he had been enabled to sustain them all by the consolations of the divine spirit, with which he had been daily visited.

As this eminent martyr was going to execution, a young woman, who had belonged to his congregation, and received the benefit of his spiritual discourses, came up to him, and, as the last token of respect, cordially embraced him. This being observed by some of the blood-thirsty papists, diligent inquiry was made for her the next day, in order to bring her to the stake, but she happily eluded their search, and escaped their cruel intentions.

Before Mr. Samuel was chained to the stake, he exhorted the spectators to avoid idolatry, and hold fast the truth of the gospel; after which he knelt down, and, with an audible voice, prayed most fervently.

When he had finished his prayer he arose, and being fastened to the stake, the fagots were placed round him, and immediately lighted. He bore his sufferings with a courage and resolution truly christian, cheerfully resigning this life of care and trouble in exchange for another, where death shall be swallowed up in victory; where tears shall be wiped away from all eyes, and an eternity employed in singing the praises of that grace, which has brought the redeemed of the Lord from much tribulation, and advanced them to mansions at the right hand of God, where are pleasures for evermore.

About the same time that Mr. Samuel suffered, several others shared the same fate, for adhering to the principles of the reformed religion.

William Allen, a labouring man, was burnt at Walsingham, in Norfolk.

Thomas Cob, a butcher, suffered at Thetford, in the same county.

Roger Coo, a man of respect and independence, was burnt at Yoxford, in suffolk.

Four others also suffered about the same time at Canterbury; viz. George Cotmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, and George Brodrige; who all bore their punishment with christian fortitude glorifying God in the midst of the flames.

Mr. Robert Glover, was apprehended when he lay sick at the house of his brother, John Glover, who had secreted himself, on account of a warrant being issued to bring him before his ordinary, on a suspicion of heresy.

Though Mr. Robert Glover was in great danger from the indisposition of his health, yet such was the brutality of the popish emissaries, that they took him out of his bed, and carried him to Coventry gaol, where he continued ten days, though no misdemeanor was alledged against him.

When the ten days were expired, in which he suffered great affliction from his illness, he was brought before his ordinary, Dr. Baines, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, who told him, that "he must submit to ecclesiastical authority, and stand reprov'd for not coming to church."

Mr. Glover assured his lordship, that "he neither had, nor would come to church, so long as the mass was used there, to save five hundred lives, challenging him to produce one proof from scripture to justify that idolatrous practice."

After a long altercation with the bishop, in which Mr. Glover, "both learnedly and judiciously defended the doctrines of the reformation, against the errors and idolatries of popery, and evinced, that he was able to give a reason for the faith he professed," he was remanded back to Coventry gaol, where he was kept close prison.

ner, without a bed, though much indisposed; but nevertheless, the divine comforts enabled him to sustain such cruel treatment without repining; till, at length, he was permitted to provide himself with that necessary convenience.

From Coventry he was removed to Litchfield, where he was visited by the chancellor and prebendaries, who exhorted him "to recant his errors, and be dutiful to the holy mother-church;" but he refused to conform to that, or any other church, "whose doctrines and practices were not founded on scripture authority, which he determined to make the sole rule of his religious conduct."

After this visit, he remained alone eight days, during which time he gave himself up to constant prayer and meditation, "on the exceeding precious promises of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to all true believers;" daily amending in bodily health, and increasing in the true faith of the gospel.

At the expiration of the eight days he was again brought before the bishop, who enquired "how his imprisonment agreed with him, and warmly entreated him to become a member of the mother-church, which had continued many years; whereas the church, of which he had professed himself a member, was not known but in the time of Edward VI.?"

With respect to the inquiry, our martyr was silent, treating it with that contempt which such mean behaviour in a prelate deserved, but told his lordship, that "he professed himself a member of that church which is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. "This church," added he, "hath been from the beginning, though it bore no pompous show before the world, being, for the most part, under crosses and afflictions, despised, rejected, and persecuted."

After much debate, in which Mr. Glover cited scripture for whatever he advanced, to the confusion and indignation of the haughty prelate, he was commanded, "on his obedience, to hold his peace, as a proud and arrogant heretick." He then dismissed him with an assurance,

“that he should be kept in prison, and there have neither meat or drink, till he recanted his heresies.”

Our martyr heard the cruel words with patience and resignation, lifting up his heart to God, that he might be enabled to stand steadfast in the faith of the glorious gospel.

When he was brought into the consistory court, the bishop demanded of him “how many sacraments Christ had instituted to be used in his church?” He replied, “two; Baptism, and the Lord’s Supper, and no more.”

Being asked “if he allowed confession?” he answered in the negative.

With respect to the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, he declared that “the mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, because they had taken away the true institution; and when they should restore it, he would give his judgment concerning Christ’s body in the sacrament.”

After several other examinations, publick and private, he was condemned as a heretick, and delivered over to the secular power.

Cornelius Bongey, who was apprehended much about the same time as Mr. Glover, and suffered with him, was examined by the same bishop, and the following allegations alleged against him:—

1. “That he did hold, maintain, and teach in the city of Coventry, that the priest hath no power to absolve a sinner from his sins.

2. “That he asserted, there were in the church of Christ but two sacraments, Baptism, and the Lord’s Supper.

3. “That in the sacrament of the popish altar, there was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine even after consecration.

4. “That for the space of several years, he did hold and defend, that the pope is not the head of the visible church on earth.”

Mr. Bongey acknowledged “the justness of these allegations, and protested that he would hold fast to them so long as he lived;” in consequence of which, he also was delivered over to the secular power.

On the 20th of September, 1555, these two martyrs were led to the stake at Coventry, where they both yielded up their spirits to God who gave them; hoping, through the merits of the great Redeemer, for a glorious resurrection to life immortal.

John and William Glover, brothers to Robert, were sought after by the popish emissaries, in order to be brought to the stake, but they eluded their searches, and happily escaped. However, the resentment of the popish persecutors did not cease here, for after their deaths, the bones of one were taken up and dispersed in the highway; and the remains of the other were deposited in a common field.

The next victims that we shall mention, were William Wolsey and Robert Pigot.

William Wolsey was first taken, and being brought before a neighbouring justice, was bound over to appear at the ensuing sessions, to be holden for the Isle of Ely. But a few days after he was taken into custody, and committed to Wisbeach gaol, there to remain till the next assizes for the county.

During his confinement at Wisbeach, he was visited by the chancellor of Ely; who told him, that he was out of the pale of the catholick church, and desired that "he would not meddle any more with the scriptures than became a layman."

After a short pause, Mr. Wolsey addressed the chancellor as follows: "Good Doctor, what did our Saviour mean, when he said; Matt. xxiii. Woe be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men; ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye that come to enter in."

Robert Pigot was apprehended, and brought before Sir Clement Hyam, who reprov'd him severely for absenting himself from church. The reason he assigned for his absence was, that "he deemed the church a congregation of believers, assembled together for the worship of God, according to the manner laid down in his most holy word; and not a church of human invention, founded on the whimsical fancy of fallible men."

In consequence of this answer he was, with Wolsey,

committed to prison, where they both remained till the day appointed for their execution.

During their confinement, several of the neighbours came to visit them, among whom was Peter Valerices, a Frenchman, chaplain to the bishop of Ely, who thus addressed them: "My brethren, according to mine office, I am come to talk with you, for I have been almoner here these twenty years and more, wherefore, my brethren, I desire you to take it in good part. I desire not to force you from your faith, but I require and desire you, in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of his gospel, and his word; and I beseech Almighty God, for his son's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end, for I know not, brethren, how soon I may be in the same case with you."

This address being so different from what was expected, drew tears from all who were present, and greatly comforted our martyrs.

On the 9th of October, Pigot and Wolsey were brought before Dr. Fuller, the chancellor, and other commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs, who laid several articles to their charge, but particularly that of the sacrament of the altar.

When that article was proposed, they jointly declared the sacrament of the altar "was an idol, and that the real body and blood of Christ was not present in the said sacrament; and to this opinion they said they would stand, though at the peril of their lives, being founded on the authority of God's word, which enjoined the worship of the supreme God alone."

These two martyrs thus persevering in the faith of the pure gospel, sentence of death was passed, and they were both ordered to be burned as hereticks.

On the 16th of October, 1555, the day appointed for their execution, they were conducted to the stake, amidst the lamentations of great numbers of spectators. Several English translations of the New Testament being ordered to be burned with them, they took some of them in their hands, lamenting, on the one hand, the destroying of so valuable a repository of sacred truth, and glorying, on the

other, that they were deemed worthy of sealing the same with their blood

They both died in the triumph of faith, magnifying the power of Divine grace, which enables the servants of God, to glory in tribulation.

CHAP. VII.

MARTYRDOM OF HUGH LATIMER, BISHOP OF WORCESTER, NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON, AND SEVERAL OTHERS.

Hugh Latimer was a native of Thirkaston, in Leicestershire, and born about the year 1475; he received a good education, and was sent to Cambridge, where he showed himself a zealous papist, and inveighed much against the reformers, who, at that time, began to make some figure in England. But conversing frequently with Thomas Bilney, the most considerable person at Cambridge of all those who favoured the reformation, he saw the errors of popery, and became as zealous a protestant.

Latimer, thus converted, laboured both publicly and privately, to promote the reformed opinions, and pressed the necessity of a holy life, in opposition to those outward performances, which were then thought the essentials of religion. This rendered him obnoxious at Cambridge, then the seat of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition. However, the unaffected piety of Mr. Bilney, and the cheerful and natural eloquence of honest Latimer, wrought greatly upon the junior students, and increased the credit of the protestants so much, that the papist clergy were greatly alarmed; and, according to their usual practice, called aloud for the secular arm.

Under this arm Bilney suffered at Norwich; but his sufferings, far from shaking the reformation at Cambridge, inspired the leaders of it with new courage. Latimer began to exert himself more than he had yet done; and succeeded to that credit which Bilney had so long sup-

ported. Among other instances of his zeal and resolution in this cause, he gave one which was very remarkable: he had the courage to write to king Henry VIII. against a proclamation, then just published, forbidding the use of the bible in English, and other books on religious subjects. He had preached before his majesty once or twice at Windsor; and had been noticed by him in a more affable manner, than that monarch usually indulged towards his subjects. But whatever hopes of preferment his sovereign's favour might have raised in him, he chose to put all to the hazard, rather than omit what he thought his duty.

Lord Cromwell was now grown up into power, and being a favourer of the reformation, he obtained a benefice in Wiltshire for Latimer, who immediately went thither and resided, discharging his duty in a very conscientious manner, though persecuted much at the same time, by the Romish clergy; who, at length, carried their malice so far as to obtain a citation for his appearance in London. His friends would have had him fly; but their persuasions were in vain. He set out for London in the depth of winter, and under a severe fit of illness; but he was most distressed at the thoughts of leaving his parish exposed to the popish clergy. On his arrival at London, he found a court of bishops and canonists ready to receive him; where, instead of being examined, as he expected, about his sermons, a paper was put into his hands, which he was ordered to subscribe, declaring his belief in the efficacy of masses for the souls in purgatory, of prayers to the dead saints, of pilgrimages to their sepulchres and reliques, the pope's power to forgive sins, the doctrine of merit, the seven sacraments, and the worship of images; which, when he refused to sign, the archbishop, with a frown, begged he would consider what he did. "We intend not (said he) Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you; we dismiss you for the present; take a copy of the articles; examine them carefully, and God grant, that at our next meeting we may find each other in better temper."

The next, and several succeeding meetings, the same scene was acted over. He continued inflexible, and they continued to distress him. Three times every week

they regularly sent for him, with a view either to draw something from him by captious questions, or to teaze him at length into compliance. Tired out with this usage, after he was summoned at last, instead of going, he sent a letter to the archbishop, in which he spoke with great freedom.

The bishops, however, continued their persecutions, but their schemes were frustrated in an unexpected manner. Latimer being raised to the see of Worcester, in the year 1533, by the favour of queen Anne Boleyn, to whom, most probably, he was recommended by Lord Cromwell, he had now a more extensive field to promote the principles of the reformation, in which he laboured with the utmost pains and assiduity. All the historians of those times mention him "as a person remarkably zealous in the discharge of his new office; and tell us, that in overlooking the clergy of his diocese, he was uncommonly active, warm, and resolute, and presided in his ecclesiastical court with the same spirit. In visiting, he was frequent and observant; in ordaining, strict and wary; in preaching, indefatigable; and in reproving and exhorting, severe and persuasive."

In 1539, he was summoned to attend the parliament: the bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, was his great enemy; who, upon a particular occasion, when the bishops were with the king, kneeled down and solemnly accused bishop Latimer of a seditious sermon preached at court. Being called upon by the king, with somesternness, to vindicate himself, Latimer was so far from denying and palliating what he had said, that he boldly justified it; and turning to the king, with that noble unconcern which a good conscience inspires, "I never thought myself worthy, said he, nor did I ever sue to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike it, to give place to my betters: for I grant, there may be a great many more worthy the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I can be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame

my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt indeed to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace." The greatness of his answer baffled his accuser's malice; the severity of the king's countenance changed into a gracious smile, and the bishop was dismissed with that obliging freedom, which this monarch never used but to those he esteemed.

However, as the bishop could not give his vote for the act of the six papistical articles, drawn up by the duke of Norfolk, he thought it wrong to hold any office in a church where such terms of communion were required, and therefore he resigned his bishoprick, and retired into the country, where he purposed to live a sequestered life. But in the midst of his security, an unhappy accident carried him again into the tempestuous weather, which was abroad: he received a bruise by the fall of a tree, and the contusion was so dangerous, that he was obliged to seek out for better assistance than could be afforded him by the unskilful surgeons of those parts. With this view he repaired to London, where he had the misfortune to see the fall of his patron, the Lord Cromwell: a loss which he was soon made sensible of. For Gardiner's emissaries quickly found him out in his concealment, and something, which somebody had somewhere heard him say, against the six articles, being alleged against him, he was sent to the Tower; where, without any judicial examination, he suffered, through one pretence or another, a cruel imprisonment for the remaining six years of king Henry's reign.

On the death of Henry, the protestant interest revived under his son Edward; and Latimer, immediately upon the change of the government, was set at liberty. An address was made by the protector, to restore him to his bishoprick: the protector was very willing to gratify the parliament, and proposed the resumption of his bishoprick to Mr. Latimer; who now thinking himself unequal to the weight of it, refused to resume it, choosing rather to accept an invitation from his friend archbishop Cranmer, and to take up his residence with him at Lambeth; where his chief employment was to hear the complaints, and redress the grievances of the poor people; and his character.

for services of this kind, was so universally known, that strangers from every part of England would resort to him.

In these employments he spent more than two years, during which time he assisted the archbishop in composing the homilies, which were set forth by authority, in the first year of king Edward: he was also appointed to preach the Lent sermons before his majesty, which office he also performed during the three first years of his reign.

Upon the revolution, which happened at court after the death of the duke of Somerset, he retired into the country, and made use of the king's licence as a general preacher in those parts where he thought his labours might be most serviceable.

He was thus employed during the remainder of that reign, and continued the same course, for a short time, in the beginning of the next; but as soon as the re-introduction of popery was resolved on, the first step towards it was the prohibition of all preaching, and licensing only such as were known to be popishly inclined. The bishop of Winchester, who was now prime-minister, having proscribed Mr. Latimer from the first, sent a message to cite him before the council. He had notice of this design some hours before the messenger's arrival, but he made no use of the intelligence. The messenger found him equipped for his journey, at which, expressing his surprize, Mr. Latimer told him, that he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life; and that he doubted not but that God, who had enabled him to stand before two princes, would enable him to stand before a third. The messenger then acquainting him that he had no orders to seize his person, delivered a letter, and departed. However, opening the letter, and finding it a citation from the council, he resolved to obey it, and set out immediately. As he passed through Smithfield, he said, cheerfully, "this place of burning hath long groaned for me." The next morning he waited upon the council, who having loaded him with many severe reproaches, sent him to the Tower, from whence, after some time, he was removed to Oxford.

Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, received the earliest part of his education at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, whence he was removed to the university of Cambridge, where his great learning, and distinguished abilities, so recommended him, that he was elected maser of Pembroke-hall, in that university.

After being some years in this office he left Cambridge, and travelled into various parts of Europe for the advancement of knowledge. On his return to England he was made chaplain to king Henry VIII. and bishop of Rochester, from which he was translated to the see of London by king Edward VI.

In private life he was pious, humane, and affable; in publick he was learned, sound, and eloquent; diligent in his duty, and very popular as a preacher.

He had been educated in the Roman catholick religion, but was brought over to that of the reformed by means of reading Bertram's book on the sacrament; and he was confirmed in the same by frequent conferences with Cramer and Peter Martyr, so that he became a zealous promoter of the reformed doctrines and discipline during the reign of king Edward.

On the accession of queen Mary he shared the same fate with many others who professed the truth of the gospel. Being accused of heresy, he was first removed from his bishoprick, then sent prisoner to the tower of London, and afterwards to Bocardo prison, in Oxford; whence he was committed to the custody of Mr. Irish, mayor of that city, in whose house he remained till the day of his execution.

On the 30th of September, 1555, the two eminent prelates, Ridley and Latimer, were cited to appear before the divinity-school at Oxford.

Agreeable to this citation, they both appeared on the day appointed.

Dr. Ridley was first examined, and severely reprimanded by Dr. Whyte, bishop of Lincoln, because, when he heard the cardinal's grace, and the pope's holiness mentioned in the commission, he kept on his cap. The words of the bishop were to this effect: "Mr. Ridley, if you

will not be uncovered, in respect to the pope, and the cardinal his legate, by whose authority we sit in commission, your cap shall be taken off."

The bishop of Lincoln then made a formal harangue, in which he entreated Ridley "to return to the holy mother-church, insisted on the antiquity and authority of the see of Rome, and of the pope, as the immediate successor of St. Peter."

Dr. Ridley, in return, "strenuously opposed the arguments of the bishop, and boldly vindicated the doctrines of the reformation."

After much debate, the five following articles were proposed to him, and his immediate and explicit answers required.

1. "That he had frequently affirmed, and openly maintained and defended, that the true natural body of Christ, after consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. "That he had often publicly affirmed, and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. "That he had often openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. "That the aforesaid assertions, have been solemnly condemned by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical, and contrary to the catholick faith, by the procurator of the convocation-house, and sundry learned men of both universities.

5. "That all and singular the premises are true, and notoriously known, by all near at hand, and in distant places."

To the first of these articles Mr. Ridley replied, that "he believed Christ's body to be in the sacrament, really, by grace and spirit effectually, but not so as to include a lively and moveable body under the forms of bread and wine."

To the second and third he answered in the affirmative. Part of the fourth he acknowledged, and part he denied.

To the fifth he answered, that "the premises were so

far true, as his replies had set forth. Whether all men spoke evil of them he knew not, because he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported."

He was then ordered to appear the following day in St. Mary's church, in Oxford, to give his final answer; after which he was committed to the custody of the mayor.

When Latimer was brought into court, the bishop of Lincoln warmly exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, from which he had revolted.

The same articles which were proposed to Dr. Ridley were read to Mr. Latimer, and he was required to give a full and satisfactory answer to each of them.

His replies not being satisfactory to the court, he was dismissed; but ordered to appear in St. Mary's church, at the same time with Dr. Ridley.

On the day appointed, the commissioners met, when Dr. Ridley being first brought before them, the bishop of Lincoln stood up, and began to repeat the proceedings of the former meeting, assuring him that "he had full liberty to make what alterations he pleased in his answers to the articles proposed to him, and to deliver the same to the court in writing."

After some debate, Dr. Ridley took out a paper, and began to read; but the bishop interrupted him, and ordered the beadle to take the writing from him. The doctor desired permission to read on, declaring the contents were only his answers to the articles proposed; but the bishop and others, having privately reviewed it, would not permit it to be read in open court.

He desired to declare "his reasons, wherefore he could not, with a safe conscience, admit of the popish supremacy," but his request was denied.

The bishop finding him inflexible in the faith, according to the doctrine of the reformation, thus addressed him: "Dr. Ridley, it is with the utmost concern that I observe your stubbornness and obstinacy, by persisting in damnable errors and heresies: but unless you recant, I must proceed to the other part of my commission, though very much against my will and desire."

Dr. Ridley not making any reply, sentence of condem-

nation was read; after which he was carried back to confinement.

When Mr. Latimer was brought before the court, the bishop of Lincoln informed him, that "though they had already taken his answers to certain articles alleged against him, yet they had given him time to consider on the same, and would permit him to make what alterations he should deem fit, hoping, by that means, to reclaim him from his errors, and bring him over to the faith of the holy catholic church."

The articles were again read to him, but he deviated not, in a single point, from the answers he had already given.

Being again warned to recant, and revoke his errors, he refused, declaring, that "he never would deny God's truth, which he was ready to seal with his blood." Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced against him, and he was committed to the custody of the mayor.

A few days after this, they were both solemnly degraded by the bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford; after which they were delivered over to the secular power.

The 16th of October, 1555, was the day appointed for their execution, in Townditch, behind Baliol college.

Mr. Latimer went to the stake in an humble, plain lay-dress, and Dr. Ridley in his ecclesiastical habit, which he wore when a bishop. They embraced each other on the melancholy occasion; and Dr. Ridley encouraged his fellow-labourer, and fellow-sufferer, in the cause of Christ, "to be of good cheer, assuring him that God would either assuage the fury of the flames, or enable them to endure them." To which Latimer answered "God will this day light such a candle in England, as all the infernal powers shall not be able to extinguish!"

The martyrs then kneeled down, and, with great earnestness, prayed to Almighty God "to enable them to sustain the fiery trial that awaited them."

When they arose from prayer, one of the popish priests, in an occasional sermon, upbraided them "with heresy and departure from the church of Christ." Dr. Ridley was

desirous of vindicating himself from the aspersion of the priest, but was denied that liberty, and commanded to prepare immediately for the fire, "unless he would recant, and abjure his heretical opinions;" without hesitation, therefore, he took off his clothes, distributed them among the populace, and, together with Latimer, was chained to the stake.

Latimer soon expired, crying, "O father of heaven receive my soul." But Ridley, by reason of the fire burning low, and not flaming about his body, endured the most exquisite torture, leaping in the fire, and begging for Christ's sake, that the flames might surround him; till, at length, some of the spectators having taken off part of the fagots, the fire had vent, and the bag of gunpowder that was fastened to his neck exploded, after which he was not seen to move, but fell down at the feet of his fellow-sufferer.

Thus did these two pious divines, christian prelates, and steadfast believers, testify, with their blood, the truth of the everlasting gospel, upon which depends all the sinner's hopes of salvation; to suffer for which was the joy, the glory of many eminent christians, who, having followed their Lord and Master, through much tribulation in this vale of tears, will be glorified for ever with him, in his kingdom.

Mr. Latimer, at the time of his death, was in the eightieth year of his age, and preserved the principles he had professed with the most distinguished magnanimity. He had naturally a happy temper, formed on the principles of true christianity. Such was his cheerfulness, that none of the accidents of life could discompose him: such was his fortitude, that not even the severest trials could unman him; he had a collected spirit, and on no occasion wanted a resource; he could retire within himself, and hold the world at defiance. An instance of this was exhibited whilst in the tower, he sent a message to the lieutenant, telling him he was afraid he should disappoint his enemies: On which the officer, fearing an escape, began to rate him. "You think I shall burn," replied Latimer, "but except you supply me with coals, I am like to starve to death."

And as danger could not daunt, so neither could ambition allure him: though conversant in courts, and intimate with princes, he preserved, to the last, a rare instance of moderation! his primeval plainness: in his profession he was indefatigable; and that he might bestow as much time as possible on the active part of it, he allowed himself only those hours for his private studies, when the busy world is at rest, constantly rising, at all seasons of the year, by two in the morning. How conscientious he was in the discharge of the publick parts of his office, we have many examples. No man could persuade more forcibly; no man could exert, on proper occasions, a more commanding severity. The wicked, in whatever station, he rebuked with censorian dignity, and awed vice more than the penal laws.

He was not esteemed a very learned man, for he cultivated only useful learning, and that he thought lay in a very narrow compass. He never engaged in worldly affairs, thinking that a clergyman ought to employ himself only in his profession. Thus he lived, rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not those commanding talents which give superiority in business; but for purity and sincerity of heart, for true simplicity of manners, for apostolick zeal, in the cause of religion, and for every virtue, both of a publick and private kind, which should adorn the life of a christian, he was eminent beyond most men of his own, or any other time.

His action, and manner of preaching, were very affecting; and no wonder; for he spoke immediately from his heart. His abilities, however, as an orator, made only an inferior part of his character as a preacher. What particularly recommends him, is that noble and apostolick zeal which he continually exerted in the cause of truth.

Dr. Ridley was no less indefatigable in promoting the reformed religion, than his fellow-sufferer Latimer. He was naturally of a very easy temper, and distinguished for his great piety and humanity to the distressed. He persevered, to the last, in that faith he had professed, and cheerfully resigned up his life in defence of the truth of the gospel.

A few days after Latimer and Ridley suffered, three others shared the like fate, for professing the truth of the gospel. Their names were John Webb, George Roper, and Gregory Parke.

They were all burnt in one fire at Canterbury, most patiently enduring their torments, and accounting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for the gospel of their Redeemer.

The bloody transactions of the year 1555, were terminated in the death of the Rev. Mr. John Philpot, who, after a long confinement, during which he underwent various examinations, shameful persecutions, was, at length, brought to the stake in Smithfield, on the 18th of December, where he patiently resigned his soul into the hands of him who gave it. He was a very learned man, and pious Christian; and, during his confinement, wrote a great number of letters to his friends and others; as also a variety of treatises on that religion, in defence of which he gave up his existence in this mortal world.

A charge of heresy was preferred against Rev. Thomas Whittell, Bartlet Green, John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Brown, Isabel Foster, and Joan Lashfield, who were all arrested and brought before bishop Bonner. Having severally passed examination, this persecuting prelate sentenced them to be burnt at Smithfield.

On the 27th of January, 1556, these seven believers and faithful servants of Christ, were conducted from Newgate to Smithfield, there to endure the last torments that could be inflicted on them by their cruel persecutors. They all went with great cheerfulness, singing hymns to the praise of their Redeemer, both in the way to, and at the place of execution.

They were chained to three different stakes, but consumed together in one fire, freely yielding up their lives in testimony of the truth, and sealing, with their blood, the doctrines of that gospel they had so zealously supported.

Four days after the before-mentioned seven martyrs suffered in Smithfield, five others were burnt at Canter-

bury. Their names were John Lomas, Anne Albright, John Cotmer, Agnes Snoth, and Joan Sole.

These five steadfast servants of God, and willing followers of Christ, were bound together at two stakes, rejoicing in the flames, and chanting hallelujahs to God and the Lamb.

CHAP. VIII.

MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND SEVERAL OTHERS.

This eminent prelate was born at Astacton, in Nottinghamshire, on the 2d of July, 1489. His family was ancient, and came in with William the conquerour. He was early deprived of his father, Thomas Cranmer, Esq. and was sent by his mother to Cambridge, at the age of fourteen, according to the custom of those times.

Having completed his studies at the university, he took the usual degrees, and was so well beloved that he was chosen fellow of Jesus college; soon after which he became celebrated for his great learning and abilities.

In 1521, he married, by which he forfeited the fellowship of Jesus College; but his wife dying within the year, he was re-elected. This favour he most gratefully acknowledged, and chose to decline an offer of a much more valuable fellowship in Cardinal Wolsey's new seminary at Oxford, rather than relinquish friends who had treated him with the most distinguished respect.

In 1523, he commenced doctor of divinity; and being in great esteem for theological learning, he was chosen divinity lecturer in his own college, and appointed, by the university, one of the examiners in that science. In this office he principally inculcated the study of the holy scriptures, then greatly neglected, as being indispensably necessary for the professors of that divine knowledge.

The plague happening to break out at Cambridge, Mr. Cranmer, with some of his pupils, removed to Waltham-abbey, where, falling into company with Gardiner and

Fox, one the secretary, the other almoner of king Henry VIII. that monarch's intended divorce of Catharine his queen, the common subject of discourse in those days, came upon the carpet: when Cranmer advising an application to our own, and to the foreign universities, for their opinion in the case, and giving these gentlemen much satisfaction, they introduced him to the king, who was so pleased with him, that he ordered him to write his thoughts on the subject, made him his chaplain, and admitted him into that favour and esteem which he never afterwards forfeited.

In 1530, he was sent by the king, with a solemn embassy, to dispute on the subject of the divorce at Paris, Rome, and other foreign parts. At Rome he delivered his book, which he had written in defence of the divorce, to the pope, and offered to justify it in a publick disputation: but after various promises and appointments none appeared to oppose him; while in private conferences he forced them to confess "that the marriage was contrary to the law of God."

During the time he was abroad, archbishop Warham died. Henry, convinced of Cranmer's merit, determined that he should succeed him; and commanded him to return for that purpose. He suspected the cause, and delayed: he was desirous, by all means, to decline this high station, for he had a true and primitive sense of the office. But a spirit so different from that of the churchmen of his times stimulated the king's resolution; and the more reluctance Cranmer showed, the greater resolution Henry exerted. He was consecrated on March 30, 1533, to the office; and though he received the usual bulls from the pope, he protested, at his consecration, against the oath of allegiance, &c. to him. For he had conversed freely with the reformed in Germany, had read Luther's books, and was zealously attached to the glorious cause of reformation.

The enemies of the reformation, however, were restless; and Henry was no protestant in his heart. Cromwell fell a sacrifice to them, and they aimed every possible shaft at Cranmer. Gardiner in particular was indefatigable: he

caused him to be accused in parliament, and several lords of the privy-council moved the king to commit the archbishop to the Tower. The king perceived their malice; and one evening, on pretence of diverting himself on the water, ordered his barge to be rowed to Lambeth side. The archbishop, being informed of it, came down to pay his respects, and was ordered by the king to come into the barge and sit close by him. Henry made him acquainted with the accusations of heresy, faction, &c. which were laid against him; and spoke of his opposition to the six articles; the archbishop modestly replied, that he could not but acknowledge himself to be of the same opinion, with respect to them; but was not conscious of having offended against them. The king then putting on an air of pleasantry, asked him, if his bed-chamber could stand the test of these articles? the archbishop confessed, that he was married in Germany, before his promotion; but assured the king, that on passing that act, he had parted with his wife, and sent her abroad to her friends. His majesty was so charmed with his openness and integrity, that he discovered the whole plot that was laid against him; and gave him a ring of great value to produce upon any future emergency.

A few days after this, Cranmer's enemies summoned him to appear before the council. He accordingly attended, when they suffered him to wait in the lobby amongst the footmen, treated him on his admission with haughty contempt, and would have sent him to the Tower. But he produced the ring; and gained his enemies a severe reprimand from Henry, and himself the highest degree of security and favour.

On this occasion he showed that lenity and mildness for which he was always so much distinguished: he never persecuted any of his enemies; but on the contrary, freely forgave even the inveterate Gardiner, on his writing a supplicatory letter to him for that purpose. The same lenity he showed towards Dr. Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, and Dr. Barber, who though entertained in his family, and entrusted with his secrets, and indebted to him for many favours, had ungratefully conspired with Gardiner to take away his life.

When Cranmer first discovered their treachery, he took them aside into his study, and telling them, that he had been basely and falsely accused by some, in whom he had always reposed the greatest confidence, desired them to advise him how he should behave himself towards them? They, not suspecting themselves to be concerned in the question, replied, that such vile, abandonéd villains, ought to be prosecuted with the greatest rigour; nay, deserved to die without mercy. At this the archbishop, lifting up his hands to heaven, cried out, "merciful God! whom may a man trust?" And then taking out of his bosom the letters, by which he had discovered their treachery, asked them if they knew those papers? When they saw their own letters produced against them, they were in the utmost confusion; and falling down upon their knees, humbly sued forgiveness. The archbishop told them, "that he forgave them, and would pray for them; but that they must not expect him ever to trust them for the future."

In 1546, king Henry experienced the impartiality of death; and left his crown to his only son Edward, who was godson to Cranmer, and had imbibed all the spirit of a reformer. This excellent young prince, influenced no less by his own inclinations than by the advice of Cranmer, and the other friends of reformation, was diligent, in every endeavour, to promote it. Homilies were composed by the archbishop, and a catechism: Erasmus's notes on the New Testament translated, and fixed in churches; the sacrament administered in both kinds; and the liturgy used in the vulgar tongue. Ridley, the archbishop's great friend, and one of the brightest lights of the English reformation, was equally zealous in the good cause: and with him the archbishop drew up the forty-two articles of religion, which were revised by other bishops and divines; as, through him, he had perfectly conquered all his scruples, respecting the doctrine of the corporeal presence, and published a much-esteemed treatise, intitled, "a defence of the true and catholick doctrine of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."

But this prosperous state of things was of short cotinuanance. The pious young Edward died in 1553, and gave

place to the bloody reign of Mary. The scene was changed, the Romish party came into power, persecution immediately awoke, and Cranmer being arrested as a heretick, was thrown into prison.

The Tower was crowded with prisoners; insomuch that Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were all put into one chamber; which they were so far from thinking an inconvenience, that, on the contrary, they blessed God for the opportunity of conversing together; reading and comparing the scriptures, confirming themselves in the true faith, and mutually exhorting each other to constancy in professing it, and patience in suffering for it. Happy society! blessed martyrs! rather to be envied, than the purple tyrant, with the sword deep-drenched in blood, though encircled with all the pomp and peagantry of power!

In April 1554. the archbishop, with bishops Ridley and Latimer, was removed from the Tower to Windsor, and thence to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both universities. But, alas! what farces were disputations, when the fate of men was fixed, and every word misconstrued. Such was the case here; for on April the 20th, Cranmer was brought to St. Mary's, before the queen's commissioners, and refusing to subscribe to the popish articles, he was pronounced a heretick, and sentence of condemnation was passed upon him. Upon which he told them, that "he appealed from their unjust sentence to that of the Almighty; and that he trusted to be received into his presence in heaven for maintaining the truth, as set forth in his holy gospel."

After this, his servants were dismissed from their attendance, and himself closely confined in Bocardo, the prison of the city of Oxford. But this sentence being void in law, as the pope's authority was wanting, a new commission was sent from Rome in 1555; and in St. Mary's church, at the high altar, the court sat, and tried the already condemned Cranmer. He was here well nigh too strong for his judges; and, if reason and truth could have prevailed, there would have been no doubt who should have been acquitted, and who condemned.

The February following, a new commission was given to bishop Bonner and bishop Thirlby, for the degradation of the archbishop. When they came down to Oxford he was brought before them; and after they had read their commission from the pope (for not appearing before whom in person, as they had cited him, he was declared contumacious, though they themselves had kept him a close prisoner) Bonner, in a scurrilous oration, insulted over him in the most unchristian manner, for which he was often rebuked by bishop Thirlby, who wept, and declared it the most sorrowful scene he had ever beheld in his whole life. In the commission it was declared, that the cause had been impartially heard at Rome; the witnesses on both sides examined, and the archbishop's counsel allowed to make the best defence for him they could.

At the reading this, the archbishop could not help crying out, "Good God! what lies are these; that I, being continually in prison, and not suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should produce witnesses, and appoint my counsel at Rome! God must needs punish this shameless and open lying."

When Bonner had finished his invective, they proceeded to degrade him; and that they might make him as ridiculous as they could, the episcopal habit which they put on him was made of canvass and old rags. Bonner, in the mean time, by way of triumph and mockery, calling him Mr. Canterbury, and the like.

He bore all this treatment with his wonted fortitude and patience; told them, "the degradation gave him no concern, for he had long despised those ornaments:" but when they came to take away his crosier, he held it fast, and delivered his appeal to Thirlby, saying, "I appeal to the next general council."

When they had stripped him of all his habits, they put on him a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, thread-bare, and ill-shaped, and a townsman's cap; and in this manner delivered him to the secular power to be carried back to prison, where he was kept entirely destitute of money, and totally secluded from his friends. Nay, such was the iniquity of the times, that a gentleman was taken into custody by

Bonner, and nearly escaped a trial, for giving the poor archbishop money to buy him a dinner.

Cranmer had now been imprisoned almost three years, and death should have soon followed his sentence and degradation: but his cruel enemies reserved him for greater misery and insult. Every engine that could be thought of was employed to shake his constancy; but he held fast to the profession of his faith. Nay, even when he saw the barbarous martyrdom of his dear companions Ridley and Latimer, he was so far from shrinking, that he not only prayed to God to strengthen them, but also, by their example, to animate him to a patient expectation and endurance of the same fiery trial.

The papists, after trying various severe ways to bring Cranmer over without effect, at length determined to try what gentle methods would do. They accordingly removed him from prison to the lodgings of the dean of Christ church, where they urged every persuasive and affecting argument to make him deviate from his faith; and, indeed, too much melted his gentle nature, by the false sunshine of pretended civility and respect.

The unfortunate prelate, however, withstood every temptation; at which his enemies were so irritated, that they removed him from the dean's lodgings to the most loathsome part of the prison in which he had been confined, and then treated him with unparalleled severity. This was more than his infirmities could support: the frailty of human nature prevailed; and he was induced to sign six different recantations, drawn from him by the malice and artifice of his enemies.

This, however, did not satisfy them: they were determined not to spare his life. Nothing less than his death could satiate the gloomy queen, who said, that "as he had been the promoter of heresy, which had corrupted the whole nation, the abjuration, which was sufficient in other cases, should not serve his turn; for she was resolved he should be burned." Accordingly, she sent orders to Dr. Cole to prepare a sermon on the occasion of his death, which was fixed to be on the 21st of March.

The archbishop had no suspicion that such would be

his fate, after what he had done; but he soon found his mistake.

The papists, determining to carry their resentment to the most extravagant length, thought to inflict a farther punishment on him, by obliging him to read his recantation publicly in St. Mary's church; and on this they proposed to triumph in his death: but their base intentions were happily frustrated.

On the morning of the day appointed for his execution, he was conducted between two friars to St. Mary's church. As soon as he entered, Dr. Cole mounted the pulpit, and the archbishop was placed opposite to it on a low scaffold, a spectacle of contempt and scorn to the people!

Cole magnified his conversion as the immediate work of God's inspiration; exhorted him "to bear up with resolution against the terrors of death; and by the example of the thief on the cross, encouraged him not to despair, since he was returned, though late, into the bosom of the church." He also assured him, that "dirges and masses should be said for his soul in all the churches of Oxford."

As soon as the archbishop perceived, from Cole's sermon, what was the bloody decree, struck with horreur at the base inhumanity of such proceedings, he gave, by all his gestures, a full proof of the deep anguish of his soul.

At length, being called upon by Cole "to declare his faith and reconciliation with the catholick church," he rose with all possible dignity; and while the audience was wrapped in profound expectation, he kneeled down, and repeated a most fervent prayer.

He then rose up, exhorted the people to a contempt of this world, to obedience to their sovereign, and to mutual love and charity. He told them, that "being now on the brink of eternity, he would declare unto them his faith, without reserve or dissimulation: he then repeated the apostles creed, and professed his belief thereof, and of all things contained in the Old and New Testament."

By speaking thus in general terms, the attention of the audience was kept up; but amazement continued that attention, when they heard him, instead of reading his recantation, "declare his great and unfeigned repentance,

for having been induced to subscribe the popish errors: he lamented, with many tears, his grievous fall, and declared that the hand which had so offended, should be burned before the rest of his body."

He then "renounced the pope in most express terms, and professed his belief concerning the eucharist to be the same with what he had asserted in his book against Gardiner."

This was a great disappointment to the papists: they made loud clamours, and charged him with hypocrisy and falsehood; to which he meekly replied, "that he was a plain man, and never had acted the hypocrite, but when he was seduced by them to a recantation."

He would have gone on further, but Cole cried, "stop the heretick's mouth, and take him away."

Upon this, the monks and friars rudely pulled him from the scaffold, and hurried him away to the stake, where Ridley and Latimer had before been offered up, which was at the north side of the city, in the ditch opposite Baliol college.

But if his enemies were disappointed by his behaviour in the church, they were doubly so by that at the stake. He approached it with a cheerful countenance, prayed, and prepared himself for the devouring flames. His beard was so long and thick that it covered his face with wonderful gravity; and his reverend countenance moved the hearts both of friends and enemies.

The friars tormented him with their admonitions; while Cranmer gave his hand to several old men, who stood by, bidding them farewell.

When he was chained to the stake, and the fire kindled, he seemed superiour to all sensation but of piety. He stretched out the offending hand to the flame, which was seen burning for some time before the fire came to any other part of his body; nor did he draw it back, but once to wipe his face, till it was entirely consumed: saying often, "this unworthy hand, this hand hath offended;" and raising up his eyes to heaven, he expired with the dying prayer of St. Stephen in his mouth, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"

He burned, to all appearance, without pain or motion; and seemed to repel the torture by mere strength of mind, showing a repentance and a fortitude which ought to cancel all reproach of timidity in his life.

Thus died archbishop Cranmer, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his primacy; leaving an only son, of his own name, behind him.

His candour and sincerity, meekness and humility, were admired by all who conversed with him: but the queen could not forgive his zeal for the reformation, nor his divorce of her mother; and, therefore, she brought him to the stake; which has justly numbered him amongst the noblest martyrs who suffered for the truth of the gospel.

He may truly be ranked with the greatest primitive bishops, and the fathers of the very first class, who were men as well as himself; and, therefore, if in a scrutiny of theirs or of his character, some infirmities and imperfections may appear, we may learn thereby to make a wise and moral improvement.

During the same season, Agnes Potten and Joan Trunckfield, two pious females, were apprehended on an information of heresy, and brought before the bishop of Norwich. They were examined on the favourite doctrine of the papists concerning the sacrament of the altar; and on their refusing to admit that the bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Christ, sentence was pronounced against them as hereticks, and they were delivered over to the secular power.

On the day appointed for their execution, in the month of March, 1556, they were both led to the stake, and burnt in the town of Ipswich, where they had resided. Their constancy was admired by the multitude who saw them suffer; for as they prepared themselves for the fire, they earnestly exhorted the people "to believe only in the unerring word of the only living and true God, and not regard the devices and inventions of men."

They both openly declared that "they despised the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome, and most patiently submitted to the acute torments of devouring flames, calling upon the God of their salvation, and tri-

umphing in being deemed worthy to suffer for the glorious cause of Jesus Christ, their lord and master."

Six persons residing in the county of Essex, being accused of heresy, were all apprehended, and sent by Lord Rich, and other commissioners, at different times, to bishop Gardiner, lord-chancellor of England; who, after a short examination, sent the four first to the Marshalsea prison in the Borough, and the two last to the king's Bench, where they continued during the space of a whole year, till the death of bishop Gardiner.

When Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, succeeded to the chancellorship, four of these persecuted brethren, namely, Richard and Thomas Spurg, John Cavill and George Ambrose, weary of their tedious confinement, presented a petition to the lord-chancellor, subscribing their names, and requesting his interest for their enlargement.

A short time after the delivery of this petition, Sir Richard Read, one of the officers of the court of Chancery, was sent by the chancellor to the Marshalsea to examine them.

Richard Spurg, the first who passed examination, being asked the cause of his imprisonment, replied, that "he, with several others, being complained of by the minister of Bocking for not coming to their parish church, to the Lord Rich, was thereupon sent up to London by his lordship, to be examined by the late chancellor."

He acknowledged that "he had not been at church since the English service was changed into Latin (except on Christmas day was twelve-month) because he disliked the same, and the mass also, as not agreeable to God's holy word."

He then desired that "he might be no farther examined concerning this matter, until it pleased the present chancellor to enquire his faith concerning the same, which he was ready to deliver."

Thomas Spurg, on his examination, answered to the same effect with the other, confessing that "he absented himself from church, because the word of God was not then truly taught, nor the sacraments of Christ duly administered, as prescribed by the same word."

Being farther examined touching his faith in the sacrament of the altar; he said, that "if he stood accused in that particular, he would answer as God had given him knowledge, which he should do at another opportunity."

John Cavill likewise agreed in the chief particulars with his brethren; but farther said, "the cause of his absenting himself from church was, that the minister there had advanced two doctrines contrary to each other; for first, in a sermon he delivered when the queen came to the crown, he exhorted the people to believe the gospel, declaring it to be the truth, and that if they believed it not, they would be damned; and that, secondly, in a future discourse, he declared that the New Testament was false in forty places, which contrariety gave him much disgust, and was, among other things, the cause of his absenting himself from church."

George Ambrose answered to the same effect, adding moreover, that "after he had read the late bishop of Winchester's book, intitled, *De verâ Obedientiâ*, with bishop Bonner's preface thereunto annexed, both inveighing against the authority of the bishop of Rome, he esteemed their principles more lightly than he had done before."

Robert Drake was minister of Thundersley, in Essex, to which living he had been presented by Lord Rich in the reign of Edward VI. when he was ordained priest by Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, according to the reformed English service for ordination.

On the accession of queen Mary to the throne of England, he was sent for by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who demanded of him "whether he would conform, like a good subject, to the laws of the realm then in force?" He answered, that "he would abide by those laws that were agreeable to the law of God;" upon which he was immediately committed to prison.

William Tims was a deacon and curate of Hockley, in Essex, in the reign of Edward VI. but being deprived of his living soon after the death of that monarch, he absconded, and privately preached in a neighbouring wood, whither many of his flock attended to hear the word of God.

In consequence of these proceedings, he was apprehended by one of the constables, and sent up to the bishop of London, by whom he was referred to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord-chancellor, who committed him to the king's bench prison.

A short time after his confinement, he, with the others beforementioned, was ordered to appear before the bishop of London, who questioned them in the usual manner, "concerning their faith in the sacrament of the altar."

Mr. Tims answered, that "the body of Christ was not, in the sacrament of the altar, really and corporeally, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest; and that he had been a long time of that opinion, ever since it had pleased God, of his infinite mercy, to call him to the true knowledge of the gospel of his grace."

On the 28th of March, 1556, these six persons were all brought into the consistory court, in St. Paul's church, before the bishop of London, in order to be examined, for the last time; who assured them, that "if they did not submit to the church of Rome, they should be condemned for heresy."

The bishop began his examination with Tims, whom he called "the ringleader of the others:" he told him, that "he had taught them heresies, confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to render them as abominable as himself;" with many other accusations equally false and opprobrious.

He was then asked by the bishop "what he had to say in his own vindication, in order to prevent him from proceeding against him as his ordinary?" To which he replied as follows:—

"My lord, I am astonished that you should begin your charge with a falsehood; you aver that I am the ringleader of the company now brought before you, and have taught them principles contrary to the Romish church, since we have been in confinement; but the injustice of this declaration will soon appear, if you will inquire of these my brethren, whether, when at liberty, and out of prison, they dissented not from popish principles as much as they do at present; such inquiry, I presume, will ren-

der it evident, that they learned not their religion in prison.

“For my own part, I declare I never knew them, till such time as I became their fellow-prisoner, how then could I be their ringleader and teacher? With respect to the charge alleged against me, a charge which you endeavour to aggravate to the highest degree, whatever opinion you maintain concerning me, I am well assured I hold no other religion than what Christ preached, the apostles witnessed, the primitive church received, and of late the apostolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught, and for which you have cruelly caused them to be burnt, and now seek to treat us with the like inhuman severity. I acknowledge you to be my ordinary.”

The bishop, finding it necessary to come to a point with him, demanded, “if he would submit himself to the holy mother-church, promising, that if he did, he should be kindly received; and threatening, at the same time, that if he did not, judgment should be pronounced against him as a heretick.”

In answer to this, Tims told his lordship “he was well persuaded that he was within the pale of the catholick church, whatever he might think; and reminded him, that he had most solemnly abjured that very church to which he since professed such strenuous allegiance; and that, contrary to his oath, he again admitted in this realm the authority of the pope, and was, therefore, perjured and foresworn in the highest degree. He also recalled to his memory, that he had spoken with great force and perspicuity against the usurped power of the pope, though he afterwards sentenced persons to be burnt, because they would not acknowledge the pope to be the supreme head of the church.”

To this Bonner sternly demanded, “what he had written against the church of Rome?”

Mr. Tims pertinently answered, “My lord, the late bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned treatise, intitled, *De verâ Obedientiâ*, which contains many solid arguments against the papal supremacy: to this book you wrote a preface, strongly inveighing against the bishop of

Rome, reproving his tyranny and usurpation, and showing that his power was ill-founded, and contrary both to the will of God, and the real interest of mankind.

The bishop, struck with the poignancy of this reproof, evasively told him, that the bishop of Winchester wrote a book against the supremacy of the pope's holiness, and he wrote a preface to the same book, tending to the same purpose: but that the cause of the same arose not from their disregard to his holiness, but because it was then deemed treason by the laws of the realm to maintain the pope's authority in England."

Mr. Tims, still persisting in the vindication of his own conduct, and reprehension of that of the bishop, again replied, "My lord, that which you have written against the supremacy of the pope may be well proved from scripture to be true; that which you now do is contrary to the word of God, as I can sufficiently prove."

Bonner, after much farther conversation, proceeded to form of law, causing his articles, with the respective answers to each, to be publicly read in court.

Mr. Tims acknowledged only two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper; commended the bishop of Winchester's book *De verâ Obedientiâ*, and the bishop of London's preface to the same. He declared that the mass was blasphemy of Christ's passion and death; that Christ is not corporeally but spiritually present in the sacrament, and that as they used it, it was an abominable idol."

Bonner exhorted him "to revoke his errors and heresies, conform to the church of Rome, and not abide so strenuously by the literal sense of the scripture, but use the interpretation of the fathers."

Our martyr frankly declared "he would not conform thereunto, notwithstanding the execrations denounced against him by the church of Rome, and demanded of the bishop what he had to support the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, but the bare letter of scripture?"

On the bishop's replying, "the authority of the holy catholick church;" Tims informed him that "he had the popish church, for which he was perjured and foresworn,

declaring that the see of Rome was the see of Antichrist, and therefore he would never consent to yield obedience to the same."

The bishop, finding Mr. Tims so inflexible in his adherence to the faith he professed, that every attempt to draw him from it was vain and fruitless, read his definitive sentence, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

Bonner then used the same measures with Drake as he had done with Tims; but Drake frankly declared, that he denied the church of Rome, with all the works thereof, even as he denied the devil, and all his works.

The bishop, perceiving all his exhortations fruitless, pronounced sentence of condemnation, and he was immediately delivered into the custody of the sheriffs.

After this, Thomas and Richard Spurg, George Ambrose, and John Cavill, were severally asked, if they would forsake their heresies, and return to the catholick church? They all refused consenting to the church of Rome; but said, "they were willing to adhere to the true catholick church, and continue in the same."

Bonner then read their several definitive sentences, after which he committed them to the custody of the sheriffs of London, by whom they were conducted to Newgate.

On the 14th of April, 1556, the day appointed for their execution, they were all led to Smithfield, where they were chained to the same stake, and burnt in one fire, patiently submitting themselves to the flames.

John Harpole, and Joan Beach, a widow, were arrested for heresy, and after remaining some time in prison, were examined by the bishop of Rochester. On their refusing to conform to the doctrine of the Romish church, they were condemned; and in April, 1556, were burnt in one fire, in the city of Rochester. They sang hallelujahs in the flames.

John Mace, John Spencer, Simon Joyn, Richard Nichols, John Hammond, and Christopher Iister, were apprehended upon a charge of heresy and brought before bishop Bonner. After the usual examination, and various efforts to induce them to recant, finding them inflexible in their belief, the bishop passed upon them the sentence of con-

demnation, and they were delivered over to the secular power. On the 28th of April, 1556, the six martyrs were chained to two stakes, and were all burnt in one fire in Colchester, dying triumphantly together.

Among others who experienced the cruelties of these times, were Hugh Laverock, an old infirm man, and John Apprice, a blind man. The former of these martyrs was by trade a painter, and lived in the parish of Barking, in Essex. At the time of his apprehension he was in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and very helpless from the natural infirmities of life. Being however accused of heresy by some of the popish emissaries in his neighbourhood, he, with his fellow-sufferer, were taken before Bonner to be examined with respect to their faith.

The bishop laid before them the same articles as mentioned in former cases and they returned answers to the same effect with other advocates for the truth.

On the 9th of May, 1556, they were both brought into the consistory court at St. Paul's, where their articles and answers were publicly read; after which the bishop endeavoured to persuade them to recant their opinions concerning the sacrament of the altar.

Hugh Laverock declared, that "by the grace of God he would stand to the profession he had already made, for he could not find the least authority in the word of God for approving the doctrine of the corporeal presence in the sacrament."

The bishop then addressed himself to John Apprice, and demanded "what he had to say in his defence?" The honest blind man answered the haughty prelate, that "the doctrine he set forth and taught was so conformable to the world, that it could not be agreeable to the scripture of God; and that he was no member of the catholick church of Christ, seeing he made laws to kill men, and made the queen his executioner."

The first examination being over, they were for the present dismissed, but ordered to appear the next day at the bishop's palace at Fulham. Being accordingly conducted there, the bishop, after some discourse with them, and finding them steadfast in their faith, pronounced the

definitive sentence; when, being delivered over to the secular power, they were committed to Newgate.

On the 15th of May, they were conveyed to Stratford-le-bow, the place appointed for their execution. As soon as they arrived at the stake, Laverock threw away his crutch, and thus addressed his fellow-sufferer:

“John Apprice, be of good comfort, brother, for my lord of London is our good physician: he will cure us both shortly, thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness.”

After this they both knelt down, and prayed with great fervency, that God would enable them to pass, with christian resolution, through the fiery trial.

These two steadfast believers in Christ were both chained to one stake. They endured their sufferings with great fortitude, and cheerfully yielded up their lives in testimony of the truth of their Redeemer.

Three pious females, namely, Catharine Hut, Joan Hornes, and Elizabeth Thackville, being apprehended on suspicion of heresy, were carried before the magistrates, who sent them prisoners to the bishop of London, for not conforming to the order of the church, and not believing the real presence of Christ's body in the sacramental bread. After a close examination, in which each of them was questioned separately, the bishop urged them to recant their opinions and conform to the order of the church, which refusing to do, they were condemned and delivered to the secular power.

On the 16th of May, the day appointed for their execution, they were conducted to Smithfield, where, being all fastened to one stake, and the fagots lighted, their bodies were soon consumed, after they had recommended their spirits into the hands of God, for the truth of whose word they joyfully suffered death, in hopes of obtaining life everlasting.

On the same day these three were executed in Smithfield, two others suffered at Gloucester, namely, Thomas Drowry, a blind boy; and Thomas Croker, a bricklayer.

They both submitted to their fate with great fortitude and resignation, cheerfully yielding up their souls to him who gave them.

Thomas Spicer, John Denny, and Edmund Pool, were apprehended in the county of Suffolk, for not attending mass, and committed to prison.

After being some time in confinement, they were brought before the chancellor of the diocese of Norwich, and the register, who sat at the town of Beccles, to examine them with respect to their faith. The articles alleged against them were as follows:—

1. “That they believed not the pope of Rome to be supreme head immediately under Christ, of the universal catholick church.

2. “That they believed not holy bread and holy water, ashes, palms, and other like ceremonies used in the church, to be good and laudable for stirring up the people to devotion.

3. “That they believed not after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, the very natural body of Christ, and no other substance of bread and wine, to be in the sacrament of the altar.

4. “That they believed it to be idolatry to worship Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

5. “That they took bread and wine in remembrance of Christ’s passion.

6. “That they would not follow the cross in procession, nor be confessed to a priest.”

They all acknowledged the justness of those articles, in consequence of which they were condemned by the chancellor, who first endeavoured to reclaim them from their opinions, and bring them over to the church of Rome; but all his admonitions and exhortations proving ineffectual, he pronounced sentence on them, and they were immediately delivered in the hands of the high-sheriff of the county.

On the 21st of May, 1556, these pious christians were led to the stake in the town of Beccles, amidst a great number of lamenting spectators. As soon as they arrived at the place of execution they prayed devoutly, and repeated the articles of their faith. When they came to that article concerning the holy catholick church, Sir John Sillard, the high sheriff, thus addressed them: “That

is well said, sirs; I am glad to hear you say you believe the catholick church; this is the best expression I ever heard from you yet."

To this Poole answered, that "though they believed the catholick church, yet they believed not in their popish church, which is no part of Christ's catholick church, and, therefore, no part of their belief."

When they arose from prayer, they went joyfully to the stake, and being chained to it, and the fagots lighted, they praised God with such cheerfulness in the midst of the flames, as astonished the numerous spectators.

Soon after they were fastened to the stake, several bigoted papists called to the executioner to throw fagots at them, in order to stop their mouths; but the martyrs, disregarding their malice, boldly confessed the truth with their latest breath, dying, as they had lived, in certain hope of a resurrection to life eternal.

Thomas Harland, John Oswald, Thomas Abington, and Thomas Read, were arrested as hereticks and sent to London, to be examined by Bonner, bishop of that diocese.—The bishop finding them all resolute, and that they were determined to adhere to their religious opinions, after endeavouring to prevail on them to recant, passed sentence of condemnation on them, and they were immediately delivered over to the secular power.

After a long confinement in the king's bench prison, they were sent down to Lewes, in Sussex, where, on the 6th of June, 1556, they were burned together in one fire, praising God for enabling them to withstand the malice of their enemies, and to bear with fortitude the punishment allotted them for professing the truth of his holy word.

On the 20th of the same month, two others suffered at the same place, namely, Thomas Wood, minister, and Thomas Mills. They both died with christian fortitude, rejoicing and praising God that he had numbered them among those who freely gave up their miserable existence here for the truth of the gospel, in hopes of obtaining an everlasting inheritance in the heavenly mansions.

Henry Wyc, William Holywell, Ralph Jackson, Lawrence Pern, John Derifall, Thomas Bowyer, George

Searls, Lyon Couch, Henry Adlington, John Routh, Edmund Hurst, Elizabeth Peper, and Agnes George, were siezed as hereticks, sent to London, and examined before Dr. Darbyshire, the bishop's chancellor, who, in form of law, administered to them the following articles, with some others not inserted, viz.

1. "That there is on earth a catholick church, wherein the religion of Christ is truly professed."

To this they all answered in the affirmative; but added, that "they believed the true faith of Christ was wherever the word of God was truly preached."

2. "That there were seven sacraments."

They all answered in the negative; some affirmed, that "in the church of Christ there were only two sacraments, viz. baptism and the Lord's supper;" others desired to believe as the scriptures taught them; and others refused to reply, not properly understanding these points.

3. "That they were baptized in the faith of the catholick church, professing, by their godfathers, &c. the religion of Christ, and to renounce the devil and all his works," &c.

To this they all assented without exception.

4. "That when they came to years of discretion, they did not depart from the said profession and faith, and did not disprove any part thereof for several years."

The greater part of them answered in the affirmative. One of the women added, that "in the days of king Edward VI. she departed from her old faith and religion, and embraced the gospel of Christ, as it was then taught and set forth."

5. "That of late they had swerved from their former catholick faith, and had spoken against the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and authority of the papal see."

This, upon the whole, they confessed to be true.

6. "That they refused to be reconciled to the unity of the church, or to confess the lawfulness of the papal see."

To this article they all, except two, answered in the affirmative. Those who refused said, "they did not understand the import of the same." The two women added, "they refused to be reconciled to the faith and religion, that was then used in the realm of England, though they

never refused to be reconciled and brought to the unity of the catholic church of Christ."

7. "That disproving the service of the church, they refused to come to their parish churches, denied the bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament, called the mass an abomination," &c.

This was answered in general in the affirmative; but one denied that "he called the mass an abomination, or an idol:" another, "though he granted the article, confessed his infirmity, that he went to his parish church, and received it before he was put into prison."

Being thus examined by the bishop of London's chancellor, in open court, persisting in their answers, and refusing to recant, or be reconciled to the church of Rome, they had sentence of condemnation pronounced against them: and being delivered over to the secular power, were all sent to Newgate.

Three others were also condemned to die at the same time; but before the day appointed for their execution, a reprieve was sent them by cardinal Pole.

On the Sunday following, the condemnation of these pious christians, Dr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, told the audience, in his sermon, that "they held as many tenets as there were faces among the whole;" which being represented to them, they drew up the following confession of their faith, to which they respectively subscribed their names:

1. "There are but two sacraments in Christ's church, that is, the sacrament of baptism, and the Lord's supper. For in these are contained the faith of Christ's church; that is, the two testaments, the law and the gospel. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the gospel remission of sins.

2 "We believe there is a visible church, wherein the word of God is preached, and the holy sacraments truly administered, visible to the world, although it be not credited, and by the death of saints confirmed, as it was in the time of Elias the prophet, as well as now.

3 "The see of Rome is the see of anti-christ, the congregation of the wicked, &c. whereof the pope is head under the devil.

4. "The mass is not only a profanation of the Lord's supper, but also a blasphemous idol.

5. "God is neither spiritually nor corporeally in the sacrament of the altar, and there remaineth no substance in the same, but only the substance of bread and wine.

"For these, the articles of our belief, we being condemned to die, do willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be dissolved in the fire, all with one voice assenting and consenting thereunto, and in no point dissenting or disagreeing from any of our former articles."

Early in the morning of the 28th of June, 1556, being the day appointed for their execution, they were conducted from Newgate to Stratford-le-Bow, the place allotted for burning them alive.

On their arrival at the place, the sheriff made use of a stratagem to bring them over to the Romish faith. He divided them into two companies, and placed them in separate apartments. This done, he visited one company, and told them that "the other had recanted, by which their lives would be saved; and exhorted them to follow their example, and not cast themselves away by their own mere obstinacy."

But this scheme failed in its effect; for they told the sheriff, "that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ crucified."

The sheriff, finding his project fail with the first party to whom he applied, had recourse to the same means with the others, admonishing them "to recant like wise men, and not be guilty of destroying themselves by their own bigotry and prejudice."

But they answered to the same effect as their brethren had before done, assuring the sheriff, that "their faith was not built on man, but on Christ, and his infallible word."

They were then brought from their different apartments, and all led together to the place of execution, where they embraced each other, and after praying in the most fervent manner, prepared themselves for their fate.

Thus these thirteen steadfast believers in Christ were chained to different stakes, but all burnt together in one fire, showing such firm faith in their Saviour and Redeemer,

Jesus Christ, that the concourse of spectators, assembled on the occasion, were astonished.

Two days after this dreadful execution, Robert Bernard, Adam Foster, and Robert Lawson, having been arrested and condemned for heresy, as it was then called, were burnt at one stake at St. Edmund's Bury; making a joyful and triumphant exit from the land of blood to the celestial city.

CHAP. IX.

SUFFERINGS AND DEATH OF JULIUS PALMER, JOHN GWIN,
AND THOMAS ASKINE.

Julius Palmer, the son of a reputable merchant, was born in the city of Coventry. He received his first education at the free-school of that city; after which he was sent to Oxford, where, in process of time, he obtained a fellowship in Magdalen college, in that university.

When the persecution raged in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, he inquired, very particularly, into the cause of persons being apprehended, the nature of the articles upon which they were condemned, the manner of their treatment, and their behaviour at the time of their suffering. Nay, so desirous was he of knowing this, that he sent over one of his pupils from Oxford to Gloucester, to see the whole form of bishop Hooper's execution, and bring him a minute account of the bloody transaction.

Before he had imbibed well-grounded notions of the gospel of Christ, and the uncorrupted worship of God, he was inclined to think that very few would undergo the fiery trial for the sake of their profession: but when experience proved to him the cruelties which the papists inflicted, and the protestants endured; when he had been present at the examination of bishops Ridley and Latimer, and had seen them burnt at Oxford, as well as been an eye-witness to their faith, patience and fortitude, these scenes converted him absolutely from popery; and on his return from the execution, he was heard to utter these ex-

pressions amongst his friends, "O raging cruelty! O barbarous tyranny!"

From that day he applied himself most assiduously to learn the truth of God's word; and, to that end, borrowed Peter Martyr's Commentary on the Corinthians, and read many other well written treatises on religion, till, at length, he became as zealous an assertor of the protestant cause, as he before had been an obstinate opposer of it.

He now began to form excuses and pretences for absenting himself from mass, and other popish services and ceremonies; but finding that his absence, on these occasions, incurred the suspicion of many, and disapprobation of the president of the college, to avoid expulsion, which might be attended with danger, and to preserve his conscience inviolate, he resigned his fellowship.

On his leaving the college, his friends procured him the place of teacher to the grammar-school at Reading, in Berkshire, where he was received by those who loved the gospel of Christ, both on account of his eminent learning and zealous adherence to the truth.

In process of time, some hypocritical professors of the reformed religion insinuated themselves into his confidence, with a design to learn his religious principles. Their disingenuous stratagem succeeded to their wishes; for as he was a man of an open, unreserved temper, he freely declared his sentiments, which those snakes reported to his enemies, who thereupon caused his library to be searched for heretical books, and finding some of his writings, both in Latin and English, that inveighed against popish cruelty, they threatened "*to lay this discovery before the queen's commissioners, unless he would quietly resign his school to a friend of theirs, and depart.*"

Mr. Palmer, fearful of death, complied with their unjust proposal, and departed from Reading, leaving behind him all his goods, with a quarter's salary due to him.

Being thus destitute of a livelihood, he went to Evesham, in Worcestershire, where his mother lived, in order to obtain from her a legacy, which his father had bequeathed him four years before.

As soon as he saw his mother, he implored her blessing

on his bended knees; but she having been informed, by his brother, of the cause of his resignation, and the business of his visit, hastily exclaimed, "thou shalt have Christ's curse and mine, whithersoever thou goest."

Julius, at first, stood amazed at so unexpected and heavy a curse from his own mother; but after he had recollected himself a little, he said, "O mother, your own curse you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved; but God's curse you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me."

His mother then vehemently declared, that "he believed not as his father and forefathers had done, but according to the new doctrine taught and set forth in the days of king Edward VI. which is damnable heresy."

In answer to this he confessed, "he believed the doctrine that was publickly set forth in the reign of king Edward VI." He also affirmed "it to be truth, and that, instead of being new, it was as old as Christ and his apostles."

The mother, incensed at this frank declaration of his principles, ordered him to depart the house, nor ever more esteem her as his mother, informing him, at the same time, "that he had no property there, either in money or goods, as his father bequeathed nothing to hereticks."

Mr. Palmer, being thus repulsed by his mother, on whom he relied as his only friend, as well as disregarded by his brother, was destitute of all help, and knew not what steps to take in order to obtain subsistence.

At length, he thought of returning privately to Magdalen college, depending on the confidence of a few friends he had in that house. He accordingly went thither, and through the interest of Mr. Allen Cope, a fellow of the same, he obtained a recommendation to a school in Gloucestershire.

He had not proceeded far on his journey to that place before he altered his resolution, and determined to go privately to Reading, to try if he could obtain his salary that was due, and at the same time dispose of the goods he had left there.

No sooner had he arrived at Reading, than his old ene-

mies got knowledge of it, and consulted in what manner they should proceed against him.

In a short time it was concluded amongst them, that one Mr. Hampton, who had formerly professed himself a protestant, but was, in reality, a time-server, should visit him under colour of friendship, to learn the cause of his return.

Hampton traitorously went, when Palmer, with his usual sincerity and openness of soul, disclosed his whole design, which the other immediately related to the confederates, who caused him to be apprehended that very night.

Mr. Palmer was then carried to prison, where he remained ten days in the custody of an unmerciful keeper, at the expiration of which time he was brought before the mayor of Reading, and charged with the following crimes:

1. "That he said the queen's sword was not put into her hand to execute tyranny, and to kill and murder the true servants of God.

2. "That her sword was too blunt towards the papists, but too sharp towards the true christians.

3. "That certain servants of Sir Francis Knowles, and others, resorting to his lectures, fell out among them, and had almost committed murder; therefore he was a sower of sedition, and a procurer of unlawful assemblies.

4. "That his landlady had written a letter to him, which they had intercepted, wherein she requested him to return to Reading, and sent her commendations by the token, that the knife lay hid under the beam, whereby they inferred that she had conspired with him against her husband.

5. "That they once found him alone with his said landlady, by the fire-side, the door being shut, thereby suspecting him of incontinency with her."

Three men, who were suborned for the purpose by one of the confederates, swore these things against him before the mayor, who thereupon sent him to the cage, to be an open spectacle of contempt to the people.

The same villians also spread a report, that he was thus

punished for the most enormous crimes and misdemeanors, which had been fully proved against him.

After he had been thus unjustly exposed to publick shame, the mayor sent for him to answer for himself, concerning what was laid to his charge.

He fully overthrew all the evidence, by proving the letter said to have been written to him by his landlady, to be of their own forging; and in the most incontestable manner acquitted himself of all the other crimes laid to his charge. The mayor was confounded, to think he should have given such credit to his persecutors; and though he did not choose to discharge him immediately, yet he thought of doing it as soon as a convenient opportunity should offer.

When his enemies found they had miscarried in their plot against him, they determined to accuse him of heresy; in consequence of which he was taken before the mayor, and Mr. Bird, the bishop of Salisbury's official, to give an account of his faith, and answers to such information as might be laid against him.

In the course of his examination they gathered from him sufficient grounds to proceed against him. Articles were drawn up, and sent to Dr. Jeffrey, at Newbury, who was to hold his visitation there on the Thursday following.

The next day Palmer was conducted to Newbury, together with Thomas Askine, who had been for some time imprisoned on account of his religion. Immediately on their arrival they were committed to the Blind-house prison, where they found John Gwin, who was also confined there for professing the truth.

On Tuesday, July 10, 1556, a place being prepared in the parish church of Newbury to hold the consistory court, Dr. Jeffrey, representative of the bishop of Sarum, Sir Richard Adridge, and John Winchom, Esq. and the minister of Inglefield, repaired thither, as commissioners appointed for the purpose.

After the prisoners were produced, the commission read, and other things passed according to the usual form, Dr. Jeffrey, in the presence of several hundred spectators.

called to Palmer, and asked if he was the writer of a two-penny pamphlet that had been lately published?

Having some altercation about this affair, in which Palmer answered in his own behalf with great force and propriety, the doctor rising from his seat, said to him, "Mr. Palmer, we have received certain writings and articles against you from the right worshipful the mayor of Reading, and other justices, whereby we understand, that being brought before them, you were convicted of certain heresies."

1. "That you deny the supremacy of the pope's holiness.

2. "That you affirm there are but two sacraments."

3. "You say that the priest showeth up an idol at mass, and therefore you went to no mass since your first coming to Reading.

4. "You hold there is no purgatory.

5. "You are charged with sowing sedition, and seeking to divide the unity of the queen's subjects."

Several books and pamphlets were then produced, and Palmer being asked if he was the author of them, replied in the affirmative, declaring, at the same time, that they contained nothing but what was founded on the word of God.

Jeffrey then reviled him, declaring that such opinions were dictated by no good spirit, and that he was very wicked in slandering the dead, and railing at a catholick and learned man living.

Mr. Palmer replied, "if it be a slander, he slandered himself, for I do but report his own writings, and expose absurdities therein contained; and I esteem it not railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiphas, being dead."

After much farther discourse, the minister of Inglefield pointed to the pix over the altar, saying to Palmer, "What seest thou there?" To which he replied, "A canopy of silk embroidered with gold."

"But what is within?" demanded the priest. "A piece of bread in a cloth," replied our martyr.

The priest then upbraided him as a vile heretick, and asked him "if he did not believe that those who receive

the holy sacrament of the altar do truly eat Christ's natural body?

He answered, "If the sacrament of the Lord's supper be administered as Christ did ordain it, the faithful receivers do, indeed, spiritually and truly eat and drink in it Christ's body and blood."

On being asked, "if he meant with the holy mother-church, really, carnally, and substantially?" He declared, "he could not believe so absurd and monstrous a doctrine."

After much conversation had passed, and many efforts were tried in vain, Palmer was remanded back to prison; but the other men, John Gwin and Thomas Askine, were brought into the consistory court, received their definitive sentence, and were delivered over to the secular power, to be burned as hereticks.

Though the particular examinations and answers of these two martyrs are not recorded, there is no doubt but they were of the same faith, and equally steadfast in it, as their fellow-sufferer Palmer; but they were very illiterate, whence it is supposed their examination was short, they not having a capability of making any defence.

The next morning the commissioners required Julius Palmer to subscribe to certain articles which they had gathered from his answers, with the addition of those odious epithets and terms, horrid, heretical, damnable, and execrable doctrines, which, when he had read, he refused to subscribe, affirming, that "the doctrine which he held and professed, was not such, but agreeable to, and founded on, the word of God."

Jeffrey being now greatly incensed, Palmer consented to subscribe, provided they would strike out those odious epithets; upon which they gave him a pen, and bid him do as he pleased, when he made such alterations as he thought proper, and then subscribed.

Having thus set his hand to the articles which they had drawn up, they asked him "if he would recant?" but he péremptorily refusing, they pronounced sentence against him, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

While he was in prison he gave great comfort to his two fellow-sufferers, and strongly exhorted them to hold

fast to the faith they had professed. On the morning of their execution, about an hour before they were led to the stake, he addressed them in words to the following effect:

“Brethren, be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not; remember the words of our Saviour Christ, who saith, ‘Happy are ye when men shall revile and persecute you for my sake: rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven.’ Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to hurt the soul: God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are able to bear. We shall end our lives in the fire, but exchange them for a better life: yea, for coals ye shall receive pearls; for God’s spirit certifieth our spirit, that he hath prepared for us blissful mansions in heaven for his sake, who suffered for us.”

These words not only strengthened and confirmed the resolution of his two weak brethren, but drew tears from many of the multitude.

When they were brought by the high-sheriff and constables of the town to the Sand-pits, the place appointed for their execution, they fell on the ground, and Palmer, with an audible voice, repeated the 31st psalm; but the other two made their prayers secretly to Almighty God.

When Palmer arose from prayer, there came behind him two popish priests, exhorting him “to recant, and save his soul.”

Our martyr exclaimed, “away, away, and tempt me no longer; away! I say from me, all ye that work iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears.”

When they were chained to the stake, Palmer thus addressed the spectators; “good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end, and for Christ’s sake beware of popish teachers, for they deceive you.”

As he spoke this, one of the attendants threw a fagot at him, which striking him on the face, caused the blood to gush from three several places.

When the fire was kindled, and began to reach their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and cheerfully, as though they felt not much pain, said, “Lord Jesus, strengthen us! Lord Jesus, assist us! Lord Jesus,

receive our souls!" and thus they continued struggling, holding up their hands, and sometimes beating upon their breasts, and calling on the name of Jesus, till they ended their mortal lives for an everlasting habitation in the heavenly mansions.

About the same time the above three persons suffered at Newbury, three women were burnt in the island of Guernsey, whose names were, Catharine Cawches, the mother; Guillemine Gilbert, and Perotine Massey, her daughters.

Their execution was attended with distinguished marks of cruelty, but they bore all with a fortitude that evinced their steadfast faith in him who died for all mankind.—They were fastened to different stakes, the mother being placed in the middle, the eldest daughter on her right hand, and the youngest on the left. They were first ordered to be strangled, but the fagots being immediately lighted, the ropes with which they were fastened gave way before they were deprived of life. Such was the Herodian cruelty of these persecuting times, when reason was influenced by bigotry, and humanity sacrificed to the vilest conceptions!

In the same month, two men and a woman were burnt at Grinstead, in Sussex, and one man in the town of Leicester. The names of the three former were, Thomas Dugate, John Foreman, and Mary Tree; and that of the latter, Thomas Moor. They all bore their sufferings with great fortitude, and cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of that God who gave them, as a testimony of their faith in the truth.

Joan Waste, a poor blind woman, in the time of king Edward VI. became a convert to the reformed religion. Having purchased a New Testament in the English tongue, she applied to an old man, whom she paid for reading such passages as she directed him; by which means she became so well versed in the holy scriptures, that she could repeat entire chapters by heart, and by citing proper texts of scripture, would reprove the errors in religion, as well as the vicious customs and practices that prevailed in those days.

On the demise of king Edward, and the introduction of popery, on the accession of queen Mary, because this poor woman continued steadfast in the profession of that faith she had embraced from the knowledge of the divine word, and refused to communicate with those who maintained contrary doctrines, she was brought before Dr. Ralph Baines, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and Dr. Draycott, the chancellor, as one suspected of heresies, and by them committed to Derby prison.

She was divers times privately examined by Peter Finch, the bishop's official; and afterwards brought to publick examination before the bishop, his chancellor, and several more of the queen's commissoners; when the following articles were alleged against her:—

1. "That she held the sacrament of the altar to be only a memorial, or representation of Christ's body, and material bread and wine; and that it ought not to be reserved from time to time, but immediately received.

2. "That she held, that in the receiving the sacrament of the altar she did not receive the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered on the cross for the redemption of mankind.

3. "That she held, that Christ, at his last supper, did not only bless the bread which he had then in his hands, but was blessed himself; and that, by virtue of the words of consecration, the substance of the bread and wine was not converted, nor turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

4. "That she granted she was of the parish of Allhal lows, in Derby, and that all and singular the premises were true."

To these respective articles she answered, that "she believed just as much as the holy scriptures taught her, and according to what she had heard preached by many pious and learned men; some of whom suffered imprisonment, and others death, for the same doctrine.

Among others, she mentioned Dr. Taylor, and asked, "if they would follow his example in testimony of their doctrine? which, unless they were willing to do, she desired, for God's sake, they would not trouble her (being a

poor, blind, and illiterate woman) declaring, at the same time, she was ready to yield up her life in defence of that faith she had publicly professed."

The bishop, and his chancellor, urged many arguments in proof of the doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, demanding "why Christ was not as able to make the bread his body, as to turn water into wine, to raise Lazarus from the dead, and the like, threatening her, at the same time, with imprisonment, torments, and death."

The poor woman, terrified at these threatenings, told the bishop, "if he would, before that company, take it upon his conscience, that the doctrine which he would have her to believe concerning the sacrament was true, and that he would, at the awful tribunal of God, answer for her therein, as Dr. Taylor, in several sermons had offered, she would then further answer them."

The bishop, declaring "that he would," the chancellor said to him, "my Lord, you know not what you do, you may in no case answer for a heretick."

The bishop, struck by this interposition of the chancellor, demanded of the woman, "whether she would recant or not?" and told her "she should answer for herself."

This honest Christian finding, at length, they designed but to prevaricate, told his lordship, that "if he refused to take upon himself to answer for the truth of what they required her to believe, she would answer no farther; but desired them to do their pleasure."

In consequence of this, sentence of death was pronounced against her, and she was delivered to the sheriff, who immediately conducted her to the prison at Derby.

On the first of August, 1556, the day appointed for her execution, she was led to the stake. Immediately on her arrival at the fatal spot, she knelt down, and in the most fervent manner repeated several prayers she had been accustomed to use, and desired the spectators to pray also for her departing soul. Having finished her prayers she arose, and was fastened to the stake; when the fagots being lighted, she called on the Lord to have mercy on her, and continued so to do till the flames deprived her both

of speech and life. And thus did this poor woman quit mortality, to obtain a life of immortality, the sure and certain reward of all those who suffer for the sake of the true gospel of their Redeemer.

On the 8th of September, Edward Sharp was burnt at Bristol; and on the 25th of the same month, a young man, by trade a carpenter, suffered at the same place.

The day preceding the last martyrdom, John Hart, a shoe-maker, and Thomas Ravendale, a currier, were burnt at Mayfield, in Sussex. And on the 27th of the same month, one John Horn, and a woman, suffered at Wotton-Underedge, in Gloucestershire.

All these martyrs submitted to their fate with the most Christian fortitude, giving glory to God for having numbered them among the followers and advocates of his gospel.

The last we find recorded, who suffered for the truth of the gospel in the bloody year 1556, were five persons, confined with many others, in Canterbury castle who were cruelly starved to death. Their names were as follows: William Foster, Alice Potkins, John Archer, condemned: John Clark, Dunstan Chittenden, not condemned.

The cruel usage these unhappy persons suffered from their unfeeling persecutors, was displayed in a letter written by one of them, and thrown out of the window of the prison; of which the following is a copy.

“Be it known unto all men that shall read, or hear read, these our letters, that we the poor prisoners of the castle of Canterbury, for God’s truth, are kept, and lie in cold irons, and our keepers will not suffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheese, or any other food, the said keeper will charge them that so bring us any thing, except money or raiment, to carry it them again; or else, if he do receive any food for any of us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it, so that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us: insomuch, that there are four of us prisoners there for the truth, famished already; and thus it is his mind to famish us all. And we think he is ap-

pointed thereunto by the bishops and priests, and also of the justices, so to famish us; and not only us of the said castle, but also all other prisoners, in other prisons, for the like cause to be also famished; notwithstanding, we write not these our letters, to the intent that we might not afford to be famished for the Lord Jesus' sake, but for this cause and intent, that they, having no law to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers' hearts should be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what church they are, and who is their father.—Out of the castle of Canterbury.”

Among the others confined with these five, were ten men, who having been examined by Dr. Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, arch-deacon of Canterbury, were sentenced to be burnt. They had been confined a considerable time, but their sentence was, at length, put into execution; and they were the first who opened the bloody transactions of the year 1557. Their names were as follows: Stephen Kemp, of Norgate; William Waterer, of Beddingden; W. Prowting, of Thornham; W. Lowick, of Cranbroke; Thomas Hudson, of Salenge; William Hay, of Hythe; Thomas Stephens, of Beddingden; John Philpot, of Tenterden; Nicholas Final, of Tenterden; Matthew Bradbridge, of Tenterden.

The six first were burnt at Canterbury on the 15th of January, 1557.

Stephens and Philpot suffered the next day at Wye; and Final and Bradbridge the day after, at Ashford.

They all bore their sufferings with Christian fortitude, happily rejoicing that their troubles were drawing to an end, and that they should leave this world, to be transplanted to that where “the weary are at rest, and the wicked cease from troubling.”

CHAP. X.

MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS LOSEBY HENRY RAMSAY, AND
MANY OTHERS WHO WERE BURNT IN 1557.

Thomas Loseby, Henry Ramsay, Thomas Thyrtell, Margaret Hyde, and Agnes Stanley, were apprehended as hereticks, and examined before several justices in the county of Essex in which they resided, and were by them sent up to the bishop of London for further examination. On their arrival the bishop referred them to the chancellor, who, after propounding to them the articles usual on the occasion, in the diocese of London, committed them to Newgate.

After being imprisoned about three months, they were summoned to appear before the bishop himself, when the following singular articles were exhibited against them:—

1. “That they thought, believed, and declared, within some part of the city and diocese of London, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service here observed and kept, as it is in the realm of England, was not a true and laudable faith, religion, and service, especially concerning the mass and the seven sacraments, nor were they agreeable to God’s word; and that they could not, without grudging and scruple, receive and use it, nor conform themselves unto it, as other subjects of this realm customarily have done,

2. “They had thought, &c. that the English service set forth in the time of king Edward the sixth, in this realm of England, was good, godly, and catholick in all points, and that it alone ought here in this realm to be received, used, and practised, and none other.

3. “They had thought, &c. that they were not bound to their parish-church, and there to be present at matins, mass, even-song, and other divine service.

4. “They had thought, &c. that they were not bound to come to procession to the church, upon times appointed, and to go in the same with others of the parish, singing or saying the accustomed prayers used in the church, nor to bear a taper, or candle, on candlemas-day, nor take ashes

on ash-Wednesday, nor bear palms on palm-Sunday, nor to creep to the cross upon days accustomed, nor to receive holy water and holy bread, or to accept or allow the ceremonies and usages of the church, after the manner in which they were then used in this realm.

5. "That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound, at any time, to confess their sins to any priest, and to receive absolution at his hands as God's minister, nor to receive, at any time, the blessed sacrament of the altar, especially as it is used in the church of England.

6. "That they had thought, &c. that in matters of religion and faith they were bound to follow and believe their own conscience only, and not credit the determination and common order of the catholick church, and see of Rome, nor any member thereof.

7. "That they had thought, &c. that the fashion and manner of christening infants is not agreeable to God's word, and that none can be effectually baptised, and therefore saved, except they are arrived to years of discretion to believe themselves, and willingly accept or refuse baptism at his pleasure.

8. "That they had thought, &c. that prayers to saints, or prayers for the dead, were not available, nor allowable, by God's word, and that souls departed this life do immediately go to heaven or hell, or else do sleep till the day of doom: so that there is no place of purgation at all.

9. "That they had thought, &c. that all those who, in the time of king Henry VIII. or in the time of queen Mary, the present sovereign of England, had been burned as hereticks, were no hereticks, but faithful, sincere christians; especially Barns, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Cranmer, Ridley, &c. and that they did allow and approve all their opinions, and disapproved their condemnations and burnings.

10. "That they had thought, &c. that fasting and prayers used in the church of England, and the appointing a day for fasting and abstaining from flesh upon fasting days, especially in the time of Lent, is not laudable nor allowable, by God's word, and that men ought to have liberty, at all times, to eat all kind of meats.

11. "That they had thought, &c. that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and to reserve, keep, and honour it, is idolatry and superstition, as was also the mass and elevation of the sacrament.

12. "That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound to be convened before an ecclesiastical judge, concerning matters of faith, nor to make answer at all, especially upon oath on a book."

The first, second, third, fourth, fifth, eighth, and ninth, they granted in general, excepting that "they denied the the souls departed to sleep till the day of judgment, as mentioned in the eighth article."

With respect to the sixth article objected to them, "they thought themselves bound to believe the true catholick church, so far as it instructed them according to God's holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the superstitious church of Rome."

Concerning the seventh, eleventh, and twelfth articles, they admitted them, but with some exceptions.

To the tenth article they answered, that "true fasting and prayer used, according to God's word, was allowable, and approved in his sight; and that, by the same word, every faithful man may eat all meats at all times, with thanksgiving to God for the same."

Having given these answers, they were dismissed, and conveyed to their respective places of confinement, where they remained till they were again brought before the bishop, who made no other enquiry, than "whether they would abjure their heretical opinions?" and on their refusal, again dismissed them.

At length, they were brought into the publick consistory court at St. Paul's and severally demanded what they had to allege, why sentence of condemnation should not be pronounced against them.

Thomas Loseby being first questioned, thus replied, "God give me grace to withstand you, your sentence, and your law, which devours the flock of Christ, for I perceive death is my certain portion, unless I will consent to believe in that accursed idol the mass."

Thomas Thyrtell being next examined, said, "My lord,

if you make me a heretick, you make Christ and the twelve apostles all hereticks, for I hold one and the same faith with them, and I will abide in that faith, being assured that it will obtain for me everlasting life."

Henry Ramsay being required to recant, answered, "My lord, would you have me abjure the truth, and, for fear of death here, forfeit eternal felicity hereafter?"

Margaret Hyde being questioned, replied, "My lord, you have no cause to pronounce sentence against me, for I am in the true faith, nor will ever forsake it; and I wish I was more confirmed in it than I am."

Agnes Stanley, the last examined, said, "My lord, I would suffer every hair of my head to be burned, before I would renounce the faith of Christ, and his holy gospel."

The court now broke up, but was convened again in the afternoon, when the prisoners appeared, and were again severally examined.

Thomas Loseby being first called upon, his articles and answers were read; after which many attempts were made to bring him to a recantation, but he persisted in his faith, declaring, that "he hoped he had the spirit of God, which had led him into all truth:" his sentence of condemnation was therefore pronounced, and he was delivered to the custody of the sheriff, in order for execution.

Various arguments were used by the bishop to bring over Margaret Hyde; but she declared "she would not depart from what she had said upon any penalty whatever; and added, that she would gladly hear his lordship instruct her from some part of God's word, and not talk to her concerning holy bread and holy water, which was no part of God's word."

The bishop, finding her resolute, pronounced sentence on her, and she was delivered over to the secular power.

Agnes Stanley was also admonished to return to the communion of the holy mother-church, but she continued steadfast in her faith, declaring that "she was no heretick, and that those who were burned, as the papists said, for heresy, were true martyrs in the sight of God." In consequence of this, she likewise received sentence of death, and was committed to the care of the sheriff.

Thomas Thyrtell being asked what he had to allege, answered, "My lord, I will not hold with those idolatrous opinions you would inculcate; for I say the mass is idolatry, and I will abide by the faith of Christ as long as I live."

He was then proceeded against in the same manner as the former.

Henry Ramsay, who was last called, being asked "whether he would stand by his answers as the rest had done, or recant and become a new member of the church?" replied, "I will never abjure my religion, in which I will live, and in which I will die."

Their examination being closed, and sentence of death passed on them all, they were immediately conducted to Newgate, where they continued till the 12th of April, 1557. On the morning of that day they were conducted to Smithfield, the place appointed for their execution, where, being fastened to two stakes, they were burnt in one fire, praising God as long as they had the power of speech, and cheerfully giving up their lives in testimony of the truth of the gospel.

Stephen Gratwick, being informed against by some of the popish emissaries, on a suspicion of heresy, was apprehended, and being carried before a justice of peace, was committed to the Marshalsea prison, where he continued for a considerable time.

At length he was brought before Dr. White, bishop of Winchester, in St. George's church, Southwark, in order to answer such questions as he should state, relative to his religious opinions.

The bishop first asked him "if he would revoke the heresies which he had maintained and defended within his diocese?" when Mr. Gratwick answering in the negative, he administered the usual articles, desiring him to give an ample answer to each.

These articles being read, Mr. Gratwick replied, "My lord, these articles are of your making, and not of mine, nor have I had any time to examine them, therefore I desire the liberty of lawful appeal to mine ordinary, having no concern with you."

During his examination, the bishop of Rochester, and Archdeacon of Canterbury arrived, when, on a consultation about the present case, it was agreed to introduce a person to represent the ordinary, which being done, Gratwick desired leave to depart, but the counterfeit ordinary insisted on his being detained; "that he was justly summoned before those lords, and him, on trial of his faith; and that if he confessed the truth, he should be quietly dismissed, and allowed full liberty."

Gratwick told him, that "he would turn his own argument upon him, for Christ came before the high-priest, scribes, and pharisees, bringing the truth with him, being the very truth himself; yet both he and his truth were condemned, and had no avail with them; the apostles likewise, and all the martyrs that died since Christ, did the same."

The Bishop of Winchester then asked "his opinion concerning the sacrament of the altar?" to which he replied, "my lord, I do verily believe, that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, truly administered in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, unto the worthy receiver, he eateth mystically, by faith, the body and blood of Christ."

The bishop of Rochester observed, that "this definition was a mere evasion of the principal points, for that he separated the sacrament of the altar from the supper of the Lord, intimating thereby, that the former was not the true sacrament; and also condemned their method of administering it in one kind, as well as hindered the unworthy receiver to eat and drink the body and blood of Christ, which, if duly weighed, were points of the highest importance, though he had craftily evaded them."

Having entered into closer examination concerning this matter, the counterfeit ordinary ordered the articles to be read again, and Gratwick refusing to make any reply, was threatened with sentence of excommunication; on which he thus addressed himself to his examiners:—

"Since you thirst for my blood, before you are glutted with the same, permit me a word in my own cause. On Sunday, my Lord of Winchester, I was before you, who

took occasion to preach from these words of St. James: *‘If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man’s religion is vain.’* From these words, my lord, by wrested inferences, you slandered us poor prisoners, upbraiding us with the title of Arians, Herodians, Sacramentaries, and Pelagians.

When we stood up to speak in vindication of ourselves, you threatened to cut out our tongues, and caused us to be dragged out of the church by violence; nevertheless, I will abide by the truth to the end of my life.”

The incensed prelate, after various endeavours, by threats and promises, to bring him to a recantation without any effect, pronounced sentence of condemnation upon him, and he was delivered over to the sheriff, who immediately conducted him to the Marshalsea prison. Here he remained till the latter end of May, 1557, when he was brought to the stake in St. George’s Fields, and cheerfully resigned up his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

William Morant and John King suffered with him; but we have no account on record relative to their examinations.

Alice Bendon, the wife of Edward Bendon, of the parish of Stablehurst, in the county of Kent, being brought before a magistrate on an information of heresy, was asked “why she absented herself from church?”—To which she replied, “because there was much idolatry practised there against the honour and glory of God.”

In consequence of this answer she was committed to Canterbury castle; but her husband making interest for her enlargement, she was ordered to appear before the bishop of Dover, who asked her “if, on condition she was released, she would go to church?” To this she gave no satisfactory answer, notwithstanding which the bishop gave her liberty.

On her arrival at home, her husband admonished her for her conduct, and advised her to go to church with him; but this she absolutely refused; on which she was again apprehended, and taken before Sir John Gifford, who committed her to her former place of confinement.

In consequence of this, her husband made a second ap-

plication for her discharge to the bishop of Dover; but in this he failed, the bishop telling him, "she was a most obstinate, irreclaimable heretick, and therefore he could not release her."

Her husband then informed his lordship, that if he could keep her brother, Roger Hall, from her, she would conform to the mother-church; whereupon she was removed to another prison, and charge given, that if her brother came to visit her he should be apprehended.

She continued some time in this place without her brother's knowledge, though he sought dilligently to find her, at the hazard of his life.

In process of time, he accidentally found her out, by hearing her voice as he passed by the prison window, when she was repeating a psalm, and bemoaning herself; but fearing to go to her in a publick manner, he found a method of conveying to her some money and sustenance, by means of a long stick, which reached to the window of the prison.

In this prison she continued nine weeks, without seeing any one but her keeper, lying in her clothes upon straw, and having but three farthings a day, in bread, allowed for her subsistence, with no drink but water.

This hard usage brought upon her a complication of disorders, insomuch that she could not walk without the greatest pain.

After being some time confined in this loathsome prison, the bishop summoned her before him, and asked her "if she would go to church, promising her great favours if she would be reformed, and return to the holy mother-church?"

To this she answered, "I am verily persuaded, by the great severity which you have used towards me, that ye are not of God, neither can your doings be godly; and I see that you seek my utter destruction."

She then showed them how miserable and lame she was, by lying so long on the cold ground in that filthy prison, where she was deprived of the necessaries of life.

After this, the bishop caused her to be removed to the prison, at the West-gate in Canterbury, where she had

better usage, and continued till the latter end of April following, when she, and six other prisoners, (7) being brought before the commissioners, were severally examined; and on persisting in those principles which their persecutors deemed heresy, they received sentence of excommunication, were delivered to the sheriffs, and sent back to prison.

Here they continued till the 19th of June, when they were brought to the place of execution.

Alice Bendon behaved remarkably courageous on this melancholy occasion, setting an example to her fellow-martyrs, who kneeled down, joined together in prayer, and behaved with such zeal and affection, as excited the esteem of their very enemies.

Having finished their devotions, and mutual salutations, they were chained to several stakes, and being encompassed with the flames, they quietly yielded up their souls to the Lord, in hopes of a joyful resurrection to life eternal.

Richard Woodman, a merchant in the county of Sussex, was arrested as a heretick, and nine others with him. Of the nine other persons, we have only the account of their being arrested, and of their martyrdom. Mr. Woodman's sufferings arose from the following incident:

One Fairbank for some time had been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton, where he often persuaded the people not to credit any doctrine but that which he preached, and which was then taught and set forth in the days of king Edward the Sixth; but in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, Fairbank deserted his reformed principles, and favoured the Romish tenets; upon which Woodman upbraided him with inconstancy and cowardice, and reminded him "how differently he then preached from what he had formerly done."

In consequence of this open and frank behaviour, he was apprehended, and being brought before several of the justices of peace for the county of Sussex, was com-

(6.) The names of the other sufferers were, John Fishcock, Nicholas White, Nicholas Parduc, Barbara Finall, Mary Bradbrege, and Amos Wilson.

mitted to the king's-bench prison, where he remained a considerable time.

At length Mr. Woodman, and four other prisoners, were brought together to be examined by Bonner, bishop of London, who, after asking them some questions, "desired they would be honest men, and profess themselves members of the true catholick church, which was built upon the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head of the same." To this they all said, that "they were members of the true church, and determined, by God's grace, to continue in the same:" upon which they were all discharged.

Mr. Woodman had not long returned home, before a report was spread "that he had conformed to the church of Rome:" but he vindicated himself from that aspersion in several companies; in consequence of which, complaint was made to Sir John Gage, who issued warrants for apprehending him.

As he was one day employed in his ordinary occupation, three men came to him from the queen's chamberlain, arrested him in her majesty's name, and told him he must go with them before their lord.

The surprise of the action put him into great consternation, and he desired to go home, in order to put on a dress suitable to appear in before his superiours.

On his way homeward he reflected on the unreasonableness of his fear, as they could lay no evil to his charge; and if they killed him for well-doing, he might think himself happy.

These reflections afforded him courage and comfort: he found that his fear arose from the frailty of human nature, his attachment to his worldly possessions, and his love to his wife and children.

But when, on the most serious consideration, he determined, by the grace of God, to die for the sake of Christ and his gospel, he regarded nothing in this world, resolving to give up every thing in defence of the truth of the gospel.

When he came to his house, he demanded of the men that arrested him to show their warrant, that he might

know the cause of his apprehension, and be better prepared to answer for himself when he should come before their master.

The men, not having any warrant, were startled at his demand, and Woodman severely reprimanded them for offering to take him without. "I heard (says he) there were several warrants out against me, but they were called in as soon as I had satisfied the commissioners by letter, that I was not guilty of the things laid to my charge; therefore set your hearts at rest, for I will not go with you without a warrant, unless you force me, which do at your peril."

On their leaving his house, he called them back, and told them, if they would produce a warrant he would go with them freely. One of them said he would fetch one that was left at his house; but while he was gone Woodman escaped, and absented himself from home three days, during which they searched his house several times, but could not find him.

Mr. Woodman, finding his enemies thus resolute on his destruction prepared himself a convenient cottage in a wood, near his house, where he had pen and ink, a bible, and such necessaries as he had occasion for, daily brought him.

His absence soon produced a report that he had left the kingdom, in consequence of which his enemies ceased to search for him, and he embraced this opportunity of visiting his friends and brethren; after which he went over to Flanders, but not approving of so remote a situation from his family, he soon returned to England.

When it was known that he was come home, the curate of the parish, and other popish emissaries, procured warrants to apprehend him. They often searched his house for that purpose, but could not find him, for he had artfully contrived a secret place which they could not discover.

At length through the treachery of his father, and one of his brothers, whom he had told of his hiding place, and having great part of his substance, both land and money, in their hands, his house was beset in the night, which as soon as he discovered, he ran out bare-foot, but unhappily

treading upon some stones, he fell down, and being seized, was sent prisoner to London.

On the 14th of April, 1557, he was brought before Dr. Christopherson, bishop-elect of Chichester, who told him "he was sorry to see him on the present occasion, as he heard that he was a man greatly esteemed in the country where he lived, for his probity and charity; and at the same time advised him seriously to consider his present situation, nor think himself wiser than all the realm, assuring him that he meant to do him much service."

Mr. Woodman replied, that "so far from esteeming himself wiser than all the realm, he was disposed to learn of every man that could teach him the truth; and that, with respect to the general esteem in which he was held by his neighbours, he had ever endeavoured to maintain a conscience void of offence. As for my wife and children," said he, "they are all in God's hand, and I have them all as though I had them not, according to the words of St. Paul; but had I ten thousand pounds in gold, I would forego it all, rather than displease my God."

When the bishop informed him, that "the sheriff applied to him out of respect to his character," he replied, that "he thought proper to appeal to his ordinary;" for, said he, "they seek most unrighteously to shed my blood, and have laid many unjust things to my charge. If you can prove, from the word of God, that any of my religious principles are false, I am willing to renounce the same, and stand here desirous of being reformed."

After this, several divines conversed with him on the sacrament of the altar, purgatory, and other popish topics; when Woodman confuted his opponents with great energy and propriety, asserting, and proving, from scripture, "that there were but two sacraments ordained by Christ, and observed by him, and his immediate disciples and apostles."

Being required, by the bishop of Chichester, to relate "a plain and full account of his belief concerning the sacrament of the altar?" he made this explicit confession: "I do believe, that if I came to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, truly ministered, believing

that Christ was born for me, and that he died on the cross for me, and that I shall be saved from my sins by his blood, and receive the sacrament in that remembrance, then I believe that I do receive the whole Christ, mystically, by faith."

A few days after this, Woodman was privately examined by lord Mountague's chaplain, who made use of many arguments to bring him over to the Romish faith; but all his efforts were ineffectual, for Woodman would not yield to any thing that was not founded on the authority of sacred writ.

After some time he was again brought before the bishop of Winchester, in St. George's church, Southwark, where several gentlemen and clergy were present, and examined him concerning the cause of his imprisonment? to which he replied, "it was for speaking to the curate of his parish in the pulpit, and not for heresy."

Being asked "what he had to allege in vindication of himself from that charge," he cited the following words of the statute:—

"Whoso doth interrupt any preacher, or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's majesty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all such shall suffer three months imprisonment for so doing; and furthermore, be brought to the quarter-sessions, and being sorry for the same, shall be released, upon his good behaviour, for one whole year."

He then observed, that "he had not so offended against the statute, for the person to whom he spoke was not lawfully authorized, as he had not put away his wife, and, consequently, according to the law then in force, he had no right to preach."

On the 15th of June, Mr. Woodman was again brought before the bishop of Winchester, in St. Saviour's church, Southwark, in the presence of the arch-deacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdall, and several other dignitaries.

The bishop of Winchester producing some writings, asked if they were his; to which he replied in the affirmative; but refused to answer to the articles he might exhibit against him, because he was not of his diocese,

though he was then in it, consequently he had nothing to do with him, who was not his ordinary.

After some dispute, the bishop peremptorily asked him, "if he would become an honest man, and conform to the holy mother-church?" To which Mr. Woodman replied, that "no person could, with justice, object to his character; and he was surprised he should charge him with heresy, as the bishop of London had discharged him of all matters that were laid against him on that head."

The bishop then observed, that "when he was released, perhaps those things were not laid to his charge; and, therefore, they were now objected to him, because he was suspected of being a heretick."

Mr. Woodman, at length, consented to answer to the several articles exhibited against him, which having done, he distinctly rehearsed the articles of his belief in the following form:

"I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, my Saviour, very God and man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the Comforter of all God's chosen people, and that he is equal with the Father and the son. I believe the true catholick church, and all the sacraments that belong thereto."

Being farther asked concerning his belief in the sacrament of the altar, he told them "he would answer no farther questions, because he perceived they sought to shed his blood."

As the bishop of Chichester was not yet consecrated, he would not undertake, judicially, to examine Woodman, and therefore submitted the whole to the bishop of Winchester, who, after many other questions, and farther arguments, to bring him over to recant, at length pronounced sentence of condemnation against him, and he was accordingly delivered over to the secular power.

About a fortnight after this, Mr. Woodman was conveyed to Lewes, in Sussex, with the other nine martyrs, who were all condemned for heresy a few days after their apprehension.

On the 22d of July, 1557, these ten steadfast believers

in Christ were all led to the place of execution; and being chained to several stakes, were all consumed in one fire. They died with becoming fortitude and resignation, committing their departing spirits into the hands of that Redeemer, who was to be their final judge, and who, they had reason to hope, would usher them into the realms of bliss, with "come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

John Hullier, descended of reputable parents, received a liberal education at a private school, and was then sent to Eton college, whence, according to the rules of that foundation, he was elected to King's college, Cambridge.

After he had been at college about three years, he was admitted to a fellowship, and obtained a curacy at Babraham, a village about three miles from Cambridge. He had not been long here before he went to Lynn, where he had several debates with the papists. They reported his principles to Dr. Thirlby, bishop of Ely, who sent for him, and, after a short examination relative to his faith, committed him to the castle of Cambridge.

A short time after this, he was cited to appear at St. Mary's church, before several doctors both of law and divinity, by whom he was reprimanded for opposing the doctrines of the church of Rome, and maintaining and defending those set forth in the days of king Edward VI.

His examination being finished, he was required to recant his erroneous opinions; which peremptorily refusing, he was degraded, condemned, and delivered over to the secular power, who immediately divested him of all his books, papers, and writings.

On the day appointed for his execution, he was conducted to the stake without the town, at a place called Jesus Green, near Jesus college, where, having made the necessary preparations on the melancholy occasion, he desired the spectators "to pray for him, and to bear witness that he died in the faith of Christ, sealing the same with his blood." He likewise assured them that "he died in a good cause, for the testimony of the truth, and that there was no other rock, but Jesus Christ, to build upon, nor any hope of salvation, but through his death and sufferings."

One of the proctors of the university, and some of the fellows of Trinity college, were offended at his address to the people, and reprov'd the mayor for giving him liberty to speak. To this our martyr made no reply; when being chained to the stake, Mr. Hullier earnestly called upon God for his grace and support, to enable him to undergo the fiery trial.

As soon as the fagots were lighted, a number of books were thrown into the midst of them, and among the rest a communion-book, which our martyr catching, joyfully read in it till the flames and smoke prevented him from seeing. He then prayed with a loud voice, holding the book as long as he was able, and praising God for sending it to him as a comforter in his last moments!

After the spectators thought he had been dead, he suddenly uttered, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit," and then quietly expired.

His death was greatly lamented by many of the spectators, who prayed for him, and expressed their grief by floods of tears, he having been a man of eminent piety, and the most exemplary virtue.

Simon Miller was an eminent merchant in the town of Lynn-Regis; a pious man, zealous for the truth of the gospel, and averse to the popish religion.

Having occasion to go to Norwich on business, he inquired of some people coming out of church from the popish service, where he might go and receive the communion, which being reported to Chancellor Dunning, he ordered him to appear before him. This summons he readily obeyed, when the chancellor asked him several questions, to which answering agreeable to the dictates of his conscience, he was committed prisoner to the bishop's palace.

After being some time in confinement, he obtained permission to go home, in order to settle his worldly concerns. On his return he was again examined by the chancellor, who required him to recant his opinions, and return to the holy mother-church; but Mr. Miller remaining inflexible in his faith and profession, was condemned as a heretick, and delivered over to the secular power.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cooper was the wife of a tradesman in Norwich. She had formerly been prevailed on to recant the protestant, and embrace the Romish religion: but being troubled in her conscience for so doing, she went one day to St. Andrew's church, where, in the presence of a numerous audience, she stood up, and publickly revoked her recantation. She was immediately apprehended, and committed to prison, and next day brought before the bishop, when persisting in her faith, he condemned her as a relapsed person, and delivered her to the sheriff for execution.

On the 30th of July, 1557, Mr. Miller and Mrs. Cooper, were both led to the stake in a hollow, without the city of Norwich, near Bishopsgate. As soon as the fagots were lighted, Elizabeth Cooper expressed some fear; but being encouraged by the advice and example of her fellow-martyr, she remained fixed, and they both cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of him who gave them.

On the 7th of March, 1557, about two o'clock in the morning, Edmund Tyrrell, a descendant of that Tyrrell who murdered King Edward V. in the Tower of London, assisted by the baliff, of the hundred, two constables, and a great number of other attendants, went to the house of William Munt, farmer, at Much-Bentley, in Essex; and after alarming the family, told Mr. Munt that he and his wife must both go with him to Colchester castle.

This sudden surprise greatly affected Mrs. Munt, who, after she had a little recovered herself, desired of Tyrrell that her daughter might be permitted to fetch her something to drink before she went with him. This being granted, Tyrrell took the opportunity of advising the daughter, as she passed by him, to give her father and mother better counsel, and admonish them to behave more like good christians, and members of the catholick church.

The daughter replied, "they had the holy ghost for their instructor, and therefore needed no other." This answer greatly irritated Tyrrell, who, after using many harsh words, assured her, "he was now convinced of the absolute necessity of calling such hereticks to immediate account."

Tyrrell, from the most abusive language, proceeded to the most cruel behaviour; and in order to try if she could bear burning, took the girl by the wrist, and held the lighted candle under her hand, burning it across the back till the sinews cracked, frequently exclaiming, during the barbarous operation, "*why, wilt thou not cry?*" This she endured with the utmost patience, telling the villain, "if he thought proper, he might then begin at her feet and proceed to the head, for that he that prompted him to such work would one day pay him his wages."

Tyrrell then seized William Munt, Alice his wife, and Rose Allen, their daughter, and immediately conducted them to Colchester castle, together with John Johnson, whom they took in their way, in consequence of an information that had been laid against him for heresy.

They also the same morning apprehended William Bongeor, Thomas Benhote, William Purchase, Agnes Silver-side, Hellen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folk; but not choosing to place those with the rest, they sent them prisoners to Mote-hill.

After they had been confined a few days, they were all brought together before several justices of the peace, priests and officers, amongst whom were Kingston the commissary, and Boswell the bishop of London's secretary, with many others, in order to be examined relative to their faith.

The first person called was William Bongeor, who being examined concerning his faith in the sacrament, replied, that "what they termed the sacrament of the altar was bread, is bread, and remaineth bread, and was not in the least holier for the consecration." This he affirmed, and at the same time protested against all the popish doctrines in general; upon which he immediately received sentence of condemnation.

Thomas Benhote also denied the sacrament of the altar, and abjured the errors of the Romish church.

William Purchase declared, that "when he received the sacrament of the altar, he received bread in a holy use, and both bread and wine as such, but in remembrance of Christ's death and passion."

Agnes Silverside said "she approved not of the popish consecration, nor any of the pageant absurdities and superstitions of the Church of Rome, which was the church of anti-christ."

Hellen Ewring also renounced all the doctrines and practices set forth by the church of Rome.

Elizabeth Folk being asked, "whether she believed the presence of Christ's body to be in the sacrament of the altar, really and substantially?" replied, "she believed it was a substantial and a real lie."

The commissioners being incensed at so abrupt a reply, asked her, "whether, after consecration, there remained not the body of Christ in the sacrament?" She answered, that "before consecration, and after, it was bread, and that what man blessed without God's word, was accursed and deemed abominable by that word."

They then examined her relative to her confession to a priest, of going to church, to hear mass, of the authority of the bishop of Rome, &c. Unto all which she answered, that "she would neither use, nor frequent any of them, by the grace of God, but did utterly detest them from her very heart and soul."

In consequence of this, sentence of condemnation was passed on her; immediately after which she kneeled down, lifted her eyes and hands to heaven, and in an audible voice "praised God, that she was deemed worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ, praying, at the same time, for her persecutors."

William Munt being asked his opinion concerning the sacrament of the altar, said, "it was a most abominable idol, and that if he should observe any part of the popish superstition, he should displease God, and bring a curse upon himself; and therefore, for fear of the divine vengeance, he would not bow down to an idol."

John Johnson answered to the same effect with Munt; but added, that "in receiving the sacrament, according to Christ's institution, he received the body of Christ spiritually."

Alice, the wife of William Munt, renounced all popish error and superstition, and continued steadfast in the profession of the true faith of Jesus Christ.

Rose Allen, who was last called, being examined "concerning auricular confession, hearing mass, and the seven sacraments?" answered, that "they were an abomination in the eyes of the Lord, and that she would therefore for ever reject them." She likewise told them that "she was no member of their church, for they were the members of anti-christ, and would have the reward of anti-christ, if they repented not."

In consequence of this, sentence was then read against her, and she and the rest were all delivered over to the secular power.

They continued under confinement with much joy and comfort, frequently reading the word of God, and exercising themselves in fervent prayer, impatiently waiting their happy dissolution.

Bishop Gardiner having an account transmitted to him of the condemnation of these ten innocent persons, for the alleged crime of heresy, sent down a warrant for their being burned, and fixed the time on the 2d of August.

As the prisoners were confined in different places, it was resolved by the officer, that part of them should be executed in the former, and the rest in the latter part of that day. Accordingly William Bongeor, William Purchase, Thomas Benhote, Agnes Silverside, Hellen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folk, were brought early in the morning to the place appointed for them to suffer, where every thing was prepared for the bloody catastrophe.

When these martyrs arrived at the spot, they kneeled down, and humbly addressed themselves to Almighty God, though they were interrupted by their popish enemies.

After they had done praying, they arose, were fastened to the stakes, and burnt in one fire. They died with amazing fortitude and resignation, triumphing in the midst of the flames, and exulting in hopes of the future glory that awaited their departure from a sinful world.

In like manner, in the afternoon of the same day, William and Alice Munt, Rose Allen, and John Johnson, were brought to the same place where their fellow-mar-

tyrs had suffered in the morning. As soon as they arrived, they all kneeled down, and for some time prayed with the greatest fervency. After prayers, they arose, and cheerfully submitted to be fastened to the stakes; they then earnestly prayed to God to enable them to endure the fiery trial, exhorted the people to beware of idolatry, and with their latest breath confessed the faith of Christ crucified, whom to know is eternal life, and for whom to die is the glory of all his chosen people.

Information having been laid against Richard Crashfield, he was apprehended on suspicion of heresy, brought before chancellor Dunning, and examined concerning "the ceremonies of the church, whether he believed them to be good and godly?"

Mr. Crashfield replied, "he believed as many of them as were founded on the word of God, and authorized by the practice and example of Christ and his apostles."

The chancellor then particularly examined him concerning "the corporeal presence in the eucharist:" to which Crashfield said, "he believed that Christ's body was broken by him upon the cross, and his blood shed for his redemption, of which bread and wine are a perpetual remembrance, the pledge of God's mercy, and the seal of his promise to those who faithfully believe in his most holy gospel."

Mr. Crashfield was then dismissed for the present and sent back to prison; but the next day he was again brought before the chancellor, who asked him "if he still persisted in his heretical opinions?"

On his replying in the affirmative, and confirming the same by his answers to other questions and articles proposed to him, the chancellor stood up, and in form required him "to turn from his wicked errors and damnable heresies, and not be an example of impiety and obstinacy," adding, "through his presumptuous reading, he persuaded silly women to embrace his errors at the hazard of their souls," and promising him mercy on his compliance with these terms.

Our martyr boldly maintained "his faith in the pure doctrines, and uncorrupted ceremonies of the church of

Christ, telling the arrogant chancellor, that it was of God, whom he had offended, that he craved mercy, and not of him who was a sinner like himself, and therefore incapable of dispensing forgiveness, or giving any satisfaction to his precious soul."

At length, the chancellor finding him inflexibly attached to his opinions and principles, in order to obtain pretence for condemning him, asked "when he was last at his parish-church?" and on his answering that "it was two years past," told him "he stood excommunicated, and consequently condemned as a heretick."

Mr. Crasfield not making any reply, sentence of death was passed on him, and he was delivered to the sheriff of the county in order for execution.

A few days after his condemnation he was brought to the stake, where, in the presence of numerous spectators, with great patience and constancy, he yielded up his soul to God in testimony of the truth of his holy word.

In the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, a Mrs. Lewis went to church, heard mass, was confessed, and attended to all the ceremonies of the Romish church, till at length it pleased God, by the preaching of a protestant minister, to convince her of her errors, and convert her to the true faith of the gospel of Christ.

What greatly contributed to her conversion was the burning of a faithful servant of God at Coventry. She enquired into the cause of that cruel affair, and being told "it was because he would not receive the mass," she began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of the religion she professed, and accordingly applied for satisfaction to one Mr. Glover, who had suffered much himself for his steadfast attachment to the truth of Christ's gospel.

This good man pointed out to her the errors of the Romish church, proving them to be antisciptural and antichristian, and advising her "to make the word of God her constant study, and regulate her faith and practice by that alone."

Mrs. Lewis immediately took his advice, and gave herself up to prayer and acts of benevolence, determined, by the grace of God, both to do and believe what she was enjoined by the word of God.

Being one day urged by her husband to go to church, she went, and when the holy water was spread about, she turned her back on it, and highly expressed her displeasure. This being observed by several of the congregation, an accusation was, the next day, laid against her before the bishop of Litchfield, "for despising the sacrament of the church."

The bishop sent an officer to summon her to appear before him; but when it was delivered to her husband, he threatened the officer, unless he immediately withdrew.

This treatment being reported to the bishop, he ordered both Mr. Lewis and his wife to appear before him; when, after a short examination, he dismissed the husband, on his begging pardon for his conduct, and offered forgiveness to her for the offence she had committed at the church, on the same terms. But she courageously told his lordship, that "by refusing holy water, she had not offended God, or any of his laws."

Though the bishop was greatly offended at this reply, yet as she was a person of considerable repute, he did not proceed immediately against her, but gave her a month to consider of it, binding her husband in an hundred pound bond, to bring her again to him at the expiration of that time.

When the period fixed was nearly arrived, many of their friends advised her husband, by all means, not to deliver her up, but to convey her to some convenient retirement, saying, "he had better sustain the loss of an hundred pounds, than be instrumental to his wife's destruction."

To these remonstrances the unnatural husband replied, "he would not forfeit his bond for her sake," and, accordingly, when the time was expired, he delivered her to the bishop, who still finding her resolute, committed her to a loathsome prison.

She was several times examined by the bishop, who reasoned with her "on her not coming to mass, receiving the sacrament, and the sacramentals of the holy church:" to this she replied, that "she found not those things in God's words, which he so much urged and magnified as

necessary to salvation," adding, that if those things were founded on God's word, she would receive them with all her heart."

He told her, "if she would believe no more than was in scripture, she was a damnable heretick;" and after much farther discourse with her, pronounced sentence against her as an irreclaimable heretick.

After her condemnation she remained a whole year in confinement, when, at length, the writ for her execution arriving, she sent for several of her friends to advise her "how to behave herself, that her death might redound to the glory of God, and the establishment of his people;" declaring, at the same time, that "she feared not death, when she thought on her Saviour Christ."

The night before she suffered, two priests visited her, and desired to hear her confession, but she rejected their request with disdain.

In the morning of the 10th of September, 1557, she was conducted to the place of execution by the two sheriffs, and a strong guard. As soon as she arrived at the stake, she kneeled down, and prayed most earnestly to God, "beseeching him to abolish the idolatrous mass, and deliver the kingdom from popery;" to which one of the sheriffs, and many of the spectators, cried, "Amen."

When she was chained to the stake she appeared not in the least afraid of the horrid punishment that awaited her; but, on the contrary, wore a calm and pleasing countenance; and when the fagots were lighted, she lifted up her hands and eyes to heaven, in which posture she quietly resigned her soul into the hands of her blessed Redeemer.

Mr. Ralph Allerton was informed against by several bigoted papists in the neighbourhood where he lived, apprehended on suspicion of heresy, and after undergoing a short examination before a magistrate, was committed to prison.

A few days after, he was brought before lord Darcy, who accused him "of not only absenting himself from church, but also that, by preaching, he had persuaded others to follow his example."

To this Mr. Allerton made the following confession: that coming to his parish church, and finding the people sitting there, some gazing about, and others talking on unprofitable subjects, he exhorted them "to pray, meditate on God's word, and not sit idle, to which they willingly consented; and after prayer, he read a chapter to them in the New Testament. This he continued to do for some time, till he was informed his proceedings were contrary to law, as he was neither priest or minister; upon which he desisted."

He likewise confessed, that "he was taken up for reading in the parish of Welly; but when those that apprehended him understood he had read but once, and that it was an exhortation to obedience, they let him go; after which, being afraid, he kept in woods, barns, and solitary places, till he was apprehended."

After this examination, the lord Darcy sent him to London to the queen's commissioners, by whom he was referred to bishop Bonner, who persuaded him publicly to recant his profession at St. Paul's church, and then dismissed him; whereupon he returned into the country.

He was greatly troubled in his conscience for what he had done, earnestly repented of the same, and openly professed the faith he had shamefully revoked; till Thomas Tye, priest of the parish, who had been a professor of the truth, but was now a persecutor, caused him to be apprehended, and again brought up to the bishop of London.

When he came before this haughty judge, he asked him the cause of his being brought, telling him, "he believed he was wrongfully accused, unless he had dissembled."

Allerton told his lordship, that he was not guilty of what was laid to his charge, and desired to know his accusers, and the particulars of his accusation, in order that he might be able to defend himself."

In answer to this request the bishop told him, that "if he had not dissembled, he needed not to be afraid, or ashamed; and urged him to tell him if he dissembled in his former recantation."

Allerton replied, "if my accusers are not produced

before your lordship, my conscience will constrain me to accuse myself; for I confess I have most grievously offended God by my dissimulation, when I was last before your lordship, for which I am now heartily concerned."

When the bishop enquired the cause of his dissembling, he replied, "My lord, if your lordship remembers, I set my hand to a certain writing, the contents of which were, that I did believe in all things as the catholick church teacheth, &c. in which I did not disclose my mind, but most shamefully dissembled, as I made no distinction between the true church and the false one."

Being called upon to declare "what he thought to be the true church?" he would not allow the church of Rome to be so; but said, that on the contrary, those christians who were persecuted by the Romish church, were members of the true catholick church of Christ. Upon which the bishop called him "heretick, and sent him to the Little-ease prison at Guildhall, in London.

After being confined there a whole day, the bishop again sent for him, and in the presence of the dean of St. Paul's and the chancellor of the diocese, produced some writings, which Mr. Allerton acknowledged to be his. The bishop then asked "if he had been at mass since he was last before him?" to which he answered in the negative, declaring, that "he had neither been at mass, or matins, nor any other strange worshipping of God."

The chief person that appeared against him in the court, was Thomas Tye, the priest of the parish of Great Bentley, in Essex, who affirmed, that "he was a seditious person, and had stirred up great strife in the neighbourhood where he lived."

This, with other complaints, being alleged against him, he was sent to prison again, and in a short time brought before the queen's council, who demanded of him "whether he believed, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remained no bread, but the very body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and Man, and no other substance under the form of bread?"

On Mr. Allerton's demanding scripture proof for this doctrine of transubstantiation, the bishop asked him "if

Christ did not say, *This is my body?*" adding, "wilt thou deny these words of our Saviour Christ, or was he dissembler?"—"No, my lord," replied Mr. Allerton, "Christ is true, and all men are liars: yet I must refuse to understand the words of our Saviour so fantastically as you teach or take them, for then we should agree with the hereticks, called, Nestorians, who denied that Christ had a true natural body. This, methinks, you do, my lord, if you affirm his body to be there, because you then affirm his body to be fantastical, not natural; and therefore look well to it, for God's sake."

The bishop, after severely reprimanding him for what he said, dismissed him for the present, and he was reconducted to prison.

On the 15th of May he was brought before bishop Bonner, at his palace in London, where the following articles were exhibited against him:

1. "That he was of the parish of Much-Bentley, in Essex, and of the diocese of London.

2. "That on the 10th of January last past, Mr. John Mordant preaching at St. Paul's, London, the said Ralph Allerton did there openly submit himself to the church of Rome, with the rites and ceremonies thereof.

3. "That he did consent and subscribe, as well unto the submission, as also to one other bill, in the which he granted, that if he should, at any time, turn again unto his former opinions, it should be then lawful for the bishop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as a heretick.

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

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

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

7. "That he had allowed and commended the opinions and faith of Mr. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and others, of late burnt within this realm, and believed their opinions to be good and godly.

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

9. "That he had affirmed, that the book of common-prayer, set forth in the reign of king Edward VI. was in all parts, good and godly: and that the said Ralph and his company, being prisoners, did daily use, among themselves, in prison, some part of the same book.

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

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

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

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

To these articles Mr. Allerton, in general, answered in the affirmative, objecting only to that clause in the 12th, "that a man is not bound to fast and pray, but at his own will and pleasure;" and confessed, at the same time, that

“he had neither fasted nor prayed so frequently as it was his duty to have done.”

Many arguments were used by Dr. Darbyshire, the bishop's chancellor, and others, to bring Mr. Allerton to a recantation; but all proving ineffectual, he was sent back again to prison.

A few days after, he, with his fellow-martyrs, were ordered to appear before bishop Bonner, at his palace at Fulham, where, in his private chapel, he judicially propounded to them divers articles, the particulars of which were addressed to Ralph Allerton, in the following form:—

“Thou Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that the information given against thee, and remaining now in the acts of this court of thine ordinary Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, was, and is, a true information.”

The substance of the information was this:—

“That one Lawrence Edwards had a child unchristened, and Mr. Tye, the curate, asked him why his child was not baptized? Edwards replied, “it should be baptized when he could find one of his own religion.”

Mr. Tye told him, “he had imbibed those notions from some busy people, who go about to spread heresy.” Edwards acknowledged “he had,” telling him, at the same time, “if his doctrine was better he would receive it.” He then produced Allerton, to whom the curate said, “if he had instructed Edwards, it was against God's commandments to enter into the church.” On this, Allerton thus addressed the people who were present: “O good people, now is fulfilled the saying of the priest and prophet Esdras, viz. The fire of a multitude is kindled against a few, they have taken away their houses, and spoiled their goods. Which of you have not seen this day? Who is here among you that seeth not all these things done upon this day? The church, unto which they call us, is the church of Anti-Christ, a persecuting church, and the church militant.”

This was the cause of his being apprehended, and sent up to the bishop of London.

He was also charged with writing several letters, and

other things, which were found on him in prison. He confessed, when they were produced, that "he had written them, and that they were intended to be sent to some persons that were in prison for the sake of the gospel, at Colchester, where they were afterwards burnt."

Allerton was then dismissed, and the examination deferred to the afternoon, when several other articles were objected to him; but these being mostly false, he refused to answer. He granted, indeed, that "he disapproved of the mass, and other ceremonies, that were contrary to the express word of God."

When the decree of Pope Innocent III. concerning the sacrament of the altar, was read to him by the bishop, he declared "he regarded it not, nor was it necessary that any man should believe it."

When Bonner asked him "what he had to allege why sentence of condemnation should not be passed upon him?" he briefly answered, "my lord, you ought not to condemn me as a heretick, for I am a good Christian: but do as you have determined, for I perceive that right and truth are suppressed, and cannot now appear upon earth."

In consequence of this answer Mr. Allerton was condemned as a heretick, and immediately delivered over to the secular power.

James Astoo, and Margery, his wife, were next examined; when the bishop, among other things, asked the former "if he had been confessed in Lent, and whether he had received the sacrament at Easter?" Mr. Astoo replied, "he had been confessed by the curate of Allhallows, Barking, near the Tower of London; but that he had not received the sacrament of the altar, because he detested it as an abominable idol."

The bishop then asked Margery, his wife, "if she approved of the religion then used in the church of England?" She replied in the negative, affirming it to be "corrupt and anti-scriptural; and that those who conformed to it were influenced rather by fear than a conviction that it was founded on the word of God."

Being required by the bishop to "go to church, hear mass, and pray for the prosperity of the queen;" she de-

clared "her abhorrence of the mass, and that she would not come into any church where there were idols."

The bishop then made use of the most forcible arguments to induce them to recant; but they both persisted in their faith and profession, and the renouncing all popish doctrines and practices; in consequence of which they separately received sentence of condemnation, and were delivered into the hands of the sheriff, in order for execution.

Richard Roth, the last examined, was strongly urged by the bishop "to acknowledge the seven sacraments, as also the corporeal presence in the eucharist." But he briefly told him, that "if those doctrines were taught in the holy scriptures, he would believe them; if otherwise, he must reject them."

Being examined more particularly "concerning the sacrament of the altar, and other points," he plainly declared, that "in that ceremony there was not the very body and blood of Christ; but that it was a dead god, and the mass was abominable, and contrary to God's holy word and will, from which faith and opinion he was determined, through the strength of divine grace, never to depart."

He was afterwards accused "of being an encourager of hereticks, and that he had written divers letters to certain persons who were burnt at Colchester;" the latter of which he frankly acknowledged.

Being asked "his opinion of Ralph Allerton?" he answered, that "he esteemed him as a sincere servant of God; and that if hereafter, at any time, he should be put to death for his faith and religion, he believed he would die a martyr for the cause of Christ, and the truth of his gospel."

He was then asked, "if he approved of the order and rites of the church at that time used in England?" To which he answered in the negative, declaring, that "he utterly abhorred them." In consequence of this he received sentence of death, and was immediately delivered to the sheriff, in order for execution.

On the 17th of September, 1557, these four steadfast believers in Christ were conducted by the sheriff, and his attendants, to Islington, where they were fastened to two

stakes, and consumed in one fire. They all behaved in a manner truly consistent with their situation, and as became the real followers of Jesus Christ, cheerfully resigning up their souls in testimony of the truth of his holy word.

John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibson, were seized as hereticks; and after being confined for some time, were brought before Bonner for examination.

The first person examined was John Hallingdale, against whom the following articles were exhibited.

1. "That the said John Hallingdale is of the diocese of London, and subject to the bishop of London's jurisdiction.

2. "That the said John, before the time of the reign of Edward the sixth, late king of England, was of the same faith and religion that was then observed, believed, taught, and set forth here in this realm of England.

3. "That during the reign of the said Edward the sixth, late king of England, upon the occasion of the preaching of certain ministers in that time, he did not abide in his former faith and religion, but did depart from it, and so did, and doth continue, till this present day, and so determineth to do (as he saith) to his life's end.

4. "That the said John Hallingdale hath thought, believed, and spoken, divers times, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service, received, observed, and used now in this realm of England, is not good and laudable, but against God's commandment and word; especially concerning the mass, and the seven sacraments: and that the said John will in no wise conform himself to the same, but speak and think against it during his natural life.

5. "That the said John absenteth himself continually from his own parish church of St. Leonard, neither hearing matins, mass, nor even-song; nor yet confessing his sins to the priest, or receiving the sacraments of the altar at his hands, or in using other ceremonies, as they are now used in the churches and realm of England: and, as he remembereth, he never came but once into the said parish-church of St. Leonard, and careth not (as he saith) if he never come there any more, the service being as it is there at present, and so many abuses being there, as he saith there are, especially the mass, the sacraments, and the ceremonies and service set forth in Latin.

6. "That the said John caused his child to be christened in English, after the same manner and form, in all points, as it was used in the time of the reign of King Edward the sixth, aforesaid, and caused it to be called Joshua, and would not have the said child christened in Latin, after the form and manner now used in the church and realm of England; nor will have it, by his will, (as he saith) confirmed by the bishop."

The particulars stated in all these articles were acknowledged by Mr. Hallingdale to be just; and he said, "he would not, on any condition whatever, revoke his answers."

The bishop then asked him, "whether he did firmly believe, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, or not?" To which Hallingdale made answer, that "he neither, in the time of King Edward VI. nor at present, did believe, that in the said sacrament there is really the very body and blood of Christ: for, if he had so believed, he would, as others had done, have received the same, which he did not, because he had believed, and then did believe, that the very body of Christ is only in heaven, and no where else."

He likewise said, that "Cranmer, Lattimer, Ridley, Hooper, and many others, who had been lately burned for hereticks, were far otherwise, as they all preached the true gospel. That on their preaching he grounded his faith and conscience, according to the saying of St. John, in the 18th chapter of his Revelation, that the blood of the prophets and of the saints, and of all that were slain upon earth, was founded in the anti-christian church, by which is understood, that church whereof the pope is head."

After this examination he was re-conducted to prison, and the next day brought again before the bishop, who used his utmost endeavours to prevail on him to recant; but finding them all ineffectual, he read the sentence of condemnation, and he was immediately delivered over to the secular power.

The articles exhibited against William Sparrow were the following:

1. "That thou, William Sparrow, wast, in times past, detected and presented lawfully unto thine ordinary the bishop of London, called Edmund, who also is now thine ordinary, and of the said diocese: and thou wast presented and detected unto him for heresy, errours, and unlawful opinions, which thou didst believe, set forth, and hold.

2. "That thou, before thy said ordinary, didst openly and judicially confess the said heresies, errours, and unlawful opinions, as appeareth plainly in the acts of the court made before thine ordinary.

3. "That thou, after the premises, didst make thy submission in writing, and didst exhibit and deliver the same as thy deed to thy said ordinary, openly confessing and recognizing thy heresies, errours, and unlawful opinions, and thine offences and translations in that behalf.

4. "That thou, after the premises, didst promise unto thy said ordinary, voluntarily, and of thine own accord, that always, after the said submission, thou wouldest in all points conform thyself unto the common order of the catholick church observed and kept here in this realm of England, and in no wise fall again into heresies, errours, or unlawful opinions.

5. "That thou, since thy said submission, hast willingly fallen into certain heresies and errours, and hast holden and set fourth divers unlawful opinions, to the very great hurt of thine own soul, and also to the great hindrance and loss of divers others, especially against the sacraments of the catholick church.

6. "That thou, since the said submission, hast willingly gone about divers places within the diocese of London, and sold divers heretical, erroneous, and blasphemous ballads, and was apprehended and taken with the ballads about thee, and committed to prison."

To these respective articles Mr. Sparrow gave the following answers:—

To the first, second, third, and fourth articles, he answered affirmatively: that "he was presented and detected by bishop Bonner, unto whom he made his subjection, &c. as in the said articles."

To the fifth article he answered, that "if he had spoke

against the sacrament of the altar, &c. he had spoken but the truth."

To the sixth he answered, that "he granted it; adding, that "he did sell the ballads then showed and read before him, and that the same contained God's holy word."

After this examination he was sent back to prison; but in the afternoon of the same day he was again brought before the bishop, who charged him with his former submission.

To this charge he answered, "I am very sorry that I ever made it; for it was the worst deed I ever did."

The bishop then told him, that "he went to church, and there was confessed, and heard mass."

This Mr. Sparrow acknowledged, and that "it was with a troubled conscience;" and added, "that which you call the truth I do believe to be heresy."

Bonner then charged him with the contents of the fifth article; to which he answered, that "he had done as was contained in that article, and so he would again, were he at liberty."

Being then asked by the bishop "whether he would persist and continue in the same?" he answered, that "he would not go from his opinion:" and added, "that which you call heresy is good and godly; and if every hair of my head was a man, I would burn them all, rather than go from the truth!"

After this, the bishop endeavoured to prevail on him to recant, saying, that "on those conditions he should be dismissed;" but Sparrow continuing resolute in his faith and opinions, the bishop proceeded to read the sentence of excommunication against him, and he was condemned as a heretick; after which he was delivered into the hands of the sheriff, and by him again conducted to prison.

The misfortunes of Richard Gibson arose from his doing a singular piece of service to one with whom he was particularly acquainted. This person was arrested for debt, when Mr. Gibson being surety for him, he treacherously fled, and Mr. Gibson not being able to discharge the debt, was thrown into the Poultry Compter, where he remained upwards of two years.

When he was about to be released, some litigious and bigoted papist laid an accusation against him, to the bishop of London, of heresy, because he had never confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, whilst he was in confinement.

In consequence of this, he was ordered to appear before the bishop, who examined him concerning his faith and religion. At first he seemed to make a certain submission, which was recorded in the bishop's register: but this not appearing sufficiently satisfactory, the following articles were exhibited against him:

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

2. "That the said Richard Gibson hath irreverently spoken against the pope, and see, and church of Rome, and likewise against the whole church of this realm of England, and against the seven sacraments of the catholick and whole church of Christendom, and against the articles of the Christian faith, here observed in this realm of England, and against the commendable and laudable ceremonies of the catholick church.

3. "That the said Richard Gibson hath commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, and also other hereticks here in this realm of England, according to the ecclesiastical laws condemned as hereticks; and also liked all their heretical, erroneous, damnable, and wicked opinions, especially against the sa-

crament of the altar, and the authority of the pope and see of Rome, with the whole religion thereof.

4. "That the said Richard Gibson hath comforted, aided, assisted, and maintained, both by words and otherwise, hereticks and erroneous persons, or at least suspected and infamed of heresies and errors condemned by the catholick church, to continue in their heretical and erroneous opinions aforesaid, favouring and counselling the same unto his power.

5. "That the said Gibson hath affirmed and said, that the religion and faith commonly observed and kept, and used now here in this realm of England, is not good or laudable, nor in any wise agreeable unto God's word and commandment.

6. "That the said Richard Gibson hath affirmed, that the English service, and the books commonly called the books of communion, or common-prayer, heré set forth in this realm of England, in the time of king Edward the sixth, were in all parts and points good and godly, and the same only, and no other, ought to be observed and kept in this realm of England.

7. "That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that if he may at once be out of prison and at liberty, he will not come to any parish church, or ecclesiastical place, to hear the matins, mass, or even-song, or any divine service now used in this realm of England, nor come to the procession upon times and days accustomed, nor bear at any time any taper or candle, or receive pix, at mass time, nor to receive holy water, nor holy bread, nor observe the ceremonies or usages of the catholick church here observed and kept commonly in this realm of England.

8. "That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that he is not bound at any time, though he have liberty, and the presence of a priest, convenient and meet, to confess his sins to the said priest, nor to receive absolution at his hands, nor to receive of him the sacrament, called the sacrament of the altar, after such form as is now used within the realm of England.

9. "That the said Richard Gibson hath affirmed, that prayer unto saints, or prayers for the dead, are not lauda-

ble, or profitable; and that no man is bound, at any time, or in any place, to fast or pray, but only at his own will and pleasure; and that it is not lawful to reserve, or keep, the said sacrament of the altar."

Mr. Gibson having answered these respective articles, was dismissed for the present; but the next day was again brought before the bishop for a farther examination.

Several questions were put to him, but he refused answering to either, saying, "the bishop of London was not his ordinary."

His last examination was at the bishop's consistory court, where Bonner, after some discourse, asked, "if he knew any cause why sentence should not be pronounced against him?" To which he told the bishop, "there was not any thing against him, for which he might justly be condemned."

The bishop then told him, that "men said he was an evil man."

Gibson replied, "Yea, my lord, and so may I say of you also."

After this sentence of condemnation was read, at the end of which he said, "Blessed am I that I am cursed at your hands."

He was then delivered to the sheriff, who conducted him to prison in order for execution.

On the 18th of November, 1557, these three servants of Christ were conducted under a strong guard, to Smithfield, where they were all fastened to one stake. After they had, for some time, fervently prayed to God to enable them to endure the fiery trial, the fagots were lighted, and they all cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of their creator.

Mr. John Rough, a native of Scotland, was born of reputable and pious parents. Being deprived of his right of inheritance to certain lands by some of his kindred, he was so irritated, that, though very young, he entered himself a member of the order of Black Friars, at Stirling.

Here he continued upwards of sixteen years, when the earl of Arran, then Regent of Scotland, and afterwards duke of Hamilton, taking a liking to him, applied to the

archbishop of St. Andrew's to dispense with his professed order, that he might serve him as his chaplain.

The archbishop readily granting the earl's request, Mr. Rough was disengaged from his monastick order, and continued chaplain to his patron about a year; when it pleased God to open his eyes, and give him some knowledge of the truth of the gospel.

At this time the earl sent him to preach in the county of Ayre, where he continued about four years, during which time he discharged the duties of his office with the strictest diligence.

On the death of the Cardinal of Scotland, he was sent for to officiate at St. Andrew's, for which he had a pension allowed him from king Henry VIII.

After being some time in this situation, he began to abhor the idolatry and superstition of his own country; and when he found, that on the accession of Edward VI. there was free profession of the gospel in England, he left his situation, and went first to Carlisle, where he was appointed preacher, as also to Berwick, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by the duke of Somerset, protector to the young king.

A short time after this he married, and the archbishop of York gave him a benefice near the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, which he enjoyed till the death of the king.

On the accession of queen Mary, when persecution took place in all parts of the kingdom, Mr. Rough fled with his wife into the low-countries, and took up his residence at a place called Norden. Here he maintained himself by knitting and selling caps and hose till the month of October, 1557, when wanting yarn, and other necessaries for his trade, he embarked for England, and arrived in London on the 10th of November following.

Soon after his arrival, he was informed there was a private congregation of religious people in a certain part of the city, which having found out, he joined them, and was elected their minister.

In this office he continued for some time, till, at the instigation of Roger Seijeant, a hypocrite and false brother, on the 13th of December, he, and Cuthbert Simson, deacon

of the aforesaid congregation, were apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's household, at the Saracen's-head, in Islington, where the congregation had assembled for the purpose of performing their usual worship.

Mr. Rough and Mr. Simson were both conducted, by the vice-chamberlain, to the queen's council, who charged them with assembling to celebrate the communion, or Lord's supper. After a long examination Simson was, for the present, dismissed, but Rough was sent prisoner to Newgate.

On the 18th of December, bishop Bonner ordered Rough to be brought before him at his palace in London, to examine him concerning his religious faith; when the following articles were exhibited against him:

1. "That thou, John Rough, didst directly speak against the seven sacraments used commonly and reverently, as things of estimation and great worthiness in the catholick church; and also didst reprove and condemn the substance of the altar, affirming, that in the same is not really and truly the very body and blood of Christ; and that confession to the priest, and absolution given him (by the minister of Christ) for sins, is not necessary nor available in any wise.

2. "Thou hast misliked and reprov'd the religion and ecclesiastical service, as it is now used in this realm: and hast allowed the religion and service used in the latter years of king Edward the Sixth; and so much as in thee lieth, hast, by word, writing, and deed, set forward, taught, and preached the same openly; and in sundry places affirmed, that the said English service, and doctrine therein contained, is agreeable, in all points, to God's word, and to the truth, condemned utterly the Latin service now used in the queen's reign, and induced others, by thine example, to do the like.

3. "Thou hast, in sundry places within this realm, commended and approved the opinion and doctrine of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, concerning the sacrament of the altar; affirming, that in the sacrament there remained, after the

words of consecration, material bread and material wine, without any transubstantiation.

4. "That thou hast, in sundry places of this realm, since the queen's reign, ministered and received the communion, as it was used in the late days of king Edward VI. and thou knowest, or credibly hast heard, of divers that yet do keep books of the said communion, and use the same in private houses, out of the church, and are of opinion against the sacrament of the altar.

5. "Thou dost know, and hast been conversant with all, or a great part of such Englishmen as have fled out of the realm; and hast consented and agreed with them in their opinions, and hast succoured, maintained, and holpen them; and hast been a conveyer of their seditious letters and books into this realm.

6. "That thou, in sundry places of this realm, hast spoken against the pope of Rome, and his apostolick see, and hast plainly contemned and despised the authority of the same, misliking, and not allowing the faith and doctrine thereof, but directly speaking against it; and, by thine example, hast induced others, the subjects of this realm, to speak and do the like.

7. "That thou hast said, that thou hast been at Rome, and tarried there about thirty days, or more, and that thou hast seen little good, or none, there, but very much evil. Amongst the which, thou sawest one great abomination, that is to say, a man (or the pope) that should go on the ground, to be carried upon the shoulders of four men, as though he had been God, and no man. Also a cardinal to have his harlot riding openly behind him. And thirdly, a pope's bull, that gave express licence to have and use wicked establishments, and to keep open bawdry, by the pope's approbation and authority.

8. "That thou, since thy last coming into England, from parts beyond sea, hast perniciously allured and comforted divers of the subjects of this realm, both young and old, men and women, to have and use the book of communion set forth in this realm in the latter days of king Edward VI. and hast also thyself read and set forth the same, causing others to do the like, and to leave off

their coming to their parish churches, to hear the Latin service now used.

9. "That thou, the third Sunday of Advent, the 12th of December, 1557, wast apprehended at the Saracen's Head, at Islington, in the county of Middlesex, and diocese of London, by the queen's vice chamberlain, with one Simson, a taylor, and Hugh, a hosier, and divers others there assembled, under the colour of hearing a play, to have read the communion-book, and to have used the accustomed fashion, as was in the latter days of king Edward VI."

To these respective articles Mr. Rough answered as follows:—

To the first, he said, that "he had spoken against the number of the said sacraments, being fully persuaded that there are only two sacraments, to wit, baptism, and the supper of the Lord; and as for the other five, he denied them to be sacraments, and therefore had spoken against them."

With respect to the sacrament of the altar, which he called the supper of the Lord, he confessed that he had spoken and taught, that "in the said sacrament there is not really and substantially the very body and blood of Christ; but that the substance of bread and wine both remain in that sacrament, without any change being made to it by consecration."

Concerning the confession of sins, he said, "he thought it necessary, provided the offence was done to the priest; but if it was done to any other, then it was not necessary to make any confession to the priest; but to endeavour to obtain a proper reconciliation with the party offended."

To the second article he answered, that "he did, and had before disliked the order of the Latin service then used; and also did allow the service used in the latter time of king Edward's reign, for that the holy scripture had taught the same; and, therefore, he granted that he did teach, and set forth the said English service, as in the said article was objected."

The third he granted, saying, that "he had approved the doctrine of the parties mentioned, as agreeable to

God's word; and they were godly, learned men, and such as had perfect understanding, as in the contents of the same article."

To the fourth article he answered, that "he did well like the communion used in king Edward's days; but said, that he had not ministered nor received the same in England since the queen's reign, nor yet knew many that had the books thereof; but on the other side the sea he knew many that had these books, and that there also he had received the communion in sundry places."

To the fifth article, he confessed, that "he had been familiar with many English men and women in Friesland, and agreed with them in opinion; as Mr. Story, Thomas Young, George Roo, and others, to the number of one hundred persons, who fled thither on account of their religion, using the same as was set forth in the reign of the good king Edward VI. but otherwise he denied the contents of the article."

The sixth and seventh articles he acknowledged to be both true.

To the eighth article he answered, that "since his last coming into England (which was about the 10th of November) he had, in sundry places in the suburbs of London, prayed and read such prayers and service as are appointed in the book of communion, and had desired others to do the like, both men and women, whom he knew by sight, but not by name. However, he did not cause any to withdraw themselves from the Latin service; but only said, that it was better to pray in a tongue they understood, than in one they did not."

To the ninth article he confessed, that "at the time and place mentioned, he was present to hear divine service, and there was apprehended by the queen's vice-chamberlain, with one Simson, a taylor, and one Hugh, a hosier, with divers others, both men and women, whose names he knew not; and by the said vice-chamberlain, was brought before the council, who sent him to Newgate, from whence he was, soon after, brought before the bishop of London; but otherwise he denied the contents of this article."

After Mr. Rough had given these answers to the respective articles exhibited against him, he was dismissed for

the present; but re-conducted to his place of confinement.

On the 20th of December he was brought to the consistory court at St. Paul's, before Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Dr. Fecknam, Abbot of Westminster, and others, in order to undergo a final examination.

After various methods used by the court to persuade him to recant, without effect. Bonner read the articles, with his answers, before-mentioned: he then charged him "with marrying, after having received priestly orders; and that he had refused to consent to the Latin service then used in the church."

Mr. Rough answered, "their orders were of none effect, and that the children he had by his wife were legitimate. With respect to the Latin service then used," he said, "he utterly detested it, and that if he was to live as long as Methuselah, he would never go to church to hear the *abominable mass*."

In consequence of this declaration, the bishop proceeded to the ceremony of degradation, exempting him from all the benefits and privileges of their church; after which he read the sentence of condemnation, and Mr. Rough being delivered to the sheriff, was, by him, re-conducted to Newgate, there to remain till the time appointed for his execution.

Margaret Maring belonged to a private congregation in London, where Mr. Rough used to officiate. She was suspected by him, and some others, of not being sincere in the religion she professed; but the event showed their suspicions were ill founded.

An information being laid against her before the bishop of London, he sent an officer to her house near Mark-lane, to apprehend her; which being done, she was immediately brought before Bonner, who, after a short examination, sent her prisoner to Newgate.

On the 18th of December she was again brought before the bishop, at his palace in London, in order to undergo a thorough examination, relative to her religious principles. The usual articles being exhibited against her, she answered each respectively as follows:

1. "That there is here on earth a catholick church, and there is the true faith of Christ observed and kept in the same church.

2. "That there were only two sacraments in the church, namely, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism.

3. "That she was baptised in the faith and belief of the said church, renouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil, and all his works.

4. "That when she came to the age of fourteen years, she did not know what her true belief was, because she was not then of discretion to understand the same, neither yet was taught it.

5. "That she had not gone from the catholick faith at any time; but she said that the mass was abominable in the sight of God, and all true christian people, and that it was the plainest cup of the fornication of Babylon.

6. "Concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said, she believed there was no such sacrament in the catholick church: that she utterly abhorred the authority of the bishop of Rome, with all the religion observed in the same anti-christian church.

7. "That she had refused to come to her parish-church, because the true religion was not then used in the same; and that she had not come into the church for the space of one year and three quarters, neither did mean to come any more to the same, in these idolatrous days.

8. "She acknowledged that she was apprehended, and brought before the bishop of London."

These answers being registered by the bishop's official, she was, for the present, dismissed; but remanded to prison.

On the 20th of December she was again brought before the bishop at his consistory court, where her articles and answers were again read to her; after which they asked her "if she would stand to the same as they were registered?" She answered, that "she would stand to them to her death; for the very angels in heaven," said she, "laugh you to scorn, to see the abomination that you use in the church."

The bishop then used various arguments to prevail on her to recant; but finding them all ineffectual, he read the sentence of condemnation, and she was delivered to the sheriff for execution, who re-conducted her to Newgate.

Two days after this, on the 22d of December, 1557, she, with her fellow-martyr, John Rough, were conducted, by the officers, to Smithfield, where they were both fastened to one stake, and burnt in the same fire. They both behaved themselves with true christian fortitude, and cheerfully gave up their lives in testimony of the truth of that gospel, which was professed by him from whom they hoped to receive an eternal reward in his heavenly kingdom.

The deaths of these two martyrs closed the horrid and bloody transactions of the year 1557.

CHAP. XI.

ACCOUNT OF THE TORTURES AND MARTYRDOMS CONTINUED TO THE CLOSE OF QUEEN MARY'S REIGN.

Cuthbert Simson, deacon of the same congregation of which Mr. Rough was pastor, was committed prisoner to the Tower, where he was examined by the recorder of London, and Mr. Cholmley, the lieutenant of the Tower, who commanded him to declare "what persons he had called upon or summoned, to come to the English service?" but he peremptorily told them "he would not comply with their request."

They then ordered him to be put to the rack, on which he laid in great agonies, upwards of three hours. Whilst he was in the most excruciating torment, they asked him the same question as they had done before, and he made them the same answer. He was then loosed from the rack, and conducted to the room appointed for his confinement.

On the Sunday following he was again brought to the room in which he had been racked, when the Recorder

of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, once more desired him to confess; but he still refused, saying, "he was determined not to satisfy them."

They then tied his two fore-fingers together, with a small arrow between them: this done, they drew the arrow backward and forward so quick, that the blood followed, and the arrow broke; after which they racked him twice, and then conducted him to his dungeon.

About ten days after this the lieutenant asked him again "if he would confess what had been repeatedly asked by himself, and the recorder;" to which Mr. Simson answered, that "he would say no more than he had said."

On the 19th of March he was taken before the bishop of London for examination, when the following articles were exhibited against him:

1. "That thou Cuthbert Simson art, at this present, abiding within the city and diocese of London, and not out of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome.

2. "That thou, within the city and diocese of London, hast uttered many times, and spoken deliberately, these words and sentences following, viz. That though thy parents, and ancestors, kinsfolks, and friends, yea, and also thyself, before the time of the late schism here in this realm of England, have thought, that the faith and religion observed in times past here in this realm of England, was a true faith, and the religion of Christ, in all points and articles, though in the church it was set forth in the Latin tongue, and not in English: yet thou believest, and sayest, that the faith and religion now used commonly in this realm, and not in English, but in the Latin tongue, is not the true faith and religion of Christ, but contrary and expressly against it.

3. "That thou, within the said city and diocese of London, hast willingly, wittingly, and contemptuously, done and spoken against the rites and ceremonies, commonly used here through the whole realm, and observed generally in the church of England.

4. "That thou hast thought and believed certainly, and so within the diocese of London hath affirmed, and

spoken deliberately, that there be not in the catholick church seven sacraments, nor of that virtue and efficacy as is commonly believed in the church of England they are.

5. "That thou hast likewise thought and believed, yea, and hast so, within the city and diocese of London, spoken, and deliberately affirmed, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not really, substantially, and truly, the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

6. "That thou hast been, and to thy power art, at this present, a favourer of all those that either have been here in this realm heretofore, called hereticks, or else condemned by the ecclesiastical judges as such.

7. "That thou, contrary to the order of this realm of England, and contrary to the usage of the holy church of this realm of England, hast, at sundry times and places, within the city and diocese of London, been at assemblies and conventicles, where there was a multitude of people gathered together to hear the English service said, which was set forth in the late years of king Edward VI. and also to hear and have communion both read, and the communion ministered both to the said multitude, and also to thyself; and thou hast thought, and so thinkest, and hast spoken, that the said English service and communion-book, and all things contained in either of them, was good and laudable; and for such thou didst, and dost allow, and approve either of them at this present."

The first six of these articles Mr. Simson acknowledged to be true in every part; but to the seventh he would not make any answer, saying, "he was not bound so to do."

Hugh Fox, and John Davenish, apprehended with Simson, were next examined; and the usual articles being administered to them, they answered as follows:

To the first, concerning the catholick church, they answered, that "there was such a church. But John Davenish added, that the true church was grounded on the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head corner-stone; and in that church there was the true faith and religion of Christ."

To the second article they said, that "in Christ's catholick church there were but two sacraments, namely, Baptism, and the Lord's supper."

To the third they answered affirmatively, that "they were baptized in the faith of the catholick church."

They likewise answered affirmatively to the fourth article, and that "they continued in the said faith till the age of fourteen years, without having any dislike to the same."

To the fifth article they answered, that "they had spoke against the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and likewise against the authority of the see of Rome, and that they would do so as long as they lived."

The sixth article they acknowledged to be true.

To the seventh they answered affirmatively, that "they had, and did dislike the mass and sacrament of the altar, and thereupon refused to come to their parish-church." John Davenish added, that "the sacrament of the altar, as then used, was no sacrament at all."

Their respective answers being all written down, they were afterwards read to them; when they persisting, and continuing steadfast in their faith and opinions, the bishop pronounced the definitive sentence, and they were all delivered over to the secular power.

While Cuthbert Simson was in the consistory court, bishop Bonner took particular notice of him to the people. "Ye see, said he, this man, what a personable man he is; and I tell you, that if he were not a heretick, he is a man of the greatest patience that ever came before me. He hath been twice racked in one day in the Tower, and also in my house he hath felt much sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken." (8.)

(8.) In the conduct of Bonner, we may discover the gross absurdities into which men may be driven by bigotry and superstition. This notorious persecutor of those who adhered to the true church, professed that he was called to the ministry; to preach repentance, and to recommend the Christian character. He had here found a man, who, according to his own acknowledgement, was such in *practice* as he would have advised all others to be; yet he sentenced him to be burnt alive, merely because he differed from him in opinion; and that too, in doctrines and ceremonies, which are not only of secondary importance in themselves, but in which the protestants consider Romanists labouring under an egregious error.

On the 28th of March, 1558, these three believers in Christ were conducted by the sheriffs, and their officers, to Smithfield, where they were all fastened to one stake, and burnt in the same fire. They behaved with true christian fortitude to the last, praising and glorifying God.

About this time William Nicoll, of Haverford-West, in Pembrokeshire, was apprehended for speaking disrespectfully of the church of Rome; and being condemned as a heretick, was burnt in that town, on the 9th of April, 1558.

William Seaman, a husbandman, was of a religious turn of mind, and a strict professor of the truth of the gospel. He was betrayed into the hands of the popish emissaries by the perfidy of a neighbour; and being taken before Sir John Tyrrell for examination, was asked "why he would not go to mass, receive the sacrament, and conform himself to other ceremonies of the church?"

In answer to this, Seaman said, that "the sacrament then used was an idol, that the mass was abominable, and that the ceremonies of the Romish church were superstitious, and full of absurdities; and that, for these reasons, he would not conform to the same."

These answers highly offending Sir John Tyrrell, he committed Seaman to prison; and the next day he was sent to Dr. Hopton, bishop of the diocese, who, after a short examination, passed sentence of condemnation on him, and he was delivered over to the secular power in order for execution.

Thomas Carman, who had been apprehended a short time before, was brought before the bishop, for examination, on the same day; when asserting the cause of Christ with no less warmth than the former, he was consigned to the same inhuman and merciless punishment.

Thomas Hudson, by trade a glover, lived at the town of Ailesham, in Norfolk. Though destitute of any education in his younger years, yet, by his diligence and love of the gospel, as preached in the days of king Edward, he had learned to read, became well versed in the sacred book of God, and grounded in the faith once delivered to the saints.

Disapproving the doctrines and practices set forth un-

der the reign of Queen Mary, he absented himself from his native place, went into Suffolk, and there continued travelling from one part to another, as occasion offered.

At length, desirous of seeing his wife and children, he returned home; but finding his continuance there would be dangerous, he devised a scheme with his wife, to make him a hiding-place among his fagots, whither he resorted for a long space of time, praying continually; his wife, at the same time, carefully ministering to him such necessaries as he wanted.

During his retirement, the vicar of the town, who was one of the bishop's commissaries, enquired of his wife concerning her husband; and on her denying that she knew any thing of him, threatened to burn her, because she would not discover the retreat of a heretick.

When Hudson was informed of their great desire to apprehend him, his zeal for the glory of God, and the honour of his Redeemer, increased daily, and he continued reading and singing psalms, while many people resorted to him, to hear his exhortations, and join with him in prayer.

At length he came out of his retreat, walked about the town, exclaiming against the mass, and all its superstitions and follies; and when he arrived at his own house, he daily and repeatedly read and sung psalms, in which he was joined by many other strong adherents to the truth of the gospel.

Information of this being given to a magistrate by one of his neighbours, two constables were sent to apprehend him. As soon as they entered his house, he said, "now mine hour is come; welcome, friends, welcome; you be they that shall lead me to life in Christ. I thank God for it, and beg that the Lord will prepare me for the glorious work for his mercy's sake."

The constables then took him to Berry, the commissary, vicar of the town. He asked him various questions concerning his religious tenets; but finding all he could say would not stagger his faith in a single point, he sent him, bound like a thief, to the bishop, who was then at Norwich, before whom he appeared without the least sign of timidity.

The bishop asked him a great number of questions, to all which he answered as became a true follower of Christ; and though very illiterate, his arguments were exceedingly just and forcible. At length, the bishop passed sentence of condemnation on him, and he was immediately conducted to prison, where, during his confinement, he spent his time in reading and calling on the name of the Lord.

On the 19th of May, 1558, the three were conducted to the place appointed for their execution, called Lollard's Pit, without Bishopsgate, at Norwich. As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot, they all knelt down, and severally offered up their prayers to God, to enable them to undergo, with christian fortitude, the fiery trial that awaited them.

After prayers they arose and went to the stake, to which they were all fastened by a chain. When they had prayed for some time, and the necessary preparations were made for their deaths, Thomas Hudson slipped from under the chain, and came forward. This circumstance greatly alarmed the spectators, many of whom were apprehensive that he intended to recant, while others attributed it to his desire of taking leave of his parents, who were present, and receiving their blessings before his final departure.

His two companions at the stake were no less alarmed at his conduct than the spectators. They used their utmost efforts to comfort and encourage him, and exhorted him, in the most strenuous manner, to be of good cheer, and cheerfully resign himself to the will of his Redeemer.

But, alas! he felt more in his heart than they could conceive; for he was encompassed with a distinguished grief of mind, not from the fear of death, but for want of inward experience of the love of his Saviour. Being, therefore, very anxious to obtain this conquest, he fell on his knees, and fervently prayed to God, who, according to his tender mercies, soon sent him comfort. He then arose in an extacy of joy, as a man changed from death to life, saying, "now, I thank God, I am strong, and care not what man can do unto me."

Immediately after this he returned to his companions, at the stake, with the most cheerful countenance; in a short time after which the fagots were lighted, and they all cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of that God who had protected and supported them under their sufferings for his name's sake.

About the same time that these three were burnt at Norwich, three others suffered at Colchester; namely:

William Harris, Richard Day, and Cristian George, who all willingly submitted to their fate, and cheerfully resigned up their lives in testimony of the truth.

If dying innocently in the cause of Christ, and his religion, constitutes the character of a martyr, no one can be more entitled to a place in our catalogue than William Fetty, who was unmercifully scourged to death, at the instigation of the relentless and cruel Bonner.

Among those who were persecuted and imprisoned for the profession of Christ's gospel, and yet delivered by the Providence of God, was John Fetty, the father of the lad under consideration. He had been accused, by his own wife, to the minister of the parish in which he lived, "of absenting himself from church, the sacrament of the altar, confession, and other ceremonies;" for neglect of which he was apprehended by one of the officers employed for that purpose.

Immediately after his apprehension his wife grew delirious, in consequence of which, though they were regardless of him, pity towards that ungrateful woman wrought upon them so sensibly, that, for the sake of the preservation and support of her and her children, they discharged him, with a compulsion that he should continue in his own house.

Notwithstanding the ingratitude of his wife, he provided for her in such a manner, that within the space of three weeks, she had, in some measure, recovered her senses. But such was the disposition of this wicked woman, that notwithstanding such an instance of his conjugal affection, she laid a second information against him; upon which he was apprehended, and carried before Sir John Mordaunt, one of the queen's commissioners, by whom, after exam

ination, he was sent to Lollard's Tower,* where he was put into the stocks, and had a dish of water set by him with a stone in it, to point out to him, that it was the chief sustenance he might expect to receive.

After he had been in prison for the space of fifteen days, the greatest part of which time he was kept in the stocks, sometimes by one leg, and sometimes the other, William Fetty, one of his sons, came to the bishop's palace, in order to obtain permission to see him.

When he arrived there, one of the bishop's chaplains asked him his business; the boy replied, "he wanted to see his father," at the same time shedding tears, and expressing the greatest unhappiness. The chaplain asked "who was his father;" and when the boy told him, he pointed towards Lollard's Tower, intimating, "that he was there confined."

The chaplain then told him "his father was a heretick; to which the boy (who was of a bold and forward spirit, and had been instructed by the father in the reformed religion) answered, "my father is no heretick; but you have Balaam's mark."

On this the incensed priest took the boy by the hand, and led him to a large room in the palace, where he scourged him in the most severe and unmerciful manner; after which he ordered one of his servants to carry him in his shirt to his father, the blood running down to his heels.

As soon as he saw his father he fell on his knees, and

* Lollard's Tower was a large, detached room, belonging to bishop Bonner's palace in London, and formed as a prison of the most gloomy nature. It was set apart for the punishment of protestants, called Lollards, for the reason we have already given, who were brought before him on an accusation of heresy, and who were here subjected to various tortures, at the discretion of that bigoted and merciless tyrant. The most common punishment inflicted was, putting them in the stocks, some of whom were fastened by the hands, and others by the feet. They were, in general, permitted to sit on a stool, but to increase the punishment, some were deprived of that indulgence, so that lying with their backs on the ground, their situation became exceedingly painful. In this dungeon, and under these tortures they were kept, some for several days, and others for weeks, without any other sustenance than bread and water; and to add to their affliction, they were prohibited from being seen by their relations, or friends. Many of those who had tender constitutions fell under the conflict; but those who were otherwise, escaped and lived to execrate the name of their inhuman persecutor.

craved his blessing. The poor man beholding his child in so dreadful a situation, exclaimed, with great grief, "Alas! son, who hath thus cruelly treated you?" The boy replied, "Seeking to find you out, a priest, with Balaam's mark, took me into the bishop's house, and treated me in the manner you see."

The servant then seized the boy with great wrath, and dragging him from his father, led him back to the place where he had been scourged by the priest. Here he was kept three days, in the course of which his former punishment was several times repeated, though not in so severe a manner as before.

At the expiration of that time, Bonner, in order to make some atonement for this cruel treatment of the boy, and to appease the father, determined to release both of them. He, therefore, ordered the latter to be brought before him, in his bed-chamber, early in the morning.

When the poor man came before the bishop, he said, "God be here, and peace." To which the bishop replied, "That is neither God speed, nor good morrow."

One of the bishop's chaplains standing by, reviled Fetty for the speech he had made; when he, after looking about, and spying a bundle of black beads, and a small crucifix, said, "As Christ is here handled, so you deal with Christ's chosen people."

The bishop was so enraged at this, that he called him "a vile heretick," and said, "I will burn thee, or I will spend all that I possess." However, in a little time his passion cooled, and thinking of the consequences that might arise from scourging the child, he ordered them both to be discharged.

The father immediately went home with his son; but the poor boy, from an extraordinary effusion of blood, and a mortification which ensued, died a few days after, to the great grief of his persecuted and indulgent parent.

The old man remained, without farther persecution, during the residue of his life, often praising God for delivering him out of the hands of his enemies; and expressing the sense he had of the divine protection.

Robert Mills, Stephen Cotton, Robert Dines, Stephen

Wight, John Slade, and William Pikes, were apprehended with several others near Islington, where they had assembled to pay their devotions to their Maker; and being taken before a magistrate, were committed to prison on suspicion of heresy.

A few days after their apprehension, they were brought before Dr. Thomas Darbyshire, the bishop of London's chancellor, for examination; when the usual articles were exhibited against them, to which they answered as follows:

The first article they all granted. Robert Mills and Stephen Wight said, "they had not been at church for three quarters of a year;" Stephen Cotton "not for a twelvemonth;" Robert Dines "for two years;" and John Slade and William Pikes "not since the queen's accession to the throne."

To the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, they all answered, in effect, as other protestants had done; asserting, that "as the rights, ceremonies, and customs of the then church were against the word of God, so they would not observe any part of the same."

The seventh article they all granted in every part.

To the eighth article they likewise unanimously agreed; but Robert Mills added, that "he would not come to church, nor approve of their religion, so long as the cross was crept to and worshipped, and images kept in the church."

John Slade affirmed, in effect, what Robert Mills did, adding farther, that "there were not seven sacraments, but two, namely, baptism, and the supper of the Lord."

Stephen Cotton would no farther allow the popish religion "than it agreed with God's word; and Robert Dines affirmed, in effect, the same with stephen Cotton."

To the ninth and tenth articles, Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton answered, that "they did not allow the popish service then set forth, because it was against the truth, and in a language which the common people did not understand."

Robert Dines and William Pikes would neither allow or disallow the Latin service, because they did not understand it.

Stephen Wight would not make any answer to either of these two articles, neither to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth articles; but the rest of his fellow-prisoners answered as follows:

To the eleventh article Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton, answered, that "concerning the books, faith, and religion, specified in this article, they did allow them, so far as they agreed with God's word."

Robert Dines would not make any answer to this, saying, "he did not understand it;" and William Pikes said, that "he would abide by the service, faith, and religion, as set forth in the days of king Edward VI."

To the twelfth article they said, "they would agree to it provided they might receive the sacrament as administered in the reign of king Edward."

The thirteenth and fourteenth articles they granted to be true in every part.

After they had been all examined, they were re-conducted to prison, but ordered to appear on the 11th of July at the consistory court at St. Paul's. On that day, they were brought before the bishop and his chancellor, by the latter of whom they were asked, "if they would turn from their opinions against the holy mother-church; and if not, whether they would show cause why sentence of condemnation should not be pronounced against them?" To this they all answered, that "they would not go from the truth, nor any part of the same, on any conditions whatever."

The chancellor then dismissed them, but ordered that they should appear again before him the next day in the afternoon, to hear the definitive sentence pronounced, agreeable to the ecclesiastical law then in force.

They were accordingly brought at the time appointed, when the chancellor sat as judge, accompanied by Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornvallis. The chancellor used his utmost endeavours to prevail on them to recant their opinions; but they all proved ineffectual. He therefore read the sentence of condemnation, and they were delivered over to the sheriffs, who conducted them to prison, in order for execution.

The chancellor, having condemned these six innocent persons, sent a certificate of their condemnation to the lord-chancellor's office, whence, the next day, a writ was issued for their being burnt at Brentford.

On the 14th of July, 1558, they were conducted by the sheriffs, and their attendants, from Newgate to the place appointed for their execution. As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot, they all knelt down, and, for some time, prayed in the most fervent manner. After this they arose, and partly undressing themselves, they went cheerfully to the stakes, of which there were three in number, though all consumed in the same fire. Being bound to the stakes, and the fagots lighted, they all quietly yielded up their souls to almighty God.

A few days after the execution of the before-mentioned six martyrs at Brentford, seven others, apprehended with them, were burnt in Smithfield. Their names were—Henry Pond, Rainhold Eastland, Robert Southam, Matthew Ricarby, John Floyd, John Holiday, Roger Holland.

The particular examinations of these respective people are not recorded, except that of Roger Holland, which, with his answers to the respective articles exhibited against him, being the same as usual with others on the like occasion, it is unnecessary to repeat. Suffice it to say, that he, together with the rest, being convicted of heresy, received sentence of condemnation. He and his fellow-martyrs bore their sufferings with true christian fortitude, and as the cause for which they suffered was glorious, so they doubted not of being glorified in heaven. Before the fagots were lighted, Roger Holland embraced the stake and the fagots, and, in the most fervent manner, thus expressed himself:

“Lord, I most humbly thank thy majesty, that thou hast called me from the state of death unto the light of thy heavenly word, and now unto the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing and say, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts. And, Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord, bless thou thy people, and save them from idolatry.”

He then quietly submitted to the punishment allotted

him, as did also the others, and they finished their lives, praising God with their latest breath.

In the beginning of August four men were burnt at Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk. Their names were, John Cooke, Robert Miles, Alexander Lane, and James Ashley.

They were examined before the bishop of Norwich and Sir Edward Waldgrave; the chief article exhibited against them was, "not going to church." Their answers all tended to the same effect, namely, "Because they would not worship idols." On this, sentence of condemnation was immediately pronounced; and on the day appointed for their execution, they were conducted to the stake. When there, they were promised their lives on condition that they would recant; but this they peremptorily refused, "rather choosing the horrid death allotted them, than to revoke their opinions." They all died as became men and christians.

Cicely Ormes was one of the spectators at the burning of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper, and was apprehended for saying "she would pledge them of the cup of which they drank 'success to the true cause of Christ, and destruction to the usurpation of papists.'"

When she was taken before a justice of the peace, he asked her several questions "relative to the corporeal presence in the eucharist." To which she replied, that "she denied the same, as it had not any authority in the book of God, which she received as her infallible guide, in all matters relative to her eternal salvation."

After laying in prison a considerable time, she was brought before chancellor Dunning, who told her "he had shown more favour to her than he had done to any, and that he was unwilling to condemn her, as she was a poor illiterate woman;" but she frankly told him, "he could not be so desirous of taking away her life, as she was to lose it in so good a cause." This answer so enraged the chancellor, that he arose from his seat, immediately read the bloody sentence of condemnation, and delivered her to the sheriffs for execution.

This poor woman had been before apprehended, and

after being some time confined, by the advice of her friends, and fearing the horrors of death, she recanted, and thereby obtained her liberty. But she could not enjoy a moment of peace after: she therefore abjured the abominable errors she had confessed, and determined to adhere inviolably to the true gospel of Christ.

On the 23d of September, 1558, she was conducted to the usual place of execution for martyrs, without Bishopsgate, at Norwich. As soon as she arrived at the stake, she knelt down, and, after making her fervent prayers to God, thus addressed the spectators:

“Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost: this I do, nor will recant; but I renounce, from the bottom of my heart, the principles and practices set forth by the church of Rome, and never will have to do with them, by the grace of God, to my life’s end.”

“I would not have you think, good people, that I expect to be saved, because I offer myself here unto death for the truth’s sake; no, I trust for acceptance with God, justification in his sight, and eternal redemption on the merits and passions of Jesus Christ alone.”

After this she embraced the stake, and said, “welcome the cross of Christ.”

Being fastened, and the fagots lighted, she spoke, with an audible voice, these words: “My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour.” These were the last words she was heard to say; for the fire burning rapidly she soon gave up the ghost, quietly resigning her life in testimony of the truth of God’s word.

Alexander Gouch and Alice Driver, having been suspected of heresy, were apprehended by Mr. Noon, a justice of peace for the county, who, after a short examination relative to their religious sentiments, committed them both to Melton gaol.

They were, soon after, brought before Dr. Spence, chancellor of the diocese of Norwich, to be examined.

Alice Driver, being first called, was asked by the chancellor, “what she had to say with respect to the sacrament of the altar; whether she believed it to be very flesh

and blood, after the words of consecration are spoken?"

She answered, "she found no such sacrament in the word of God, but granted she read there of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and desired them to tell her what a sacrament was."

The chancellor, and another doctor, told her, "it was the sign of a holy thing."

She granted it "so to be;" but replied, "that if it be a sign, then it could not be the thing signified also."

They said, "the almighty power of God was able to make it his body."

She "denied not the almighty power of God to perform whatever he promised; but," said she, "he hath made no promise to make bread his body." "But he took bread and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, take, eat, this is my body. Do this in remembrance of me." And if the disciples had eaten up Christ's body over-night, he must have had two bodies, for his body was crucified the next day."

Much more was said relative to this matter, both at her first and second examination; but "she utterly denied the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament," for which she was, at length, condemned as a heretick, and delivered over to the secular power, in order for execution.

Alexander Gouch, of Woodbridge, in Suffolk, was examined on the same day, and by the same persons, about the sacrament of the altar, and other ceremonies of the church of Rome.

He said, "his belief was, that Christ was ascended into heaven, and there remained; and that the sacrament was the remembrance of his death and passion."

He also "rejected the mass, and denied the pope to be the supreme head of Christ's church on earth." For his steadfastness in this his faith and opinion, he received sentence of condemnation as a heretick, and was delivered to the secular power to be put to death.

On the 4th of November, 1558, they were taken from Melton gaol to Ipswich, escorted by the high-sheriff and his officers, and accompanied by a prodigious number of spectators. They arrived at Ipswich about seven o'clock

in the morning, and were immediately led to the place of execution.

When they came to the stake they sung psalms together, then knelt down, and fervently prayed for some time; at which the sberiff was so offended, that he ordered the baliffs to interrupt them, and "desire they would make an end."

On this Gouch arose, and said, "do, Mr. Sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a short time to live here." But this was forbid, and the baliffs were ordered immediately to prepare them for the fire.

Without farther delay they were fastened to the stake, when many of the spectators shook them by the hands, notwithstanding the sheriff severely threatened them for their presumption. The fagots being lighted, they joyfully resigned up their souls to God, their last words being, "Into thy hands, O Lord, we commit our spirits."

About the same time, and for the same cause, the following three men were burned at Bury St. Edmund's, Philip Humphry, John David, and Henry David, his brother.

Mrs. Elizabeth Prest, the wife of a labouring man, lived at a small village near the town of Launceston, in Cornwall. Her husband, and three children, were zealous papists, and she would frequently rebuke them for their superstition; but he forced her sometimes to go to church, to follow in procession, and conform to the Romish ceremonies.

Greatly afflicted at the thoughts of doing that which was so much against her inclination, she prayed to God for his assistance, took courage, and left her husband and family.

For some time she travelled and maintained herself by labour and spinning; at length, she returned to her husband; a few days after which, she was accused of heresy by some of her neighbours, and being apprehended was sent to Exeter, to be examined by Dr. Turberville, the bishop.

The chief thing laid to her charge was, "her having spoke against the sacrament of the altar, and against images in churches, callin^g them idols."

The bishop reproved her "for speaking against the sacrament of the altar;" and told her, it was a matter too high for her to meddle with, and that she had committed the *greatest of crimes* by speaking of it with disrespect!"

The poor woman answered, "there was never such an idol as your sacrament is made of by your priests, and commanded to be worshipped by all men; whereas Christ commanded it to be eaten and drank in remembrance of his most blessed passion, for our redemption."

The bishop then said, "hast thou not heard that Christ did say over the bread, '*this is my body?*' and over the cup, '*this is my blood?*'"

The woman answered, "yes, he said so; but he meant that it is his body and blood, not carnally, but sacramentally."

On the bishop's telling her that "she had heard this from some new preacher, or learned it from some ill book, and that she was deceived;" the poor woman replied, "no, my lord, what I have learned was from godly preachers, and godly books; and if you will give me leave, I will declare the reason why I will not worship the sacrament; but you must bear with me, a poor woman."

Having obtained leave, she said, "I will demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which saith, that Christ sitteth at the right hand of his father, both body and soul, until he come again to judgment? Or, whether he be not there in heaven, and makes intercession for us to God the Father?"

"If it be so, Christ is not here on earth in a piece of bread. If he be not here, and if he doth not dwell in temples made with hands, but in heaven, why then do we seek him? If he did offer his body, once for all, why make you a new offering? If Christ, with once offering himself, made all perfect, why do we, with a false offering, make all imperfect? If he be to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, why do ye worship a piece of bread? If he be eaten and drunken in faith and truth, if his flesh be not profitable to be among us, why do you say you make his body and blood, and say it is profitable for body and soul? Alas! I am but a poor woman, but rather than I would do as ye do, I would live no longer."

After this she was dismissed for the present, and sent back to prison; but in a few days she was again brought before the bishop, who finding her still obstinate, and that all his endeavours to alter her opinion were ineffectual, he read the dreadful sentence of condemnation; at the close of which she said, "I thank thee, my Lord, my God; this day have I found that which I have long sought."

Between the time of her condemnation and execution, she was visited by several priests, who used their most forcible arguments to prevail on her to recant, promising that, "on those conditions, her life should be saved." She replied, "no; that I will not. God forbid that I should lose the life eternal, for this carnal and short life. I will never turn from my heavenly husband to my earthly husband; from the fellowship of angels, to mortal children: and if my husband and children be faithful, then am I theirs. God is my father, God is my mother, God is my sister, my brother, my kinsman. God is my friend most faithful."

On the day appointed for her death, she was delivered to the sheriff, who, with his officers, conducted her to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Sothenkey.

When she arrived at the stake, several priests again endeavoured to prevail on her to recant, but "she begged them not to interrupt her, as she was determined to submit to the fate allotted her, in defence of the true gospel of Christ."

Being fastened to the stake, and the fagots lighted, she repeatedly cried out, "God be merciful to me a sinner." And in a short time quietly resigned her soul, into the hands of him who gave it.

Happy is it that we can here say, poor Elizabeth Prest completed the number of *human sacrifices* in Britain. She was the last who fell a victim to gratify the malevolent hearts of the bishops, and the bigoted zeal of the unfeeling and relentless Queen Mary. At the time this poor woman suffered martyrdom, there were great numbers of people in the different prisons in the kingdom, whose fate, it was determined, should be similar with hers. But their

lives were happily spared, through the interposition of Providence, who was pleased to take off their infatuated and persecuting sovereign, a short time before that appointed for their execution.

The queen's health had been long declining. She had, for some time, been afflicted with the dropsy, the consequence of the improper regimen she had pursued. The malady was greatly augmented by the anxiety of her mind, which was now increased by the most painful reflections. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects; the mortification of being without children; the fear of leaving a crown to a sister, whom she detested; the approaching ruin that threatened the catholick religion; the indifference of a husband (Philip of Spain) who was going to retire into his own country: all these disagreeable reflections so preyed upon her mind, that it threw her into a slow fever, of which she died on the 17th of November, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age, and the sixth of her reign.

When we consider the bigoted zeal of this infatuated princess, and the great number of lives offered up through her arbitrary mandates, we are naturally led to condemn her, first, as a fellow creature, and next as a sovereign; but more particularly in the latter character, because, as Providence had permitted her to be placed in so distinguished a rank, she should have held out the arm of protection to her subjects, instead of the torch of destruction. But the whole progress of her reign does not furnish us with a single instance of merit in her, either as a woman, or a sovereign. On the contrary, all her actions were of the most horrid and gloomy cast; and the barbarities she committed, during her sovereignty, were so great, as to exceed description. With her the practice of religion became the trade of murder, and the care of her people the exercise of her cruelty; while all her views for their happiness, terminated in punishments for their virtues. Her bigotry infected every branch of government, and weakened every band of society. She had not any thing engaging, either in her person, her behaviour, or her address: her understanding was confined within very narrow limits,

and her temper was morose and gloomy; while obstinacy, bigotry, violence, malignity, revenge, and tyranny, directed all her actions.

The death of queen Mary revived the drooping spirits of the long oppressed protestants. They now beheld the pleasing prospect, that they should no longer be persecuted for their religion; and that their virtues would not expose them, for the future, to the rage of ignorance and bigotry.

Nor were they mistaken. Queen Elizabeth, sister to Mary, was as strong an advocate for the protestant religion, as her predecessor had been the most inveterate against it. No sooner did she ascend the throne, than her attention was immediately directed to the protection of the reformed; but she did it in so wise and so prudent a manner, as to prevent any disturbance from the opposite party. Since her accession to the throne, England, so far as relates to papal influence, has enjoyed free toleration.

CHAP. XII.

ACCOUNT OF AN ATTEMPT MADE BY THE SPANIARDS IN 1588, TO INVADE ENGLAND, AND DESTROY ALL THE PROTESTANTS IN THE KINGDOM.

Philip, King of Spain, husband to the deceased Queen Mary of England, was no less an enemy to the protestants than that princess. He had ever disliked the English, and, after her death, determined, if possible, to crown the cruelty which had disgraced the whole progress of her reign, by making a conquest of the island, and putting every protestant to death.

The great warlike preparations made by this sagacious and hypocritical monarch, though for some time unknown, gave a universal alarm to the English nation. Though he had not declared his intention, yet it appeared evident that he was taking measures to seize the crown of England. Pope Sixtus V. not less ambitious than himself, and equally desirous of persecuting the protestants, urged

him to the enterprise. He excommunicated queen Elizabeth, and published a crusade against her, with the usual indulgences. All the ports of Spain resounded with preparations for this alarming expedition; and the Spaniards seemed to threaten the English with a total annihilation.

Three whole years had been spent by Philip in making the necessary preparations for this distinguished enterprise; and his fleet, which, on account of its prodigious strength, was called "The Invincible Armada," was now completed. A consecrated banner was procured from the pope, and the gold of Peru was lavished on the occasion.

This tremendous armament consisted of nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety soldiers; eight thousand two hundred and fifty seamen; two thousand and eight galley-slaves; and two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of ordinance. The marquis of Santa Cruz, an officer of great reputation and experience, was appointed to command the Armada; and by his counsels and directions all the naval preparations were conducted. There was hardly a noble family in Spain but sent either a son, a brother, or a nephew, on board this fleet, in order to acquire riches and estates in England, which was considered as an easy conquest. The duke of Parma, in order to insure success, was ordered to provide transports sufficient to embark an army of twenty-five thousand men, and land them in England as soon as the Spanish fleet appeared on the coast of Flanders. Ships were accordingly provided, and the duke quartered his troops in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Nieupoort.

The English fleet, at this time, consisted only of twenty-eight sail, most of which were very small vessels; but the alacrity of Elizabeth's subjects sufficiently atoned for the weakness of her navy. The maritime towns, the nobility and gentry, testified the greatest zeal on this occasion. The city of London fitted out thirty ships, though fifteen only had been required. The gentry and nobility hired and armed forty-three ships at their own expense. Lord Howard, of Essingham, a man of great courage and ca-

capacity, was lord-admiral, and took upon him the command of the navy: Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Martin Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The main fleet was stationed at Plymouth: while a smaller fleet, consisting of forty vessels, under the command of Lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the forces commanded by the duke of Parma.

Twenty thousand land-forces were cantoned along the southern coasts of England; another body of disciplined men encamped at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames, under the command of the earl of Leicester, whom the queen, on this occasion, created general in chief of all her forces; and lord Hunsdon commanded a third army, consisting of thirty thousand men, for the defence of her majesty's person. Arthur, lord Grey, Sir Francis Knowles, Sir John Norreys, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, men renowned for their valour and experience, were consulted about the management of the war; and, pursuant to their advice, all the landing-places on the coast, from Hull to the Land's-End. and thence to Milford-haven, were fortified and garrisoned. The militia of the country were armed and regulated under proper officers, who received instructions for interrupting the disembarkation of the enemy, wasting the country before them, attacking their rear, and keeping up a continual alarm in their army, till a sufficient force could be assembled to give them battle. Sir Robert Sydney was sent into Scotland, in order to induce James to continue firmly attached to the English interest. The Scottish monarch was sufficiently disposed to cultivate a union with Elizabeth, and even to march, at the head of all the forces of his kingdom, to the assistance of the English. Her authority with the king of Denmark, and the connection resulting from their common religion, prevailed upon that prince to seize a squadron of ships, which Philip had either purchased, or hired, in the Danish harbours. But her chief hopes of success were placed on the affections of her people. The very papists themselves, though they knew the pope had absolved them from their oaths of

allegiance, exerted themselves on this occasion. Conscious that they could not expect to be intrusted with authority, several of the young nobility served as volunteers, either in the fleet or army: some equipped ships at their own expense, and gave the command of them to protestants; while others were active in animating their tenants and vassals in support of their sovereign. Party distinctions were forgotten, and every man exerted himself in the defence of his country.

The magnanimity of Elizabeth was remarkable on this trying occasion. She appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, harrangued her army, and expressed an entire confidence in their loyalty and courage. She assured her troops, that the weakness of her sex should not prevent her marching at their head against the Spanish invaders; that she would behold and reward their bravery herself; and that she would sooner perish on the field of battle, than live to see the slavery of her people. "My arm (said she) is but the arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a king, and, what is more, of a king of England." The whole army caught the heroick ardour of the queen; they were impatient to meet the enemy, and earnestly desirous of convincing the haughty Spaniards, that they still possessed the spirit of Englishmen.

The Armada was some time prevented from sailing by the death of the marquis of Santa Cruz. The duke of Medina Sidona, a nobleman of great family, but wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs, was appointed admiral in his room. This interval was employed by Elizabeth in making new preparations for rendering the design abortive. At length, the invincible fleet sailed from Lisbon on the 29th of May; but being overtaken by a dreadful tempest, the fleet was obliged to put into the Groyne, having received considerable damage. After a delay of two months, the Armada sailed, once more, to prosecute the intended enterprise. The fleet consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, of which near a hundred were galleons, and of a greater burden than any that had ever before appeared on the coast of England. The Spanish admiral was ordered to sail as near the coast of

France as possible, in order to join the prince of Parma, and avoid meeting the English fleet, which might occasion some delay in the enterprise; for it was never imagined that they could make any effectual opposition. But an accident induced the Spanish admiral to neglect this prudent advice. He took a fishing-boat in his passage, the master of which informed him, that the English admiral, persuaded that the late storm, which scattered the Armada, had prevented any attempt being made this season, had laid up his ships, and discharged the greater part of his seamen. Deceived by this intelligence, the Spaniard determined to destroy the English in Plymouth harbour, before he joined the prince of Parma. He accordingly steered towards that port, hoping to obtain an easy victory. The armada was disposed in the form of a half moon, and stretched to the distance of seven miles, from the extremity of one division to that of the other. But this tremendous appearance dismayed not the English; they knew their huge vessels were so ill constructed, and so difficult to be managed, that they would not be able to support themselves against the repeated attacks of ships at a distance. Experience soon convinced them that they were not mistaken. Two of the largest ships in the Spanish fleet were soon after taken by Sir Francis Drake; and while the enemy advanced slowly up the channel, the English followed their rear, and harrassed them with perpetual skirmishes. The Spaniards now began to abate in their confidence of success: the design of attacking the English navy in Plymouth was laid aside; and they directed their course towards Calais, in order to join the Prince of Parma.

No sooner were these transactions made known in England, than the nobility and gentry hastened out with their ships, from every harbour, to join the admiral, who soon found his fleet amounted to one hundred and forty sail. He still hung upon the rear of the Spaniards, and distressed them with repeated attacks. At last the Armada came to an anchor before Calais, in expectation of being joined by the prince of Parma; but before that general could embark his troops, all hopes of success

vanished, by a stratagem of the English admiral. By the advice of Sir Francis Drake, he filled eight of his smaller ships with combustible materials, and setting them on fire, sent them, one after another, into the midst of the enemy's fleet. Terrified at this appearance, the Spaniards cut their cables, and betook themselves to flight, in a very precipitate and disorderly manner. In the midst of this confusion, the English fell upon them with such fury, that twelve of their largest ships were taken, and several others were thoroughly damaged.

The ambitious Spaniards were now convinced that their scheme was entirely frustrated, and would willingly have abandoned the enterprise, and returned immediately to their ports, could they have done it with safety; but this was impossible; the wind was contrary; and the only chance of escaping, was that of making a tour of the whole island, and reaching at last the Spanish harbours by the ocean. But a violent storm soon overtook them, and completed the destruction of the "Invincible Armada;" not half the number of vessels returning to the ports of Spain.

It is said that Philip, being informed of these disasters, fell on his knees, to thank heaven for leaving him so much; whilst the Spanish clergy, confounded at an event so contrary to their expectations, assigned a very ridiculous cause for it, namely, that some infidel Mahometans were suffered to continue in a Catholick kingdom.

The lord-high-admiral having entirely cleared the English coast of Spaniards, returned with his fleet to the Downs, and was received in London with the greatest acclamations of joy.

A publick thanksgiving was ordered to be observed throughout the whole kingdom for so singular a deliverance; and the queen herself went to St. Paul's, in great solemnity, to perform the sacred duty. At the same time eleven standards and colours, taken from the enemy, were hung up in the body of the church, as trophies of so distinguished a victory.

Thus was this diabolical scheme subverted; and while the Spanish monarch suffered for his presumption, the

English, under their auspicious sovereign, rejoiced at the prosperous and happy event.

It may not be improper here to subjoin a list of the different articles taken, on board the Spanish ships, designed for the tormenting of the protestants, and for other purposes, if their scheme had succeeded.

1. The common soldiers' pikes, eighteen feet long, pointed with long sharp spikes, and shod with iron, which were designed to keep off the horse, to facilitate the landing of the infantry.

2. A great number of lances used by the Spanish officers. These were formerly gilt, but the gold was almost worn off by cleaning.

3. The Spanish ranceurs, made in different forms, which were intended either to kill the men on horseback, or pull them off their horses.

4. A very singular piece of arms, being a pistol in a shield, so contrived as to fire the pistol, and cover the body, at the same time, with the shield. It is to be fired by a match-lock, and the sight of the enemy is to be taken through a little grate in the shield, which is pistol-proof.

5. The banner, with a crucifix upon it, which was to have been carried before the Spanish general. On it is engraved the pope's benediction before the Spanish fleet sailed: for the pope came to the water-side, and, on seeing the fleet, blessed it, and styled it Invincible.

6. The Spanish cravats, as they are call'd. These are engines of torture, made of iron, and put on board to lock together the feet, arms, and heads of Englishmen.

7. Spanish bilboes, made of iron likewise, to yoke the English prisoners two and two.

8. Spanish shot, which are of four sorts; pike-shot, star-shot, chain-shot, and link-shot, all admirably contrived, as well for the destruction of the masts and rigging of ships, as for sweeping the decks of their men.

9. Spanish spadas poisoned at the points, so that if a man received the slightest wound with one of those, certain death was the consequence.

10. A Spanish poll-axe, used in boarding ships.

11. Thumb-screws, of which there were several chests

full on board the Spanish fleet. The use they were intended for is said to have been, to extort confession from the English, where their money was hid.

12. The Spanish morning-star; a destructive engine resembling the figure of a star, of which there were many thousands on board, and all of them with poisoned points; and were designed to strike at the enemy as they came on board, in case of a close attack.

13. The Spanish general's halberd, covered with velvet. All the nails of this weapon are double gilt with gold; and on its top is the pope's head, curiously engraved.

14. A Spanish battle-axe, so contrived as to strike four holes in a man's head at once; and has besides a pistol in its handle, with a match-lock.

15. The Spanish general's shield, carried before him as an ensign of honour. On it are depicted, in most curious workmanship, the labours of Hercules, and other expressive allegories.

When the Spaniards were asked by some of the English what their intentions were, had their expedition succeeded, they replied, "To extirpate the whole from the island, at least all hereticks, and to send their souls to hell."

How depraved must those minds be, who would wish to destroy their fellow creatures, not only in this world, but, if it were possible, in that which is to come; merely for a difference of opinion in matters of religion.

CHAP. XIII.

CONSPIRACY FORMED BY THE PAPISTS IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I. FOR DESTROYING THAT MONARCH, THE ROYAL FAMILY, AND BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT; KNOWN BY THE NAME OF THE GUNPOWDER-PLOT.

The papists, of which there were great numbers in England at the time of the Spanish invasion, were irritated at the failure of that expedition, and subsequently determined, if possible, to project a scheme at home, that might answer the purposes, in some degree, of that intended by their friends in Spain.

Being much embittered against King James, the successor of Elizabeth, they formed the design of blowing up both him, the royal family, and both houses of parliament. Those who formed the resolution of putting in practice this desperate scheme, consisted of the following persons: Henry Garnet, an Englishman, who, about the year 1586, had been appointed as superiour of the English Jesuits; Catesby, an English gentleman; Tesmond, a Jesuit; Thomas Wright; two gentlemen of the name of Winter; Thomas Piercy, a near relation of the Earl of Northumberland; Guido Fawkes, a bold and enterprising soldier of desperate fortune; Sir Everard Digby; John Grant, Esq.; Francis Tresham, Esq.; Robert Keyes; and Thomas Bates.

Most of these were men of birth and fortune; and Catesby, who had a large estate, had already expended two thousand pounds in several voyages to the court of Spain, in order to introduce an army of Spaniards into England, for overturning the protestant government, and restoring the Roman catholick religion; but, being disappointed in his project of an invasion, he took an opportunity of disclosing to Piercy, who was his intimate friend, and who, in a sudden fit of passion, had hinted a design of assassinating the king, a more extensive plan of treason, such as would include a sure execution of vengeance, and, at one blow, consign over to destruction all their enemies.

Piercy assented to the project proposed by Catesby, and they resolved to impart the matter to a few more, and, by degrees, to all the rest of their company, every man being bound by an oath, not to disclose the least syllable of the matter, nor to withdraw from the association, without the consent of all concerned.

These consultations were held in the spring and summer of the year 1604, and it was towards the close of that year that they began their operations; the manner of which, and the discovery, we shall give the reader with brevity and perspicuity.

It had been agreed, that a few of the conspirators should dig a mine below the room in which the parliament

was to assemble, and choose the very moment when the king should deliver his speech to both houses, by one blow to cut off the king, the royal family, lords, commons, and the other enemies of the popish religion, in the very spot where that religion had, as was supposed, been most oppressed. For this purpose Piercy, at that time a gentleman pensioner, undertook to hire a house adjoining the upper house of parliament, with all diligence. The conspirators expecting that parliament would meet on the 17th of February following, began, on the 11th of December, to dig in the cellar, through the wall, which was three yards thick. There were seven in number joined in this labour: they went in by night, and never appeared in sight; for having supplied themselves with all necessary provisions, they had no occasion to send abroad. In case of discovery, they had provided themselves with powder, shot, and fire-arms, with a resolution rather to die than be taken.

On Candlemas day, 1605, they had dug so far through the wall as to be able to hear a noise on the other side; upon which unexpected event, fearing a discovery, Guido Fawkes, who personated Piercy's footman, was dispatched to know the occasion, and returned with the favourable report, that the place whence the noise came was a large cellar under the upper house of parliament, full of sea-coal, which was then on sale, and the cellar offered to be let.

On this information, Piercy immediately hired the cellar, and bought the remainder of the coals: he then sent for thirty barrels of gunpowder from Holland, and landing them at Lambeth, conveyed them gradually, by night, to this cellar, and covered them with stones, iron bars, a thousand bullets, and five hundred fagots; all which they did at their leisure, the parliament being prorogued to the 5th of November.

The conspirators next consulted how they should secure the duke of York, who was too young to be expected at the parliament house, and his sister the princess Elizabeth, educated at lord Harrington's, in Warwickshire. It was resolved, that Piercy and another should enter into the duke's chamber, and a dozen more, properly disposed at

several doors, with two or three on horseback at the court-gate to receive him, should carry him safe away as soon as the parliament house was blown up; or, if that could not be effected, to kill him, and to declare the princess Elizabeth queen, having secured her, under colour of a hunting match, that day.

Some of the conspirators proposed asking for foreign aid, but this was overruled, and it was agreed to apply for no assistance until after the plot had succeeded. The Puritans were to be accused of the whole mischief.

All matters being now prepared by the conspirators, they, without the least remorse of conscience, and with the utmost impatience, expected the 5th of November. But all their counsels were blasted by a happy and providential circumstance. One of the conspirators, with a desire to save William Parker, lord Monteagle, sent his lordship the following letter:

“MY LORD,—“Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care for your preservation; therefore I advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time: and think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into the country, where you may expect the event with safety; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow, this parliament, yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it can do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past so soon (or as quickly) as you burn this letter; and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you.”

The lord Monteagle was, for some time, at a loss what judgment to form of this letter, and unresolvèd whether he should slight the advertisement or not; and fancying it a trick of his enemies to frighten him into an absence from parliament, would have determined on the former, had his own safety been only in question; but apprehending the king's life might be in danger, he took the letter at midnight to the earl of Salisbury, who was equally

puzzled about the meaning of it; and though he was inclined to think it a wild and waggish contrivance to alarm Monteaule, yet he thought proper to consult about it with the Earl of Suffolk, lord-chamberlain. The expression, "that the blow should come, without knowing who hurt them," made them imagine that it would not be more proper than the time of parliament, nor by any other way like to be attempted than by gunpowder, while the king was sitting in that assembly: the lord-chamberlain thought this the more probable, because there was a great cellar under the parliament chamber, never used for any thing but some wood or coal, belonging to Wineyard, the keeper of the palace; and having communicated the letter to the Earls of Nottingham, Worcester, and Northampton, proceeded no farther till the king came from Royston, on the first of November.

The letter being shown to his majesty by the earls, who, at the same time, acquainted him with their suspicions, he was of opinion that either nothing should be done, or else enough to prevent the danger; and that a search should be made on the day preceding that designed for the execution of the diabolical enterprise.

On Monday, the 4th of November, in the afternoon, the lord-chamberlain, whose office it was to see all things put in readiness for the king's coming, accompanied by Monteaule, went to visit all places about the parliament house, and taking a slight occasion to see the cellar, observed only piles of billets and fagots, but in greater number than he thought Wineyard could want for his own use. On his asking who owned the wood, and being told it belonged to one Mr. Piercy, he began to have some suspicions, knowing him to be a rigid papist, and so seldom there, that he had no occasion for such a quantity of fuel and Monteaule confirmed him therein, by observing that Piercy had made him great professions of friendship.

Though there were no other materials visible, yet Suffolk thought it was necessary to make a farther search; and, upon his return to the king, a resolution was taken that it should be made in such a manner as should be effectual, without scandalizing any body, or giving any alarm.

Sir Thomas Knevet, steward of Westminster, was accordingly ordered, under the pretext of searching for stolen tapestry hangings in that place, and other houses thereabouts, to remove the wood, and see if any thing was concealed underneath. This gentleman going at midnight, with several attendants, to the cellar, met Fawkes just coming out of it, booted and spurred, with a tinder-box and three matches in his pockets; and seizing him without any ceremony, or asking him any questions, as soon as the removal of the wood discovered the barrels of gunpowder, he caused him to be bound, and properly secured.

Fawkes, who was a hardened and intrepid villain, made no hesitation of avowing the design, and that it was to have been executed on the morrow. He made the same acknowledgment at his examination before a committee of the council; and though he did not deny having some associates in this conspiracy, yet no threats of torture could make him discover any of them, declaring, "he was ready to die, and had rather suffer ten thousand deaths, than willingly accuse his master, or any other."

By repeated examinations, however, and assurances of his master's being apprehended, he at length acknowledged, "that whilst he was abroad, Piercy had kept the keys of the cellar, had been in it since the powder had been laid there, and, in effect, that he was one of the principal actors in the intended tragedy."

In the mean time it was found out, that Piercy had come post out of the north on Saturday night, the 2d of November, and had dined on Monday at Sion-house, with the Earl of Northumberland; that Fawkes had met him on the road; and that, after the lord-chamberlain had been that evening in the cellar, he went, about six o'clock, to his master, who had fled immediately, apprehending the plot was detected.

The news of the discovery immediately spreading, the conspirators fled different ways, but chiefly into Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby had appointed a hunting-match, near Dunchurch, to get a number of recusants together, sufficient to seize the Princess Elizabeth; but this design was prevented by her taking refuge in Coventry;

and their whole party, making about one hundred, retired to Holbeach, the seat of Sir Stephen Littleton, on the borders of Staffordshire, having broken open stables, and taken horses from different people in the adjoining countries.

Sir Richard Walsh, high sheriff of Worcestershire, pursued them to Holbeach, where he summoned them to surrender. In preparing for their defence, they put some moist powder before a fire to dry, and a spark from the coals setting it on fire, some of the conspirators were so burned in their faces, thighs and arms, that they were scarce able to handle their weapons. Their case was desperate, and no means of escape appearing, unless by forcing their way through the assailants; they made a desperate sally for that purpose. Catesby, who first proposed the manner of the plot, and Piercy, were both killed. Thomas Winter, Grant, Digby, Rookwood, and Bates, were taken and carried to London, where the first made a full discovery of the conspiracy. Tresham, lurking about the city, and frequently shifting his quarters, was apprehended soon after, and, having confessed the whole matter, died of the strangury in the Tower. The Earl of Northumberland, suspected by reason of his being related to Thomas Piercy, was, by way of precaution, committed to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth; and was afterwards fined thirty thousand pounds, and sent to the Tower, for admitting Piercy into the band of pensioners, without tendering him the oath of supremacy.

Some escaped to Calais, and arriving there with others who fled to avoid a prosecution, which they apprehended on this occasion, were kindly received by the governour; but one of them declaring before him, that he was not so much concerned at his exile, as that the powder plot did not take effect, the governour was so much incensed at his glorying in such an execrable piece of iniquity, that he endeavoured, but without effect, to throw him into the sea.

On the 27th of January, eight of the conspirators were tried and convicted; among whom was Sir Everard Digby, the only one that pleaded guilty to the indictment, though

all the rest had confessed their guilt before. Digby was executed on the 30th of the same month, with Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, at the west end of St. Paul's church-yard. And Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rookwood, and Fawkes, were executed the following day in Old Palace-yard.

Garnet was tried on the 28th of March, "for his knowledge and concealment of the conspiracy; for administering an oath of secrecy to the conspirators; for persuading them of the lawfulness of the treason, and for praying for the success of the great action in hand at the beginning of the parliament." Being found guilty, he received sentence of death, but was not executed till the 3d of May, when, confessing his own guilt, and the iniquity of the enterprise, he exhorted all Roman catholicks to abstain from the like treasonable practices. Gerard and Hull, two jesuits, got abroad; and Littleton, with several others, were executed in the country.

The Lord Monteagle had a grant of two hundred pounds a year in land, and a pension of five hundred pounds for life, as a reward for discovering the letter which gave the first hint of the conspiracy. And the anniversary of this providential escape was ordered to be forever commemorated.

Thus was this diabolical scheme happily rendered abortive; and the principal authors of it brought to that condign punishment their infamy merited.—In this affair Providence ~~interposed~~ ^{interposed} in behalf of the protestants, and saved them from that destruction which must have taken place, had the scheme succeeded to the wishes of a bigoted, superstitious, and wicked faction.

CHAP. XIV.

PERSECUTIONS IN IRELAND.

We shall close this part of our history, with a sketch of protestant sufferings in Ireland. The spirit of persecution has raged there at different times with great violence, and

multitudes have been its victims. But the most dreadful scene ever witnessed in that unhappy country, was the massacre of the Protestants in 1641.

That the Roman catholicks, at that time, had cause of complaints against the British government, there can be no doubt; but the protestants in Ireland had nothing to do, as a body, with the acts of the English parliament, nor could they be justly censured for any measures of policy adopted by that body. Hence it is manifest, that they were singled out as objects of vengeance, merely on account of their adherence to the cause of the Reformation.

It appears, that a general conspiracy was formed among the Papists throughout the kingdom, for the purpose of murdering all the protestants without exception. The day fixed for this dreadful design, was the 23d of October, on which was held the feast of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits; and the chief conspirators in the principal parts of the kingdom, made the necessary preparations for the intended massacre.

In order that the scheme might the more infallibly succeed, the most distinguished artifices were practised by the papists; and their behaviour, in their visits to the protestants, was with more seeming kindness than they had hitherto shown, which was done more completely to effect the treacherous designs meditating against their innocent fellow subjects.

The execution of this savage conspiracy was purposely delayed till the approach of winter, that the sending troops from England might be attended with greater difficulty. Cardinal Richlieu, the French minister, had promised the conspirators a considerable supply of men and money; and many Irish officers had given the strongest assurances, that they would heartily concur with their catholick brethren as soon as the insurrection appeared.

The day preceding that appointed for carrying this design into execution was now arrived, when, happily for Dublin, the conspiracy was discovered by Owen O'Connelly, an Irishman, for which service the English parliament voted him 500*l.* and a pension of 200*l.* during his life.

So very seasonably was this plot discovered, even but a

few hours before the city and castle of Dublin were to have been surprised, that the lord's justices had but just time to put themselves, and the city, in a proper posture of defence. The Lord M'Guire, who was the principal leader for the destruction of Dublin, with his accomplices, were seized the same evening in the city; and in their lodgings were found swords, hatchets, pole-axes, hammers, and such other instruments of death as had been prepared for the destruction and extirpation of the protestants in that part of the kingdom.

The metropolis was thus happily preserved; but the principal part of the intended tragedy was past prevention. The conspirators were in arms all over the kingdom early in the morning of the day appointed, and every protestant whom they met was immediately murdered. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, and the infirm, underwent the same fate, and were blended in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault: destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends: all connections were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace, and, as they thought, in full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long maintained a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices. Nay, even death was the slightest punishment inflicted: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could invent, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelly derived from no cause whatever. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmost license, cannot reach to a greater pitch of ferocity than appeared in these merciless barbarians. Even the weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to

those of others, here emulated their robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. The very children, taught by example, and encouraged by the exhortation of their parents, dealt their feeble blows on the dead carcasses of defenceless children of the English, who had been murdered.

The habitations of the planters were laid in ashes, or levelled with the ground. And where the wretched owners had shut themselves up in the houses, and were preparing for defence, their mansions were fired, and they perished in the flames, with their wives and children.

Such is the general description of this unparalleled massacre; but it now remains, from the nature of our work, that we proceed to particulars.

The bigoted and merciless papists had no sooner began to imbrue their hands in blood, than they repeated the horrid tragedy day after day; and the protestants in all parts of the kingdom fell victims to their fury by deaths of the most cruel nature.

The ignorant Irish were instigated to execute the infernal business by the jesuits, priests, and friars, who, when the day for the execution of the plot was agreed on, recommended, in their prayers, diligence in the great design, which they said would greatly tend to the prosperity of the kingdom, and to the advancement of the catholick cause. They every where declared to the common people that the protestants were hereticks, and ought not to be suffered to live any longer among them; adding, "that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman than to kill a dog; and that the relieving or protecting them was a crime of the most unpardonable nature!"

The papists having besieged the town and castle of Longford, and the inhabitants of the latter, who were protestants, surrendering on condition of being allowed quarter, the besiegers, the instant the towns-people appeared, attacked them in the most unmerciful manner, their priest, as a signal for the rest to fall on, first ripping open the body of the English protestant minister; after which his followers murdered the rest; some were hung, others were stabbed or shot, and great numbers knocked on the head with axes provided for the purpose.

The garrison at Sligo were treated in like manner by O'Conner Slygah; who, upon the protestants quitting their holds, promised them quarter, and to convey them safe over the Carlow mountains, to Roscommon. But he first imprisoned them in a most loathsome gaol: allowing them only grains for their food. Afterwards, when some papists who were come to congratulate their wicked brethren for their victory over these unhappy creatures, were merry over their cups, those protestants who survived were brought forth by the White-friars, and either killed, or precipitated over the bridge, into the river, where they were soon destroyed. It is added, that this wicked company of White-friars went some time after, in solemn procession, with holy water in their hands, to sprinkle the river; on pretence of cleansing and purifying it from the stains and pollution of the blood and dead bodies of the hereticks, as they called the unfortunate protestants who were inhumanly slaughtered.

At Kilmore, Dr. Bedell, bishop of that see, had charitably settled and supported a great number of distressed protestants, who had fled from their habitations to escape the cruelties committed by the papists. But they did not long enjoy the consolation of living together; the good prelate was forcibly dragged from his episcopal residence, which was immediately occupied by Dr. Swiney, the popish titular bishop of Kilmore, who said mass in the church the Sunday following, and then seized on all the goods and effects belonging, to the persecuted bishop.

Soon after this the papists forced Dr. Bedell, his two sons, and the rest of his family, with some of the chief of the protestants whom he had protected, into a ruinous castle, called Lochwater, situated in a lake near the sea. Here he remained with his companions some weeks, all daily expecting to be put to death. Most of them were stripped naked, by which means, as the season was cold, (it being in the month of December) and the building in which they were confined open at the top, they suffered the most severe hardships.

They continued in this situation till the 7th of January, when they were released. The bishop was courteously

received into the house of Dennis O'Sheridan, one of his clergy, whom he had made a convert to the church of England; but he did not long survive this kindness.

During his residence here, he spent the whole of his time in religious exercises, the better to fit and prepare himself, and his sorrowful companions, for their great change, as nothing but certain death was perpetually before their eyes.

He was at this time in the 71st year of his age, and being afflicted with a violent ague caught in his late cold and desolate habitation on the lake, it soon threw him into a fever of the most dangerous nature. Finding his dissolution at hand, he received it with joy, like one of the primitive martyrs just hastening to his crown of glory. After having addressed his little flock, and exhorted them to patience, in the most pathetick manner, as they saw their own last day approaching, he solemnly blessed his people, his family and his children, and finished the course of his ministry and life together, on the 7th of February, 1642.

In the barony of Tyrawley, the papists, at the instigation of their friars, compelled above forty English protestants, some of whom were women and children, to the hard fate either of falling by the sword, or of drowning themselves in the sea. These, choosing the latter, were forced, by the naked weapons of their inexorable persecutors, into the deep, where, with their children in their arms, they first waded up to their chins, and afterwards sunk down and perished together.

In the castle of Lisgool upwards of 150 men, women, and children, were all burnt together; and at the castle of Moneah not less than 100 were all put to the sword. Great numbers were murdered at the castle of Tullah, which was delivered up to M'Guire on condition of having fair quarter; but no sooner had he got possession of the place than he ordered his followers to murder the people, which was immediately done with the greatest cruelty.

Many others were put to deaths of the most horrid nature, and such as could have been invented only by demons instead of men.

Some of them were laid with the centre of their backs on the axle-tree of a carriage, with their legs resting on the ground on one side, and their arms and head on the other. In this position one of the persecutors scourged the wretched object, while another set on furious dogs, who tore to pieces the arms and upper part of the body; and in this dreadful manner were they deprived of their existence.

Great numbers were fastened to horses' tails, and the beasts being set on full gallop by their riders, the wretched victims were dragged along till they expired.

Others were hung on lofty gibbets, and a fire being kindled under them, they finished their lives, partly by hanging, and partly by suffocation.

Nor did the more tender sex escape the least particle of cruelty that could be projected by their merciless and furious persecutors. Many women, of all ages, were put to deaths of the most cruel nature. Some in particular were fastened with their backs to strong posts, and being stripped to their waists, the inhuman monsters cut off their right breasts with shears, which, of course, put them to the most excruciating torments; and in this position they were left till, from the loss of blood, they expired.

Upwards of one thousand men, women, and children, were driven, in different companies, to Portendown bridge, which was broken in the middle, and there compelled to throw themselves into the water; and such as attempted to reach the shore were knocked on the head.

In the same part of the country, at least four thousand persons were drowned in different places. The inhuman papists, after first stripping them, drove them like beasts to the spot fixed on for their destruction; and if any, through fatigue, or natural infirmities, were slack in their pace, they pricked them with their swords and pikes; and to strike a farther terrour on the multitude, they murdered some by the way. Many of these poor wretches, when thrown into the water, endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to the shore; but their merciless persecutors prevented their endeavours taking effect, by shooting them in the water.

Other companies they took, under pretence of safe-conduct, who, from that consideration, proceeded cheerfully on their journey; but when the papists had got them to a convenient spot, they butchered them all in the most cruel manner.

One hundred and fifteen men, women, and children, were conducted by order of Sir Phelim O'Neal, to Portendown bridge, where they were all forced into the river, and drowned. One woman, named Campbell, finding no probability of escaping, suddenly clasped one of the chiefs of the papists in her arms, and held him so fast, that they were both drowned together.

In Killoman they massacred forty-eight families, among whom twenty-two were burnt together in one house. The rest were either hanged, shot, or drowned.

In Kilmore the inhabitants, which consisted of about two hundred families, all fell victims to their rage. Some of them they sat in the stocks till they confessed where their money was; after which they put them to death. The whole county was one common scene of butchery, and many thousands perished, in a short time, by sword, famine, fire, water, and all other the most cruel deaths that rage and malice could invent.

At Cashel, they put all the protestants into a loathsome dungeon, where they kept them together, for several weeks, in the greatest misery. At length they were released when some of them were barbarously mangled, and left on the highways to perish; others were hanged, and some were buried in the ground upright, with their heads above the earth, the papists, to increase their misery, treating them with derision during their sufferings.

In the county of Antrim they murdered nine hundred and fifty-four protestants in one morning: and afterwards about twelve hundred more in that county.

At a town called Lisnegary, they forced twenty-four protestants into a house, and then setting fire to it, burned them together, counterfeiting their outcries in derision to others.

Among other acts of cruelty; they took two children belonging to an English woman, and dashed out their

brains before her face; after which they threw the mother into a river, and she was drowned. They served many other children in the like manner, to the disgrace of human nature.

In Kilkenny all the protestants, without exception, were put to death; and some of them in so cruel a manner, as, perhaps, was never before thought of.

They beat an English woman with such savage barbarity, that she had scarce a whole bone left; after which they threw her into a ditch; but not satisfied with this, they took her child, a girl about six years of age, and after ripping up its body, threw it to its mother, there to languish till it perished.

In some places they plucked out the eyes, and cut off the hands of the protestants, and in that manner turned them into the fields, there to wander out their miserable existence.

They obliged many young men to force their aged parents to a river, where they were drowned: wives to assist in hanging their husbands; and mothers to cut the throats of their children.

In one place they compelled a young man to kill his father, and then immediately hanged him. In another they forced a woman to kill her husband, then obliged the son to kill her, and afterwards shot him through the head.

At a place called Glaslow, a popish priest, with some others, prevailed on forty protestants to be reconciled to the church of Rome. They had no sooner done this, than they told them they were in a good faith, and that they would prevent their falling from it, and turning hereticks, by sending them out of the world, which they did by immediately cutting their throats.

In the county of Tipperary upwards of thirty protestants, men, women, and children, fell into the hands of the papists, who murdered them with stones, pole-axes, swords, and other weapons.

In Queen's county great numbers of protestants were put to the most shocking deaths. Fifty or sixty were

placed together in one house, which being set on fire, they all perished in the flames.

At Clownes seventeen men were buried alive; and an Englishman, his wife, five children, and a servant-maid, were all hung together, and afterwards thrown into a ditch.

They hung many by the arms to branches of trees, with a weight to their feet; and others by the middle, and in which postures they left them till they expired.

Several were hung on windmills, and before they were half dead, the papists cut them in pieces with their swords. Others, both men, women, and children, they cut and hacked in various parts of their bodies, and left them wallowing in their blood to perish where they fell. One poor woman they hung on a gibbet, with her child, an infant about twelve months old, the latter of whom was fastened by the neck with the hair of its mother's head, and in that manner finished its short but miserable existence.

In the county of Tyrone no less than three hundred protestants were drowned in one day; and many others were hanged, burned, and otherways put to death.

As the river Bann was not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Irish forced thither, at different times, a great number of unarmed, defenceless protestants, and with pikes and swords violently thrust above one thousand into the river, where they miserably perished.

Nor did the cathedral of Armagh escape the fury; it being maliciously set on fire by their leaders, and burnt to the ground. And to extirpate, if possible, the very race of those unhappy protestants, who lived in or near Armagh, the papists first burnt all their houses, and then gathered together many hundreds of those innocent people, young and old, on pretence of allowing them a guard and safe-conduct to Colerain; when they treacherously fell on them by the way, and inhumanly murdered them.

The like horrid barbarities with those we have particularized, were practiced on the wretched protestants in almost all parts of the kingdom; and, when an estimate was afterwards made of the number who were sacrificed to gratify the papists, it amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand.

PART 7.

CHAPTER I.

PERSECUTIONS BY PROTESTANTS.

We have seen persecution raging among the pagans, and its victims suffering and dying under the most dreadful tortures. We have also seen it among a people bearing the name of Christ, though generally ignorant of the scriptures, and of true religion. With them, as well as with the pagans, the power of intolerance was carried to its utmost extent, and the victims of it experienced all the refined tortures that malice could invent. The plan of the present work requires, that we should likewise give some account of persecutions by Protestants. A few protestants have dipped their hands in the foul stains of intolerance; but we rejoice in being able to say, the number of their victims is comparatively small, and with some exceptions, their sufferings have been much less severe than those inflicted by the Roman catholicks, or by the pagans.

Much has been said concerning the intolerance of Calvin and his associates at Geneva. To that place he had fled, to escape the vengeance of the papists; and even there he experienced great opposition from some of the inhabitants, on account of his attempts to reform them, and bring them to the adoption of his opinions. But having by his talents and labours acquired great power and influence, he seems to have imbibed a degree of the same spirit from which he had formerly fled. He pro-

cured the banishment of some, and the imprisonment of others, who differed from him in religious opinions.

J. de Bourgone, an illustrious nobleman, retired from Geneva to avoid the effects of Calvin's displeasure; and Bernardin Ochinus, a native of Sienna, was in 1543, banished from Switzerland, in consequence of a sentence passed upon him by the Helvetic church. This unfortunate man retired into Poland, where he embraced the opinions of the anabaptists and anti-trinitarians, and died in 1564.

A similar fate happened to Sebastian Castalio, who was master of the publick school at Geneva. He is said to have been remarkable for the extent of his learning and elegance of his taste. As he held some opinions not in accordance with the prevailing creed, and was particularly opposed to the doctrine of predestination, he was banished from the city. But the magistrates of Basil kindly received this ingenious exile, and gave him the Greek professorship in their university.

Jerome Bolsec, a French monk of the Carmelite order, went to Geneva on account of the favourable opinion he had entertained of the reformed church, and followed the profession of medicine. But his imprudence led him to pursue a course by which his prospects were suddenly changed. In 1551, he lifted up his voice in the publick assembly, after the conclusion of divine service, and declaimed in a most vehement manner against the doctrine of predestination; for which he was cast into prison, and soon after sent into banishment.

But the greatest individual sufferer under the intolerance at Geneva, was Michael Servetus, a Spanish physician, and a zealous anti-trinitarian, or socinian. After a variety of adventures, he travelled into France, and followed successfully the business of his profession. But being eager to spread his favourite doctrines, he published a book in 1553, entitled *Christianity restored*, for which he was imprisoned by the Inquisition. Servetus made his escape from prison, and in attempting to pass over the lake of Geneva into Italy, he was arrested at Calvin's request, and thrown into prison. Forty heretical errors

were alleged against him, but he refused to renounce them, and was condemned to be burnt alive. On the 27th of October, 1553, he was committed to the flames, and died amidst lingering and protracted tortures.

Dr. Haweis, in his History of the Church, vol. 2, page 190, says—"The sufferings of Gruet, Bolsec, Castalio, Ochinus, but particularly of the ever remembered Servetus, put to death by the Genevan magistrates, for his socinian and infidel opinions, have brought an odium on Calvin's name, as having instigated them to such acts of violence; at least not having exerted the authority which he was known to possess, to prevent the shedding of blood; and if this were a just charge, let the reproach rest upon him." "Far from attempting to justify these severities, I esteem this as the foulest blot in Calvin's otherwise fair escutcheon; nor do I think the spirit of the times any exculpation for violating the plainest dictates of the word of God and common sense, that "liberty of conscience and private judgment, are every man's birthright;" and where nothing immoral, or tending by some overt act to disturb the peace of society appears, there all punishment for matters of religion must be utterly unchristian and unjustifiable." (9)

But, though Calvin and his associates have been justly reproached for intolerance, he has been much commended for his activity and zeal in the reformation, and his talents were of a superiour character.

At the Synod of Dort in Holland, the arminians were declared corrupters of religion, and as usual in those times, a severe persecution followed the decision.

Barneveldt, a person highly respected from his age, and the services he had rendered his country, was imprisoned, falsely charged with ambitious and treasonable designs, condemned, and beheaded. The illustrious Grotius was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; from which how-

(9.) Those who desire a more full account of persecution at Geneva, may consult Mosheim's Ecclesiastical history, under his account of the reformed church, Gregory's history of the church, vol. 2. page 444, Waterman's life of Calvin, Lempriere's Universal Biography, under the articles, Calvin, Castalio, Servetus, &c. and Rees's Cyclopaedia under the same articles.

ever he escaped, and took refuge in France, but was, during his whole life, a subject of hatred and persecution on account of his religious principles. (10) Many others felt the unhappy effects of an intolerant spirit, suffering by imprisonments, insults, and reproaches; and were not allowed to hold religious meetings, or to enjoy in any manner the rights of conscience.

To avoid these oppressions, a considerable number of arminians, accepting an invitation sent to them by the duke of Holstein, formed a colony, which settled in the dominions of that prince, and built for themselves a handsome town called Frederickstadt, in the dutchy of Sleswyck, where they still live happy and unmolested, in the open profession and free exercise of their religion.

We have already, in a former chapter, mentioned queen Elizabeth of England, and the prudence of her conduct on her first accession to the throne, while endeavouring to restore and establish the protestant religion. But while it is admitted, that she was much applauded for the wisdom and success of her administration, it must not be supposed that she was free from intolerance.

In endeavouring to promote the protestant cause, she fell into the common error of uniting church and state, and attempting to enforce uniformity in religious opinions. Laws were put in execution which had a direct tendency to check the privilege of free enquiry, and to infringe the rights of conscience; while those who refused conformity to the established church, were imprisoned, cruelly treated, or banished. Some perished in prison, several Brownists suffered, two anabaptists were burnt; and though she did much for the protestants as a body, and her whole reign was distinguished by its political prosperity, as well as by the gradual downfall of popery in Great Britain, yet it must be admitted that in reference to dissenters, her course was marked with several instances of intolerance, and her treatment to Mary, queen of Scotland,

(10.) Such was the hostility displayed towards this eminent writer, that he found it necessary to abandon his beloved country, and to spend his life in foreign lands.

cannot be defended from the charge of injustice and cruelty.

James I. succeeded Elizabeth, and though he was in many respects a just and amiable prince, yet his sectarian zeal was by no means commendable. He published a proclamation, commanding all protestants to conform to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England. In consequence of refusing to obey this injunction, many were distressed, being persecuted and punished in various ways; and two were burnt for heresy, one at Smithfield, the other at Litchfield. On account of these oppressions, many dissenters left the kingdom, and sought for liberty of conscience in foreign countries. It was in this reign and subsequent to it, that many came to America, and formed the colonies which now make a part of the United States.

In the reign of Charles I. archbishop Laud distinguished himself by his intolerance towards the dissenters. Dr. Leighton, a worthy divine, having written a book against the English hierarchy, was fined ten thousand pounds, sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, besides whipping, and other punishments. He was accordingly whipped, placed in the pillory, had his ears cut, his nose slit, and his cheeks branded with a hot iron. He was afterwards whipped again, and then remanded to prison, where he continued until the long parliament set him at liberty.

But when the puritans, independents, and others associated with them, gained the ascendancy in England, they abolished episcopal government; and in 1645, an ordinance was published prohibiting the use of the episcopal book of common prayer under pain of imprisonment; and every thing in the ecclesiastical establishment, that was contrary to the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the church at Geneva, was abrogated and condemned.

In the reign of Charles II. intolerant measures were still pursued, and strong, though unavailing efforts were made to enforce uniformity of opinion. The quakers were oppressed, and numbers of them thrown into prison; so that they, and other dissenters, were for a long time restrained from the exercise of their religious rights and privileges.

CHAP. II.

PERSECUTIONS BY PROTESTANTS IN AMERICA.

In South America, persecution has raged in the same manner as in the eastern hemisphere, and multitudes have fallen victims to the superstition and vengeance of the Spanish Roman catholicks. But as we are now to speak of persecution by protestants, we shall confine our attention principally to some transactions which took place in the New England colony.

The intolerance exercised in this new settlement, has been mentioned in reference to the inhabitants, as a reproach, embittered by the recollection that many of them emigrated to this country for the purpose of securing and enjoying the rights of conscience. But they were probably led into it by following the pernicious European example, of uniting church and state policy, of supporting religion by the aid of the civil power, and endeavouring to establish and preserve uniformity of opinion on theological subjects.

The principal sufferers in this persecution were the quakers. They had already experienced oppression in England, and many of them came to America with the hope of enjoying religious liberty. But in this they were for a season disappointed. Besides the intolerant spirit that existed towards them on the part of the government, there were extravagant proceedings in some things, among the quakers themselves which would not be justified by the present members of that church, and which were not calculated to lessen the spirit of hostility towards them.

In 1656, and the two succeeding years, the following sanguinary laws were passed—one at each session of the general court, or legislature of the colony.

“Whereas, there is a cursed sect of hereticks, lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called quakers, who take upon them to be immediately sent from God, and infallibly assisted by the spirit, to speak and write blasphemous opinions, despising government, and the order of God, in the church and commonwealth. speaking evil

of dignities, reproaching and reviling magistrates and ministers, seeking to turn the people from the faith, and gain proselytes to their pernicious ways: this court taking into consideration the premises, and to prevent the like mischief, as by their means, is wrought in our land, doth hereby order, and by authority of this court, be it ordered and enacted, that what master, or commander of any ship, bark, pink, or catch, shall henceforth bring into any harbour, creek, or cove, within this jurisdiction, any quaker or quakers, or other blasphemous hereticks, shall pay, or cause to be paid, the fine of one hundred pounds to the treasurer of the country, except it appear he want true knowledge or information of their being such; and, in that case, he hath liberty to clear himself by his oath, when sufficient proof to the contrary is wanting: and, for default of good payment, or good security for it, shall be cast into prison, and there to continue till the said sum be satisfied to the treasurer as aforesaid. And the commander of any catch, ship, or vessel, being legally convicted, shall give in sufficient security to the governour, or any one or more of the magistrates, who have power to determine the same, to carry them back to the place whence he brought them; and, on his refusal so to do, the governour, or one or more of the magistrates, are hereby empowered to issue out his or their warrants to commit such master or commander to prison, there to continue, till he give in sufficient security to the content of the governour, or any of the magistrates, as aforesaid. And It is hereby further ordered and enacted, that what quaker soever shall arrive in this country from foreign parts, or shall come into this jurisdiction from any parts adjacent, shall be forthwith committed to the house of correction; and, at their entrance to be severely whipped, and by the master thereof be kept constantly to work, and none suffered to converse or speak with them, during the time of their imprisonment, which shall be no longer than necessity requires. And it is ordered, if any person shall knowingly import into any harbour of this jurisdiction, any quakers' books or writings, concerning their devilish opinions, shall pay for such books or writings, being legally proved against

him or them, the sum of five pounds; and, whosoever shall disperse or conceal any such book or writing, and it be found with him or her, or in his or her house, and shall not immediately deliver the same to the next magistrate, shall forfeit or pay five pounds, for the dispersing or concealing of any such book or writing. And it is hereby further enacted, that if any person, within this colony, shall take upon them to defend the heretical opinions of the quakers, or any of their books or papers, as aforesaid, if legally proved, shall be fined for the first time forty shillings; if they shall persist in the same, and shall again defend it the second time, four pounds; if notwithstanding they shall again defend and maintain the said quakers' heretical opinions, they shall be committed to the house of correction till there be convenient passage to send them out of the land, being sentenced by the court of Assistants to banishment. Lastly, it is hereby ordered, that what person or persons soever, shall revile the persons of the magistrates or ministers, as is usual with the quakers, such person or persons shall be severely whipped, or pay the sum of five pounds.

“This is a true copy of the court's order, as attests

“EDWARD RAWSON, Sec.”

Boston, Oct. 14, 1656.

“As an addition to the late order, in reference to the coming or bringing of any of the cursed sect of the quakers into this jurisdiction, it is ordered, that whosoever shall from henceforth bring, or cause to be brought directly or indirectly, any known quaker or quakers or other blasphemous hereticks, into this jurisdiction, every such person shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds to the country, and shall by warrant from any magistrate be committed to prison, there to remain till the penalty be satisfied and paid; and if any person or persons, within this jurisdiction, shall henceforth entertain and conceal any such quaker or quakers, or other blasphemous hereticks, knowing them so to be, every such person shall forfeit to the country forty shillings for every hour's entertainment and

concealment of any quaker or quakers, &c. as aforesaid, and shall be committed to prison as aforesaid, till the forfeiture be fully satisfied and paid. And it is further ordered, that if any quaker or quakers shall presume, after they have once suffered what the law requires, to come into this jurisdiction, every such male quaker shall, for the first offence, have one of his ears cut off, and be kept at work in the house of correction, till he can be sent away at his own charge; and for the second offence, shall have his other ear cut off: and every woman quaker, that has suffered the law here, that shall presume to come into this jurisdiction, shall be severely whipped, and kept at the house of correction at work, till she be sent away at her own charge, and so also for her coming again, she shall be alike used as aforesaid. And for every quaker, he or she, that shall a third time herein again offend, they shall have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and be kept at the house of correction close to work, till they be sent away at their own charge. And it is further ordered, that all and every quaker arising from among ourselves, shall be dealt with, and suffer the like punishment as the law provides against foreign quakers.

“EDWARD RAWSON, Sec.”

Boston, Oct. 14, 1657.

“Whereas, there is a pernicious sect, commonly called quakers, lately risen, who by word and writing have published and maintained many dangerous and horrid tenets, and do take upon them to change and alter the received laudable customs of our nation, in giving civil respect to equals, or reverence to superiours; whose actions tend to undermine the civil government, and also to destroy the order of the churches, by denying all established forms of worship, and by withdrawing from orderly church fellowship, allowed and approved by all orthodox professors of truth, and instead thereof and in opposition thereunto, frequently meeting by themselves, insinuating themselves into the minds of the simple, or such as are least affected to the order and government of church and commonwealth, whereby divers of our inhabi-

tants have been infected, notwithstanding all former laws, made upon the experience of their arrogant and bold obtrusions, to disseminate their principles among us, prohibiting their coming into this jurisdiction, they have not been deterred from their impetuous attempts to undermine our peace, and hazard our ruin.

“For prevention thereof, this court doth order and enact, that every person or persons, of the cursed sect of the quakers, who is not an inhabitant of, but is found within this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended without warrant, where no magistrate is at hand, by any constable, commissioner, or select man, and conveyed from constable, to constable, to the next magistrate, who shall commit the said person to close prison, there to remain (without bail) until the next court of Assistants, where they shall have legal trial. And being convicted to be of the sect of the quakers, shall be sentenced to banishment, on pain of death. And that every inhabitant of this jurisdiction, being convicted to be of the aforesaid sect, either by taking up, publishing, or defending the horrid opinions of the quakers, or the stirring up mutiny, sedition, or rebellion against the government, or by taking up their abusive and destructive practices, viz. denying civil respect to equals and superiours, and withdrawing from the church assemblies; and instead thereof, frequenting meetings of their own, in opposition to our church order; adhering to, or approving of any known quaker, and the tenets and practices of quakers, that are opposite to the orthodox received opinions of the godly; and endeavouring to disaffect others to civil government and church order, or condemning the practice and proceedings of this court against the quakers, manifesting thereby their complying with those, whose design is to overthrow the order established in church and state: every such person, upon conviction before the said court of Assistants, in manner aforesaid, shall be committed to close prison for one month, and then, unless they choose voluntarily to depart this jurisdiction, shall give bond for their good behaviour, and appear at the next court, where continuing obstinate, and refusing to retract and

reform the aforesaid opinions, they shall be sentenced to banishment, upon pain of death. And any one magistrate upon information given him of any such person, shall cause him to be apprehended, and shall commit any such person to prison, according to his discretion, until he come to trial as aforesaid."

Boston, Oct. 20, 1658.

It appears there were also laws passed in the colonies of New-Plymouth, New-Haven, and in the Dutch settlement at New-Amsterdam, now New-York, prohibiting the people called quakers, from coming into those places under severe penalties; in consequence of which, some underwent considerable suffering.

Under the foregoing enactments, persecution increased, various punishments were inflicted, such as whipping, imprisonment, and banishment; and some were put to death.

William Robinson of London, and Marmaduke Stevenson of Yorkshire, arriving at Boston, were sent for by the court of Assistants, and sentenced to banishment on pain of death. This sentence was also passed on a lady by the name of Mary Dyer. But as Robinson was considered as a teacher, he was also sentenced to be whipped.

It appears that these men did not depart out of the jurisdiction, in consequence of which, they were again arrested and imprisoned at Boston. Mary Dyer returning soon after, was also taken into custody. After this, these three persons were brought into court and received sentence of death. On the 27th of October, this sentence was executed on Mr. Robinson and Mr. Stevenson; who were conducted to the gallows under a guard of soldiers, and hanged. They are said to have manifested great firmness and resignation, with signs of heavenly joy and gladness; and to have died in the fullest confidence of eternal life. Mary Dyer was for that time reprieved; but was executed shortly afterwards, and also William Leddra, who had been previously banished. Before his execution, Leddra had been confined in prison, and chained to a log of wood during a cold and severe winter. Both of these

persons died in the firm belief that they suffered as martyrs of Jesus Christ.

Sewel, in his history, produces the names of numbers, both men and women; some of whom had their ears cut off, some were imprisoned without being supplied with food, several were banished, and others were scourged through Boston and some of the neighbouring towns; without being charged with any other crime, than that of adhering to their religious opinions. At Dover, three women were sentenced to be severely scourged; which was immediately put in execution. In one instance five women were scourged in Boston, Salem, and Dedham. A considerable number suffered by imprisonment, and no regard was manifested either to age or sex.

When these barbarities were fully understood in England, an order was issued from the British government in the name of the king, commanding that all persecution should cease, and that those who were in prison on account of their religious tenets, should be set at liberty. This order was dated in 1661, and immediately on its arrival in Boston, the oppressive course of policy ceased; those imprisoned on account of their opinions were released, and the rights of conscience were respected.

Dr. Ramsay in his History of the United States, speaking of the intolerant measures pursued by those who held the government of this colony, says: "In reviewing these inconsistencies in the first settlers of New England, we ought to recollect their virtues." Among these, he reckons their morality, love of liberty and learning, fortitude, and industry. These are excellent virtues, and we have good reason for believing that many of the early emigrants to America possessed them. How far they were exercised by those who took the lead in persecution, is a question of some difficulty. But had those persons been actuated by the mild spirit of Christian forbearance, and followed the precepts and examples of the great Head of the Church, we may suppose they would have refrained, at least, from shedding innocent blood.

CHAP. III.

PERSECUTIONS EXPERIENCED BY THE FOUNDERS, AND
EARLY MEMBERS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH.

As the establishment of the Methodist Church had for its object, the increase of experimental religion, and the spread of Scripture holiness over the land, as might be expected, its progress has been marked with many instances of persecution. The beginning of this church was in the university of Oxford, in England, and its first members were Mr. J. Wesley and his associates, all of whom belonged to the institution. In consequence of their meeting regularly for prayer and religious instruction, as well as on account of their sobriety and exemplary conduct, they were for some time called by way of reproach, the "Holy Club;" also, "Sacramentarians," and afterwards, *Methodists*.

After Mr. J. Wesley, his brother Charles, Mr. Whitefield, and others, had left the University, and entered upon the plan of itinerant preaching, the meeting-houses of the established church were soon shut against them, they were loaded with reproaches, and frequently beset by riotous mobs.

It is not intended to give a history of these transactions; but we shall present the reader with a few short accounts, taken chiefly from Mr. Moore's life of Rev. John Wesley, and his brother, Rev. Charles Wesley, and which were taken originally from their writings. These may serve as specimens of the intolerant spirit which was manifested towards the methodists in the times of their early labours.

In the beginning of 1743, Mr. J. Wesley visited Wednesbury, and preached in the town-hall, morning and evening, and also in the open air. He likewise visited the adjacent parts, and more especially, those inhabited by colliers. Many appeared deeply affected, and about one hundred were received into the society. These were soon increased to between three and four hundred, who for a season enjoyed much peace and quietness. But in the following summer, there was an entire change. Cer-

tain influential persons stirred up the basest of the people; on which, such outrages followed, as were a scandal to the christian name. Riotous mobs were summoned together by the sound of a horn; men, women, and children were abused in a most shocking manner; being beaten, stoned, and covered with mud. In the mean time, their houses were broken open and their goods spoiled or carried away; some of the owners standing by, but not daring to oppose, as it would have been at the peril of their lives. Mr. Wesley's own account of some of those riots, as far as they related to himself, is here inserted.

“Thursday, October 20, 1743, after preaching at Birmingham, I rode to Wednesbury. At twelve, I preached in a ground near the middle of the town, to a far larger congregation than was expected, on, *Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever.* I believe every one present felt the power of God, and no creature offered to molest us. I was writing at Francis Ward's in the afternoon, when the cry arose, ‘that the mob had beset the house.’ We prayed, that God would disperse them. And it was so; so that in half an hour, not a man was left. I told our brethren, ‘Now is the time for us to go;’ but they pressed me exceedingly to stay. So that I might not offend them, I sat down, though I foresaw what would follow. Before five, the mob surrounded the house again, in greater numbers than ever. The cry of one and all was, ‘Bring out the minister; we *will* have the minister.’ I desired one to take their captain by the hand, and bring him into the house. After a few sentences interchanged between us, the lion became a lamb. I desired him to go and bring one or two of the most angry of his companions.

He brought in two, who were ready to swallow the ground with rage; but, in two minutes, they were as calm as he. I then bade them make way, that I might go out among the people. As soon as I was in the midst of them, I called for a chair, and standing up, asked, ‘What do any of you want with me?’ Some said, ‘We want you to go with us to the justice.’ I replied, ‘That I will, with all my heart!’ I then spoke a few words, which God ap-

plied; so that they cried out with might and main, 'The gentleman is an honest gentleman, and we will spill our blood in his defence!' I asked, 'Shall we go to the justice to-night, or in the morning?' Most of them cried, 'To-night! to-night!' on which, I went before and two or three hundred followed.

"The night came, before we had walked a mile, together with heavy rain. However, on we went to Bently-Hall, two miles from Wednesbury. One or two ran before, to tell Mr. Lane, 'They had brought Mr. Wesley before his worship.'—Mr. Lane replied, 'What have I to do with Mr. Wesley? Go and carry him back again.' By this time the main body came up, and began knocking at the door. A servant told them Mr. Lane was in bed.' His son followed, and asked, 'What was the matter?' One replied, 'Why an 't please you, they sing psalms all day; nay, and make folks rise at five in the morning. And what would your worship advise us to do?'—'To go home,' said Mr. Lane, 'and be quiet.' Here they were at a full stop, till one advised, 'To go to justice Persehouse, at Walsal.'—All agreed to this. So we hastened on, and about seven, came to his house. But Mr. Persehouse likewise sent them word, that 'He was in bed.' Now they were at a stand again; but at last they all thought it the wisest course to make the best of their way home. About fifty of them undertook to convoy me. But we had not gone a hundred yards, when the mob of Walsal came, pouring in like a flood, and bore down all before them. The Darlaston mob made what defence they could; but were weary, as well as out-numbered. So that, in a short time, many being knocked down, the rest ran away, and left me in their hands.

"To attempt speaking was vain; for the noise on every side was like the roaring of the sea. So they dragged me along till we came to the town; where, seeing the door of a large house open, I attempted to go in; but a man, catching me by the hair, pulled me back into the middle of the mob. They made no more stop, till they had carried me through the main street. I continued speaking all the time to those within hearing, feeling no pain or

weariness. At the west end of the town, seeing a door half open, I made towards it, and would have gone in; but a gentleman in the shop would not suffer me, saying, 'They would pull the house down to the ground.' However, I stood at the door, and asked, 'Are you willing to hear me speak?'—Many cried out, 'No! no! knock out his brains! down with him! kill him at once!' others said, 'Nay; but we will hear him first!' I began asking, 'what evil have I done? which of you have I wronged in word or deed?' and continued speaking above a quarter of an hour, till my voice suddenly failed. Then the floods began to lift up their voice again; many crying out, 'bring him away! bring him away!'

"In the mean time, my strength and voice returned, and I broke out aloud into prayer. And now the man who had just before headed the mob, turned and said, 'Sir, I will spend my life for you. Follow me, and not one soul here shall touch a hair of your head.' Two or three of his fellows confirmed his words, and got close to me immediately. At the same time the gentleman in the shop cried out, 'for shame! for shame! let him go!'—An honest butcher, who was a little farther off, said, 'It was a shame they should do thus;' and pulled back four or five, one after another, who were running on the most fiercely. The people then, as if it had been by common consent, fell back to the right and left; while those three or four men took me between them, and carried me through them all. But, on the bridge, the mob rallied again; we therefore went on one side, over the mill-dam, and thence through the meadows, till, a little before ten, God brought me safe to Wednesbury; having lost only one flap of my waistcoat, and a little skin from one of my hands.

"From the beginning to the end, I found the same presence of mind as if I had been sitting in my study. But I took no thought for one moment before another; only once it came into my mind, that if they should throw me into the river, it would spoil the papers that were in my pocket. For myself, I did not doubt but I should swim across, having but a thin coat, and a light pair of boots.

“By how gentle degrees does God prepare us for his will! Two years ago, a piece of a brick grazed my shoulders. It was a year after, that a stone struck me between the eyes. Last month, I received one blow; and this evening, two,—one before we came into the town, and one after we were gone out. Both were as nothing: for, though one man struck me on the breast with all his might, and the other on the mouth with such force that the blood gushed out immediately, I felt no more pain from either of the blows, than if they had touched me with a straw.

“It ought not to be forgotten, that when the rest of the society made all haste to escape for their lives, four only would not stir,—William Sitch, Edward Slater, John Griffiths, and John Parks. These kept with me, resolving to live or die together. And none of them received one blow but William Sitch, who held me by the arm from one end of the town to the other. He was then dragged away and knocked down; but he soon rose and got to me again. I afterwards asked him, ‘what he expected, when the mob came upon us?’ he said ‘To die for him who had died for us;’ and added, that ‘he felt no hurry or fear, but calmly waited till God should require his soul of him.’”

The persecution Mr. Wesley met with in Falmouth and its neighbourhood, is remarkable, and is thus given by himself.

“Thursday, July 4.—I rode to Falmouth; about three in the afternoon, I went to see a gentlewoman who had been indisposed. Almost as soon as I sat down, the house was beset on all sides by an innumerable multitude of people. A louder, or more confused noise could hardly be at the taking of a city by storm. At first Mrs. B. and her daughter endeavoured to quiet them: but it was labour lost. They might as well have attempted to still the raging of the sea, and were, therefore, soon glad to shift for themselves. The rabble roared with all their throats, ‘bring out the Canorum! where is the Canorum?’ (an unmeaning word which the Cornish rabbie then used instead of *Methodist*.) No answer being given, they quickly forced open the outer door, and filled the passage. Only a

wainscot partition was between us, which was not likely to stand long.—They began their work with abundance of bitter imprecations.—Among those without, were the crews of some privateers, which were lately come into the harbour. Some of these, being angry at the slowness of the rest, thrust them away, and coming up all together, set their shoulders to the inner door, and cried out ‘avast, lads, avast!’ away went all the hinges at once, and the door fell back into the room. I stepped forward into the midst of them, and said, ‘Here I am! which of you has any thing to say to me? To which of you have I done wrong? To you? or you? or you?’ I continued speaking till I came into the middle of the street, and then raising my voice, said, ‘Neighbours, countrymen, do you desire to hear me speak?’ they cried vehemently, ‘Yes! yes! he shall speak. He shall. Nobody shall hinder him.’ But having nothing to stand on, and no advantage of ground, I could be heard by a few only. However, I spoke without intermission; and, as far as the sound reached, the people were still, till one or two of their captains turned about and swore, ‘Not a man should touch him.’ Mr. Thomas, a clergyman then came up, and asked, ‘Are you not ashamed to use a stranger thus?’ He was soon seconded by two or three gentlemen of the town, and one of the aldermen; with whom I walked down the town, speaking all the time, till I came to Mrs. Maddern’s house.

The gentlemen proposed sending for my horse to the door, and desired me to step in and rest the mean time. But on second thoughts, they judged it not advisable to let me go out among the people again. So they chose to send my horse before me to Penryn, and to send me thither by water; the sea running close by the back door of the house in which we were.”

The preachers in different parts of the kingdom were permitted to *drink of the same cup*, yea, in many instances, they suffered greater persecutions than Mr. Wesley himself. Stones, dirt, and rotten eggs, were the common weapons of the mob. In some instances, as in that of Mr. Thomas Mitchell, they were thrown into ponds of water, and held down till they were nearly drowned.

About the time of these persecutions, Mr. John Nelson, of Birstal in Yorkshire, and Thomas Beard, an honest industrious man, were pressed into the military service, and sent off as soldiers; for no other crime, either committed or pretended, than that of calling sinners to repentance. Mr. Nelson was, after much ill usage, released by an order from the secretary of war, and preached afterwards during many years. But Mr. Beard sunk under his oppressions. Being ill, he was lodged in the hospital at Newcastle, where he praised God continually. His disease increasing upon him, he was bled. His arm festered, mortified, and was cut off. Two days afterwards, he expired in peace to receive a crown of righteousness.

While Mr. J. Wesley thus experienced the effects of a most bitter hostility, his brother, Mr. C. Wesley, was called to receive similar treatment. We shall give a few extracts in his own words,

“May 21. I walked with many of my brethren to Walsal. We were received with the old complaint, *Behold these that turn the world upside down, are come hither also!* We walked through the town amidst the noisy greetings of our enemies. I stood on the steps of the market-house. A host of men came against us; and they lifted their voice and raged horribly. I preached from these words, *But none of these things move me; neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, &c.* The street was full of fierce Ephesian beasts, (the principal man setting them on,) who roared, and shouted, and threw stones incessantly. At the conclusion, a stream of ruffians was suffered to beat me down from the steps; I rose, and, having given the blessing, was beat down again, and so a third time. When we had returned thanks to the God of our salvation, I then from the steps bid them depart in peace, and walked through the thickest of the rioters. They reviled us, but had no commission to touch a hair of our head.

“May the 26. In the afternoon I came to the flock in Sheffield, who are as sheep among wolves. Hell from beneath seemed moved to oppose us. As soon as I was in the desk with David Tailor, the floods began to lift up

their voice. An officer in the army contradicted and blasphemed. I took no notice of him, but sang on. The stones flew thick, striking the desk and the people. To save them, and the house from being pulled down, I gave out that I should preach in the street, and look them in the face. The whole army of the aliens followed me. The captain laid hold on me, and began rioting: I gave him *A word in season, or advice to a soldier*. I then prayed, particularly for his majesty king George, and preached the gospel, although with much contention. The stones often struck me in the face. I prayed for sinners, as servants of their master, the devil; upon which the captain ran at me with great fury, threatening revenge for abusing, as he called it, 'The king, his master.' He forced his way through the brethren, drew his sword, and presented it to my breast. I immediately opened my breast, and fixing my eye on his, and smiling in his face, calmly said, 'I fear God and honour the king.' His countenance fell in a moment, he fetched a deep sigh, and putting up his sword, quietly left the place. We returned to our brother Bennets, and gave ourselves to prayer. The rioters followed, and exceeded in outrage all I have seen before. Those at Moorsfield, Cardiff, and Walsal, were lambs to these."

The mob now formed the design of pulling down the society house, and set upon their work, while Mr. C. Wesley and the people were worshipping within. The next day this work was completed, the house being so destroyed that not one stone was left upon another. "Nevertheless," said Mr. Wesley to a friend, "*the foundation of God standeth sure; and our house, not made with hands, is eternal in the heavens.*"

In 1747, Mr. C. Wesley was at London, which he left shortly afterwards, and reached the Devizes in his way to Bristol, in company with Mr. Minton. They soon perceived that the enemies of religion had taken the alarm, and were mustering their forces for the battle. They began by ringing the bells backwards, and running to and fro in the streets, as lions roaring for their prey. The mob went in quest of Mr. C. Wesley to several places, particularly to Mr. Philips's, where it was expected he

would preach. They broke open and ransacked the house; but not finding him there, they marched off to a Mr. Rogers's, where he and several others, being met together, were engaged in devotion. They beset the house on all sides, and it being now dark, the besiegers blocked up the door with a wagon, and set up lights, lest Mr. C. Wesley should escape. One of the company, however, got out unobserved, and with much entreaty prevailed on the mayor to come down. He came with two constables, and threatened the rioters; but so gently, that no one regarded him. Having torn down the shutters of the shop, and broken the windows, it is wonderful they did not enter the house. But a secret hand seemed to restrain them. In the mean time, Mr. C. Wesley retired through a passage to a neighbouring house, and spent the night without any farther disturbance.

Mr. John Wesley, in the year 1750, was assaulted by an outrageous mob in so violent a manner, that for a considerable time, his life was in danger. This account also is given in his own words.

“After preaching at Oakhill, in Somersetshire, I rode on to Shepton Mallet, but found the people all under a strange consternation. A mob, they said, was hired, and made sufficiently drunk to do all manner of mischief. I began preaching between four and five, and none hindered or interrupted at all.—I wondered what was become of the mob. But we were quickly informed, they mistook the place. However, they attended us from the preaching-house to William Stone's, throwing dirt, stones, and clods, in abundance; but they could not hurt us, only Mr. Swindells had a little dirt on his coat, and I a few specks on my hat.”

“After we had gone into the house, they began throwing large stones, in order to break the door. But perceiving this would require some time, they dropped that design for the present. They then broke all the tiles in the pent-house over the door, and poured in a shower of stones at the windows. One of their captains, in his great zeal, had followed us into the house, and was now shut in with us. He did not like this, and would fain have got

out, but it was not possible. So he kept as close to me as he could, thinking himself safest when he was near me. But staying a little behind, (when I went up two pair of stairs, and stood close on one side, where we were a little sheltered) a large stone struck him on the forehead, and the blood spouted out like a stream. He cried out, 'O Sir, are we to die to-night? What must I do? what must I do?'—I said, 'Pray to God. He is able to deliver you from all danger.' He took my advice, and began praying, I believe, in a manner he had scarce ever done before. Mr. Swindells and I then went to prayer; after which I told him, 'We must not stay here. We must go down immediately.'—He said, 'Sir, we cannot stir, you see how the stones fly about.' I walked strait through the room, and down the stairs; and not a stone came in, till we were at the bottom. The mob had just broke open the door, when we came into the lower room; and while they burst in at one door, we walked out at the other. Nor did one man take any notice of us, though we were within five yards of each other."

In numerous instances, both John and Charles Wesley met with severe abuse, by words, blows, clubs, stones, &c. The members of the society also experienced similar treatment. Houses were damaged or destroyed, furniture spoiled, and the most outrageous acts of violence were committed upon men, women, and children. When application was made to the magistrates, they often refused to exercise their authority, to check such violence, and thus indirectly gave countenance to the cruel scenes of persecution.

When Mr. Wesley, and those associated with him, commenced preaching and forming societies in Ireland, they were much persecuted, and their lives were frequently in danger. By the aid of a superintending providence they surmounted many difficulties, persevered in their course, and not only there, and throughout Great Britain, but in other parts of the world, their labours have been crowned with astonishing success.

CONCLUSION.

From the foregoing history it will be perceived, that all cases of any considerable persecution, have arisen under those governments which were constituted by a union of religious establishments with civil power. When the pagans raised the arm of persecution against christians, their religion was blended with their government. When the Roman catholicks followed their example, they were, in this respect, in a similar situation. Having relapsed into a mixture of paganism and christianity, and into the most consummate ignorance of the scriptures, of true religion, and of literature; and having the civil power to sustain them in their measures, they persecuted all who refused conformity to their creed, so that millions have fallen the victims of their intolerance. (11) Nor has this *union of ecclesiastical jurisdiction with the civil power*, even among protestants, produced any thing favourable. Mischiefs have been produced, persecution has in several instances arisen under it, difficulties have attended it, and will attend it to the end of its existence.

In Europe it has generally prevailed, because it proves a powerful auxiliary in support of despotism. Despotick governments are continually in need of strength to save them from being annihilated by their oppressed and indignant subjects. It is well known that the influence of religion, even if it be a religion of mere forms and ceremonies, is often effectual in awing the ignorant into submission and obedience to the civil authority, let that authority be of what kind it may. And while tyrants have been thus aided in their oppressive measures and diabolical schemes, by an ecclesiastical influence, they have deemed it good policy to use the civil power for the purpose of aiding in turn,

(11.) Mr. Buck in his Theological Dictionary, under the article persecution, says,—“It has been computed, that *fifty millions* of protestants, have at different times been victims of the persecutions of the papists, and put to death for their religious opinions.” And as it is contended that the church of Rome has in all ages possessed infallibility, the members of that church must, even at this day, approve of all her persecutions.

the influence that has aided them; and thus to support a religious establishment united with regal authority. But it is a most unpropitious union, unwarranted by any favourable example, and fraught with pernicious consequences. It is a poisonous plant, that grows to check the growth of moral improvement; and like the Poison Tree of Java, it withers every thing near it, that is not proof against its influence.

It is impossible for a civil government, in forming such a union, to admit all denominations into its ecclesiastical establishment; it must give some one of them the preference over all the rest. The denomination thus doomed to the curse of national patronage, feeling itself sustained by the arm of government, ceases to feel its dependence on the Great Head of the Church. It ceases to look for its success through divine assistance, and relapsing into formality and the spirit of the world, it becomes indifferent, if not averse to the essentials of Christianity. The office of the ministry becomes little else than a sinecure, and with its honours and emoluments, is made a desirable object for the lazy and the ambitious. Nor is it surprising that we should find ministers under such establishments, who, like the Popes and their clergy in the dark ages, are a disgrace, not only to the church, but to human nature. In such times of apostacy and corruption, the votaries of true religion, who separate themselves from the world, and who appear like stars twinkling in the gloom of night, are always subjects of persecution. The most cruel persecutors are those who have either lost the spirit of grace, or never possessed it, but who have great zeal for the national establishment; and among these are many of the clergy belonging to it. Hence we find that in some of the most bloody wars upon the rights of conscience, the members of a corrupt priesthood have taken the lead. These melancholy effects of uniting Church and State authority, existed for ages in some of the most populous parts of Europe, overspreading whole kingdoms with darkness and dismay; and though the light of the Reformation has shone far, and produced great improvements, the same effects are visible even at the present time. In

England, France, and some other places, dissenters enjoy toleration, and various religious societies, after being required to assist in maintaining the national establishment, are permitted to build churches, at their own expense, and worship in them according to their faith. But it must be acknowledged after all, that amidst the light and learning, amidst all the religious knowledge of the present day, the Europeans, in general, have but limited views of the rights of conscience.

In the United States, no national church has ever been established. The framers of our excellent constitution seem to have believed that a union of Church and State was never originally intended by the great Author of Christianity. Though they had, before them, examples of it in almost all the governments of the Eastern world, they could perceive no one of them attended with consequences of such a nature, as to warrant them in attempting to enter upon a similar plan. They evidently aimed at the permanent establishment of civil and religious liberty, and the security of equal rights and privileges to all classes of citizens. And perhaps no body of politicians, under the same circumstances, could have formed an instrument better calculated for those purposes. Believing, as they doubtless did, that religion flourishes best when unencumbered by legal efforts to direct its course, that legislation upon it would have no other considerable effect than to check its progress, they left it where they found it, independent upon the arm of man, and resting upon its own eternal foundation. The experiment, if it be one, proves thus far, that they acted wisely. Religion is not made a cloak for tyranny and oppression, nor is it laid aside or banished from the country. It flourishes in every State in the Union; and there is a greater proportion of the inhabitants *who live in conformity with its precepts*, than there now is, or ever was in any kingdom of Europe. Let any one who doubts this, spend a little time in acquiring information, and after doing it, we shall have no fear of his decision. It has been alledged that the want of a national church in the United States is the cause of so great a number of different sects. To be

convinced that this is an entire mistake it is only necessary to consider, that nearly every denomination in America had its origin in Europe, and there are now more sects in Europe, than there are on this side of the Atlantick.

But the continuance of our religious liberties depends on the continuance of our constitution. Let that be destroyed, or let it be so altered as to recognize any one religious denomination as the national church, and there will be an end of our pleasing prospects. The seeds of persecution would be sown, and though they might for a time excite no alarm, they would spring up and grow, until our country would be darkened with their deadly branches.

The people of the United States enjoy religious liberty, beyond what is known, or probably ever was known, in any other country. And if our citizens would maintain and perpetuate the rights of conscience, let them frown upon the first symptom of an attempt to effect a legal establishment of religion. (12)

From the foregoing history we are led to another reflection, deserving our notice; namely, that *human power can never control human judgement*. It may level forests, and change the courses of rivers; but it cannot subdue the mind. Of this fact, the experience of ages affords ample testimony. Millions of all conditions and of both sexes have been sacrificed in the attempt; not by being merely put to death, but by dying under the most dreadful tortures that infernal malice could invent. Yet, amidst such indescribable sufferings, their minds remained steadfast, their belief unchanged. Sustained by divine grace, conscious of their accountability for their belief, to God only, and that no human power had any right to interrupt them, they exercised a firmness of resolution worthy an immortal spirit, a courage to which no military prowess, in any age of the world, has ever produced a parallel. Tyranny may still make the attempt, it may

(12.) Religion needs no such foundation, as that of civil power, for its support. Having its origin from above, it is not to be overthrown, nor sustained, by any human power; but it always flourishes best, when left to stand upon its own foundation.

still try to subdue the mind of man, to force his belief, and torture his conscience; but the attempt will be as vain as it ever has been. The immortal mind of man will exercise the inherent *right* that God has given it, and that none but God can take away; **IT WILL THINK FOR ITSELF.**

We shall close these observations with the following extract on intolerance, as contained in Mr. Buck's Dictionary.

“Nothing is more abhorrent from the genius of the christian religion than an intolerant spirit, or an intolerant church. It has inspired its votaries with a savage ferocity; has plunged the fatal dagger into innocent blood; depopulated towns, and kingdoms; overthrown states and empires, and brought down the righteous vengeance of heaven upon a guilty world. The pretence of superiour knowledge, sanctity, and authority for its support, is the disgrace of reason, the grief of wisdom, and the paroxysm of folly. To fetter the conscience is injustice, to ensnare it is an act of sacrilege; but to torture it, by an attempt to force its feelings, is horrible intolerance; it is the most abandoned violation of all the maxims of religion and morality. Jesus Christ formed a kingdom purely spiritual; the apostles exercised only a spiritual authority under the direction of Jesus Christ; particular churches were united only by faith and love; in all civil affairs they submitted to civil magistracy; and in religious concerns they were governed by the reasoning, advice and exhortations of their own officers: their censures were only honest reproofs; and their excommunications were only declarations, that such offenders, being incorrigible, were no longer accounted members of their communities. Let it ever be remembered, therefore, that no man or men have any authority whatever from Christ, to domineer over the consciences, or persecute the persons, of any whose religious principles agree not with their own.

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