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UNIVERSAL HISTORY

OF

CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOM.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

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

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the time that the vessel had been at sea, an officer, dispatched by the bishop of Winchester, h broken open the house of the farmer, with a warrant to apprehend Mr. Fox wherever he mig be found, and bring him back to the city. On hearing this news, he hired a horse under th pretence of leaving the own immediately; but secretly returned the same night, and agree with the captain of the vessel to sail for any place as soon as the wind should shift, only desirin him to proceed, and not to doubt but that God would prosper his undertaking. The marine suffered himself to be persuaded, and within two days landed his passenger in safety at Nieu port.

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

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

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

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

On his re-settlement in England, he employed himself in revising and enlarging his admi ble Martyrology. With prodigious pains, and constant study, he completed that celebrated wo in eleven years. For the sake of greater correctness, he wrote every line of this vast book wi his own hand, and transcribed all the records and papers himself. But, in consequence of suc excessive toil, leaving no part of his time free from study, nor affording himself either the re pose or recreation which nature required, his health was so reduced, and his person became emaciated and altered, that such of his friends and relations, as only conversed with him occa sionally, could scarcely recognize his person. Yet, though he grew daily more exhausted, h proceeded in his studies as briskly as ever, nor would he be persuaded to diminish his accustom labors.—The papists, foreseeing how detrimental his history of their errors and cruelties woul prove to their cause, had recourse to every artifice to lessen the reputation of his work; b their malice [illegible] Mr. Fox himself, and to the church of God at larg as it [illegible] was of signal service, both to [illegible] ically valuable, by inducing him to weigh, with th [illegible] eventually made his book more intrin[illegible] he facts which he recorded, and the validity of th most scrupulous attention, the certainty of th[illegible] ion. authorities from which he drew his informati

But while he was thus indefatigably emp[illegible] loyed in promoting the cause of truth, he did n neglect the other duties of his station: he w[illegible] as charitable, humane, and attentive to the [illegible] both spiritual and temporal, of his neighbor[illegible] s. With the view of being more extensively usefu although he had no desire to cultivate the acq[illegible] uaintance of the rich and great on his own accoun he did not decline the friendship of those in [illegible] a higher rank who proffered it, and never failed t employ his influence with them in behalf of [illegible] the poor and needy. In consequence of his well known probity and charity, he was frequentl[illegible] y presented with sums of money by persons pos sessed of wealth, which he accepted and [illegible] istributed among those who were distressed. H would also occasionally attend the table of hi[illegible] s friends, not so much for the sake of pleasure, a from civility, and to convince them that his [illegible] absence was not occasioned by a fear of being ex posed to the temptations of the appetite. In [illegible] short, his character, as a man and as a Christian was without reproach.

Of the esteem in which he was held, the na[illegible] mes of the following respectable friends and noble patrons, will afford ample proof. It has been [illegible] lready mentioned that the attachment of the duke of Norfolk was so great to his tutor, that he g[illegible] ranted him a pension for life; he also enjoyed th patronage of the earls of Bedford and Warwic[illegible], and the intimate friendship of Sir Francis Wal singham (secretary of state), Sir Thomas and M[illegible] r. Michael Hennage, of whom he was frequentl heard to observe, that Sir Thomas had every [illegible] quisite for a complete courtier, but that Mr. M chael possessed all the merits of his brother [illegible] ides his own, still untainted by the court. was on very intimate and affectionate terms [illegible] Sir Dave Drury; Sir Francis Drake; [illegible]

rindal, archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Elmar, bishop of London; Dr. Pilkington, bishop of urham; and Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's. Others of his most intimate acquaintances and iends were, Doctors Humphrey, Whitaker, and Fulk; Mr. John Crowly, and Mr. Baldwin ollins. Among the eminent citizens, we find he was much veneratedby Sir Thomas Gresham, ir Thomas Roe, alderman Bacchus, Mr. Smith, Mr. Dale, Mr. Sherrigton, &c. &c.

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

The Lord had given him a foresight of his departure; and so ful was he assured that the me was just at hand when his soul should quit the body, that (probly to enjoy unmolested ommunion with God, and to have no worldly interruptions in his la hours) he purposely sent is two sons from home, though he loved them with great tenderness and, before they returned, is spirit, as he had foreseen would be the case, had flown to heaven.

His death occasioned great lamentation throughout the city, and hifuneral was honored with great co course of people, each of whom appeared to bewail the los of a father or a brother.

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INTRODUCTION.

In these introductory pages, we purpose to give a few instances of th pernicious influence exercised by the popish priests over the minds of the deluded followers; as to that influence, principally, is to be attributed th sanguinary and ferocious persecutions carried on by the Papists against th Protestants, which form the subject of the greater part of the followin pages. In selecting these instances we need not confine ourselves to ancien times; the character of the Romish clergy is, and always has been, th same; proud, insolent, and overbearing, where they have gained the power hypocritical and insidious where they have it yet to gain—they afford a object of well-founded jealousy to every government and nation; thei influence is alike inimical to the people and to the prince; for, while the hold the former in the most abject ignorance and slavery, they allow th latter only to retain the semblance of authority, and are ready to strip hin of even that, should he presume to dispute their commands: of this, th following historical facts afford ample proof.

When pope Gregory VII., in the eleventh century, excommunicate Henry IV. emperor of Germany, and caused his subjects to rise in rebellio against him, bigotry had so far extinguished reason and natural affection i the empress Agnes his mother, the duchess Beatrix his aunt, and the countes Matilda his cousin-german, that they joined the party of the haughty ponti to deprive their nearest relative of his throne; and contributed money, an levied troops, for that purpose.

Owing to the influence of the Catholic priesthood, John Huss was burne at Constance, in direct violation of the emperor's protection; and Luthe would have met the same fate at Worms, but that Charles V. was too firm At the instance of the clergy, Philip III. was induced to banish the Moor from Spain, and Louis XIV. to expel the Protestants from France, which materially injured those kingdoms.

Queen Mary gave her subjects the strongest assurances, by an oper declaration in council, that she would permit them to pursue any such reli gion as their conscience should dictate: and yet, when firmly established on her throne, she countenanced the burning of her Protestant subjects, at the instance of the popish clergy.

James II., on his accession, gave the most solemn assurances, that he would maintain the established government in church and state; and yet, unde the advice and influence of the Jesuits, in direct violation of his oath, he immediately began to pursue arbitrary measures, and to subvert the Protestant religion, for which attempt he justly lost his crown. In his memorial, framed at St. Germain, after his abdication, under the direction of popish priests, by whom he was surrounded and influenced, he declared "That the justice and moderation of his government had been such, that he had never, since his accession to the crown, given any reason of complaint."! He says, his desire for calling a free parliament was, "that he might have the best opportunity of undeceiving his people, and showing the sincerity of those protestations he had often made, of preserving the liberties and the properties of his subjects, and *the Protestant religion, more especially the church of England, as by law established.*" He says, "that the charges made against him were calumnies and stories, and that it was now time for them (his subjects) to open their eyes, when they were reduced to slavery;" alluding to the glorious

volution, by which the constitution was unquestionably ascertained and nfirmed. Though he had lodged the government of Ireland in the hands Papists exclusively, had disarmed the Protestants, and had given his assent a bill, for attainting every person in that kingdom of the established church, zed of landed property, his inconsistency and duplicity were such, that he clared in that memorial, "that in Ireland the defence of his Protestant bjects, and of the Protestant religion, had been his special care."! "Whenever," he says, "the nation's eyes shall be opened, to see how they have en imposed upon by the specious pretences of religion and property, and at, being sensible of the ill condition they are in, they shall be brought to ch a temper, that a legal parliament may be called; then he will return, d even venture his life to redeem them from the slavery they are fallen der, *and to settle liberty of conscience.*"!

In his declaration, dated Dublin Castle, May 8th, 1689, and addressed to l his *subjects* in the kingdom of England, (which was so replete with falsehood and inconsistencies, that it was ordered, by a vote of the English House Commons, to be burnt by the common hangman) he says, "that nothing ut his own inclinations to justice could prevail with him to such a proceeding, s that *of his care of his Protestant subjects in Ireland;* and hopes his Protestant subjects in England will make a judgment of *what they may expect.*"! Thus this infatuated monarch was led, by his spiritual advisers, to violate his ath and his honor, and to forfeit his crown; and yet, so blinded by bigotry as he, that he appears to have been scarcely conscious that his conduct was t direct variance with his professions.

Sigismund, king of Sweden, in whom popish influence had extinguished all rinciples of honor and good faith, lost his dominions by attempting, in violaion of his coronation oath, to introduce the Romish superstition into them; nd in the year 1607, the duke of Sudermania, his uncle, as Charles IX. as placed on the throne.

When the emperor and the Roman Catholic princes of Germany concluded the peace of Westphalia, in the year 1648, with the Protestant princes, after a bloody war of thirty years, they mutually bound each other to its observance, by a solemn oath; on which the pope published a bull, declaring it to be null and void, *as no oath could bind any of his sectaries to heretics!*

A decretal of Gregory II. is couched in the following words, "Those who are bound by any compact, *however strongly confirmed*, to persons manifestly fallen in heresy, shall know they are absolved from the duty of fidelity and homage, and all obedience."

In the preliminaries of the treaty of Utrecht, between the emperor and Louis XIV. it was agreed, that the Protestants of Germany should enjoy the same privileges which had been granted to them by the treaty of Westphalia; on which the pope wrote to the emperor an epistle, in which he declared the treaty to be null and void, though it had been ratified and secured *by an oath.* This epistle is found among the briefs and epistles of Clement XI. vol. ii. p. 179.

The people of England, at an early period, were so convinced of the great and dangerous influence of popish priests on the moral and political principles of their sovereigns, that the privy-council, in the reign of Richard II., ordered his confessor, in that monarch's presence, not to enter the court but on the four grand festivals.

During the progress of the rebellion of 1641, cardinal Pamfilio, by the pope's orders, wrote to Rinuncini, his holiness's nuncio in Ireland, "that the holy see never would, by any positive act, approve the civil allegiance which Catholics pay to an heretical prince."

These instances might easily be multiplied, but we refrain from a task a once tedious and unnecessary; in the course of this volume, scarcely a pag will be found, which does not exhibit Popery in the same character as w have painted it above; and we, therefore, need only refer our readers t any part of the work now laid before them, for an ample justification of ou statements.

We cannot more appropriately close this part of our subject than with the following extracts from Mr. Goring's excellent "Thoughts on the Reve lations," which give a summary of Popish arrogance, cruelty, and superstition

"Excess of pride and idolatry have been the bane of mankind: they preferred a carnal to a spiritual church; and thence have arisen their miseries. The gospel dispensation taught them a lesson they could not endure; war, lust, avarice, and ambition, were preferable in their eyes to peace, happiness, security, good-will, love, and order. The pomp and blandishments of the Papal church so effectually dazzled men's eyes and captivated their understandings, that to support it, the barriers of the gospel were thrown down, and the popes magnified themselves above the God of Heaven, and doled out the world to their adherents, as best suited their own interests. They not only usurped the seat and authority of their master, but assumed his holy name, by calling themselves the Universal Father, the God of the earth, the vicar of Jesus Christ; thus sanctifying their cruel and bloody deeds, under the sanction of the name of the most merciful God, again crucifying their Savior by exalting the Virgin Mary in his stead, teaching mankind to worship the work of men's hands, and to confide in them instead of their Creator and their Savior.

"History will testify the works of the Popes, when they arrived to the plenitude of their power. Let us judge of them by that unerring rule our Savior left us: 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' It is not their words, but their works, we should consider. What quarter of the globe has escaped the ravages of their power? If we look to the East; China and Japan, where they once bore rule, exhibit the most cruel and bloody massacres ever heard of, *because their satellites aimed at political power, to the overthrow of the lawful governments.* If we look to America, where their power was supreme, we freeze with horror at the wanton barbarities inflicted upon the heathens. If we cast our eyes over Europe, the seat of their authority, we again see the like tragedies exhibited; witness in France the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the revocation of the edict of Nantz, the extermination of the Waldenses and Albigenses, the cruel expulsions in Spain, and above all, the cruel and bloody Inquisition, a court which they call holy, but surely the most accursed on earth. If we turn our eyes to our own country, we see the stakes in Smithfield, and the fires lighted to consume the bodies of those holy martyrs, who gave up their lives courageously in defence of their religion; we see the vile mysteries of iniquity discovered at the suppression of the monasteries, and the shameful practices exposed, by which the priests deluded the people. I will not recur to other persecutions, but ask, If this is the religion of the meek Jesus, or if it is not rather the triumph of Satan over fallen men?"

Mr. Goring then contrasts the character of our blessed Savior and of those men who presume to call themselves his "substitutes on earth," in the following manner:

"Jesus Christ, as one of his last acts, left mankind this new law, 'Love one another as I have loved you; by this shall all men know that ye are *my disciples.*'—Popery hates all that are not of its communion, and condemns them soul and body to the pit. The [illegible]

was not of this world, being spiritual; that he judged no men, but that the words he uttered should judge them in the last day—The Popes claim the dominion of the whole earth, spiritual and temporal, they wear a triple crown, and pretend to judge all men.—The Savior, previous to his death, condescended to wash his disciples' feet, assuring them they should have no part in him unless they submitted to it—The Popes, so far from submitting to this lesson of humility, arrogantly permit them to kiss their feet.—Our blessed Lord claimed not a spot upon earth, nor had he a place where to lay his head; to him, sufficient for the day was the evil thereof, both with respect to food and raiment—Not so the Popes; from their votaries they extort the scanty gains of the sweat of their brows, go gorgeously attired, and feed sumptuously every day.—Our Savior freely pardoned the sins of his penitent creatures, without fee or reward—The Popes presume to pardon sins; nay, grant indulgences for committing more; but it is for money and the sordid lucre of gain.

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

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

Punishment of the Primitive Martyrs.

A Christian flayed alive by the Heathen Persecutors.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

OF

CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOM.

BOOK I.

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

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

It is both wonderful and horrible to peruse the descriptions of the sufferings of these godly martyrs, as they are described by the ancient historians. Their torments were as various as the ingenuity of man, tempted by the devil, could devise; and their numbers were truly incredible. "Some," says Robanus, "were slain with the sword; some burnt with fire; some with whips scourged; some stabbed with forks of iron; some fastened to the cross or gibbet; some drowned in the sea; some had their skins plucked off; some their tongues cut off; some stoned to death; some killed with cold; some starved with hunger; some their hands cut off, or otherwise dismembered, have been so left naked, to the open shame of the world," &c. Augustine, speaking of these martyrs, says, that although their punishments were various, yet their constancy was uniform. And notwithstanding the sharpness of so many and sundry torments, and the cruelty of the tormenters, such was the number of these constant saints that suffered, or rather such was the power of the Lord in his saints, that as Hierome in his epistle to Cromatius and Heliodorus observes, "*There is no day in the whole year, unto which the number of five thousand martyrs cannot be ascribed. except only the first day of January.*"

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

BRIEF HISTORY OF OUR SAVIOR.

It is known that in the reign of Herod the angel Gabriel was sent by divine command to the Virgin Mary. This maiden was betrothed to a carpenter named Joseph, who resided at Nazareth, a city of Galilee; but the consummation had not then taken place, for it was the custom of the eastern nations to contract persons of each sex from their childhood, though the cohabitation was not permitted till years of maturity. The angel informed Mary how highly she was favored of God, and that she should conceive a son by the Holy Spirit, which happened accordingly: for travelling to Bethlehem, to pay the capitation-tax then levied, the town was so crowded that they could only get lodging in a stable, where the Holy Virgin gave birth to our Blessed Redeemer, which was announced to the world by a star and an angel; the wise men of the east saw the former, and the shepherds the latter.

After Jesus had been circumcised, he was presented in the temple by the Holy Virgin; upon which occasion Simeon exclaimed in the celebrated words mentioned in the liturgy: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." Luke ii. 29, 30.

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

After this Christ fasted forty days and nights in the wilderness, where he was tempted by the devil, but resisted all his allurements. He performed his first miracle

t Cana, in Galilee; he likewise conversed with the good Samaritan, and restored to life a nobleman's dead child. While travelling hrough Galilee, he restored the blind to ight, and cured the lame, the lepers, &c. Among other benevolent actions, he cured, t the pool of Bethesda, a paralytic man, who ad been lame thirty-eight years, bidding im take up his bed and walk; and he afterards cured a man whose right hand was hrunk up and withered; with many acts of similar nature.

When he had chosen his twelve apostles, e preached the celebrated sermon upon the nount; after which he performed several niracles, particularly the feeding of the multitude, and the walking on the surface of the ea.

On the celebration of the passover, Jesus upped with his disciples: he informed them hat one of them would betray him and nother deny him, and preached his farewell mon. A multitude of armed men soon terwards surrounded him, and Judas kissed im, in order to point him out to the soliers, who were not acquainted with his pern. In the scuffle occasioned by the aprehension of Jesus, Peter cut off the ear of alchus, the servant of the high priest, for hich Jesus reproved him, and, by touching he wound, healed it. Peter and John followed Jesus to the house of Annas, who reusing to judge him, sent him bound to Caiphas, where Peter denied Christ, as the atter had predicted; but on Christ remindng him of his perfidy, Peter went out and ept bitterly.

When the council had assembled in the orning, the Jews mocked Jesus, and the lders suborned false witnesses against him; he principal accusation being, that he had aid, "I will destroy this temple that is made ith hands, and within three days I will uild another made without hands." Caiphas then asked him if he was the Christ, he Son of God, or no; being answered in he affirmative, he was accused of blasphemy, nd condemned to death by Pontius Pilate, he Roman governor, who, though conscious f his innocence, yielded to the solicitations f the Jews, and condemned him to be crucied. His remarkable expression at the time f passing sentence, proved how much he was convinced that the Lord was persecuted.

Previous to the crucifixion, the Jews, by way of derision, clothed Christ in a regal robe, put a crown of thorns upon his head, and a reed, for a sceptre, in his hand; they hen mocked him with ironical compliments, spit in his face, slapped his cheek, and taking the reed out of his hand, they struck him with it upon the head. Pilate would fain have released him, but the general cry was, Crucify him, crucify him; which occasioned the governor to call for a basin of water, and having washed his hands, he declared himself innocent of the blood of Christ, whom he termed a just person. But the Jews said, Let his blood be upon us, and our children; and the governor found himself obliged to comply with their wishes, which wish has manifestly taken place, as they have never since been a collected people.*

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

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

* The Romans afford a similar example of the retributive justice of God. For nearly three hundred years subsequently to the crucifixion of our Savior, they were the prey of contending factions, and of despotic and bloodthirsty emperors. Tiberius, in the seventeenth year of whose reign Jesus Christ suffered martyrdom, was one of the most severe and cruel tyrants by whom they were oppressed. In one day, according to Suetonius, he caused twenty persons to be put to death; and it is worthy of notice, that by his orders Pilate was accused at Rome, deposed, and banished to Lyons, where he at length committed suicide.

A Primitive Christian flayed alive by the Heathen Persecutors.

Martyrdom of St Stephen.

attended the death of Christ, and such was the mortal end of the Redeemer of mankind. It is not a subject of wonder that the heathens who lived so long after him, endeavored by persecution and the most horrid cruelties, to prevent the propagation of that source of comfort and happiness in all affliction which has resulted from the blessed system of faith that our Savior confirmed with his blood.

The Lives, Sufferings, and Martyrdom of the Apostles, Evangelists, &c.

I. ST. STEPHEN.

This early martyr was elected, with six others, as a priest out of the Lord's seventy disciples. He was an able and successful preacher. The principal persons belonging to five Jewish synagogues entered into many altercations with him; but he, by the soundness of his doctrine, and the strength of his arguments, overcame them all, which so much irritated them, that they bribed false witnesses to accuse him of blaspheming God and Moses. On being carried before the council, he made a noble defence: but that so much exasperated his judges, that they resolved to condemn him. At this instant Stephen saw a vision from heaven, which represented Jesus, in his glorified state, sitting at the right hand of God. This vision so greatly rejoiced him, that he exclaimed, in raptures, "Behold I see the heavens open, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God." This caused him to be condemned, and, having dragged him out of the city, they stoned him to death. On the spot where he was martyred, Eudocia, the empress of the emperor Theodosius, erected a superb church, and the memory of him is annually celebrated on the 26th day of December.

The death of Stephen was succeeded by a severe persecution in Jerusalem, in which 2000 Christians, with Nicanor the deacon, were martyred; and many others obliged to leave that country.

II. ST. JAMES THE GREAT.

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

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

When Herod Agrippa was made governor of Judea by the emperor Caligula, he raised a persecution against the Christians, and particularly singled out James as an object of his vengeance. This martyr, on being condemned to death, showed such an intrepidity of spirit, and constancy of mind, that even his accuser was struck with admiration, and became a convert to Christianity. This transition so enraged the people in power, that they condemned him likewise to death; when James the apostle and his penitent accuser were both beheaded on the same day, and with the same sword. These events took place in the year of Christ 44; and the 25th of July was fixed by the church for the commemoration of this saint's martyrdom.

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

III. ST. PHILIP.

This apostle and martyr was born at Bethsaida, in Galilee, and was the first called by the name of Disciple. He was employed in several important commissions by Christ, and being deputed to preach in Upper Asia, labored very diligently in his apostleship. He then travelled into Phrygia, and arriving at Heliopolis, found the inhabitants so sunk in idolatry as to worship a large serpent. St. Philip, however, converted many of them to Christianity, and even procured the death of the serpent. This so enraged the magistrates, that they committed him to prison, had him severely scourged, and afterwards crucified. His friend St. Bartholomew found an opportunity of taking down the body, and burying it; for which, however, he was very near suffering the same fate. His martyrdom happened eight years after that of St. James the Great, A. D. 52; and his name, together with that of St. James the Less, is commemorated on the 1st of May.

IV. ST. MATTHEW.

This evangelist, apostle, and martyr, was born at Nazareth, in Galilee, but resided chiefly at Capernaum, on account of his business, which was that of a toll-gatherer, to collect tribute of such as had occasion to pass the sea of Galilee. On being called as a disciple, he immediately complied, and left every thing to follow Christ. After the ascension of his master, he continued preaching the gospel in Judea about nine years. Intending to leave Judea, in order to go and preach among the Gentiles, he wrote his gospel in Hebrew, for the use of the Jewish converts; but it was afterwards translated into Greek by St. James the Less. He then went to Ethiopia, ordained preachers, settled churches, and made many converts. He afterwards

proceeded to Parthia, where he had the same success; but returning to Ethiopia, he was slain by a halberd, in the city of Nadabar, about the year of Christ 60; and his festival is kept by the church on the 21st day of September. He was inoffensive in his conduct, and in his mode of living remarkably temperate.

V. ST. MARK.

This evangelist and martyr was born of Jewish parents, of the tribe of Levi. It is imagined, that he was converted to Christianity by St. Peter, whom he served as an amanuensis, and whom he attended in all his travels. Being entreated by the converts at Rome to commit to writing the admirable discourses they had heard from St. Peter and himself, he complied with this request, and composed his gospel accordingly, in the Greek language. He then went to Egypt, and constituted a bishopric at Alexandria: afterwards he proceeded to Libya, where he made many converts. On returning to Alexandria, some of the Egyptians, exasperated at his success, determined on his death. They therefore tied his feet, dragged him through the streets, left him bruised in a dungeon all night, and the next day burned his body. This happened on the 25th of April, on which day the church commemorates his martyrdom. His bones were carefully gathered up by the Christians, decently interred, and afterwards removed to Venice, where he is considered as the tutelar saint and patron of the state.

VI. ST. JAMES THE LESS.

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

VII. ST. MATTHIAS.

This apostle and martyr was called to the apostleship after the death of Christ, to supply the vacant place of Judas, who had betrayed his master, and was likewise one of the seventy disciples. He was martyred at Jerusalem, being first stoned and then beheaded; and the 24th of February is observed for the celebration of his festival.

VIII. ST. ANDREW.

This apostle and martyr was the brother of St. Peter, and preached the gospel to many Asiatic nations. On arriving at Edessa, the governor of the country, named Egeas, threatened him for preaching against the idols there worshipped. St. Andrew persisting in the propagation of his doctrines, he was ordered to be crucified on a cross, two ends of which were transversely fixed in the ground. He boldly told his accusers, that he would not have preached the glory of the cross, had he feared to die on it. And again, when they came to crucify him, he said, that he coveted the cross, and longed to embrace it. He was fastened to the cross, not with nails but cords, that his death might be more slow.—In this situation he continued two days, preaching the greatest part of the time to the people; and expired on the 30th of November, which is commemorated as his festival.

IX ST. PETER.

This great apostle and martyr was born at Bethsaida, in Galilee, being the son of Jonah, a fisherman, which employment St. Peter himself followed. He was persuaded by his brother to turn Christian, when Christ gave him the name of Cephas, implying, in the Syriac language, a rock. He was called, at the same time as his brother, to be an apostle; gave uncommon proofs of his zeal for the service of Christ, and always appeared as the principal speaker among the apostles. —He had, however, the weakness to deny his master after his apprehension, though he defended him at the time; but the sincerity of his repentance made an atonement for the atrociousness of his crime.

After the death of Christ, the Jews still continued to persecute the Christians, and ordered several of the apostles, among whom was Peter, to be scourged. This punishment they bore with the greatest fortitude, and rejoiced that they were thought worthy to suffer for the sake of their Redeemer.

When Herod Agrippa caused St. James the Great to be put to death, and found that it pleased the Jews, he resolved, in order to ingratiate himself with the people, that Peter should fall the next sacrifice. He was accordingly apprehended, and thrown into prison; but an angel of the Lord released him, which so enraged Herod, that he ordered the sentinels who guarded the dungeon in which he had been confined, to be put to death. St. Peter, after various other miracles, retired to Rome, where he defeated all the artifices, and confounded the magic, of Simon, the magician, a great favorite of the emperor Nero; he likewise converted to Christianity one of the concubines of that monarch, which

so exasperated the tyrant, that he ordered both St. Peter and St. Paul to be apprehended. During the time of their confinement, they converted two of the captains of the guards, and forty-seven other persons, to Christianity. Having been nine months in prison, Peter was brought out from thence for execution, when, after being severely scourged, he was crucified with his head downwards; which position, however, was at his own request. His festival is observed on the 29th of June, on which day he, as well as Paul, suffered. His body being taken down, embalmed, and buried in the Vatican, a church was erected on the spot; but this being destroyed by the emperor Heliogabalus, the body was removed till the 20th bishop of Rome, called Cornelius, conveyed it again to the Vatican: afterwards Constantine the Great erected one of the most stately churches in the universe over the place. Before we quit this article, it is requisite to observe, that previous to the death of St. Peter, his wife suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ, and was exhorted, when going to be put to death, to remember her Savior.

X. ST. PAUL.

This apostle and martyr was a Jew of the tribe of Benjamin, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, and, before his conversion, was called Saul. He was at first a great enemy to, and persecutor of, the Christians; and a principal promoter of the death of Stephen. While on his way to Damascus, the glory of the Lord came suddenly upon him, he was struck to the earth, and was afflicted with blindness during three days; on his recovery from which, he immediately became a professor, an apostle, and ultimately a martyr for the religion which he had formerly persecuted. Amongst his labors in spreading the doctrine of Christ, he converted to the faith Sergius Paulus, the pro-consul of Cyprus, on which he took his name, and, as some suppose, was from thence called Paulus instead of Saulus. After his many labors he took to him Barnabas, and went up to Jerusalem, to Peter, James, and John, where he was ordained, and sent out with Barnabas to preach to the Gentiles. At Iconium, St. Paul and St. Barnabas were near being stoned to death by the enraged Jews; upon which they fled to Lycaonia. At Lystra, St. Paul was stoned, dragged out of the city, and left for dead. He, however, happily revived, and escaped to Derbe. At Philippi, Paul and Silas were imprisoned and whipped; and both were again persecuted at Thessalonica. Being afterwards taken at Jerusalem, he was sent to Cæsarea, but appealed to Cæsar at Rome. Here he continued a prisoner at large for two years; and at length being released, he visited the churches of Greece and Rome, and preached in France and Spain. Returning to Rome, he was again apprehended, and, by the order of Nero, martyred, by being beheaded, on the same day on which Peter was crucified, but in the following year. Two days are dedicated to the commemoration of this apostle; the one for his conversion, on the 25th of January; and the other for his martyrdom, on the 29th of June.

XI. ST. JUDE.

This apostle and martyr, the brother of James, was commonly called Thaddæus. Being sent to Edessa, he wrought many miracles, and made many converts, which stirring up the resentment of people in power, he was crucified, A. D. 72; and the 28th of October is, by the church, dedicated to his memory.

XII. ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

This apostle and martyr preached in several countries, performed many miracles, and healed various diseases. He translated St. Matthew's gospel into the Indian language, and propagated it in that country; but at length, the idolaters growing impatient with his doctrines, severely beat, crucified, and slew him, and then cut off his head. The anniversary of his martyrdom is on the 24th of August.

XIII. ST. THOMAS.

He was called by this name in Syriac, but Didymus in Greek; he was an apostle and martyr, and preached in Parthia and India, where, displeasing the Pagan priests, he was martyred by being thrust through with a spear.—His death is commemorated on the 21st of December.

XIV. ST. LUKE THE EVANGELIST.

This martyr was the author of a most excellent gospel.—He travelled with St. Paul to Rome, and preached to divers barbarous nations, till the priests in Greece hanged him on an olive tree. The anniversary of his martyrdom is on the 18th of October.

XV. ST. SIMON.

This apostle and martyr was distinguished, from his zeal, by the name of Zelotes. He preached with great success in Mauritania, and other parts of Africa, and even in Britain, where, though he made many converts, he was crucified, A. D. 74; and the church joining him with St. Jude, commemorates his festival on the 28th of October.

XVI. ST. JOHN.

He was distinguished for being a prophet, apostle, divine, evangelist, and martyr. He is called the beloved disciple, and was brother to James the Great. He was previously a disciple of John the Baptist, and afterwards not only one of the twelve apostles, but one of the three to whom Christ com-

municated the most secret passages of his life. He founded churches at Smyrna, Pergamus, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and Thyatira, to whom he directs his book of 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 a caldron of boiling oil. But here a miracle appeared in his favor; the oil did him no injury, and Domitian, therefore, not being able to put him to death, banished him to Patmos, to work at the mines. He was, however, recalled by Nerva, who succeeded Domitian; but was deemed a martyr on account of his having undergone an execution, though it did not take effect. He wrote his epistles, gospel, and revelations, all in a different style; but they are all equally admired. He was the only apostle who escaped a violent death, and lived the longest of any of them, being nearly 100 years of age at the time of his death; and the church commemorates the 27th day of December to his memory.

XVII. ST. BARNABAS.

He was a native of Cyprus, but of Jewish parents: the time of his death is uncertain, but it is supposed to be about the year of Christ 73; and his festival is kept on the 11th of June.

The First Primitive Persecution under Nero.

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

This dreadful conflagration continued nine days; when Nero, finding that his conduct was greatly blamed, and a severe odium cast upon him, determined to lay the whole upon the Christians, at once to excuse himself, and have an opportunity of witnessing new cruelties. The barbarities exercised upon the Christians, during the first persecution, were such as even excited the commiseration of the Romans themselves. Nero even refined upon cruelty, and contrived all manner of punishments for the Christians. In particular, he had some sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and then worried by dogs till they expired; and others dressed in shirts made stiff with wax, fixed to axle-trees, and set on fire in his gardens. This persecution was general throughout the whole Roman empire; but it rather increased than diminished the spirit of Christianity. Besides St. Paul and St. Peter, many others, whose names have not been transmitted to posterity, and who were some of their converts and followers, suffered; the facts concerning the principal of whom we shall proceed to describe.

Erastus, the chamberlain of Corinth, was converted by St. Paul, and determined to follow the fortune of that apostle. For this reason he resigned his office, and accompanied St. Paul in his voyages and travels, till the latter left him in Macedonia, where he was first made bishop of that province by the Christians; and afterwards suffered martyrdom, being tortured to death by the Pagans at Philippi.

Aristarchus, the Macedonian, was born in Thessalonica, and being converted by St. Paul, became his constant companion.—He was with that apostle at Ephesus, during a commotion raised in that city by Demetrius, the silversmith. They both received several insults upon the occasion from the populace, which they bore with Christian patience, giving good advice in return for ill-usage, and not in the least resenting any indignity. Aristarchus accompanied St. Paul from Ephesus into Greece, where they were very successful in propagating the gospel, and bringing over many to Christianity. Having left Greece, they traversed a great part of Asia, and made a considerable stay in Judea, where they were very successful in making converts. After this, Aristarchus went with St. Paul to Rome, where he 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 accompanied his master in his travels. Upon his account the Jews raised a great disturbance in the temple at Jerusalem, the last time St. Paul was in that city. They even attempted to murder the apostle, for having introduced

him, being a Greek, into the temple. Lysias, the captain of the guard, however, interposed, and rescued St. Paul by force from their hands. On quitting Jerusalem, Trophimus attended his master first to Rome, and then to Spain; passing through Gaul, the apostle made him bishop of that province, and left him in the city of Arles. About a twelvemonth after, he paid a visit to St. Paul in Asia, and went with him, for the last time, to Rome, where he was witness to his martyrdom, which was but the forerunner of his own; for, being soon after seized on account of his faith, he was beheaded by order of Nero.

JOSEPH, commonly called BARSABAS, was a primitive disciple, and is usually deemed one of the seventy. He was, in some degree, related to the Redeemer; and he became a candidate, together with Matthias, to fill the office of Judas Iscariot. The ecclesiastical writings make very little other mention of him; but Papias informs us, that he was once compelled to drink poison, which did not do him the least injury, agreeably to the promise of the Lord, to those who believe in him. He was, during his life, a zealous preacher of the gospel; and having received many insults from the Jews, at length obtained martyrdom, being murdered by the Pagans in Judea.

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

The Second Primitive Persecution, under Domitian.

THE emperor Domitian was naturally of a cruel disposition; he first slew his brother, and then raised the second persecution against the Christians. His rage was such, that he even put to death some of the Roman senators; some through malice, and others to confiscate their estates; and he then commanded all the lineage of David to be extirpated. Two Christians were brought before him, accused of being of the tribe of Judah, and line of David; but from their answers, he despised them as idiots, and dismissed them accordingly. He, however, was determined to be more secure upon other occasions; for he took away the property of many Christians, put several to death, and banished others.

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

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

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

DIONYSIUS, the Areopagite: he was 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 Savior's crucifixion.—On his return to Athens, he was highly honored 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 worthy Pagan magistrate to the pious Christian pastor; for even while involved in the darkness of idolatry, he was as just as he possibly could be in the gross errors of Paganism. After his conversion, 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, viz. A. D. 69, when he was apprehended, and re-

Evangelist, and was exceedingly zealous in his mission. He boldly vindicated the faith of Christ before the emperor, for which he was cast into prison, and was tormented in a cruel manner; for, after being dreadfully scourged, he was compelled to hold fire in his hands, and at the same time, papers dipped in oil were put to his sides, and set alight. His flesh was then torn with red-hot pincers, and at last he was dispatched by being torn to pieces by wild beasts.

Ignatius had either a presentiment or information of his fate; for writing to Polycarpus at Smyrna, he says, "*Would to God I were once come to the beasts which are prepared for me;* which also I wish with gaping mouths were ready to come upon me, whom also I will provoke that they without delay may devour me. And if they will not, unless they be provoked, I will then enforce them against myself."

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

About this time Alexander, bishop of Rome, after filling that office ten years, was martyred, as were his two deacons; and also Quirinus and Hermes, with their families; Zenon, a Roman nobleman, and about ten thousand other Christians.

Many were crucified in Mount Ararat, crowned with thorns, and spears run into their sides, in imitation of Christ's passion.—Eustachius, a brave and successful Roman commander, was ordered by the emperor to join in an idolatrous sacrifice, to celebrate some of his own victories; but his faith was so great, 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.

During the martyrdom of Faustines and Jovita, brothers, and citizens of Bressia, 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 ecstasy, "Great is the God of the Christians!" for which he was apprehended and put to death.

Many other cruelties and rigors were exercised against the Christians, till Quadratus, bishop of Athens, made a learned apology in their favor 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 severity, and relent in their favor. 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, for then they began to employ and suborn false witnesses, to accuse them of crimes against the state or civil authority.

Nicephorus makes mention of Anthia, a godly woman, who committed her son Eleutherius to Anicetus, bishop of Rome, to be brought up in the doctrine of the Christian faith, who afterwards, being bishop in Apulia, was there beheaded with his mother Anthia. Justus also and Pastor, two brethren, with like martyrdom, ended their lives in a city of Spain called Complutum, under the beforementioned emperor.

Adrian died in the year 138, or 139, and had ordered the cessation of the persecutions against the Christians some years before his death. He was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, so amiable a monarch, that his people gave him the title of "The Father of Virtues." Immediately upon his accession to the throne, he published an edict concluding with these words: "If any hereafter shall vex or trouble the Christians, having no other cause but that they are such, let the accused be released, and the accusers be punished." This stopped the persecution, and the Christians enjoyed a respite from their sufferings during this emperor's reign, though their enemies took every occasion to do them what injuries they could. The piety and goodness of Antoninus were so great, that he used to say, that he had rather save one citizen, than destroy a thousand of his adversaries.

The Fourth Primitive Persecution under the Roman Emperors, which commenced A. D. 162.

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

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

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

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

METRODORUS, a minister, who preached boldly, and Pionius, who made some excellent apologies for the Christian faith, were likewise burnt. Carpus and Capilus, two worthy Christians, and Agathonica, a pious woman, suffered martyrdom at Pergamopolis, in Asia, about the same period.

FELICITATAS, an illustrious Roman lady of a considerable family, and great virtues, was a devout Christian. She had seven sons, whom she had educated with the most exemplary piety. The empire having been about this time grievously troubled with earthquakes, famine, inundations, &c. the Christians were accused as the cause, and Felicitatas was included in the accusation. The lady and her family being seized, the emperor gave orders to Publius, the Roman governor, to proceed against her. Upon this Publius began with the mother, thinking that if he could prevail with her to change her religion, the example would have great influence with her sons. Finding her inflexible, he turned his entreaties to menaces, and threatened her with destruction to herself and family. She despised his threats as she had done his promises; he then caused her sons to be brought before him, whom he examined separately. They all, however, remained stedfast in their faith, and unanimous in their opinions, on which the whole family were ordered for execution. Januarius, the eldest, was scourged and pressed to death with weights; Felix and Philip, the two next, had their brains dashed out with clubs; Sylvanus, the fourth, was murdered by being thrown from a precipice; and the three younger sons, viz. Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis, were all beheaded. The mother was beheaded with the same sword as the three latter.

JUSTIN, the celebrated philosopher, fell a martyr in this persecution. He was a native of Neapolis, in Samaria, and was born A. D. 103. He had the best education those times would afford, and travelled into Egypt, the country where the polite tour of that age was made for improvement. At Alexandria he was informed of every thing relative to the seventy interpreters of the sacred writings, and shown the rooms, or rather cells, in which their work was performed. Justin was a great lover of truth, and an universal scholar; he investigated the Stoic and Peripatetic philosophy, and attempted the Pythagorean system; but the behavior of one of its professors disgusting him, he applied himself

* Polycarpus was a very aged man, who had served Christ eighty-six years, and served also in the ministry about the space of seventy years. He was the scholar and hearer of John the Evangelist, and was placed by him in Smyrna.

to the Platonic, in which he took great delight. About th year 133, when he was thirty years of age, he became a convert to Christianity. Justin wrote an elegant epistle to the Gentiles, to convert them to the faith he had newly acquired, and lived in so pure and innocent a manner, that he well deserved the title of a Christian philosopher. He likewise employed his talents in convincing the Jews of the truth of the Christian rites, and spent much time in travelling, till he took up his abode in Rome, and fixed his habitation on the Viminal mount. He kept a public school, taught many who afterwards became great men, and wrote a treatise to confute heresies of all kinds. As the Pagans began to treat the Christians with great severity, Justin wrote his first apology in their favor, and addressed it to the emperor Antoninus, to two princes whom he had adopted as his sons, and to the senate and people of Rome in general. This piece, which occasioned the emperor to publish an edict in favor of the Christians, displays great learning and genius.

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

It appears that only seven pieces of the writings of this celebrated martyr, and great philosopher, are now extant: viz. the Two Apologies; an Exhortation to the Gentiles; an Oration to the Greeks; a Treatise on Divine Monarchy; a Dialogue with Trypho the Jew; and an Epistle to Diagnetus.

About this time many were beheaded for refusing to sacrifice to the image of Jupiter; in particular Concordus, a deacon of the city of Spoleto, being carried before the image, and ordered to worship it, not only refused, but spit in its face; for which he was severely tormented, and afterwards had his head cut off with a sword.

MIRACULOUS INTERFERENCE OF THE DIVINE BEING.

At this time some of the northern nations having armed against Rome, the emperor marched to encounter them, at the head of 975,000 men; he was, however, drawn into an ambuscade, and dreaded the loss of his whole army. Surrounded by mountains and enemies, and perishing with thirst, the troops were driven to the last extremity. All the Pagan deities were invoked in vain; when the men belonging to the militine, or thundering legion, who were all Christians, were commanded to call upon their God for succor; they immediately withdrew from the rest, prostrated themselves upon the earth, and prayed fervently. A miraculous deliverance immediately ensued; a prodigious quantity of rain fell, which being caught by the men, and filling the dykes, afforded a sudden and astonishing relief. The emperor, in his epistle to the Roman senate, wherein the expedition is described, after mentioning the difficulties to which he had been driven, speaks of the Christians in the following manner:—

"When I saw myself not able to encounter with the enemies, I craved aid of our country gods; but finding no relief at their hands, and being cooped up by the enemy, I caused those men, whom we call Christians, to be sent for; who being mustered, I found a considerable number of them, against whom I was more incensed than I had just cause, as I found afterwards; for, by a marvellous power, they forthwith used their endeavers, not with ammunition, drums, and trumpets, abhorring such preparations and furniture, but only praying unto, and trusting in their God, whom they carry about with them in their consciences. It is therefore to be believed, although we call them wicked men, that they worship God in their hearts; for they, falling prostrate on the ground, prayed, not only for me, but for the army also which was with me, beseeching God to help me in that our extreme want of victuals and fresh water (for we had been five days without water, and in our enemies' land, even in the midst of Germany;) I say, falling on their faces, they prayed to a God unknown to me, and immediately thereupon fell from heaven a most pleasant and cool shower; but amongst our enemies great store of hail, mixed with thunder and lightning: so that we soon perceived the invincible aid of the most mighty God to be with us; therefore we gave these men leave to profess Christianity, lest, by their prayers, we be punished by the like: and I hereby make myself the author of all the evil that shall accrue by the persecution of

the Christian religion." It appears that this miraculous storm so intimidated the enemy, that part deserted to the Roman army, the rest were defeated, and the revolted provinces were entirely recovered.

PERSECUTIONS IN FRANCE.

Although this manifest interference of the Almighty in favor of the Christians, occasioned the persecution to subside for some time, in those parts immediately under the inspection of the emperor, yet we find that it soon after raged in France, particularly at Lyons, where the tortures, to which many of them were put, almost exceed the powers of description. All manner of punishments were adopted; torments, and painful deaths; such as being banished, plundered, hanged, burnt, &c.; and even the servants and slaves of opulent Christians were racked and tortured, to make them accuse their masters and employers. The following were the principal of these martyrs: Vetius Agathus, a young man, who having 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 likewise. Blandinia, a Christian, but of a weak constitution, being seized and tortured on account of her religion, received so much strength from Heaven, that her torturers became tired frequently, and were surprised at her being able to bear her torments for so great a length of time, and with such resolution. Sanctus, a deacon of Vienne, was put to the tortures, 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, his tormentors were astonished to find his wounds healed, and his person perfect; they however again proceeded to torture him; but not being able at that time to take his life, they remanded him to prison, where he remained for some time after; and was at length beheaded. Biblides, 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 treated by the enraged mob, that he expired two days after in the prison.

At Lyons, exclusive of those already mentioned, the martyrs 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 by stealth; and the offals left by the dogs, were ordered to be burnt.

The martyrs of Lyons are said to have been forty-eight in number, and their executions happened in the year of Christ 177. They all died with great fortitude.

Besides the above martyrs of Lyons, many others suffered in that city, and different parts of the empire, soon after. Of these, the principal were: Epipodius and Alexander, celebrated for their great friendship, and their Christian union. The former was born at Lyons, the latter in Greece; they were of mutual assistance to each other, by the continual practice of all manner of Christian virtues and godliness. At the time the persecution first began to rage at Lyons, they were in the prime of life, and to avoid its severities, they thought proper to withdraw to a neighboring village. Here they were for some time concealed by a Christian widow. But the malice of their persecutors sought after them with indefatigable industry, and pursued them to their place of concealment, whence they were committed to prison without examination. At the expiration of three days, being brought before the governor, they were examined in the presence of a crowd of heathens, when they confessed the divinity of Christ; on which the governor, being enraged at what he termed their insolence, said, "What signify all the former executions, if some yet remain who dare acknowledge Christ?"

They were then separated, that they should not console with each other, and he began to tamper with Epipodius, the youngest of the two. He pretended to pity his condition, and entreated 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 honor them, launch into pleasures; you, by your faith, are debarred from all that indulges the senses. Our religion enjoins feasting, yours fasting; ours 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." Epipodius, in reply, contemning his compassion: "Your pretended tenderness," said he, "is actual 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 latter. 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 eternal happiness."

For this rational speech Epipodius was severely beaten, and then put to the rack, upon which being stretched, his flesh was torn with iron hooks. Having borne his torments with incredible patience and fortitude, he was taken from the rack and beheaded. Alexander, his companion, was brought before the judge, two days after his execution; and on his absolute refusal to renounce Christianity, he was placed on the rack and beaten by three executioners, who relieved each other alternately. He bore his sufferings with as much fortitude as his friend had done, and at length was crucified. These martyrs suffered A. D. 179; the first on the 20th of April, and the other in two days after.

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 made their escape, and travelled different roads. The latter made several converts in the territories of Besançon and Chalons; but being apprehended, was carried before Priscus, the governor of those parts. This magistrate, knowing Marcellus to be a Christian, ordered him to be fastened to some branches of a tree, which were drawn for that purpose. When he was tied to different branches, they were let go, with a design to tear him to pieces by the suddenness of the jerks. But this invention failing, he 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 he expired, A. D. 179, after remaining three days. Valerian was also apprehended, and, by the order of Priscus, was first brought to the rack, and then beheaded, in the same year as his relation Marcellus.

About the same time the following martyrs suffered; Benignus, at Dijon; Speusippus, and others, at Langres; Androchius, Thyrseus, and Felix, at Autun; Sympovian and Florella, at Autun; Severinus, Felician, and Exuperus, at Vienne; Cecilia, the virgin, at Sicily; and Thraseus, bishop of Phrygia, at Smyrna.

In the year 180 the Emperor Antoninus died, and was succeeded by his son Commodus, who did not imitate his father in any respect. He had neither his virtues nor his vices; he was without his learning and his morality, and at the same time, without his prejudices against Christianity. His principal weakness was pride, and to that may be chiefly ascribed the errors of his reign; for having fancied himself Hercules, he sacrificed those to his vanity, who refused to subscribe to his absurd opinion.

In this reign Apollonius, a Roman senator, became a martyr. This eminent person was skilled in all the polite literature of those times, and in all the purest precepts taught by our blessed Redeemer. He was accused by his own slave Severus, upon an unjust and contradictory, but unrepealed, edict of the emperor Trajan. This law condemned the accused to die, unless he recanted his opinion; and, at the same time, ordered the execution of the accuser for slander.—Apollonius, upon this ridiculous statute, was accused; for though his slave, Severus, knew he must die for the accusation, yet such was his diabolical malice and desire of revenge, that he courted death in order to involve his master in the same destruction. As Apollonius refused to recant his opinions, he was, by order of the Roman senators, to whom he had appealed, condemned to be beheaded. The sentence was executed on the 18th of April, A. D. 186, his accuser having previously had his legs broken, and been put to death.

About this time succeeded Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius, about the year of our Lord 189. This Eleutherius, at the request of Lucius, king of Britain, sent to him Damianus and Fugatius, by whom the king was converted to Christ's faith, and baptized about the year 179.

Eusebius, Vincentius, Potentianus, and Peregrinus, for refusing to worship Commodus as Hercules, were likewise martyred.*

Julius, a Roman senator, becoming a convert to Christianity, was ordered, by the em

* About this time, among other pious teacher whom God raised up to confound the persecutors b learning and writing, as the martyrs to confirm th truth with their blood, was Seraphion, bishop of An tioch; Egesippus, a writer of the Ecclesiastical Hi tory from Christ's passion to his time; Heraclitus who first began to write annotations upon the New Testament and epistles of the apostles; Theophilus bishop of Cesarea; and Dionysius, bishop of Corinth who wrote divers epistles, from whence we learn that it was then the practice in the churches, to rea the letters and epistles, sent by learned bishops and teachers, to the congregations; for, writing to the church of the Romans and to Soter, he says—"This day we celebrate the holy dominical day, in which we have read your epistle, which always we will read for our exhortation; like as we do read also the epistle of Clement sent to us before," &c. By him also mention is made of the keeping of Sunday holy, of which we find no mention in ancient author before his time, except only in Justin the martyr who in his description declares two times most especially used for Christians to congregate together the first, when any convert was to be baptized; the second, upon the Sunday; because, says he, upon that day God made the world, and because Christ upon that day first showed himself, after his resurrection, to his disciples, &c.

peror, to sacrifice to him as Hercules. 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.

The Fifth General Persecution under the Roman Emperors.

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

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

Leonidas, the father of the celebrated Origen, was beheaded for being a Christian. Previous to the execution, the son, in order to encourage him, wrote to him in these remarkable words: "Beware, Sir, that your care for us does not make you change your resolution." Many of Origen's hearers likewise suffered martyrdom; particularly two brothers, named Plutarchus and Serenus: another Serenus, Heron, and Heraclides, were beheaded; Rhais had boiling pitch poured upon her head, and was then burnt, as was Marcella her mother.

Potamiena, the sister of Rhais, was executed in the same manner as Rhais. But Basilides, an officer belonging to the army, and one ordered to attend her execution, became a convert on witnessing her fortitude. When he was required to take a certain oath, he refused, saying, that he could not swear by the Roman idols, as he was a Christian. The people could not, at first, believe what they heard; but he had no sooner confirmed his assertion, than he was dragged before the judge, committed to prison, and beheaded immediately.

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, was born in Greece, and received a Christian education. It is generally supposed that the account of the persecutions at Lyons was written by himself. He succeeded the martyr Pothinus as bishop of Lyons, and ruled his diocese with great propriety: he was a zealous opposer of heresies in general, and wrote a celebrated tract against heresy, about A. D. 187.

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

PERSECUTIONS IN AFRICA.

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

On being carried before the pro-consul Minutius, she was commanded to sacrifice to the idols; but refusing, she was ordered to a dark dungeon, and was deprived of her child. Two deacons, however, Tertius and Pomponius, who had the care of persecuted Christians, allowed her some hours daily to inhale the fresh air, during which time she had the satisfaction of being allowed to 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 attention. Her father at length paid her a second visit, and again entreated her to renounce Christianity. His behavior was now all tenderness and humanity; but inflexible to all things but Christ, she knew she must leave every thing for his sake; and she only

said to him, "God's will must be done." He then, with an almost bursting heart, left her.

Perpetua gave the strongest proof of fortitude and strength of mind on her trial. The judge entreated her to consider her father's tears, her infant's helplessness, and her own life; but triumphing over the softer sentiments of nature, she forgot the ideas of both mental and corporeal pain, and determined to sacrifice all the feelings of human sensibility, to that immortality offered by Christ. In vain did they attempt to persuade her that their offers were gentle, and her own religion otherwise. Aware that she must die, her father's parental tenderness returned, and in his anxiety he attempted to carry her off, on which he received a severe blow from one of the officers. Irritated at this, the daughter immediately declared, that she felt that blow more severely than if she had received it herself. Being conducted back to prison, she awaited her execution with several other persons, who were to be executed at the same time; one of these, Felicitas, a married Christian lady, was big with child at the time of her trial. The procurator, when he examined her, entreated her to have pity upon herself and her condition; but she replied, that his compassion was useless, for no thought of self-preservation could induce her to submit to any idolatrous proposition. She was delivered in prison of a girl, which was adopted by a Christian woman as her own.

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

The crimes and false accusations objected against the Christians at this time were, sedition and rebellion against the emperor, sacrilege, murdering of infants, incestuous pollution, eating raw flesh, libidinous commixture, for which many, called then *gnostici*, were disgraced. It was objected against them that they worshipped the head of an ass; which calumny was propagated by the Jews. They were charged also with worshipping the sun, because before the sun rose they met together, singing their morning hymns to the Lord, or else because they prayed towards the east, but particularly because they would not with them adore their idolatrous gods.

Speratus, and twelve others, were beheaded; as was Androclus, in France. Asclepiades, bishop of Antioch, suffered many tortures, but his life was spared. Cecilia, a young lady of a good family in Rome, was married to a gentleman named Valerian. Being a Christian herself, she soon persuaded her husband to embrace the same faith; and his conversion was speedily followed by that of Tiburtius his brother. This information drew upon them all the vengeance of the laws: the two brothers were beheaded; and the officer, who led them to execution, becoming their convert, suffered in a similar manner.

When the lady was apprehended, she was doomed to death in the following manner: she was 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, but the manner of his death is not recorded; and in A. D. 232, Urban, bishop of Rome, met the same fate.

Agapetus, a boy of Præneste, in Italy, who was 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 at last beheaded. The officer, named Antiochus, who superintended this execution, while it was performing, fell suddenly from his judicial seat, crying out that his bowels burned like the supposed pains of hell.

The Sixth General Persecution under the Roman Emperors.

Maximus, who was emperor in A. D. 235, raised a persecution against the Christians; and in Cappadocia, the president Semiramus made great efforts to exterminate the Christians from that kingdom. A Roman soldier, who refused to wear a laurel crown, bestowed on him by the emperor, and confessed himself a Christian, was scourged, imprisoned, and put to death. Pontianus, bishop of Rome, for preaching against idolatry, was banished to Sardinia, and there destroyed. Anteros, a Grecian, who succeeded this bishop in the see of Rome, gave so much offence to the government by collecting the acts of the

martyrs, that, after having held his dignity only forty days, he suffered martyrdom himself. Pammachius, a Roman senator, with his family, and other Christians to the number of forty-two, were, on account of their religion, all beheaded in one day, and their heads set up on the city gates. Simplicius, another senator, suffered martyrdom in a similar way. Calepodius, a Christian minister, after being inhumanly treated, and barbarously dragged about the streets, was thrown into the river Tiber with a millstone fastened about his neck. Quiritus, a Roman nobleman, with his family and domestics, were, on account of their Christian principles, put to most excruciating tortures, and painful deaths. Martina, a noble and beautiful virgin, suffered martyrdom, being variously tortured; and afterwards beheaded; and Hippolitus, a Christian prelate, was tied to a wild horse, and dragged through fields, stony places, bushes, &c. till he died.

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

The Seventh General Persecution under the Roman Emperors.

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

MARTYRDOM OF FABIAN, AND OTHERS.

Fabian, bishop of Rome, was the first person of eminence who felt the severity of this persecution. The deceased emperor, Philip, had, on account of his integrity, committed his treasure to the care of this good man; but Decius, not finding as much as his avarice made him expect, determined to wreak his vengeance on the good prelate. He was accordingly seized: and on the 20th of January, A. D. 250, suffered martyrdom by decapitation. Abdon and Semen, two Persians, were seized on 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 Cilicia, as we are informed by St. Chrysostom, was seized upon for being a Christian. He was frequently tortured, but still remained inflexible; and though often brought from prison for execution, was again remanded, to suffer greater cruelties. He, at length, was obliged to travel for twelve months together, from town to town, in order to be exposed to the insults of the populace. When all endeavors to make him recant his religion were found ineffectual, he was brought before his judge, stripped, and whipped in a dreadful manner. He *was then put into a leather bag, together* with a number of serpents, scorpions, &c. and in that condition thrown into the sea.

Peter, a young man, amiable for the superior qualities of his body and mind, was apprehended as a Christian, at Lampsacus, and carried before Optimus, pro-consul of Asia. On being commanded to sacrifice to Venus, he said, "I am astonished that you should wish me to sacrifice to an infamous woman, whose debaucheries even your own

Horrible Cruelties inflicted on the Primitive Christians.

Peter, a Christian of Lampsacus, severely beaten and afterwards put to death, for refusing to sacrifice to Venus.

historians record, and whose life consisted of such actions as your laws would punish. No! I shall offer to the true God the sacrifice of prayers and praise."

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

Nichomachus, another Christian, on being ordered to sacrifice to the Pagan idols, answered, "I cannot pay that respect to devils which is only due to the Almighty." This speech so much enraged Optimus, 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 had the weakness to abjure his faith, and become an apostate. He had no sooner given this proof of his frailty, than he fell into the greatest agonies, dropped down, and expired immediately.

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

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. Accordingly, A. D. 251, they suffered martyrdom by stoning, and expired, calling on their blessed Redeemer. Alexander and Epimachus, of Alexandria, were apprehended for being Christians; and on confessing the accusation, were beat with staves, torn with hooks, and at length burnt; and we are informed by Eusebius, that four female martyrs suffered on the same day, and at the same place, but not in the same manner; for these were beheaded.

Lucian and Marcian, two Pagans, and magicians, becoming converts to Christianity, to make amends for their former errors, lived the lives of hermits, and subsisted on bread and water. After spending some time in this manner, they reflected that their lives were inefficacious, and determined to leave their solitude in order to make converts to Christianity. With this pious and laudable resolution they became zealous preachers.

The persecution, however, raging at this time, they were seized upon and carried before Sabinus, the 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 endeavor to convert their neighbors, and to do every thing in their power to rescue them from the snares of the devil." Marcian also said, that "Their conversation 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." When the pro-consul found that he could not prevail on them to renounce their faith, he condemned them to be burnt alive, which sentence was executed soon after.

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

Agatha, a Sicilian lady, was remarkable for her beauty and endowments; her beauty was indeed so great, that Quintain, governor of Sicily, became enamoured of her, and made many attempts upon her virtue. The governor being known as a great libertine, and a bigoted Pagan, the lady thought proper to withdraw from the town, but was discovered in her retreat, apprehended, and brought to Catana; when, finding herself in the power of an enemy, both to her soul and body, she recommended herself to the protection of the Almighty, and prayed for death. In order to gratify his passion with the greater conveniency, the governor transferred the virtuous lady to Aphrodica, an infamous and licentious woman, who tried every artifice to win her to the desired prostitution; but all her efforts were in vain. When Aphrodica acquainted Quintain with the inefficacy of her endeavors, he changed his desire into resentment; and, on her confessing that she was a Christian, he determined to gratify his revenge. He, therefore, ordered her to be scourged, burnt with red-hot irons, and torn with sharp

hooks. Having borne these torments with admirable fortitude, she was next laid naked upon live coals, intermingled with glass, and being carried back to prison, she there expired on the 5th of February, A. D. 251.

MARTYRDOM OF CYRIL.

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

PERSECUTIONS IN CRETE.

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

At the time of their trial, they were commanded to sacrifice to Jupiter, which declining, the judge threatened them with the severest tortures. To these menaces they unanimously answered; "That to suffer for the sake of the Supreme Being would, to them, be the sublimest of pleasures." The judge then attempted to gain their veneration for the heathen deities, by descanting on their merits, and recounting some of their mythological histories. This gave the prisoners an opportunity of remarking on the absurdity of such fictions, and of pointing out the folly of paying adoration to ideal deities, and real images. Provoked to hear his favorite idols ridiculed, the governor ordered them all to be put to the rack; the tortures of which they sustained with surprising fortitude. They at length suffered martyrdom, A. D. 251; being all beheaded at the same time.

MARTYRDOM OF BABYLAS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH, AND OTHERS.

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

Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, about this time was cast into prison on account of his religion, where he died through the severity of his confinement; or, as some assert, was burned to death with several other Christians in a furnace.

When Serapion was apprehended at Alexandria, he had all his bones broken, and was then thrown from a high loft, when he was killed by the fall. Julianus, an old man, lame with the gout, and Cronion, another Christian, were bound on the backs of camels, severely scourged, and then thrown into a fire and consumed. A spectator, who seemed to commiserate them, was ordered to be beheaded, as a punishment for his sentiments of tenderness. Macar, a Libyan Christian, was burnt. Horon-Ater and Isodorus, 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, which confessing, he was scourged, tortured, and finally burnt. Ischyrian, the Christian servant of an Egyptian nobleman, was run through with a pike by his own master, for refusing to sacrifice to idols; Venatius, a youth of fifteen, was martyred in Italy, and forty virgins, at Antioch, after being imprisoned and scourged, were destroyed by fire.

The emperor Decius having erected

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

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

Secundianus having been accused as a Christian, was conveyed to prison by some soldiers. On the way, Verianus and Marcellinus said, "Where are you carrying the innocent?" This interrogatory caused them to be seized, and all three, after having been tortured, were hanged, and their heads were cut off when they were dead.

ACCOUNT OF ORIGEN.

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

* Origen is said by his biographers, to have been learned, ingenious, laborious, temperate, and charitable. The books written by him, according to St. Jerome, amounted to the almost incredible number of *seven thousand volumes;* and the produce of their sale, added to what he had gained by the instruction of youth, enabled him to support his mother and six brethren after the martyrdom of his father Leonidas (see p. E 2). His great work, called the *Hexapla*, from its presenting six versions of the sacred text in as many columns, gave the first hint for the compilation of our Polyglot Bibles.

NUMEROUS MARTYRS IN THE REIGN OF DECIUS.

In the country of Phrygia, and in the town of Lampsar, one Peter was apprehended, and suffered bitter torments for Christ's name, under Optimus the pro-consul: and in Troada, other martyrs suffered, whose names were Andrew, Paul, Nichomachus, and Dyonisia, a virgin. In Babylon many Christian confessors were found, who were led away into Spain to be executed.

In the country of Cappadocia, at the city of Cæsarea, Germanus, Theophilus, Cesarius, Vitalis, Polychronius, bishop of Babylon, and Nestor, suffered martyrdom for Christ.

At Perside, in the town of Cardalia, Olympiades and Maximus; in Tyrus, also, Anatolia, a virgin, and Audax, gave their lives for the testimony of Christ's name; as did innumerable others in all parts of the empire, the particulars of whose martyrdoms have not been handed down to us.

The emperor Gallus having concluded his wars, a plague broke out in the empire; and sacrifices to the Pagan deities were ordered by the emperor, to appease their wrath. On the Christians refusing to comply with these rites, they were charged with being the authors of the calamity: and thus the 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, the Christian bishop of Rome, was, among others, seized upon this occasion. He was first banished to Centum Cellæ, now called Civita Vecchia; and after having been cruelly scourged, was, on the 14th of September, A. D. 252, beheaded, after having been bishop fifteen months and ten days. Lucius, who succeeded Cornelius as bishop of Rome, 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. Soon after, however, he was apprehended, and beheaded, March the 4th, A. D. 253. This bishop was succeeded by Stephanus, a man of fiery temper, who held the dignity few years, and might probably have fallen a martyr, had not the emperor been murdered by his general Æmilian, when a profound peace succeeded throughout the whole empire, and the persecution was suffered to subside.

Many of the errors which crept into the church at this time arose from placing hu-

man reason in competition with revelation; but the fallacy of such arguments being proved by the most able divines, the opinions they had created vanished before the sublimity of truth.

The Eighth General Persecution under the Roman Emperors.

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

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

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

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

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

MARTYRDOM OF ST. LAURENCE.

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

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

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

Primitive Martyrdoms.

Martyrdom of St Lawrence.

so exalted an idea of the dignity and truth of the Christian religion, that many immediately became converts.

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

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

On this the executioner turned him, and after having lain a considerable time longer, he had still strength and spirit enough to triumph over the tyrant, by telling him, with great serenity, that he was roasted enough, and only wanted serving up. He then cheerfully lifted up his eyes to heaven, and with calmness yielded his spirit to the Almighty. This happened on August 10, A. D. 258.

Romanus, a soldier, who attended the martyrdom of Laurentius, became one of the converts to his sufferings and his fortitude; and when that martyr was remanded to prison, Romanus took the opportunity of fully inquiring into the nature of the Christian faith; and being entirely satisfied by Laurentius, became firmly a Christian, and received his baptism from the captive. On his sudden change becoming known, he was apprehended, scourged severely, and afterwards beheaded. Hypolitus, another Roman, for the same offence, was seized and suffered a similar fate.

PERSECUTION IN AFRICA.—ACCOUNT OF CYPRIAN.

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

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

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

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

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

Cyprian was brought before the pro-consul Aspasius Paternus, A. D. 257, when being commanded to conform to the religion of the empire, he boldly made a confession of his faith. This, however, did not occasion his death, but an order was made for his banishment, which exiled him to a little city on the Libyan sea. On the death of the pro-consul who banished him, he returned to Carthage, but was soon after seized, and carried before the new governor, who condemned him to be

* Cyprian was of an uncommonly meek and amiable disposition, and though he neither wanted prudence nor circumspection, he was so modest that he never attempted any thing without first consulting his partisans. He used to declare that he had visions and revelations concerning the events that were to affect the Christian church. St. Augustine says, that he was very diligent in reading, especially the works of Tertullian, whom he used to call his "master."

beheaded: and on the 14th of September, A. D. 258, this sentence was executed.

His disciples who were martyred in this persecution, were, Lucius, Flavian, Victoricus, Remus, Montanus, Donatian, Julian, and Primolus.

MARTYRDOM OF 300 CHRISTIANS.

Perhaps one of the most dreadful events in the history of martyrdom was that which took place at Utica, where 300 Christians were, by the orders of the pro-consul, placed around a burning limekiln. A pan of coals and incense being prepared, they were commanded either to sacrifice to Jupiter, or be thrown into the kiln. Unanimously refusing, they bravely jumped into the pit, and were suffocated immediately.

Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragon, in Spain, and his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, for avowing themselves Christians, were consumed by fire. Malchus, Alexander, and Priscus, three Christians of Palestine, with a woman of the same place, voluntarily accused themselves of being Christians: for which they were sentenced to be devoured by tigers, which sentence was accordingly executed. Donatilla, Maxima, and Secunda, three virgins of Tuburga, 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 last beheaded.

Pontius, a native of the city of Simela, near the Alps, being apprehended as a Christian, was tortured on the rack, worried by wild beasts, half burned, then beheaded, and lastly thrown into the river; and Protus and Hyacinthus likewise suffered martyrdom about the same period.

SINGULAR ACCOUNT OF A CHRISTIAN LADY.

Philippus, governor of Alexandria, had a daughter named Eugenia, who was singularly beautiful, had received a liberal education, and, having been much in the company of Christians, had embraced their faith. To avoid the persecutions at this time carried on, she eloped from her father's house, and resorted to hear the readings of Helenus, an aged bishop. For the purpose of concealment, she assumed male attire; and, calling herself Eugenius, was admitted into a monastery, or society of Christians, in the suburbs of Alexandria, of which, at length, by her learning and virtue, she became the head.

Here she performed many miracles, and among others who were cured by her, was a certain matron of Alexandria, named Melancia, who supposing her to be a man, conceived a criminal passion for her, and so far lost all sense of virtue and decorum, as to solicit her to gratify her desires. Eugenius exhorted her to continue in the paths of virtue; but Melancia, enraged at the refusal, and fearful of exposure, determined to anticipate the accusation, and therefore immediately charged Eugenius, and the other members of the Christian community, with attempting to debauch her. This matter being heard before Philippus, and Melancia being esteemed virtuous, the accusation gained credit, especially as it was brought against the Christians. Then Eugenius perceiving that she and her fellow-believers were in imminent danger of death on this infamous charge, and that it was now no time for dissimulation, desired of the judge to allow her time and place to make manifest to him the truth; which being granted, she disclosed to him that she was his daughter, and that her companions were Protheus and Hiacinthus, two pious eunuchs; explaining to him and to her brethren, the cause of her departure from them. By this narration they were convinced of her innocence, and her malignant accuser was utterly confounded. Philippus was afterwards converted to Christianity, made bishop of Alexandria, and suffered martyrdom.

Eugenia, after the death of her father, returning to Rome with Protheus and Hiacinthus, and having there converted Basilla, (a lady who was to have been married to a Pagan, but now refused, in consequence of which she was beheaded), was assailed with various kinds of death, from all of which she was delivered by the miraculous interference of Heaven; first, being tied to a great stone, and cast into the Tiber, where she was prevented from drowning; then put into the hot-baths, when the fires were extinguished, and she preserved; lastly, being cast into a prison to die of hunger, she was fed by a supernatural hand.

FATE OF THE EMPEROR VALERIAN.

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

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

Gallienus, the son of Valerian, succeeded him A. D. 260, and during his reign, the empire suffered many commotions, particularly earthquakes, pestilence, inundations, intestine broils, and incursions of barbarians.

This emperor reflecting, that when his father favored 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 those few martyrs was Marnius, a centurion, who being apprehended as a Christian, had but three hours allowed him to deliberate, whether he would sacrifice to the Pagan deities, or become a martyr; and wavering during this interval, a Christian prelate placed the gospel and a sword before him, and demanded which he would choose. Marnius took the sword without hesitation. On meeting again with the governor, he made a noble confession of his faith, and was soon after beheaded, in the year 262.

The Ninth General Persecution under the Roman Emperors.

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

Diocletian mounting the imperial throne, A. D. 284, at first showed great favor to the Christians. In the year 286, he associated Maximian with him in the empire; and the following Christians were put to death before any general persecution broke out:—Felician and Primus, two brothers. They were seized by an order from the imperial court; and owning themselves Christians, were accordingly scourged, tortured, and finally beheaded. Marcus and Marcellianus were twins, natives of Rome, and of noble descent. Their parents were heathens, but the tutors to whom the education of the children was intrusted, brought them up as Christians. Being apprehended on account of their faith, they were severely tortured, and then sentenced to be beheaded. A respite of a month was obtained for them by their friends, when their father, mother, and all their relations, attempted to bring them back to Paganism, but in vain. At last their constancy subdued their persuaders, and their parents and whole family became converts to a faith they had just before condemned.

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

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

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

Tibertius, a native of Rome, was of a family of rank and distinction. Being accused as a Christian, he was commanded either to sacrifice to idols, or to walk upon burning coals. He chose the latter, and passed over them without damage; when Fabian passed sentence upon him that he should be beheaded: which was performed in the month of August, A. D. 286, and his body was afterwards buried by some pious Christians.

MASSACRE OF A WHOLE LEGION OF CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS.

A very remarkable affair occurred in A. D. 286. A legion of soldiers, consisting of 6666 men, contained none but Christians. This

legion was called the Theban legion, because the men had been raised in Thebais: they were quartered in the East, till the emperor Maximian ordered them to march to Gaul, to assist him against the rebels of Burgundy; when passing the Alps under the command of Mauritius, Candidus, and Exupernis, they at length joined the emperor. About this time, Maximian ordered a general sacrifice, at which the whole army were to assist; and he commanded, that they should take oaths of allegiance, and swear, at the same time, to assist him in the extirpation of Christianity in Gaul.

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

But this second severity made no more impression than the first; the soldiers preserved their fortitude, and their principles; but, by the advice of their officers, drew up a remonstrance to the emperor, in which they told him, "that they were his subjects and his soldiers, but could not at the same time forget the Almighty; that they received their pay from him, and their existence from God. While your commands (said they) are not contradictory to those of our common master, we shall always be ready to obey, as we have been hitherto; but when the orders of our prince and those of the Almighty differ, we must always obey the latter. Our arms are devoted to the emperor's use, and shall be directed against his enemies; but we cannot submit to stain our hands with effusion of Christian blood; and how, indeed, could you, O emperor, be sure of our allegiance and fidelity, should we violate our obligation to our God, in whose service we were solemnly engaged before we entered the army? You 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."

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

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

A veteran soldier of another legion, whose name was Victor, met the executioners of this bloody business. As they appeared rather merry, he inquired 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 as those who had suffered. On his answering in the affirmative, several of the soldiers fell upon him, and dispatched him.

ALBAN, THE FIRST BRITISH MARTYR.

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

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

The venerable Bede states, that, upon this occasion, the executioner suddenly became

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

MARTYRDOM OF ST. FAITH, AND OTHERS.

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

The Tenth General Persecution under the Roman Emperors.

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

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

A GENERAL SACRIFICE OF THE CHRISTIANS.

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

were beheaded in Arabia; many devoured by wild beasts in Phœnicia; great numbers were broiled on gridirons in Syria; others had their bones broken, and in that manner were left to expire in Cappadocia; and in Mesopotamia, several were hung with their heads downwards, over a slow fire, and suffocated. In Pontus, a variety of tortures were used: in particular, pins were thrust under the nails of the prisoners, melted lead was poured upon them, but without effect. In Egypt, some Christians were buried alive in the earth, others were drowned in the Nile, many were hung in the air till they perished, and great numbers were thrown into large fires, &c. Scourges, racks, daggers, swords, poison, crosses, and famine, were made use of in various parts to dispatch the Christians; and invention was exhausted to devise tortures against them.

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

PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS ADDRESS THE EMPEROR TO STOP THE PERSECUTION.

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

ACCOUNT OF SOME WHO SUFFERED.

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

The emperor, on hearing the accusation, sent for Sebastian, and charged him with ingratitude in betraying the confidence reposed in him, and being an enemy to the gods of the empire and to himself:—To this he answered, that his religion was of a good, not a pernicious tendency, and that it did not stimulate him to any thing against the welfare of the empire, or the emperor; and that the greatest proof he could give of his fidelity, was the praying to the only true God for the health and prosperity of his imperial person. Incensed at this reply, the emperor ordered him to be taken to a field near the city, termed the Campus Martius, and there to be shot to death with arrows: which sentence was accordingly executed. A few Christians attending at the place of execution, in order to give his body burial, perceived signs of life in him, and moving him to a place of security, they in a short time effected his recovery, and prepared him for a second martyrdom; for as soon as he was able to walk, he placed himself intentionally in the emperor's way, as he was going to the temple. The unexpected appearance of a person supposed to be dead, greatly astonished the emperor, nor did the words of the martyr less surprise him; for he began with great severity to reprehend him for his various cruelties, and for his unreasonable prejudices against Christianity.

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

THE CHRISTIANS REFUSE TO BEAR ARMS UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

At this time the Christians, upon mature consideration, thought it unlawful to bear arms under a heathen emperor. Their reasons were:

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.—Such reasons induced many to refuse to enter into the imperial army, when called upon so to do; for the Roman constitution obliged all young men, of a certain stature, to make several campaigns.

Maximilian, the son of Fabius Victor, being pointed out as a proper person to bear arms, was ordered by Dion, the pro-consul, to be measured, that he might be enlisted in the service. Maximilian, however, boldly declared himself a Christian, and refused to do military duty. Being found of the proper height, Dion gave directions that he should

be marked as a soldier, according to the usual custom. He, however, strenuously opposed this order, and told Dion, that he could not possibly engage in the service. The pro-consul instantly replied, that he should either serve as a soldier, or die for 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."

Dion, wishing, however, to save the young man, commanded his father to use his authority over him, in order to persuade him to comply; but Victor coolly replied, "My son knoweth best what he has to do." Dion 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." The pro-consul then pronounced this sentence upon him: "That for disobedience in refusing to bear arms, and for professing the Christian faith, he should lose 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 salvation. Then addressing 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, which separated his head from his body. The father beheld the execution with amazing fortitude, and saw the head of his son severed from his body without any emotions, but such as seemed to proceed from a conscious pleasure, in being the parent of one whose piety and courage rendered him so great an example for Christians to imitate.

A PAGAN FATHER SEEKS TO SACRIFICE HIS OWN SON.

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

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

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

There was one Victor, a Christian of a good family at Marseilles, in France, who spent a great part of the night in visiting the afflicted, and confirming the weak, which pious work he could not, consistently with his own safety, perform in the day-time; and his fortune he spent in relieving the distresses of poor Christians. His actions becoming known, he was seized by the emperor's orders, and being carried before two prefects, they advised him to embrace Paganism, and not forfeit the favor of his prince, on account of a dead man, as they styled Christ: in answer to which, he replied, "That he preferred the service of that dead man, who was in reality the Son of God, and had risen from the grave, to all the advantages he could receive from the emperor's favor: that he was a soldier of Christ, and would therefore take care that the post he held under an earthly prince, should never interfere with his duty to the King of Heaven." For this reply, Victor was loaded with reproaches; but being a man of rank, he was sent to the emperor to receive his final sentence. When brought before him, Maximian commanded him, under the severest penalties, to sacrifice to the Roman idols; and on his refusal, ordered him to be bound and dragged through the streets. During the execution of this order, he was treated by the enraged populace with all manner of indignities.—Remaining, however, inflexible, his courage was deemed obstinacy: to which he replied, "That the ready disposition of the disciples of Christ to undergo any sufferings on that score, and the joy with which they met the most ignominious and painful deaths, were sufficient proofs of their assurance of the object of that hope." He added, "that he was ready to give an example of what he had said in his own person." When stretched

upon the rack, he turned his eyes towards heaven, and prayed to God to give him patience; after which he underwent the tortures with admirable fortitude. The executioners being tired with inflicting the torments, he was taken from the rack, and conveyed to a dungeon. During his confinement, he converted the gaolers, named Alexander, Felician, and Longinus. This affair coming to the knowledge of the emperor, he ordered them immediately to be put to death, and they were beheaded accordingly. Victor was afterwards again put to the rack, beaten with clubs, and then again sent to his dungeon. Being a third time examined concerning his religion, he persevered in his principles; a small altar was then brought, and he was commanded to offer incense upon it immediately; but at the request, he boldly stepped forward, and with his foot overthrew both altar and idol. The emperor Maximian, who was present, was so enraged at this, that he ordered the foot with which he had kicked the altar, to be immediately cut off; and Victor to be thrown into a mill, and crushed to pieces with the stones.—This horrid sentence was put into execution; but part of the apparatus breaking, he was drawn from the mill, terribly bruised; and the emperor not having patience to stay till it was mended, ordered his head to be struck off, which was executed accordingly.

FORTITUDE AND NOBLE CONDUCT OF THREE CHRISTIAN FRIENDS.

While Maximus, governor of Cilicia, was at Tarsus, three Christians were brought before him by Demetrius, a military officer. Tarachus, the eldest, and first in rank, was addressed by Maximus, who asked him what he was? The prisoner replied, "A Christian." This reply offending the governor, he again made the same demand, and was answered in a similar manner. Hereupon the governor told him, that he ought to sacrifice to the gods, as that was the only way to promotion, riches, and honors; and that the emperors themselves did what he recommended to him to perform: but Tarachus replied, that avarice was a sin, and gold itself an idol as abominable as any other; for it promoted frauds, treacheries, robberies, and murders; it induced men to deceive each other, by which in time they deceived themselves, and bribed the weak to their own eternal destruction. As for promotion, he desired it not, as he could not in conscience accept of any place which would subject him to pay adoration to idols; and with regard to honors, he desired none greater than the honorable title of Christian. As to the emperors themselves being Pagans, he added with the same undaunted and determined spirit, that they were superstitiously deceived in adoring senseless idols, and evidently misled by the machinations of the devil himself. For the boldness of this speech, his jaws were ordered to be broken. He was then stripped, scourged, loaded with chains, and thrown into a dismal dungeon, to remain there till the trials of the other two prisoners.—Probus was then brought before Maximus, who, as usual, asked him his name. Undauntedly the prisoner replied, the most valuable name he could boast of was that of a Christian. To this Maximus replied in the following words: "Your name of Christian will be of little service to you: be therefore guided by me; sacrifice to the gods, engage my friendship, and the favor of the emperor."—Probus nobly answered, "that as he had relinquished a considerable fortune to become a soldier of Christ, it might appear evident, that he neither cared for his friendship, nor the favor of the emperor."—Probus was then scourged; and Demetrius, the officer, observing to him how his blood flowed, advised him to comply; but his only answer was, that those severities were agreeable to him. "What!" cried Maximus, "does he still persist in his madness?" To which Probus rejoined, "that character is badly bestowed on one who refuses to worship idols, or, what is worse, devils." After being scourged on the back, he was scourged on the belly, which he suffered with as much intrepidity as before, still repeating, "the more my body suffers and loses blood, the more my soul will grow vigorous, and be a gainer." He was then committed to 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." He was ordered to undergo punishments similar to those of Tarachus and Probus, and then to be remanded to prison.

Having been confined some days, the three prisoners were again brought before Maximus, who began first to reason with Tarachus, saying, that as old age was honored from the supposition of its being accompanied by wisdom, he was in hopes that what had already passed, must, upon deliberation, have caused a change in his sentiments. Finding himself, however, mistaken, he ordered him to be tortured by various means; particularly, fire was placed in the palms of his hands; he was hung up by his feet, and smoked with wet straw; and a mixture of salt and vinegar was poured into his nostrils; and he was then again remanded to his dungeon.—Probus being again called, and asked if he would sacrifice, replied, "I come better prepared than before; for what I have already suffered, has only confirmed and strengthened me in my resolution. Employ your whole power upon me, and you will find, that neither you, nor your masters, the emperors, nor the gods whom you serve, nor the devil, who is your father, shall oblige me to adore gods whom

I know not."—The governor, however, attempted to reason with him, paid the most extravagant praises to the Pagan deities, and pressed him to sacrifice to Jupiter; but Probus turned his casuistry into ridicule, and said, "Shall I pay divine honors to Jupiter; to one who married his own sister; to an infamous debauchee; as he is even acknowledged to have been by your own priests and poets?" Provoked at this speech, the governor ordered him to be struck upon the mouth, for uttering what he called blasphemy: his body was then seared with hot irons, he was put to the rack, and afterwards scourged, his head was then shaved, and red-hot coals placed upon the crown; and after all these tortures, he was again sent to prison.

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

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

HORRID MARTYRDOM OF ROMANUS.

Romanus, a native of Palestine, was deacon of the church of Cæsarea, at the time of the commencement of Diocletian's persecution. He was at Antioch when the imperial order arrived for sacrificing to idols, and was greatly afflicted to see many Christians, through fear, submit to the idolatrous mandate, and deny their faith to preserve their existence. While censuring some of them for their conduct, he was informed against, and soon after apprehended. Being brought to the tribunal, he confessed himself a Christian, and said he was willing to suffer any thing which they might be pleased to inflict upon him for his confession. When condemned, he was scourged, put to the rack, his body torn with hooks, his flesh cut with knives, his face scarified, his teeth beat from their sockets, and his hair plucked up by the roots. Thus cruelly mangled, he turned to the governor, and very calmly thanked him for what he had done, and for having opened for him so many mouths to preach the doctrines of Christianity; "for," says he, "every wound is a mouth to sing the praises of the Lord."—He was soon after ordered to be strangled; which sentence was executed on the 17th of November, A. D. 303.

MARTYRDOM OF MARCELLINUS AND OTHERS.

Marcellinus was an ecclesiastic at Rome; being apprehended on account of his religion, he was ordered to be privately executed in the forest, and was accordingly beheaded there.

Peter, a Christian, apprehended for the same cause, was executed at the same time and place. Also about this period, Smaragdus, Largus, and Cyriacus, a deacon of the Christian church, were martyred; but the mode of their deaths is not specified.

Susanna, the niece of Caius, bishop of Rome, was pressed by the emperor Diocletian to marry a noble Pagan, who was nearly related to him: but she refused the honor, on account of her being a Christian; which so enraged the emperor, that she was immediately afterwards beheaded by his order.

Dorotheus, the high chamberlain of the household to Diocletian, was a Christian, and took great pains to make converts; and he was assisted by Gorgonius, another Chris-

tian, and one belonging to the palace: they were both high in the emperor's favor, but they soon proved that worldly honors, 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.

There was one Peter, a eunuch belonging to the emperor, who was a Christian of singular humility; insomuch, that he did any servile office to serve the afflicted, and gave whatever he possessed to those who needed assistance. Having been informed against as a Christian, and confessing the charge, he was scourged till his flesh was torn in a terrible manner; and then salt and vinegar were thrown upon the wounds; and after suffering these tortures with the utmost tranquillity, he was laid on a gridiron, and broiled over a slow fire, till he expired in the greatest agony.

CONVERSION AND DEATH OF CYPRIAN.

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 applied himself to astrology; after which, he travelled through India, Egypt, Greece, &c. He afterwards settled near Babylon, and being skilled in the Chaldean mysteries, he employed his talents in endeavoring to draw women from chastity and conjugal faith, and in persecuting the Christians, and ridiculing Christianity. He became acquainted with Justina, a young lady of Antioch, of high birth, beauty, and accomplishments, who had been educated in idolatry, but being converted to Christianity, she induced her father and mother to embrace the same faith. A Pagan gentleman falling in love with her, and not being able to obtain a favorable return to his addresses, applied for assistance to Cyprian, who undertook the design, but with a treacherous intent; for, under the pretence of acting for his friend, he determined, if possible, to possess the lady himself. To effect this, he employed all his skill; but his endeavors proving ineffectual, he was fully convinced that a superior power protected her from his evil intentions. His reflections, on this account, caused him to search into the truths of Christianity; and his inquiry became so beneficial, that he renounced the errors of Paganism. His repentance was truly sincere; he determined to reform his conduct, and to make every amends in his power for the crimes he had committed. He therefore burnt his books of astrology and magic, received baptism, and became animated with a powerful spirit of grace. His conversion had a great effect on the lover of Justina, and he also in a short time embraced Christianity.

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

OTHER MARTYRS.

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

A Spanish lady, of a Christian family, named Eulalia, who was remarkable for sweetness of temper and solidity of understanding, was apprehended as a Christian. The magistrate attempted, by the mildest means, to bring her over to Paganism, but she answered him in so ironical a manner, and ridiculed the Pagan deities with such asperity, that, incensed at her behavior, he ordered her to be tortured. Accordingly, 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: this happened in December A. D. 303.

The emperor Diocletian falling ill in the year 304, the persecution was carried on by Galerius, and the governors of the several provinces, when many fell victims to the zeal or malice of the persecutors; among whom the following persons are enumerated:

Vincent, a Spanish Christian, was educated by Valerius, bishop of Saragossa, who, on account of his great merits, ordained him a deacon. When the persecution reached Spain, Dacian, the governor of Tarragona, ordered Valerius the bishop, and Vincent the deacon, to be seized, loaded with irons, and imprisoned. Some time after, Dacian examined them with great asperity, and threatened them with death, unless they renounced their principles. Vincent, undertaking to speak for both, avowed their full determination to persist in the faith. Hereupon Dacian, in a rage at his freedom of speech, declared, that unless he immediately burnt incense to the gods, he should fall a sacrifice. But the prisoners being firm in their resolutions, Valerius was banished, and the whole of Dacian's rage directed against Vincent, who was racked, had his limbs dislocated, his flesh torn with hooks, and he was laid on a gridiron, which had not only a fire placed under it, but spikes at the top, which ran into his flesh. In this situation, while one side was broiling over the fire, the other was tormented with red-hot irons, or salamanders; and then salt was thrown over the wounds. These torments neither destroying

Martyrdom of a Christian Lady.

Martyrdom of Eulalia, a Spanish Christian Lady.

him, nor changing his resolutions, he was remanded to prison, and confined in a dark dungeon, which was strewed with sharp flints and pieces of glass. Orders were also 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 that event took place. When the keepers thought him starved, they entered the dungeon; but instead of seeing a corpse, as they expected, they beheld 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 means of their conversion. Dacian, however, 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. But his 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 as much calmness as if he had only sunk into a gentle sleep.

Dacian then ordered that his body should be exposed in the fields to the birds of prey; but they not offering to touch it, he commanded that it should be thrown into the river, which was done accordingly. His death happened on the 22d of January, 304.

PERSECUTIONS IN AFRICA.

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

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

and were also starved to death in the same manner.

There were eight other Christians 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 for want of a pure air. Thelico, a pious Christian; Dativus, a noble Roman senator; Victoria, a young lady of considerable family and fortune, with some others of less consideration, who had been all auditors of Saturninus, were seized at the time, tortured in a similar manner, and perished by the same means.

MARTYRDOM OF THREE SISTERS.

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

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

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

When the governor found that he could make no impression on her, he ordered her to be exposed naked in the streets; which

was burnt, April 1, A. D. 304, at the same place where her sisters had suffered before her.

One Agatho, a man of a pious turn of mind, with Cassice, Philippa, and Eutychia, were martyred about the same time; as was Marcellinus, bishop of Rome, who succeeded Caius in that see. He was greatly perplexed during this persecution; and having strongly opposed paying divine honors to Diocletian, who wished to exact them from the people, and to appear as a god, he was at length seized and committed to a dungeon. He suffered martyrdom, by a variety of tortures, in the year 304.

MARTYRDOM OF THEODOTUS AND OTHERS.

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

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

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

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

Theodotus displayed great courage and eloquence in his answer: he absolutely refused to renounce his faith, declined the friendship of the governor, and protection of the emperor, and treated the idols with the greatest contempt. The Pagans on this were in general extremely clamorous against the prisoner, and demanded him to be immediately punished; the priests in particular rent their clothes, and tore their chaplets, the badges of their offices, through rage. The governor complied with their desire, when Theodotus was scourged, torn with hooks, and then placed upon the rack. After this, vinegar was poured into his wounds, his flesh was seared with burning torches, and his teeth were knocked out of their sockets. He was then remanded to prison; and as he went, pointing to his mangled body, he said to the people, "It was but just that Christians should suffer for him who suffered for us all."—Five days afterwards, he was brought from prison, tortured, and then beheaded.

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

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

The governor, on the failure of his design of having them prostituted, determined to compel them to assist in the idolatrous [illegible] of washing the goddesses Minerva [illegible] Di[illegible] for in Ancyra it was [illegible] custom a[illegible]

Martyrdom of Irene, a Christian Virgin, at Thessalonica.

Method of torturing the Primitive Christians.

wash the images of those goddesses; and the washing was considered as a material part of the adoration of the idols.

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

A Christian, of the name of Timothy, being carried before Urban, governor of Palestine, was sentenced to be burnt to death by a slow fire; which sentence was executed at Gaza, on the 19th day of August, A. D. 304.

ACTIONS OF PHILIP, BISHOP OF HERACLEA.

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, who all did much to promote the cause of Christianity. This worthy bishop was advised to secrete himself, in order to avoid the persecution; but he reproved those who counselled him so to do, telling them that their merit would be enhanced by their sufferings, and that death had no terror for the virtuous. He therefore publicly performed his duty.

An officer, named Aristomachus, being employed to shut up the Christian church 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 adore God. But being 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, perseverance, and godliness. For this he was seized and carried before the governor, 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 honored by gold and silver, but by the fear of his power; 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 governor, that he ordered him to the torture. Hermes, expressing himself freely against such barbarities, was ordered to be scourged at the same time.

The Pagans having proceeded to the place where the scriptures and the church plate were kept, immediately seized them; they likewise unroofed the church, walled up the doors, embezzled the plate, and burnt the scriptures.

When Philip was taken to the market-place, he was ordered to sacrifice to the Roman deities in general, and to Hercules in particular; in answer to which command, he made an animated address on the real nature of the Deity; and concluded, that from what he had already said, it appeared that the heathens worshipped what might lawfully be trodden on, and made gods of such things as Providence had designed for their service.

The governor then tried the constancy of Hermes, but finding him as inflexible as the bishop, he committed them both to prison. Soon after this, a new governor, named Justin, arrived; but he was equally cruel as his predecessor.

Philip was then dragged by the feet through the streets, severely scourged, and brought again to the governor, who charged him with obstinate rashness, in continuing disobedient to the imperial decrees; but he boldly replied, that "he was obliged to prefer heaven to earth, and to obey God rather than man." On this the governor immediately passed sentence on him to be burnt, which was executed accordingly, and he expired, singing praises to God in the midst of the fire. Hermes, for behaving in a similar manner, and Severus, who had surrendered himself up in order to suffer with his friends, met with the same fate.

NUMEROUS MARTYRDOMS.

Agricola was a Christian of so very amiable a disposition, that he even gained the esteem and admiration of the Pagans. Being apprehended, however, he was crucified, in imitation of the death of our Savior; and his body, together with the cross, was buried at Bologna, in Italy.

Vitalis, the servant and convert of the above Agricola, was seized upon the same account as his master, and being put to the severity of the torture, died under the hands of his tormentors.

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

A Christian of Aquileia, named Chrysogonus, was beheaded by order of Diocletian, for having instructed Anastasia, a young lady of that city, in the Christian faith. This young lady 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 lady, who was a Pagan, gave her in marriage to a person of his own persuasion, named Publius, who 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 soon after dying, his wife was released; but continuing to perform many charitable actions to Christians, she was again apprehended, and delivered up to Florus, governor 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, which was executed on December 25, A. D. 304; the event taking place about a month after the martyrdom of Chrysogonus, her instructor.

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

Timothy, a deacon of Mauritania, and Maura his wife, had not been married above three weeks, when they were separated from each other by the persecution. Timothy was carried before Arrianus, the governor of Thebais, who did all in his power to induce him to embrace the Pagan superstition. But perceiving his endeavors vain, and knowing that Timothy had the keeping of the holy scriptures, the governor 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 governor, 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." He endured the punishment with such patience, that the governor grew more exasperated, and ordered him to be hung up by the feet, with a weight tied about his neck, and a gag in his mouth.

This treatment he underwent with the greatest courage; when some person acquainted the governor that he had been but newly married to a wife, of whom he was extremely fond. Arrianus accordingly ordered Maura to be sent for, and promised a handsome reward, with the life of her husband, if she could prevail upon him to sacrifice to the idols. Maura, wavering in her faith, tempted by a bribe, and impelled by an unbounded affection for her husband, undertook the impious affair.

When conducted to him, she assailed his constancy with all the persuasive language of affection. When the gag was taken out

tunity of replying, instead of consenting to his wife's entreaties, as they expected, he greatly blamed her mistaken love, and declared his resolution of dying for the faith. 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. Timothy advised her to repair her fault by declaring that resolution to the governor, by whose order she had undertaken the sinful commission. On which, being strengthened by his exhortations, and the grace of God, she went to Arrianus, and told him, that she was united to her husband in opinion as well as love, and was ready to suffer any thing to atone for her late crime, in wishing to make him an apostate. The governor immediately ordered her to be tortured, which was executed with great severity; and after this Timothy and Maura were crucified near each other, A. D. 304.

A bishop of Assisium, named Sabinus, refusing to sacrifice to Jupiter, and pushing the idol from him, had his hands cut off by the order of the governor 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 grandson had been by him restored to sight.

The governor, who was himself afflicted with sore eyes, on hearing this intelligence, began to consider the behavior of the Christians, and the tenets of Christianity, in a more favorable light, and 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 entreated him to afford him assistance, and to undertake the cure of his body and soul.

The undissembled fervency with which he spoke, convinced Sabinus of his sincerity: he was accordingly baptized, and the disorder in his eyes immediately left them: this conversion of the governor was followed by that of his whole family, and some of his friends. When the tyrant Maximian was informed of these circumstances, he immediately ordered the governor and all his family to be beheaded. Immediately after their execution, Sabinus was scourged to death; and two ecclesiastics, named Marcellus and Experantius, 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. This took place in December, A. D. 304.

It now happened that, weary of the toils of state, Diocletian and Maximian resigned

Constantius and Galerius; the former, a prince of the most mild and humane disposition; and the latter remarkable for his tyranny and cruelty. These divided the empire into two equal governments; Galerius ruling in the East, and Constantius in the West; and the people in the two governments felt the effects of the different dispositions of the emperors; for those in the West were governed in the mildest manner, but such as resided in the East felt all the miseries of cruelty and oppression.

DREADFUL PERSECUTIONS BY GALERIUS.

As Galerius bore an implacable hatred towards the Christians, we are informed, that "he not only condemned them to tortures, but to be burnt, in slow fires, in this horrible manner: they were first chained to a post, then a gentle fire put to the soles of their feet, which contracted the callus till it fell off from the bone: then 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 to wash their mouths, lest their throats should be dried up with thirst, and choke them. Thus their miseries were lengthened out whole days, till, at last, their skins being consumed, and they just ready to expire, were thrown into a great fire, and had their bodies burned to ashes, after which their ashes were thrown into some river."

Amphianus, of Lycia, and a scholar of Eusebius, pressing through the crowd while the proclamation for sacrificing to idols was read, he caught the governor Urbianus by the hand, and severely reproved him for his wickedness. On which the governor, incensed at the freedom, ordered him to be put to the torture, and then thrown into the sea.

Ædesius, brother of Amphianus, was, about the same time, martyred at Alexandria, in a terrible manner.

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

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

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

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

Eustratius, secretary to the governor of Armenia, was thrown into a furnace, for exhorting some Christians, who had been apprehended, to persevere in their faith. Auxentius and Eugenius, two of Eustratius's adherents, were burnt at Nicopolis; Mardarius, another friend of his, expired under torment; and Orestes, a military officer, was broiled to death on a gridiron, for wearing a golden cross at his breast. Theodore, a Syrian by birth, a soldier and a Christian, set fire to the temple of Cybele, in Amasia, through indignation at the idolatrous worship practised in it, for which he was scourged, and on February 18, A. D. 306, burnt to death.

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

and put to death; soon after which, Dorothea was tortured, and then beheaded.

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

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

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

MARTYRDOMS IN NAPLES.

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

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

While he was there, the emperor's birthday was kept, and the sacrifices to the Pagan idols made a considerable part of that solemnity. All the subjects of the empire were expected, on that occasion, to conform to the blind religion of their prince; but Marcellus, who had been well instructed in the duties of his profession, expressed his detestation of those profane practices, by throwing away his belt, the badge of his military character, at the head of his company, declaring aloud that he was a soldier of Christ, the eternal king. He then quitted his arms, and added, that from that moment he ceased to serve the emperor; and that he thus expressed his contempt of the gods of the 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." This behavior occasioned an order for his being beheaded. Cassian, secretary to the court which tried Marcellus, expressing his disapprobation of such proceedings, was ordered into custody; when avowing himself a Christian, he met with the same fate.

MARTYRDOM OF QUIRINUS, AND OTHERS.

Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, being carried before Matenius, the governor, was ordered to sacrifice to the Pagan deities; but refusing, was ordered to be severely scourged. During the infliction of this punishment, the governor urgently pressed him to sacrifice, and offered to make him a priest of Jupiter: to which Quirinus replied, "I am already engaged in the priestly office, while I thus offer a sacrifice to the true God. I 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 we wish for."

The governor then sent him to prison, and ordered him to be heavily ironed; after which he was sent to Amantius, governor of Pannonia, who loaded him with chains, and carried him through the principal towns of that province, exposing him to general ridicule. At length, arriving 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 was accordingly put into execution, and Quirinus, floating about for sometime, exhorted the people in the most pious terms, concluding his admonitions with this prayer:

"It is no new thing, O all-powerful Jesus! for thee 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!"

After uttering these words, he immediately sunk. This took place June 4, A. D. 308; and his body was afterwards taken up, and buried by some pious Christians.

Five Egyptian Christians being on a visit to their afflicted brethren in Cæsarea, were apprehended and carried before Firmilian, the governor of Palestine, who, on questioning them, 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 governor was surprised at the answer, as he knew that 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 inquired more particularly concerning it. The Christian who had spoken before, again replied, and pursuing the allegory, described, with great force of imagination, the beauty, riches, and strength of the place. Firmilian still mistaking his meaning, by understanding his words in a literal sense, became much 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 emperor. Prejudiced by this mistake, and enraged at their supposed disloyalty, he condemned the five prisoners to be cruelly tormented, and then beheaded; which sentence was executed on the 16th of February, A. D. 309.

PAMPHILIUS AND MANY OTHERS PUT TO DEATH.

Pamphilius, a native of Phœnicia, of a considerable family, was a man of such extensive learning, that he was called a second Origen.—He was received amongst the clergy at Cæsarea, where he 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, the governor of Palestine, who exerted himself to induce him to embrace Paganism. Finding his endeavors vain, he began to threaten him; but Pamphilius maintained his resolution, whereupon he was immediately tortured severely, and then sent to prison.

Soon after, Urban having displeased the emperor, was displaced and beheaded; but another governor was appointed, who was equally prejudiced against the Christians.

Pamphilius suffered martyrdom under the new governor, by being beheaded; together with Valens, a deacon of the church of Jerusalem; and Paul, a layman, of Jamnia, in Palestine. Porphyrius, the servant of Pamphilius, was burnt by a straw fire, for only requesting leave to bury the body of his master and other martyrs who suffered. Theodulus, a venerable and faithful servant to Firmilian the governor, being accused of the Christian faith, confessed the charge, and was, by order of his master, crucified, on February 17, A. D. 309; and, on the same day, Julian, a Cappadocian, was burnt. Marcellus, bishop of Rome, being banished on account of his faith, fell a martyr to the miseries he suffered in exile, A. D. 310, on the 16th of January. Peter, the sixteenth bishop of Alexandria, was martyred November 25, A. D. 311, by order of Maximus Cæsar, who reigned in the East. Lucian, a learned Syrian, a man of so benevolent a temper, that he disposed of the greatest part of his fortune in charitable actions, was apprehended as a Christian, imprisoned during nine years, put to the rack, rolled upon sharp flints, nails, &c. and then being tortured to death, his body was thrown into the sea; but it was afterwards cast on shore, and received interment.

Valentine, a priest, suffered the same fate at Rome; and Erasmus, a bishop, was martyred in Campania; Cosmus and Damian, Arabians, and brothers, were put to death in Cilicia; Adrian, an imperial officer, was beheaded; Barbara, a young lady, was martyred at Nicomedia; Lucy, a virgin, was put to death at Syracuse; and Serena, the empress of Diocletian, was beheaded for avowing herself a Christian. Innumerable other persons, of all ranks, suffered death for the love of Christ, during this most dreadful persecution, but their names have not been preserved; indeed, such was the horrible cruelty of the Pagans, that they shut up the doors of a church in which a Christian congregation were assembled, and having set fire to the building, every person perished.

The following remarkable instance is a proof of the power of the Almighty to endue those who suffer for his cause with fortitude sufficient to disappoint the malicious expectations of their persecutors, and to triumph, even in death, over the arts of their adversaries. Barlaam, a noble martyr, having been tortured with the utmost severity, even to the point of death, the tormentors at last laid him upon the Pagan altar, 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 his hand, which appeared as if it had been covered with red-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 to his Redeemer.

MARTYRDOM OF ST. GEORGE.

George was born in Cappadocia, of Christian parents; by whom he was instructed in the tenets of the gospel. His father dying when he was young, he travelled with his mother into Palestine, which was her native country, where she inherited an estate, which afterwards descended to her son. George being active and spirited, became a soldier, and was made a tribune or colonel. In this post he exhibited great proofs of his courage, and was promoted in the army of Diocletian. During the persecution, he threw up his command, went boldly to the senate-house,

and avowed his being a Christian, taking occasion at the same time to remonstrate against Paganism. This conduct so greatly provoked the senate, that he was ordered to be tortured, which he underwent with great constancy. He was afterwards, by the emperor's orders, dragged through the streets, and beheaded. The calendar commemorates his martyrdom on the 23d of April; many churches have been dedicated to him, and he is considered as the tutelar saint and patron of England.*

CONSTANTINE BECOMES THE CHAMPION OF THE CHRISTIANS.

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

THE VISION OF CONSTANTINE.

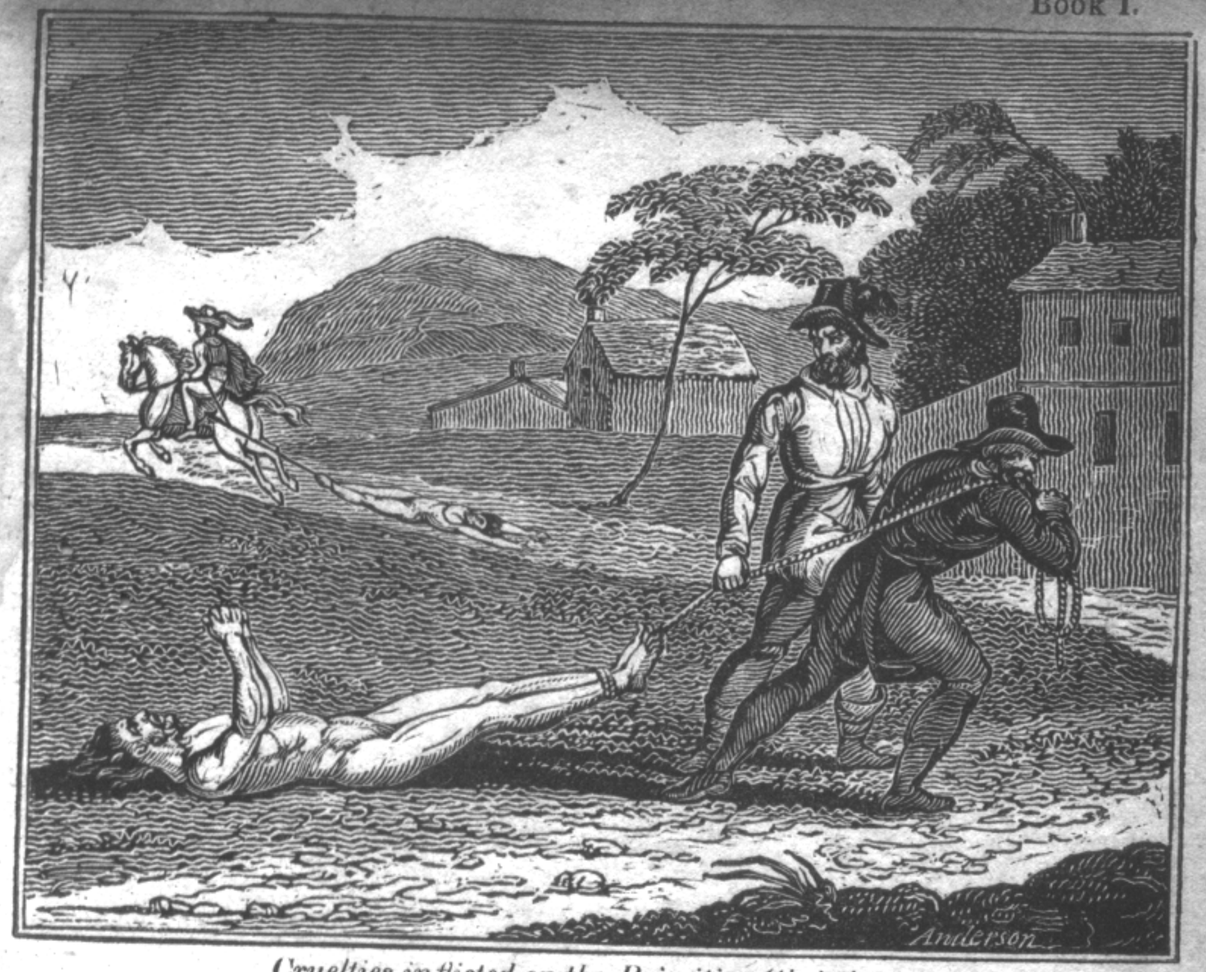
"The army being advanced near Rome, and the emperor employed in his devout ejaculations, on the 27th day of October, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the sun was declining, there suddenly appeared to him a pillar of light in the heavens, in the form of a cross, with this plain inscription on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

DEATH OF MAXIMUS AND LICINIUS.

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

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

* The Order of the Garter, instituted by Edward III., is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the blessed Virgin, St. George, and St. Edward the Confessor. In the badge of the order, St. George is represented on horseback, tilting at a dragon, which is only allegorical, and implies that he had conquered the devil, or the dragon, by his faith in Christianity, and his fortitude in adhering thereto.



Cruelties inflicted on the Primitive Christians.

Tortures of the early Christian Martyrs.

Remarks on the Vengeance of God towards the Persecutors of the Christians.

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

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

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

Thus it is evident that wickedness and infidelity are certainly, though sometimes slowly, punished by Him who is just, although merciful: and if he has hitherto graciously refrained from visiting the sins of this nation with the punishment which they deserve, let us not be vain of that exemption: let us not attribute it to any merit of our own: but rather let it afford an additional motive to our gratitude and praise; let us unfeignedly thank him for his tender mercies daily vouchsafed to us; and, while we bow before him in humble adoration, let us earnestly endeavor to preserve our worship of him free from that ungodliness and superstition, of which it has been happily purged and cleansed by the blood of the holy martyrs. So shall we not only secure our happiness in this world, but, in the end, attain everlasting joy and felicity, through the merits of our blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who gave up himself as a precious sacrifice for our transgressions.

If we be negligent in the defence of the pure religion which he has vouchsafed to impart unto us; if we allow that glorious fabric, which cost so much blood to raise, to be overturned by the open attack of the Infidel, or the more dangerous sap and mine of the Catholic Emancipator; we alone are justly blamable for the consequences that will infallibly ensue; and on our heads will rest the dreadful responsibility of having surrendered the citadel of our security to those who await, in anxious expectation, the moment when the weakness of some, and the indifference of others, shall allow the power to pass from their hands, under the delusive hope of seeing it exercised with moderation.

BOOK II.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS IN PERSIA BY SAPORES; IN EGYPT, &c. BY THE ARIAN HERETICS: BY JULIAN THE APOSTATE; BY THE GOTHS, VANDALS, &c. &c.

SECTION I.

Persecutions of the Christians in Persia.

In consequence of the gospel having spread itself into Persia, the Pagan priests became greatly alarmed, dreading the loss of their influence over the minds of their people. They therefore complained to the emperor, that the Christians were enemies to the state, and held a treasonable correspondence with the Romans, the great enemies of Persia. The emperor, being himself averse to Christianity, gave credit to their accusations, and issued orders for the persecution of the Christians throughout his empire.

MARTYRDOM OF SIMEON AND OTHERS.

In consequence of this mandate, Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia, with many other ecclesiastics, to the number of 128, were apprehended and accused of having betrayed the affairs of Persia to the Romans. The emperor being greatly exasperated against them, ordered Simeon to be brought before him. The archbishop in his presence boldly acknowledged his faith, and defended the cause of Christianity. The emperor, offended at his freedom, ordered him to kneel before him as he had heretofore done. To this Simeon answered, "that being now brought before him a prisoner, for the truth of his religion, it was not lawful for him to kneel, lest he should be thought to worship a man, and betray his faith to his God." Whereupon the emperor told him, that if he did not kneel, he and all the Christians in his dominions should be put to death; but Simeon still rejected the command with disdain. The emperor then ordered him to be sent to prison.

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

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

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

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

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

Acepsimus, and many other ecclesiastics, were seized upon, and ordered to adore the sun; which refusing, they were scourged, and then tormented to death, or kept in

prison till they expired. Athalas, a priest, though not put to death, was so miserably racked, that his arms were rendered useless, and he was ever after obliged to be fed like a child. In short, by this edict, above 16,000 persons either suffered horribly by torture, or lost their lives.

CONSTANTINE WRITES TO THE KING OF PERSIA IN FAVOR OF THE CHRISTIANS.

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

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

DEGRADATION OF A CHRISTIAN NOBLEMAN.

Hormisdas, a Persian nobleman, being convicted of Christianity, was ordered to attend the emperor's elephants naked. This disgusting task he performed for some time, when the emperor one day standing at a window which overlooked the yard where the elephants were kept, saw Hormisdas performing his office. Determining to try him once more, he gave orders that a shirt should be put on him, and that he should be brought into his presence. He then asked him if he would now deny Christ. On which Hormisdas tore off his shirt, and said, "If you think I will deny my faith for the sake of a shirt, take your gift again." The emperor then banished him from Persia, and he died in exile.

Suenes, a Christian nobleman, refusing to deny Christ, his wife was taken from him, and given to one of the meanest of the emperor's slaves; while he was ordered to wait upon his wife and the slave, which broke his heart.

Theodoret, a deacon, was imprisoned for two years, and on being released, was ordered not to preach the doctrine of Christ. He, however, did his utmost to propagate the gospel; for which he was miserably tormented, by having sharp reeds thrust under his nails; and then a knotty branch of a tree was forced into his body, and he expired in the most excruciating agony.

Bademus, a Christian of Mesopotamia, gave away his fortune to the poor, and devoted his life to religious retirement. He was, however, with seven others, seized on and cruelly tortured. His fellow-prisoners immediately received martyrdom, though the manner is not recorded; and Bademus, after having been four months in prison, was beheaded by Narses, an apostate Christian, who acted as the executioner, in order to convince the emperor that he was sincere in the renunciation of his faith.

SECTION II.

Persecutions by the Arian Heretics.

The sect denominated the Arian Heretics, had its origin from Arius,* a native of Libya, and priest of Alexandria, who, in A. D. 318, began to publish his errors. He was condemned by a council of Libyan and Egyptian bishops, and the sentence was confirmed by the council of Nice, A. D. 325. After the death of Constantine the Great, the Arians found means to ingratiate themselves into the favor of Constantius, his son and successor in the East; and hence a persecution was raised against the orthodox bishops and clergy.† The celebrated Athanasius, and

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

† How humiliating is it to perceive that the Christians had scarcely escaped from the persecutions of their general enemy, ere they began to persecute each other with the most unrelenting fury! How could these men dare to arrogate to themselves the

other bishops, were banished at this period, and their sees filled with Arians.

In Egypt and Libya, thirty bishops were martyred, and many other Christians cruelly tormented; and A. D. 336, George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, under the authority of the emperor, began a persecution in that city and its environs, which was continued with the utmost severity. He was assisted by Catophonius, governor of Egypt; Sebastian, general of the Egyptian forces; Paustinus, the treasurer; and a Roman officer named Heraclius. Indeed, so fierce was this persecution, that the clergy were driven from Alexandria, their churches were shut, and the severities practised by the Arian heretics were as great as those which had been exercised by the Pagan idolaters. If a man accused of being a Christian made his escape, his whole family were massacred, and his effects forfeited. By this means the orthodox Christians, being deprived of all places of public worship in the city of Alexandria, used to perform their devotions in a desert at some distance from it. On a Trinity-Sunday, when they had met, George, the Arian bishop, engaged Sebastian, the general, to fall upon them with his soldiers, while they were at prayers; and many were sacrificed to the fury of the troops, while others were reserved for more cruel and lingering deaths: some were beaten on their faces till all their features were disfigured; or were lashed with twigs of palm-trees, with such violence, that they expired under the blows, or by the mortification of the wounds. Several, whose lives had been spared, were, however, banished to the deserts of Africa, where, amidst all their sufferings, they passed their time in prayer.

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

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

PERSECUTION OF PAUL.

Paul, the bishop of Constantinople, was a Macedonian, and had been designed, from his birth, for a clerical life. When Alexander, the predecessor of Paul, was on his death-bed, he was consulted by some of the clergy on the choice of a successor: when he told them, "That if they were disposed to choose a person of exemplary life, and thoroughly capable of instructing the people, Paul was the man; but if they had rather have a man acquainted with worldly affairs, and fit for the conversation of a court, they might then choose Macedonius." This latter was a deacon in the church of Constantinople, in which office he had spent many years, and gained great experience; and the dying prelate did both him and Paul justice in their different characters. Nevertheless, the Arians gave out, that Alexander had bestowed great commendations on Macedonius for sanctity, and had only given Paul the reputation of eloquence, and a capacity for business: after some struggle, the orthodox party carried their point, and Paul was consecrated. Macedonius, offended at this preference, did his utmost to calumniate the new bishop: but not gaining belief, he dropped the charge, and was reconciled to him. This, however, was not the case with Eusebius of Nicomedia, who accused Paul of having led a disorderly life before his consecration; and of having been placed in the see of Constantinople without the consent of the bishops of Nicomedia and Heraclea, two metropolitans, who ought to have been consulted upon that occasion.

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

Paul having thus lost all authority in the East, retired to the territories of Constans, in the West, where he was well received by

exclusive title of *Christians*, when every part of their conduct was at direct variance with the precepts and practice of the Divine Founder of the religion which they professed? How absurd is the expectation of *enforcing* belief; and how criminal the attempt to effect conviction by the sword! How much more congenial to the mild and tolerant spirit of genuine Christianity, is the sentiment conveyed in the following lines:

"Let not this weak, unknowing hand,
Presume thy bolts to throw,
And deal damnation round the land
On each I judge thy foe."

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

Constantius, the emperor, who was then at Antioch, hearing of this schism, laid the whole blame upon Paul, and ordered that he should be driven from Constantinople. But Hermogenes, the officer who had received the emperor's order, attempted in vain to put it into execution; being slain by the orthodox Christians, who had risen in defence of Paul. This event greatly exasperated the emperor, who left Antioch, in the depth of winter, and returned to Constantinople, with a design to punish the Christians. He, however, contented himself with banishing Paul, and suspending Macedonius. Paul then again retired to the territories of Constans, implored the protection of that emperor, and, by his intercession, was again vested in his see. His re-establishment exasperated his enemies, who made many attempts against his life, against which the affections of his people were his only security; and being convinced that the emperor had no other motive for allowing his stay at Constantinople, but the dread of disobliging his brother, Paul could not think himself wholly restored to his bishopric; and being very much concerned at what the orthodox bishops suffered from the power and malice of the Arian faction, he joined Athanasius, who was then in Italy, in soliciting a general council. This council was held at Sardica, in Illyrium, in the year 347, at which were present one hundred bishops of the western, and seventy-three of the eastern empire. But disagreeing in many points, the Arian bishops of the East retired to Philipoppolis, in Thrace; and forming a meeting there, they termed it the council of Sardica, from which place they pretended to issue an excommunication against Julius, bishop of Rome; Paul, bishop of Constantinople; Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria; and several other prelates. In the year 350, the emperor Constans died, which gave the Arians fresh courage, and they applied to the emperor Constantius, who, being inclined towards the Arians, wrote an order to the prefect Philip, to remove Paul from the bishopric of Constantinople, and to restore Macedonius. Paul was then exiled to Cucucus, confined in a dark dungeon, for six days, without food, and then strangled. He met death with uncommon fortitude.

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

SECTION III.

Persecutions under Julian the Apostate.

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

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

and pretended virtues, he for a time did more mischief to Christianity, than the most profligate of his predecessors.

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

Julian ordered that Christians might be treated coldly upon all occasions, and in all parts of the empire, and employed witty persons to turn them and their principles into ridicule. Many were likewise martyred in his reign; for though he did not publicly persecute them himself, he connived at their being murdered by his governors and officers; and though he affected never to reward them for those cruelties, neither did he ever punish them. We shall recount the names, sufferings, and martyrdoms of such as have been transmitted to posterity.

MARTYRDOM OF BASIL.

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

One day meeting with a number of Pagans going in procession to a sacrifice, he boldly expressed his abhorrence of such idolatrous proceedings, and inveighed against such absurd worship. This liberty caused the people to seize him, and carry him before Saturninus, the governor, where they accused him of reviling the gods, abusing the emperor, and disturbing the peace of the city. Having heard these accusations, Saturninus desired to know his sentiments from his own mouth; when finding him a strenuous Christian, he ordered him to be put to the rack, and then committed to prison. The governor wrote an account of his proceedings to the emperor, who was at this time very busy in establishing the worship of Cybele, the fictitious mother of the fabulous deities. Julian, on receiving the letter, sent Pagosus and Elpidius, two apostates, to Ancyra, the city where Basil was confined, to employ both promises and threats to engage him to renounce his faith, and in case of their failure, they had orders to give him up to the power of the governor. The emperor's agents tampered in vain with Basil by means of promises, threats, and tortures; he was firm in the faith, and remained in prison till the emperor by accident came to Ancyra. As soon as the people knew of Julian's approach, they met him in grand procession, and presented to him their idol, the goddess Hecate. The two agents then gave the emperor an account of what Basil had suffered, and of his firm resistance. Julian, on this, determined to examine Basil himself, when that holy man being brought before him, the emperor did every thing in his power to dissuade him from persevering in the faith; but Basil not only continued firm, but with a prophetic spirit foretold the death of the emperor, and that he should be tormented in the other world. Julian, on this, lost his usual affectation of clemency, and told Basil, in great anger, that though he had an inclination to pardon him at first, yet he had now, by the insolence of his behavior, put it out of his power to save his life. He then commanded, that the body of Basil should be torn every day in seven different parts, till his skin and flesh were entirely mangled.—The inhuman sentence was executed with rigor, and the martyr expired under its severities on the 28th of June, A. D. 362.

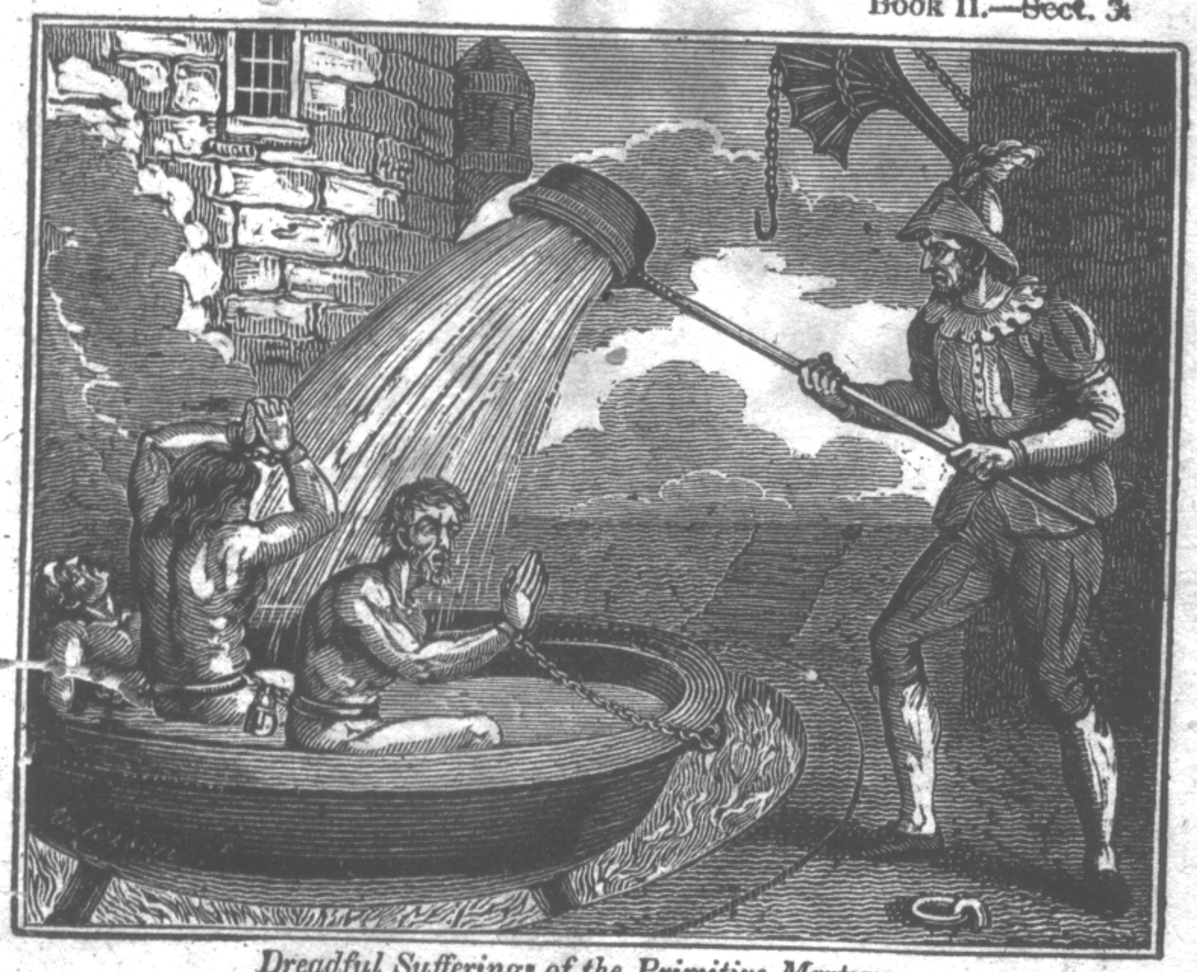
NUMEROUS MARTYRDOMS.

About the same time, Donatus, bishop of Arezzo, and Hilarinus, a hermit, suffered for the faith; the first being beheaded, and the latter scourged to death. Gordian, a Roman magistrate, having a Christian before him for examination, was so charmed with the confession of his faith, that he not only discharged the prisoner, but became himself a Christian. This so enraged the Roman prefect, that he ordered him to be scourged and beheaded.

Two brothers, named John and Paul, of a good family, and in high offices under the emperor, on being accused of professing Christianity, were deprived of their posts, and allowed ten days to consider whether they would renounce their faith and be promoted, or retain it and be martyred. Making choice of the latter alternative, they were both beheaded.

Artemius, commander-in-chief of the Roman forces in Egypt, being a Christian, was accused of having formerly demolished several idols, and of having assisted the bishop of Alexandria in plundering the temples. Julian, who was then at Antioch, on hearing of these charges, ordered the general to r

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



Dreadful Sufferings of the Primitive Martyrs.

Entrails of Martyrs, while living, devoured by Swine, at Arethusa, in the fourth Century.

Marcus, Bishop of Arethusa, hung up in a Basket, after having been smeared over with honey, and stung to death by Wasps.

our lives, surely we have the same reason to be serious, and spend our remaining days in his fear and service."

He also took great care that the worship of God, which they were in a capacity of maintaining there, might be duly performed, as reading, praying, and singing of psalms, in which he evidently took great delight.

For three or four days before their deaths, when there was a general report that no more would be executed; he said, "I do not know what God hath done beyond our expectations; if he doth prolong my life, I am sure it is all his own, and by his grace I will wholly devote it to him."

But on the 29th of September, about ten or eleven at night, the poor prisoners found the deceitfulness of this report, they being then told they must die the next morning, which was very unexpected, as to the suddenness of it; but herein God glorified his power, grace, and faithfulness, in giving them suitable support and comfort by his presence; indeed Hewling appeared to be not at all disturbed, saying, "though men design to surprise, God doth and will perform his word, to be a very present help in trouble."

The next morning his cheerfulness and comfort were much increased, and he waited for the sheriff with the greatest sweetness and serenity of mind; Saying, "Now the will of God is determined, to whom I have referred it, and he hath chosen most certainly that which is best."

Afterwards with a smiling countenance he discoursed of the glory of heaven, remarking with much delight the third, fourth, and fifth verses of the 22d chapter of the Revelations, "And there shall be no more curse; but the throne of God, and of the Lamb, shall be in it, and his servants shall serve him, and they shall see his face, and his names shall be in their foreheads, and there shall be no night there, and they shall need no candle nor light of the sun, and they shall reign for ever and ever." Then he said, "Oh, what a happy state is this! shall we be loth to go to enjoy this? Then he desired to be read to him, 2 Cor. v. "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," to the tenth or eleventh verses. In all, his comforts still increasing, he expressed his sweet hopes and good assurance of his interest in this glorious inheritance; and being now going to the possession of it, seeing so much of this happy change, he said, "Death was more desirable than life; he had rather die than live any longer here."

As to the manner of his death, he said, "When I have considered others under these circumstances, I have thought it very dreadful; but now God hath called me to it, I bless God I have quite other apprehensions of it. I can now cheerfully embrace it as an easy passage to glory: and though death separates from the enjoyments of each other here, it will be but for a very short time, and then we shall meet with such enjoyments as now we cannot conceive, and for ever rejoice in each other's happiness." Then reading the Scriptures and musing within himself, he intimated the great comfort God conveyed to his soul in it; saying, "O, what an invaluable treasure is this blessed word of God! in all conditions here is a store of strong consolation. One desiring his Bible, he said, "No, this shall be my companion to the last moment of my life." Thus praying together, reading, meditating, and conversing of heavenly things, the prisoners waited for the sheriff, who, when he came, void of all pity or civility, hurried them away, scarce suffering them to take leave of their friends. But notwithstanding this, and the doleful mourning of all about them, the joyfulness of Hewling's countenance was increased. Thus he left his prison, and thus he appeared on the sledge, where he sat about half an hour, before the officers could force the horses to draw, at which they were greatly enraged; there being no visible obstruction from weight or way. But at last the mayor and sheriff hauled them forward themselves, Balaam-like driving the horses.

When they came to the place of execution, which was surrounded with spectators many that waited their coming with grief sorrow, said, that when they saw Hewling and the others come with such cheerfulness and joy, and evidence of the presence of God with them, it made death appear with another aspect.

They first embraced each other with the greatest affection; then two of the elder persons praying audibly, the others joined with great seriousness. Then Hewling desired leave of the sheriff to pray particularly, but he would not grant it, only asked him if he would pray for the king? He answered, "I pray for all men." He then requested they might sing a psalm; the sheriff told him, "It must be with rope about their necks;" which they cheerfully accepted, and sung with such heavenly joy and sweetness, that many present said, "both broke and rejoiced their hearts."

Thus in the experience of the delightfulness of praising God on earth, he willingly closed his eyes on a vain world, to pass to that eternal employment, September 30, 1685.

All persons present were exceedingly affected and amazed. Some officers that had before insultingly said, "Surely these persons have no thoughts of death, but will find themselves surprised by it," afterwards acknowledged that "They now saw he and they had something extraordinary within, that carried them through with such joy." Others of them said, that "They were convinced of their happiness, that they would be glad to change conditions with them."

Some of the most malicious persons in the place, from whom nothing but railing was expected, said, (as they were carried to their grave in Taunton church, voluntarily accompanied by most of the inhabitants of the town) that "These persons had left a sufficient evidence, that they were now glorified saints in heaven."

Mr. Benjamin Hewling, about two hours before his death, wrote the following letter to his mother, which showed the great composure of his mind.

Taunton, September 30, 1685.

Honored Mother,

That news which I know you have a great while feared, and we expected, I must now acquaint you with, that notwithstanding the hopes you gave in your two last letters, warrants are come down for my execution, and within these few hours I expect it to be performed. Blessed be the Almighty God, that gives comfort and support in such a day; how ought we to magnify his holy name for all his mercies, that when we were running in a course of sin, he should stop us in full career, and show us that Christ whom we pierced, and but of his free grace enable us to look upon him with an eye of faith, believing him able to save to the utmost all such as come to him. Oh, admirable, long-suffering patience of God, that when we were dishonoring his name, he did not take that time to bring honor to himself by our destruction! But he delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but had rather he should turn to him and live; and he has many ways of bringing his own to himself. Blessed be his holy name, that through affliction he has taught my heart in some measure to be conformable to his will, which worketh patience, and patience worketh experience, and experience hope, which maketh not ashamed. I bless God I am not ashamed of the cause for which I lay down my life; and as I have engaged in it, and sought for it, so now I am going to seal it with my blood. The Lord carry on the same cause which hath been long on foot; and though we die in it, and for it, I question not but in his own good time he will raise up other instruments more worthy to carry it on to the glory of his name and the advancement of his church and people.

Honored mother, I know there has been nothing left undone by you, or my friends, for the saving of my life: for which I return many hearty acknowledgments to yourself and them all; and it is my dying request to you and them to pardon all undutifulness and unkindness in every relation. Pray give my duty to my grandfather and grandmother, service to my uncles and aunts, and my dear love to all my sisters; to every relation and friend a particular recommendation. Pray tell them all how precious an interest in Christ is when we come to die, and advise them never to rest in a Christless estate. For if we are his, it is no matter what the world do unto us; they can but kill the body, and blessed be God the soul is out of their reach, for I question not but their malice wishes the damnation of that as well as the destruction of the body; which has too evidently appeared by their deceitful flattering promises. I commit you all to the care and protection of God, who has promised to be a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow, and to supply the want of every relation. The Lord God of heaven be your comfort under those sorrows, and your refuge from those miseries, we may easily foresee coming upon poor England, and the poor distressed people of God in it. The Lord carry you through this vale of tears with a resigning, submissive spirit, and at last bring you to himself in glory; where I question not but you will meet your dying son,

BENJAMIN HEWLING.

MR. CHRISTOPHER BATTISCOMB.

This was another young gentleman of a good family and estate in Dorsetshire. He had studied some time at the Temple, and having business in the country about the time of lord Russel's trial, he was seized, on suspicion of being concerned in the same plot of which his lordship was accused, and confined in the county jail at Dorchester, where he behaved himself with so much prudence, winning sweetness, and innocent pleasantry of temper, as endeared him not only to his keepers and fellow-prisoners, but to persons of the best quality in that town, who visited him in great numbers. However, after he had been confined some time, it being found impossible to prove any thing against him, he was set at liberty. When the duke of Monmouth landed, he appeared with him, and served him with equal faith and valor, till the rout at Sedgemoore, when he fled with the rest, and escaping into Devonshire, was there seized,

pair thither, to answer to them. On his arrival he owned the charges, when he was first deprived of his commission, then of his estate, and, lastly, beheaded.

Cassian, a schoolmaster of Imola, in the province of Romagno, for refusing to sacrifice to the idols, was taken before the judge; who, being apprized of his profession, and informed that many of the boys had an aversion to him, on account of the strictness with which he kept them to their studies, determined that they should have permission to murder him. He was accordingly bound and delivered to the boys, who fell upon him with rods, whips, sticks, and stiles, and murdered him. This singular martyrdom happened on the 13th of August, A. D. 362.

Maximilian and Bonosus, two officers of the Herculean guards, upon Julian taking away Constantine the Great's standard of the cross of Christ, threw up their commissions. Being apprehended, the governor had them separately examined, and finding them inflexible, he ordered Bonosus to be beaten with whips that had leaden bullets at the ends of the thongs, and Maximilian to be scourged. When remanded to prison, they were allowed nothing but bread and water, and the bread was marked with the seal of the emperor, the impression of which was an idol; on which account they refused to eat it. They were soon afterwards again examined, and then beheaded.

Bibiana was the daughter of Flavian and Dafrosa, two Christians. Flavian, her father, held a considerable post under the government, but being banished for his faith, died in exile. Dafrosa, her mother, was, for the same reason, ordered to be starved; but Apronianus, governor of Rome, impatient for her death, ordered her to be beheaded. Bibiana, and her sister Demetria, were then stripped of all their effects, and being brought before the governor, were ordered to renounce their religion. Demetria suddenly dropped down dead in the governor's presence, and Bibiana resolutely refused to renounce her faith, on which account she was scourged to death on the 2d of December, A. D. 363.

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

Theodorus, for singing the praises of God, was apprehended and put to the torture, though not to death. After being taken from the rack, he was asked how he could so patiently endure such exquisite pains; to which he returned this remarkable reply: "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."

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

Maxentius and Juventius, two Christian officers, were put to death about the same time, for reproving the emperor, on account of his idolatries. Eusebius and Nestabus, two brethren, with Nestor also, being Christians, were dragged through the streets, and murdered by the people of Gaza.

CHRISTIANS FINED FOR REFUSING TO SACRIFICE TO IDOLS.

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

too just to suffer such retaliation, voluntarily delivered themselves up; when they were scourged severely, and then put upon gridirons and broiled to death.

Julian died of a wound which he received in his Persian expedition, A. D. 363, and even while expiring, uttered the most horrible blasphemies. He was succeeded by Jovian, who restored peace to the church. After the decease of Jovian, Valentinian succeeded to the empire, and associated to himself Valens, who had the command in the East. The latter was a great favorer of Arianism, and so incensed against the Christians, that he ordered, on a certain day, all who were found in Edessa to be slain, while they were at their devotions in the churches. The officers, however, being more compassionate than the emperor, privately gave notice to the Christians not to assemble on the day appointed, so that they might escape death.

The Christians thanked the officers for their advice, but resolved to persevere in the performance of their duty. They accordingly repaired to the church, and the troops were put in motion to destroy them. As they marched along, a woman, with a child in her arms, broke through the ranks, when the officer ordered her to be brought before him, and asked her where she was going. She replied, "To church." "Have you not heard," says the officer, "of the emperor's order, to put to death all who are found there?" "I have," said she, "and for that cause I make the more haste." "And whither," said the officer, "do you lead that child?" "I take him," replied she, "with me, that he also may be reckoned in the number of the martyrs." Upon this the humane officer returned to the emperor, and telling him that all the Christians were prepared to die in defence of their faith, represented to him the rashness of murdering so great a multitude, and entreated the emperor to drop the design, at least for the present, with which he at length complied.

Urbanus, Menedemus, and Theodorus, with several other orthodox clergymen, to the number of four-score, at Constantinople, petitioned the emperor to relieve them from the oppressions, persecutions, and cruelties of the Arians. But the tyrant, instead of redressing their grievances, ordered them all to be embarked in a ship, and the vessel to be set on fire; when this infernal order being executed, they all perished in the flames.

SECTION IV.

Persecutions of the Christians by the Goths, &c.

During the reign of Constantine the Great several Scythian Goths embraced Christianity, the light of the gospel having spread considerably in Scythia, though the two kings of that country, and the majority of the people, continued Pagans. Fritegern, king of the Western Goths, was an ally of the Romans; but Athanaric, king of the Eastern Goths, was at war with them. The Christians, in the dominions of the former, lived unmolested; but the latter, having been defeated by the Romans, wreaked his vengeance on his Christian subjects.

Sabas, a Christian, was the first who felt the enraged king's resentment. Sabas was humble and modest, yet fervent and zealous for the advancement of the church. Indeed the sanctity of his life, and the purity of his manners, gave the greatest force to his doctrines.

In the year 370, Athanaric gave orders, that all persons in his dominions should sacrifice to the Pagan deities, and eat the meat which had been offered to the idols, or be put to death for disobedience. Some humane Pagans, who had Christian relations, endeavored to save them by offering them meat which had not received the idolatrous consecration, while the magistrates were made to believe that all had been done according to their direction. But Sabas too well knew St. Paul's principles to imagine, that the sin lay in eating; he knew that giving the enemies of the faith an advantage over the weak was all that made that action criminal in Christians. He, therefore, not only refused to comply with what was proposed to him, but publicly declared, that those who sheltered themselves under that artifice, were not true Christians.

Jabas was soon after apprehended and carried before a magistrate, who inquired into his fortune and circumstances, when finding that he was a person of obscure station, he was dismissed as unworthy of notice.

Sabas went to spend the ensuing Easter with Sansala, a Christian priest of great piety: but on the third night after his arrival they were both seized by a party of soldiers. The priest was allowed to dress himself and to ride; but Sabas was obliged to leave his clothes behind him, and to walk; and, during the journey, they drove him through thorns and briers, beating him severely. This cruelty he bore without a murmur, and in the evening they extended him between two beams, fastening his legs to the one and his arms to the other; and in that posture left him for the night. The woman of the house, however, went and released him; but though he was now at liberty, he did not

avail himself of the opportunity to make his escape. The next morning the persecutors began to tamper with him and his fellow-prisoner to renounce their religion, and eat the meat consecrated to the idols. They, however, positively declared, that they were ready to suffer the most cruel death rather than comply. Sansala was at length discharged, and Sabas was ordered to be drowned; which sentence was put into execution on the 12th of April, A. D. 372.

Nicetas was of Gothic extraction; his parents lived near the Danube, and though he had long been a Christian, he had hitherto remained unmolested. At this time, however, Athanaric directed an idol to be drawn about on a chariot through every place in his dominions inhabited by Christians, who were ordered, on the procession stopping at their door, to pay adoration to the pretended deity. On a refusal, the house was immediately set on fire, and every inmate destroyed. Nicetas, therefore, refusing to worship the idol, was thus consumed, September 15, A. D. 372.

OPPOSITION OF EUSEBIUS TO THE ARIAN HERESY.

Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, made a distinguished figure in ecclesiastical history, and was one of the most eminent champions of Christ against the Arian heresy. The Arians having advanced Miletus to the see of Antioch, thinking him of their party, the document of his advancement was placed in the care of Eusebius. When Miletus preached his first sermon, the Arians, to their great surprise, found they had been mistaken in him, for his doctrines were pure. They, therefore, persuaded the emperor to displace him, and likewise to get the instrument out of the hands of Eusebius. Miletus was accordingly deposed, and the emperor sent to Eusebius to deliver the instrument: but he answered that he could not give up a trust reposed in him by so great a number, without the consent of all concerned in it. The emperor, incensed at this reply, wrote to him, that he had commissioned the bearer of the letter to cut off his right hand, if he refused to surrender the instrument in question. Eusebius, however, without the least emotion, offered his hands, and declared he would lose them both rather than part with the deed. The emperor applauded his resolution, and professed a high esteem for him ever after.

The Arians now looked upon Eusebius as a dangerous enemy. At the time Jovian restored peace to the church, Miletus convened a council at Antioch, which consisted of Eusebius, and twenty-five other prelates, who unanimously confirmed the doctrines of the council of Nice. About this time the see of Cæsarea having become vacant, Eusebius was instrumental in promoting Basil to it, on which occasion Gregory the younger calls him, "The pillar of truth, the light of the world, the fortress of the church, the rule of faith, the support of the faithful, and an instrument in the hands of God for bestowing favors on his people." When the Arians were the most vigilant to propagate their tenets, Eusebius was assiduous in taking measures to prevent their success; and his zeal was always so governed by prudence, that his attempts seldom failed, till at length the emperor, at the instigation of his enemies, granted an order for banishing him into Thrace. He was at Samosata, when the messenger came with his commission; it was late in the evening; and Eusebius, who was beloved by his people, begged he would make no noise, but conceal his business; "for," says he, "if it becomes known, the people will fall on you, throw you into the river, and I shall be charged with your death." He then went through his usual devotions; and, when the night was far advanced, left his house on foot, attended by one trusty servant, who carried a pillow and book after him. Thus accompanied, he took a boat, and proceeded to Zeugma, about seventy miles down the river.

The people next day missing Eusebius, and hearing which way he was gone, followed in a great number of boats, and overtaking him, entreated him, with tears in their eyes, not to abandon them. Their kindness affected Eusebius, but he determined to obey the emperor's order; and his flock finding they could not prevail, accommodated him with necessaries for his journey, and left him.

Thrace was at this time the seat of war between the Goths and the Romans; and in these contests, the life of Eusebius was in great danger. At length the emperor, in order to terminate the war with the greatest expedition, resolved to march against the Goths in person; but first, to engage the prayers of the Christians, he gave peace to the church, and allowed the Christian prelates to return to their churches. Thus was Eusebius restored to his see, which, however, he did not long enjoy, for an Arian woman threw a tile at him from the top of a house, which fractured his skull, and terminated his life. This happened in the year 380.

DESTRUCTION OF A PAGAN TEMPLE.

The bishop of Apamea, a prelate of great merit, was very active in endeavoring to suppress idolatry in his own diocese, on which account his life was in continual danger, till Cynegius, the prefect, arrived with a considerable body of troops, which kept the Pagans in awe. This officer's design was totally to abolish idolatry, to effect which he determined to destroy the temple of Jupiter: he, however, found this a difficult attempt;

for the building was so strong, that he despaired of being able to accomplish the work; when a poor laboring Christian, recommended by Marcellus, undertook to go through with what the prefect had given up, and the business was executed in the following manner: This person examined the edifice, and finding it surrounded by a gallery, supported by stately pillars, ten yards in circumference, he knew it would be more to his purpose first to weaken the foundation than to attack the body of the building; with this view he dug at the bottom of the pillars, and shored them with timber beams. When he had thus undermined three of the most considerable pillars, he set fire to the wood, which burning, the pillars fell, drew twelve more with them, and brought down one whole side of the building; upon which the Christians flocked from all parts of the town, and praised God for the demolition of the temple.

The bishop and prefect continued destroying a great number of idol temples, when being at a town called Aul[illegible] upon this business, while the troops were busy in demolishing the buildings, some P[illegible]gans privately seized upon the bishop, and burnt him, A. D. 393.

SECTION V.

Persecutions of the Christians by the Arian Vandals.

THE Arian Vandals proceeding from Spain to Africa in the fifth century, under their leader, Genseric, committed many horrible cruelties. They persecuted the Christians wherever they came, and laid waste the country as they passed, in order that those who had escaped the sword, might be destroyed by famine. They plundered the churches, and murdered the bishops and ministers by a variety of tortures; in particular, they poured fetid oil and vinegar down the throats of some till they expired; suffocated others by filling their mouths with mud, and martyred many by stretching their limbs with cords till the veins and sinews burst. They compelled some of the nobility to carry their baggage; and if they did not travel fast enough, they pricked them on with sharp goads, insomuch that several died under their burdens. Old men found no mercy, and even guiltless infants felt the rage of their barbarity. Stately buildings were destroyed: and the principal churches in Carthage were employed in their heretical worship, or put to profane uses; and where any castles held out against them, they brought great numbers of Christians and slew them, leaving their bodies under the walls, that the besieged might be forced to surrender, on account of the offensive stench which arose from them.

When they had seized and plundered the city of Carthage, they put the bishop, and all the clergy, into a leaky ship, and committed it to the mercy of the waves, thinking that they must all perish of course; but the vessel, through Divine Providence, arrived safe at Naples.

Several Christians were beaten, scourged, and banished to Capsur, where it pleased God to make them the means of converting many of the Moors to Christianity; but this coming to the knowledge of Genseric, he sent orders, that they and their converts should be tied by the feet to chariots, and dragged till they were dashed to pieces.

Pampinian, the bishop of Mansuetes, was burnt to death with plates of hot iron; the bishop of Urice was burnt; the bishop of Habensa was banished, for refusing to deliver up the sacred books which were in his possession; and a whole congregation, who were assembled in a church at their devotions, together with the clergyman who was preaching to them, were murdered by those barbarians, who broke in upon them.

Archinimus was a devout Christian, upon whom various artifices were employed in vain, to make him renounce his faith. At length Genseric himself undertook to persuade him, but finding his endeavors ineffectual, he ordered him to be beheaded. He, however, privately ordered the executioner to perform his office, if the prisoner seemed intimidated and afraid; "for then," said he, "the crown of martyrdom will be lost to him; but if he seems courageous, and willing to die, strike not, for I do not intend that he shall have the honor of being deemed a martyr." The executioner, finding Archinimus happy in the thought of dying for the sake of Christ, brought him back again. He was soon after banished, and never heard of more, though it is conjectured that he was murdered privately by the king's order.

FIVE THOUSAND CHRISTIANS BANISHED.

Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, was eminent for his learning and piety, which brought upon him the hatred of the Arians, who took great pains to set the king Huneric against him and the orthodox Christians; and he banished above five thousand into a desert, where many perished. He also sent an edict to Eugenius, which he commanded that he should read in the cathedral on Ascension-day, A. D. 484. By this it was ordered, that all the orthodox bishops should meet at Car-

thage on the first of the ensuing February, for the purpose of disputing with the Arian prelates; the king's stratagem was discovered by Eugenius, and several other bishops, particularly Victor, bishop of Vita, the learned author of the account of this persecution; and they determined, after deliberation, to send a petition to the king; it was accordingly written by Eugenius, and presented by a person who had great interest at court. It stated, that the African prelates did not decline the proposed conference from the weakness of their cause, or a distrust of their own abilities to maintain their mode of faith; but as the whole church was concerned in the dispute, they were of opinion that they could not engage in it without the bishops of Europe and Asia. Huneric answered, that what they desired was impossible, unless the whole world was in his hands. Upon which Eugenius desired his majesty would be pleased to write to Odoacer, king of Italy, and other princes in his interest; and allow him to send to the bishops, that the common faith might be thus authentically published. But the king, disregarding this remonstrance, insisted upon being obeyed; and then, previous to the time appointed, banished several of the most learned orthodox prelates, on various pretences, that the Arians might have the advantage.

At the appointed time for the conference, the orthodox clergy chose ten of their number to act in the name of the rest. Cyrilla, an Arian, took the title of patriarch upon the occasion, and was seated on a magnificent throne. The Arian prelates were allowed to sit near him, but the orthodox bishops were obliged to stand. They complained of this partial mode of behavior, as an infringement of their liberty; and Eugenius, perceiving that they did not intend to come to a candid decision, proposed to adjourn; but instead of complying with this, each orthodox prelate, by the king's order, as Cyrilla asserted, received a hundred blows with a stick. Eugenius protested against such violence, but in vain; the prelates were driven from the place, their churches were shut up, and the revenues of their bishoprics were confiscated. Then they were compelled to quit Carthage, and were exposed without the walls of that city, to all the inclemencies of the weather. The king, passing out of one of the gates, the orthodox clergy presented themselves before him, and modestly complained of the treatment they had met with: but instead of redressing their grievances, Huneric ordered his guards to chastise them. The soldiers, in consequence, treated them unmercifully; and the king ordered them to appear on a certain day at a place which he then stated.

At the time appointed, they assembled, when one of the king's officers showed them a paper, and informed them that the king was inclined to forget what was past, and to restore them to their benefices, provided they would swear to the truth of what that paper contained. The prelates, surprised at this proposal, declared that they could not in conscience swear to the truth of that to which they were total strangers; but if they were suffered to read the writing, and approved of the contents, they would take the oath.

The officer answered, that he would tell them the contents, which were of a political nature, and only required them to swear that they were willing prince Hilderic should succeed his father in the throne. Several of the prelates, innocently thinking that there could be no harm in swearing they were willing a son should succeed his father, offered to comply; but the rest, with greater precaution, refused to take the oath, as they justly judged so simple a proposal would never have been made them, unless some artifice was in contemplation.

While they were disputing upon this head, the officer took advantage of their discord, and committed them to separate prisons; those who were willing to swear to one, and those who were unwilling to another; but they had not been long in confinement before the artifice was explained by an order from the king for the banishment of both parties. Those who had been willing to swear were banished, under the pretence of offering to break an established precept of the Scripture, viz. "Swear not at all," Matt. v. 34. And those who had refused to swear, were banished as enemies to the legal succession. The former were obliged to work as slaves in distant colonies, and the latter were sent to the island of Corsica to cut timber. Eugenius was banished to Tripoli; where Anthony, a violent Arian bishop, threw him into a dungeon, and made him suffer every hardship, in order to destroy him by a lingering death. The dampness of the place gave Eugenius the palsy, which Anthony hearing of, went to the gaol, and finding him very weak and lying on the floor, he poured some strong vinegar down his throat, with a design to choke him. It had, however, a contrary effect; for instead of suffocating, it promoted a copious perspiration, which cured his palsy, and restored him to health.

When Huneric died, his successor recalled Eugenius, and the rest of the orthodox clergy: the Arians taking the alarm, persuaded him to banish them again, which he complied with; when Eugenius, being exiled to Languedoc in France, died there of the hardships he had undergone, on the 6th of September, in the year 505.

A widow lady of fortune, named Dionysia, being apprehended as an orthodox Christian, was stripped naked, exposed in a most indecent manner, and severely scourged. Her son, a lad, being seized at the same time, seemed afraid of the torture, and looked piti-

fully at his mother, who ordered him not to fear any torments, but to be constant to the faith in which she had brought him up. When he was upon the rack, she again comforted him with her pious speeches. Whereupon the youth patiently persevered, and resigned his soul to his Creator. The mother saw the death of her son, and soon after, herself received the crown of martyrdom.

Cyrilla, the Arian bishop of Carthage, was a furious heretic, and a very great enemy to those Christians who professed the faith in its purity. He persuaded the king that he could never prosper in his undertakings, or enjoy his kingdom in peace, while he tolerated the orthodox Christians; and this monarch, believing what Cyrilla told him, sent for several of those who were obnoxious to that prelate. He, at first, attempted to draw them from their faith by flattery, and to bribe them by the promise of immediate worldly rewards; but they were firm and constant, declaring resolutely against Arianism, and saying, "We acknowledge but one Lord, and one faith; you may therefore do whatever you please with our bodies, for it is better that we should suffer a few temporary pains, than endure everlasting misery." The king, being greatly exasperated by this, sent them to prison. The keeper, however, suffered their friends to have access to them; by which they were more confirmed in their resolution of dying for the sake of their Redeemer.

A SHIP-LOAD OF MARTYRS BURNT.

When the king heard of the indulgence they received, he was exceedingly angry, and sent orders that they should be closely confined, and loaded with fetters. He then began to consider by what means he should put them to death, and at length determined to imitate the barbarity of the emperor Valens, who, as we have already stated, caused four-score clergymen to be burnt in a ship. He therefore ordered these Christians to be put on board a ship filled with combustible materials, and the vessel being set on fire, they received martyrdom. The names of the principal of these Christians were, Rusticus, Severus, Liberatus, Rogatus, Servus, Septimus, and Boniface.

BOOK III.

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

SECTION I.

Persecutions from the Fifth to the Seventh Century.

PROTERIUS was made a priest by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria. On the death of Cyril, the see of Alexandria was filled by Dioscorus, an inveterate enemy both to the memory and family of his predecessor. Dioscorus, however, knowing the reputation of Proterius, and his great interest, did the utmost in his power to gain his confidence and favor, as he thought he might be of great service to him in carrying on his evil intentions; but Proterius was not to be corrupted, and no prospect of worldly preferment could bribe him to forego his duty. At length Dioscorus being condemned by the council of Chalcedon for having embraced the errors of Eutyches, was deposed, and Proterius chosen to fill the see, and approved by the emperor. On this an insurrection broke out, for the city of Alexandria was divided into two factions; the one to espouse the cause of the old, and the other of the new prelate. Proterius was in imminent danger, from a set of schismatics, who would neither obey the decisions of a council, nor the emperor's commands.

INSURRECTION AT ALEXANDRIA.

These disorders becoming serious, the governor of Thebais marched with a body of troops, in order to quell them. The people, however, were in a kind of frenzy; when they heard of the approach of the governor, they armed themselves, and marched out of Alexandria, gave him battle, and defeated him. The intelligence of this affair so exasperated the emperor, that he sent a detachment of two thousand men against them; the appearance of whom, and the prudence of the governor of Alexandria, whose name was Florus, soon restored peace to the city; nevertheless, the discontented party beheld Proterius with resentment; so that he was obliged to have a guard to secure his personal safety, and at length, though naturally of a mild temper, was compelled to excommunicate some of them, and obtain their banishment from Alexandria. But when the emperor Marcian's death, which happened two years after, gave a new turn to affairs, the exiles returned to Alexandria, renewed their cabals against Proterius, and seemed resolved to be revenged on him for what they had suffered. Timothy, a priest, who was at the head of all the designs that had been formed against Proterius, employed every art to ruin his credit, drawing the people from his communion, and raising himself to that see. At last, taking advantage of the absence of Dionysius, who commanded the forces of that province, and was then in Upper Egypt, he seized on the great church, and was uncanonically consecrated by two bishops of his faction, who had been deposed for heresy. He then continued the exercise of all the episcopal functions, till the commander's return, who, upon hearing the disorders that had been committed, and that Timothy was the chief author of them, expelled him.

This affair so enraged the Eutychians, that they determined to wreak their vengeance on Proterius, who fled to the church for sanctuary: but on Good-Friday, A. D. 457, a large body of them rushed into the church, and murdered the prelate; after which they dragged the body through the streets, cut it to pieces, burnt it, and dispersed the ashes.

When the Vandals sacked Carthage, a lady, named Julia, was taken prisoner, and after being sold and resold as a slave, she became the property of a Syrian Pagan, named Eusebius. Her master frequently took her with him upon his voyages: in one of these they touched upon the island of Corsica, where Eusebius joined in an idolatrous festival; but Julia kept from it. The heathens complained of this conduct as disrespectful to their gods, and informed the governor Felix of it, who sent for Eusebius, and demanded what young woman it was who had refused to join in worship to the gods.

Eusebius replied, that the young woman was a Christian, and that all his authority over her could not induce her to renounce her religion; but she was a very diligent and faithful servant.

Felix pressed him to exert himself, either to oblige her to assist at the Pagan worship, or to part with her; and offered to give him his own price, or four of his best female slaves in exchange for her, which Eusebius refused. When Felix found him inflexible, he determined to get her into his power by artifice, and invited Eusebius to an entert in-

ment, when having intoxicated him, he sent for Julia in the name of her master. The slave, not suspecting the design, immediately went; when the governor told her that he would procure her liberty, if she would sacrifice to the heathen gods; but, not being able to prevail, he ordered her to be severely beaten, and finding her still resolute, he commanded that the hair of her head should be pulled up by the roots. This barbarity having no greater effect, he sentenced her to be hanged. Scarcely was Julia dead when Eusebius recovered from his intoxication, and understanding what had passed, he, in the first transports of his resentment, thought of complaining to the emperor, who being a Christian, would have punished the perfidy of the governor; but reflecting that Felix had only acted with zeal for the deities he himself adored, he determined to put up with the loss, and retire from the place.

CRUELTY OF A KING TO HIS CHRISTIAN SON.

Hermenigildus, a Gothic prince, was the eldest son of Leovigildus, king of the Goths, in Spain. This prince, who was originally an Arian, became a convert to the orthodox faith, by means of his wife, whose name was Igonda. The king, on hearing that his son had changed his religious sentiments, stripped him of the command at Seville, where he was governor, and threatened to put him to death, unless he renounced the new faith. On this, the prince, in order to prevent the execution of his father's menaces, began to prepare for defence; and many of the orthodox persuasion in Spain declared on his side. The king, exasperated at this act of rebellion, began to punish all the orthodox Christians who could be seized; and thus originated a very severe persecution; he marched against his son at the head of a very powerful army; and knowing that he could not oppose the formidable force that his father was bringing against him, he implored the assistance of the Roman troops that were left to garrison those parts of Spain which the emperor still possessed. The Roman commander undertook to assist Hermenigildus, but being bribed by the king, he broke his promise. Leovigildus then made it his business, as much as possible, to detach the orthodox Christians from the interest of his son; and in this he had great success, for it was effected in 581, by convening the Arian prelates at Toledo, who abolished the practice of rebaptizing those who came over to their sect; and he drew up a captious profession of faith, which deceived many, and prevailed upon them to quit the interest of Hermenigildus. Hence finding himself forsaken by numbers of those whom he most confided in, the prince was obliged to retreat towards Seville, in which city he soon after shut himself up, and sent to Constantinople, for assistance from the emperor. The death of that monarch, however, prevented him from receiving any relief; for Maurice, who succeeded him, had no opportunity of affording any succor to Hermenigildus. The king immediately laid siege to Seville; the prince defended the place with great bravery, and held out for twelve months; but finding that the city must soon be taken, he privately made his escape, and fled to the Roman troops to beg protection; when being informed that they intended to give him up, he precipitately retired to Corduba, and from thence to Asseto, which he fortified. On the escape of the prince from Seville, that city surrendered, and the king having put a garrison in it, pursued his son, laid siege to Asseto, and soon obliged it to surrender. The prince being thus driven to extremities, flew to a church for sanctuary, when the king having a respect for the sanctity of the place, sent an officer, named Reccaredus, to assure him of his pardon, upon his submitting to ask it. The prince believing his father to be sincere, immediately went to him, and threw himself at his feet: the king, however, instead of forgiving him, loaded him with chains, and carried him to Seville, where he endeavored to make him renounce the Christian faith both by promises and menaces. Nevertheless, the prince remained true, and at the feast of Easter, when the king sent an Arian bishop to him to administer the eucharist, Hermenigildus refused to receive it; which so enraged the king, that he caused him to be cut to pieces by his guards, on the 13th of April, A. D. 586.

ACCOUNT OF ANASTASIUS.

Anastasius, a Persian, was brought up a Pagan, and bore arms as a soldier under Cosroes, king of Persia, at the time that monarch plundered Jerusalem; and, among other things, they carried off the very cross on which Christ was crucified. Anastasius could not imagine why the Christians had such a veneration for a person who had died so mean a death as that of being crucified; for that mode of death was held by the Persians in the greatest contempt. At length some Christian captives instructed him in the whole Christian mystery, and being charmed with the purity of their faith, he left the army, and retired to Syria; here he learned the trade of a goldsmith, and then going to Jerusalem, he supported himself by that business; was baptized by Modestus, *vicar-general* of Jerusalem; and staid a week with his godfather Elias. When that time was over, and he was to quit the white clothes which he wore at his baptism, according to the practice of the church, he desired the priest would put him in a way of renouncing the world. Elias recommended him to Justin, abbot of a seminary four miles from Jerusalem, who employed a person to instruct him in the Greek tongue, and teach him the

Psalms; and then admitted him into his community. Anastasius passed seven years in that house, dividing his time between humble domestic employments, and administering the word of God; and at length he conceived a strong desire to lay down his life for his Redeemer.

On going to Cæsarea, which was then in the hands of the Persians, he was taken up as a spy, and brought before Marzabanes, the governor, to whom he owned that he was a Christian, and was sent to prison. Many attempts were made to convert him, and at length Justin, being apprized of his sufferings, recommended him to the prayers of the whole community, and sent two of his people to encourage him to perseverance.

The governor at length wrote to the king concerning Anastasius, and the sovereign did all in his power to engage him to renounce his religion, but finding his endeavors in vain, he ordered him to be executed, which was performed in this manner: he was laid upon his back, with a piece of wood across his legs, pressed down with the whole weight of two strong men: he was then severely beaten, hung up by one hand, with a weight fastened to his foot; and after being strangled, his head was cut off, and sent to the king.

BISHOP MARTIN.

Martin, bishop of Rome, was born at Lodi, in Italy. He was naturally virtuous, and his parents bestowed on him an excellent education. He took orders, and on the death of Theodore, bishop of Rome, was advanced to that important see, by an unanimous election, in which all parties gave him the fullest praise, and admitted that he well merited a trust of such importance.

The first vexation he received in his episcopal capacity, was from a set of heretics, called Monothelites; who, not daring, after the express decisions of the council of Chalcedon, to maintain the unity of nature in Christ, asserted artfully, that he had but one will and operation of mind. This sect was patronized by the emperor Heraclius; and the first who attempted to stop the progress of these errors, was Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem. Martin, who on this occasion coincided in sentiments with the bishop of Jerusalem, called a council, which consisted of 105 bishops, and they unanimously condemned the errors in question. But the emperor, provoked at these proceedings, ordered Olympius, his lieutenant in Italy, to repair to Rome, and seize the bishop. The lieutenant performed the journey; but on his arrival at Rome, he found the prelate too much beloved to induce him to attempt any open violence; he therefore suborned a ruffian to assassinate him at the altar; but the fellow, after promising to execute the deed, was seized with such horror of conscience, that he had not the power to perform his undertaking. Olympius thus finding it would be very difficult to destroy Martin, put himself at the head of his troops, and marched against the Saracens, who had made some inroads into Italy, but during this expedition he died. His successor was Calliopas, who received express orders to seize Martin, which, with the assistance of a considerable body of soldiers, he performed; showing the clergy the imperial mandate, which commanded him to dispossess Martin of his bishopric, and carry him a prisoner to Constantinople. Having endured various hardships, during a tedious voyage, he reached the imperial city of Constantinople, and was thrown into prison. While in confinement, he wrote two epistles to the emperor to refute the calumnies forged against him with respect to his faith and loyalty; for a proof of the soundness of the former, he appeals to the testimony of the whole clergy, and his own solemn protestation to defend the truth as long as he lived; and in answer to the objections made against the latter, he declares he never sent either money, letters, or advice, to the Saracens, but only remitted a sum for the relief of poor Christians among those people: he concludes with saying, that nothing could be more false than what the heretics had alleged against him concerning the blessed Virgin, whom he firmly believed to be the mother of God, and worthy of all honor after her divine Son. In his second letter, he gives a particular account of his being seized at Rome, and his indisposition and ill-usage since he was dragged from that city; and ends with wishing and hoping his persecutors would repent of their conduct, when the object of their hatred should be removed from this world.

The fatigues that Martin had undergone, and his infirmities, were so great, that on the day appointed for his trial, he was brought out of prison in a chair, being unable to walk. When he was before the court, the judge ordered him to stand, which not being able to do, two men were ordered to hold him up. Twenty witnesses were produced against him, who swore as they were directed, and charged him with pretended crimes. Martin began his defence, but as soon as he entered upon an investigation of the errors which he had combated, one of the senators stopped him, and said, that he was only examined respecting civil affairs, and consequently that ecclesiastical matters had nothing to do in his defence. The judge then prevented him from going on. Martin was then ordered to be exposed in the most public places of the town, and to be divested of all marks of distinction; but all these rigors he bore with Christian patience.

After lying some months in prison, he was sent to an island at some distance, and there cut to pieces, A. D. 655.

JOHN OF BERGAMO.

John, bishop of Bergamo, in Lombardy, a learned man, and a good Christian, did his utmost to clear the church from the errors of Arianism, and joining with John, bishop of Milan, he was very successful against the heretics. Grimoald, however, an Arian, having usurped the throne of Lombardy, the orthodox Christians feared that heresy would rise once more in that country; but the bishop of Bergamo used such persuasive arguments with Grimoald, that he brought him to profess the orthodox faith. On the death of Grimoald, and his son who succeeded him, Pantharit came to the crown, and again introduced those errors which had been combated with such spirit by the true clergy. The bishop of Bergamo exerted himself strenuously to prevent the heresy from spreading, on which account he was assassinated on the 11th of July, A. D. 683.

MARTYRDOM OF KILIEN.

Kilien was born in Ireland, and received from his parents a Christian education. His favorite study was theology, and hence he was very assiduous in bringing many to the light of the gospel. Afterwards he crossed the sea, with eleven other persons, in order to make converts on the continent. On landing, they directed their route to the circle of Franconia, in Germany. On arriving at the city of Wurtzburgh, they found the people in general, and their governor Gozbert, Pagans; but conceived great hopes of converting them to the gospel faith. Previous to making this attempt, however, he deemed it necessary to go to Rome, in order to obtain his mission from the pontiff. He accordingly went thither, attended by Coloman a priest, and Totman a deacon, who had accompanied him from Ireland, and found Conon in Peter's chair. He gave them a favorable reception, and being informed of Kilien's business at Rome, after some questions about his faith and doctrine, consecrated him bishop, with full permission to preach to the infidels, wherever he found them. Thus authorized, Kilien returned to Wurtzburgh, where he opened his mission; but he had not long been employed in his labors, when Gozbert sent for him, and desired to know the nature and tendency of this new religion, which he recommended so boldly. The new bishop had several conferences with the governor on that subject, and God gave such a blessing to his endeavors, that Gozbert not only received the faith, but gave him leave to preach wherever he pleased in his dominions. Gozbert also commanded the attention of his Pagan subjects to Kilien's doctrines; and the greatest part of them became Christians in less than two years.

Gozbert had married his brother's widow, for which Kilien, though he knew the sinfulness of the thing, did not choose to rebuke him till he was thoroughly confirmed in his faith. When he thought him fully instructed in the principles of Christianity, he entreated him, as the last proof of the sincerity of his conversion, to quit that person whom he had hitherto looked upon as a wife, as he could not cohabit with her without committing sin. Gozbert, surprised at the proposal, told the bishop this was the hardest demand he had ever made upon him. "But," said he, "since I have renounced my own inclinations and pleasures in so many particulars for the love of God, I will make the work complete, by complying with your advice in this too." The wife of the governor, in consequence, determined to be revenged on those who had persuaded Gozbert into such a resolution. She sent accordingly to the place where they usually assembled, and had them all beheaded. Kilien and his companions submitted without resistance, the former telling them, that they need not fear those who had no power over the soul, but could only kill the body, which, in a short time, would of itself decay. This happened A. D. 689, and the martyrs were privately buried in the night, together with their books, clothes, &c. &c. It is said, that some days after this impious tragedy was acted, Gozbert, surprised that he had not seen Kilien lately, ordered diligent search to be made for him. Geilana, his wife, to stop the inquiry, gave out, that he and his companions had left the town, without giving any account of their motions; but the executioner, with remorse of conscience, ran about like a madman, and declared, that Kilien burned him. Thus disordered, he was seized, and Gozbert was considering what to do, when a creature of his wife's, a pretended convert, advised him to leave the God of the Christians, to do himself justice on his enemies, and proposed the event as a test of his power.

Gozbert was weak enough to tempt God, by putting it on that issue: and the murderer being set at liberty, went raving mad, tore his own flesh with his teeth, and died in a miserable condition. Geilana was so perplexed in her conscience, that she soon after expired; and Gozbert's criminal condescension was punished by a violent death, and in a few years his whole race was exterminated.

SECTION II.

Persecutions from the Eighth to the Tenth Century.

ACCOUNT OF BONIFACE.

BONIFACE, archbishop of Mentz, and father of the German church, was an Englishman,* and is looked upon, in ecclesiastical history, as one of the brightest ornaments of his country. His name originally was Winfred, or Winfrith, and he was born at Kirton, in Devonshire, then part of the West-Saxon kingdom. When only about six years of age, he discovered a propensity to reflection, and seemed solicitous to gain information on religious subjects; and some evangelical missionaries coming by chance to Kirton, happened to fix their abode at his father's house, whose discourse determined him to devote himself to a religious life. When he informed his father of his resolution, he would have dissuaded him from it; but finding him fully resolved, he permitted him to go and reside at a monastery in Exeter. Wolfrad, the abbot, finding that he possessed a bright genius, had him removed to Nutscelle, a seminary of learning, in the diocese of Winchester, where he would have a much greater opportunity of attaining improvement. The abbot of Nutscelle, who was celebrated for his great learning, took uncommon pains with the young pupil, who, in time, became a prodigy in divine knowledge; and was, at length, employed at Nutscelle as a principal teacher.

We are informed by the ancient Saxon historians, that those who studied under him had no need to remove to any other place to finish what they had begun, for he gave them lessons in grammar, poetry, rhetoric and philosophy; and explained the holy scriptures in the literal, moral, and mystical senses. But his example was as instructive as his lectures, and while he formed his scholars to learning by his dictates, he encouraged them to the practice of virtue by his conduct.

The abbot of Nutscelle, seeing him qualified for the priesthood, conferred on him that holy order, when he was about thirty years of age. From that time he began to labor for the salvation of his fellow-creatures; in the progress of which he gave the first proofs of that apostolical zeal, which afterwards made such glorious conquests in a most savage and barbarous part of the world.

There being an important occasion to assemble a synod of bishops in the kingdom of the West-Saxons, it was judged expedient to depute one of their body to the archbishop of Canterbury, to inform him of the exigency of affairs; and Boniface being proposed, was unanimously chosen by the synod.

Boniface discharged this trust with great prudence, and obtained the applause of every member of the synod; but far from being vain of the reputation he had acquired, he proposed to forsake his country, relations, and friends, in order to be of service to the faith, and extend Christianity on the continent. At first, the abbot and monks of Nutscelle would have dissuaded him from his purpose; but finding him resolute, two of their number were ordered to assist him. Boniface accordingly left Nutscelle, and arrived in Friesland about the year 716; when he found that country in the utmost disorder and confusion. It had belonged to the crown of France, but was at that time in the possession of Prince Radbord, who had established Paganism in it, persecuted the Christians, and was at war with Charles Martel.

TRAVELS OF BONIFACE.

He, therefore, went to Utrecht, where he found the infidel prince, and made him a tender of the gospel; but he being obdurate, Boniface perceived that the time of converting that nation was not yet come, and returned to his monastery in England. But he had not been many months there when the abbot died. Boniface undertook to comfort his brethren under that calamity, and discovered so much zeal and charity in the transaction, that they desired he would supply the place of their deceased father and friend; but he either never accepted of that post, or quitted it very soon; for he obtained letters from Daniel, bishop of Winchester, his diocesan, which recommended him to the pope, and all the bishops, abbots, and princes, he should find in his way to Rome, where he arrived in the beginning of the year 719. He was received by Gregory the Second with great friendship, and after several conferences with him, finding him full of zeal, he dismissed him with a commission at large to preach the gospel to the Pagans, wherever he found them. Having passed through Lombardy and Bavaria, he came to Thuringia, which country had before received the

* As we are speaking of a celebrated English martyr, and have already mentioned the first person who was martyred in England for the Christian faith, it will be interesting to the reader to learn, that before the coming of St. Austin into England, there had been four persecutions in Britain.

The first, under Diocletian, in which many Christians suffered in Britain, in common with every other part of the Roman empire.

The second, by the Picts and Huns, who devastated the southern part of the island, and butchered indiscriminately all who fell in their way.

The third, by the Saxons, under Hengist, about A. D. 450; and the fourth, by the Saxons and other Pagans, about a hundred years after.

light of the gospel; but at the time that Boniface arrived there, it had made little progress. His first exertions, therefore, were to bring the corrupted Christians back to the purity of the gospel; and having completed this pious work with great assiduity, and hearing that Radbord, whom he formerly in vain attempted to convert, was dead, he repaired to Utrecht, to assist Willebrod, the first bishop of that city. During the space of three years, these worthy pastors labored, in conjunction, in extirpating idolatry and propagating the faith; and so far succeeded, that most of the people received baptism, and many of the Pagan temples were converted into Christian churches. At this time Willebrod being very infirm, thought he could not do better than to appoint Boniface to succeed him; but this the English missionary absolutely refused, saying, he could not stay so long in any place, as he had many evangelical labors to perform. Willebrod, on hearing this, consented to his departure; and Boniface repaired to Hesse, where he brought to a knowledge of the truth two brothers, who, though they called themselves Christians, were sunk into most of the errors of Paganism. They, however, became such sincere converts, that they gave their estate to Boniface, who, instead of applying its revenues to his own use, built and endowed a religious community with them; after which he proceeded to Saxony, where he converted some thousands to the Christian faith. After exerting himself in this new field with prodigious success about a year, he dispatched one of his companions to Rome, with an account of what he had done; upon which Gregory II. sent him a letter, desiring him to repair to that city; and he set out for Rome. On his arrival, the bishop gave him all marks of esteem and affection, and was resolved not to let him return to his labors without the episcopal character, that he might pursue them with more authority, and to greater advantage. He was accordingly consecrated on the last day of November, 723; from which time he took upon himself the name of Boniface.

On being thus qualified for forming his new church, he left Rome, having with him six letters from the pope; one to Charles Martel; a second to all bishops, priests, dukes, counts, &c.; a third to the clergy and people under his more immediate direction; a fourth to the five princes of Thuringia, and their Christian subjects; a fifth to the Pagans in their dominions; and a sixth to the whole body of Saxons. The purport of all these was, to recommend him to the protection of the Christian powers, and exhort the Pagans to hear him, and quit their errors and superstition.

Having made many converts in different parts, he returned to his mission in Germany, and was very successful, though he met with many that would willingly have been Christians only by halves; they were ready enough to acknowledge Christ, but did not care to adhere strictly to his precepts: and some were so far deluded, as to worship a large oak-tree, which was dedicated to Jupiter. This tree Boniface ordered to be cut down; when the Pagans, finding that Jupiter did not take any notice of those who had destroyed it, owned the weakness of their pretended deity, and desired to be baptized.

Being naturally diffident of his own abilities, Boniface had frequent recourse to such persons as he thought might be of service to him in his present difficult station. Pope Gregory, and Daniel, his old diocesan, were his most considerable counsellors; but by the care of the bishop of Winchester, he received from England numerous missionaries.

SEVERAL MONASTERIES ERECTED BY BONIFACE.

In the year 731, Gregory the Third succeeded to the papal chair, upon whose accession Boniface sent persons to Rome, to acquaint him with the success of his labors, testifying his obedience, and desiring assistance in some difficulties which occurred in his mission. The pope not only answered the message by assuring him of the communion and friendship of the see of Rome, but, as a mark of respect, sent him the pallium, granted him the title of archbishop, or metropolitan of all Germany, and empowered him to erect new bishoprics. Boniface, in consequence, not only erected new bishoprics, but built several monasteries. He then made a third journey to Rome, in 738, when Gregory, who had much affection for him, detained him there the greatest part of the year.

At length having left Rome, he set out for Bavaria, upon the invitation of Odillo, duke of that country, to reform some abuses introduced by persons who had never received holy orders.

At this time Bavaria had only one bishop; he, therefore, pursuant to his commission from Rome, erected three new bishoprics, one at Saltzburg, a second at Freisigen, and a third at Ratisbon, and thus all Bavaria was divided into four dioceses. This regulation was soon after confirmed by the pope.

He next established four other bishoprics, viz. at Erfurt, Barabourg, Wurtzburgh, and Achstat.

In the year 741, Gregory the Third was succeeded in the popedom by Zachary, who confirmed Boniface in his power, and approved of all he had done in Germany, making him at the same time archbishop of Mentz, and metropolitan over thirteen bishoprics. He did not, however, lose his simplicity, or forget his innocence, in his ecclesiastical dignity.

During the ministry of this prelate, Pepin

was declared king of France; and it being that prince's ambition to be crowned by the most holy prelate he could find, Boniface was solicited to perform that ceremony, which he did at Soissons in 752. The next year his great age, and many infirmities, so afflicted him, that, with the consent of the new king, the bishops, &c. of his diocese, he consecrated Lullus, his countryman, and faithful disciple, and placed him in the see of Mentz, desiring Lullus to finish the church at Fuld, and see him buried in it, for his end was approaching. He then went to Friesland, where he converted and baptized several thousands of the natives, demolished the temples, and raised churches on their ruins. Once he appointed a day for confirming a great number of new converts, and ordered them to assemble in an open plain near the river Bourde, whither he repaired the day before; and pitching a tent, determined to remain on the spot all night, in order to be ready in the morning early. Several Pagans, having intelligence of this intention, poured down upon him, and the companions of his mission, in the night, with a view to massacre them. The servants of Boniface would have repelled the barbarians by force of arms; but he told them and his clergy, that the moment he had long wished for was now come, and exhorted his assistants in the ministry to prepare themselves for martyrdom. While he was thus employed, the Pagans rushed in upon him, and killed him and fifty-two of his companions and attendants. This happened on June 5, A. D. 755. Thus fell the great father of the Germanic church, the honor of England, and the glory of his barbarous age.*

MASSACRE BY THE SARACENS.

Forty-two persons of Armorian, in Upper Phrygia, were martyred in the year 845, by the Saracens, the circumstances of which are thus related:

In the reign of Theophilus, the Saracens ravaged many parts of the eastern empire, gained considerable advantages over the Christians, and at length laid siege to the city of Armorian. The garrison bravely defended the place for a considerable time, and would have obliged their enemies to raise the siege, but the place was betrayed by a renegado. Many were put to the sword; and two general officers, with some persons of distinction, were carried prisoners to Bagdat, where they were loaded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon. They continued in prison for some time without seeing any persons but their gaolers, having scarcely food enough for their subsistence. At length they were informed, that nothing could preserve their lives but renouncing their religion and embracing Mahometanism. To induce them to comply, the caliph pretended zeal for their welfare; and declared, that he looked upon converts in a more glorious light than conquests. Agreeably to these maxims, he sent some of the most artful of the Mahometans, with money and clothes, and the promise of other advantages, which they might secure to themselves, by an abjuration of Christianity; which, according to the casuistry of those infidels, might be made without quitting their faith; but the martyrs rejected the proposal with horror and contempt. After this they were attacked with that fallacious and delusive argument which the Mahometans still use in favor of themselves, and were desired to judge of the merits of the cause by the success of those engaged in it, and choose that religion which they saw flourished most, and was best rewarded with the good things of this life, which they called the blessings of heaven. Yet the noble prisoners were proof against all these temptations; and argued strenuously against the authority of the false prophet. This incensed the Mahometans, and drew greater hardships upon the Christians during their confinement, which lasted seven years. Boidizius, the renegado who had betrayed Armorian; then brought them the welcome news that their sufferings would conclude in martyrdom the next day; when taken from their dungeon, they were again solicited to embrace the tenets of Mahomet; but neither threats nor promises could induce them to espouse the doctrines of an impostor. Perceiving that their faith could not by any means be shaken, the caliph ordered them to be executed. Theodore, one of the number, had formerly received priest's orders, and officiated as a clergyman; but afterwards quitting the church, he had followed a military life, and raised himself by the sword to some considerable posts, which he enjoyed at the time he was taken prisoner. The officer who attended the execution, being apprized of these circumstances, said to Theodore, "You might, indeed, pretend to be ranked amongst the Christians, while you served in their church as a priest; but the profession you have taken up, which engages you in bloodshed, is so contrary to your former employment, that you should not now think of passing

* Having given the fair side of the character of Boniface, the archbishop, it behoves us to say, that he was a great abettor of all the absurdities and blasphemies of popery: though for this he is not so much to be blamed; because in his time the candle of the true gospel was not lighted. By his authority Childeric, king of France, was deposed, and Pepin, the betrayer of his master, was recognized as king. From Boniface proceeded that detestable doctrine which now stands registered in the pope's decrees, (*dis.* 40. *cap. si papa*;) which states, that in case the pope were of most filthy living, and forgetful or negligent of himself, and of Christianity, in such a degree, that he led innumerable souls with him to hell; yet ought no man to rebuke him for so doing, "for he hath," says he, "power to judge all men, and ought of no man to be judged again."

upon us for one of that religion. When you quitted the altar for the camp, you renounced Jesus Christ. Why then will you dissemble any longer? Would you not act more conformably to your own principles, and make your conduct all of a piece, if you came to a resolution of saving your life by owning our great prophet?"

Theodore, covered with religious confusion at this reproach, but still unshaken in his faith, made the following answer: "It is true," said he, "I did in some measure abandon my God when I engaged in the army, and scarce deserve the name of a Christian. But the Almighty has given me the grace to see myself in a true light, and made me sensible of my fault; and I hope he will be pleased to accept my life as the only sacrifice I can now offer to expiate my guilt." This pious answer confounded the officer, who only replied, that he should presently have an opportunity of giving that proof of his fidelity to his master. Upon which, Theodore and the rest, forty-two in number, were beheaded.

MARTYRDOM OF TWO LADIES.

Two ladies of distinction, Mary and Flora, suffered martyrdom at the same time. Flora was the daughter of an eminent Mahometan at Seville; from whence he removed to Corduba, where the Saracen king resided, and kept his court. Her father dying when she was young, Flora was left to the care of her mother, who, being a Christian, brought her up in the true faith, and inspired her with sentiments of virtue and religion. Her brother being a professed enemy to Christianity, and of a barbarous and savage temper, Flora was for some time obliged to use great caution in the practice of such virtues as must have exposed her to a persecution. She was too zealous to bear this restraint long; for which reason she left Corduba, in company with her sister. Her departure soon alarmed her brother, who guessed her motives, and, in revenge, informed against several Christians of Corduba; for as he did not know whither his sister was gone, he determined to wreak his vengeance on such Christians as were present. When Flora was informed of these proceedings, she considered herself as the cause of what the Christians had suffered at Corduba, and having an interior conviction that God called her to fight for her faith, she returned to that city, and proceeded to the persecutors, among whom she found her brother. "If," said she, "I am the object of your inquiry, if the servants of God are tormented on my account, I now freely offer myself to your disposal. I declare, that I believe in Jesus Christ, glory in his cross, and profess the doctrine which he taught." None of the company seemed so much enraged at this declaration as her brother, who, after some threats, struck her; but afterwards endeavored to gain her by expressions of pretended kindness. Finding her insensible to all he could say, he insinuated, that Flora had been educated in the religion of Mahomet, but had renounced it at the suggestion of some Christians, who inspired her with the utmost contempt for the great prophet. When she was called on to answer to the charge, she declared she had never owned Mahomet, but sucked the Christian religion in with her milk, and was entirely devoted to the Redeemer of mankind. The magistrate, finding her resolute, delivered her to her brother, and gave him orders to use his utmost endeavors to make her a Mahometan. She, however, soon found an opportunity of escaping over a wall in the night, and of secreting herself in the house of a Christian. She then withdrew to Tucci, a village of Andalusia, where she met with her sister, and they never separated again till her martyrdom.

Mary, who was martyred at the same time, was the daughter of a Christian tradesman at Estremadura, who afterwards removed to a town near Corduba. When the persecution began under Abderrama, king of the Saracens in Spain, Mary's brother was one who fell a victim to the rage of the infidels on that occasion. Mary, hearing of his martyrdom, and filled with confusion at being left behind by one so much younger than herself, went to Corduba, where, going into a church, she found Flora, who had left her retreat on the same motive. On conversing together, and finding they acted upon the same heroic principles, and proposed the same glorious end of their labors, they agreed to go together, and declare their faith before the judge. Accordingly they proceeded to the magistrate, when Flora boldly told him, she looked upon Mahomet as no better than a false prophet, an adulterer, and magician. Mary also told the magistrate, that she professed the same faith and entertained the same sentiments as Flora, and that she was sister to Walabonzus, who had already suffered for being a Christian. This behavior so much enraged the magistrate, that he ordered them to be committed to prison for some time, and then to be beheaded: which sentence was executed on the 4th of November, A. D. 850.

ACCOUNT OF PERFECTUS.

Perfectus was born at Corduba, and brought up in the Christian faith. He made himself master of all the useful and polite literature of that age; and at length took priest's orders, and performed the duties of his office with great assiduity and punctuality. One day walking in the streets of Corduba, some Arabians entered into conversation with him, and, among other questions, asked him his opinion both of Jesus Christ

and Mahomet. Perfectus gave them an exact account of the Christian faith, respecting the divinity of Christ, and the redemption of mankind; but would not deliver his sentiments concerning Mahomet. The Arabians pressed him to speak freely; but he saying, that what he should utter would not be agreeable to their ideas, and therefore he would be silent, as he did not wish to offend any one; they still entreated him to speak his thoughts, declaring at the same time that they would not be offended at any thing he should say. Hence, believing them sincere, and hoping this might be the favorable time allotted by God for their conversion, Perfectus told them that the Christians looked on Mahomet as one of the false prophets foretold in the gospel, who were to seduce and deceive great numbers, to their eternal ruin. To illustrate this assertion, he descanted on some of the actions of that impostor; endeavored to show them the impious doctrines and abominable absurdities of the Alcoran; and exhorted them, in very strong terms, to quit the miserable state in which they then were, and which would certainly be followed by eternal misery.

The infidels could not hear such a discourse without conceiving an indignation against the speaker. They thought proper, however, to disguise their resentment, but were resolved not to let him escape. At first, indeed, they were unwilling to use any violence to him, because they had given him a solemn assurance he should come to no harm: but they were soon eased of that scruple; and watching a favorable opportunity, seized on him, hurried him away to one of their chief magistrates, and accused him of blaspheming their great prophet, on which, the judge ordered him to be put in chains, and confined in prison, till the fast of their Ramadan, or Lent, when he should be made a victim to Mahomet. He heard the determination with joy, and prepared for his martyrdom with great fervency. At the time appointed he was led to the place of execution, where he again made a confession of his faith, declared Mahomet an impostor, and insisted, that the Alcoran was filled with absurdities and blasphemies. In consequence of this he was sentenced to be beheaded, and was executed A. D. 850; after which his body was interred by the Christians.

WINCESLAUS, DUKE OF BOHEMIA.

Winceslaus, duke of Bohemia, was educated in the faith of Christ, as his father Wrattislaus, the preceding duke, was a good Christian; but Drahomira, his mother, was a Pagan, whose morals were as bad as her religious sentiments: she consented, however, to intrust her mother, Ludmilla, with the education of her eldest son. That holy lady had resided at Prague ever since the death of Boriver, her husband, the first duke of Bohemia who embraced the faith of Christ; and Winceslaus was sent to that city, to be brought up under her. Ludmilla undertook to form his heart to devotion and the love of God, and was assisted in that work by Paul her chaplain, a man of great sanctity and prudence, who likewise endeavored to cultivate his mind in other respects. The young prince corresponded with their endeavors; and the grace of God, who had prepared him for their instructions, caused him to make astonishing progress: he was sent to a college at Budweis, about sixty miles from Prague, where several young persons of the first rank were placed, and studied under an excellent master, a native of Neisse, in Silesia.

When Wrattislaus died, his son Winceslaus was very young: on which account Drahomira, his mother, declared herself regent during his minority. This princess, now not having any one to control her, gave vent to her rage against Christianity. She began her administration with an order for shutting up the churches; repealed the laws in favor of the Christians, and removed all magistrates of that denomination, supplying their places with Pagans. Thus finding themselves encouraged, the Pagans, upon any frivolous pretence, murdered the Christians with impunity; and if a Christian in his own defence killed a Pagan, his life, and that of nine other Christians, were forfeited.

Ludmilla was afflicted at these proceedings, as she could not behold a religion despised which she professed, and which her consort had established with so much difficulty and zeal. Yet she could not think of any expedient to prevent the total extirpation of Christianity in Bohemia, except persuading Winceslaus, young as he was, to assume the reins of government. Winceslaus at first declined engaging in this task; but upon his grandmother promising to assist him with her advice, he complied with her request; and, to prevent future disputes, divided the country between himself and his younger brother Bolislaw, whose name is still retained by a town and a considerable district of that country. Drahomira now attached herself to Bolislaw, who was a Pagan, and followed implicitly her maxims. Concerning the behavior of Winceslaus after his assuming the sovereignty, and the fate of the aged and worthy Ludmilla, the annals of Bohemia state these particulars: "Winceslaus, pursuant to the impressions of virtue which he had received from his grandmother, and others employed in his education, was more careful than ever to preserve the innocence of his morals, and acquired some new degree of perfection every day. He was as humble, sober, and chaste, when master of his own motions, and in full possession of sovereign authority, as when under the

government of those on whom he was taught to look as his superiors. He spent great part of the night in prayer, and the whole day in acts of piety; directing all his views to the establishment of peace, justice, and religion, in his dominions. He was assisted in these charitable and truly Christian labors by able ministers; and nothing of consequence was done without the advice of Ludmilla. This excellent princess being informed that Drahomira, transported with rage at the success of her directions, had formed a design against her life, and that it would scarcely be in her power to save herself, was so far from being disturbed at the apprehensions of death, or desisting from what had made her odious to that wicked woman, that she exerted herself more vigorously than ever for the maintenance of religion, and confirming the prince in his resolutions. Being now assured that her death was near, and that several persons were actually employed to dispatch her the first convenient opportunity, she called all her servants together, acknowledged their fidelity in her service with a liberal hand, and distributed her goods and money among the poor. Thus divested of all she possessed in the world, she went to her chapel, received the holy eucharist, and then employed herself in prayer, recommended her soul to God, and expected his will with the utmost tranquillity and resignation. This was her situation, when two ruffians entered the chapel, seized on her, and strangled her with her own veil."

The young duke severely felt the loss of his grandmother, yet he did not punish the offenders, knowing that they had been instigated to what they did by his mother. He therefore addressed himself to God only, entreated the throne of grace for his mother's pardon and conversion, and patiently submitted to the dispensations of Providence.

TERRITORIES OF WINCESLAUS INVADED.

As many factions were fomented in his dominions by means of his mother and brother, and as Winceslaus himself seemed of an unwarlike disposition, a neighboring prince, Radislaus of Gurima, determined to invade Bohemia. He accordingly entered that country at the head of a considerable army. Winceslaus, on hearing of these proceedings, sent a message to the invader, to know what offence he had given him, and what terms he required to quit his dominions. Radislaus, mistaking the temper of Winceslaus, looked upon this message as arising from timidity; he therefore answered in a haughty manner, made frivolous excuses for having commenced the quarrel, and concluded by insisting that Winceslaus should surrender to him all his dominions.

This insolent demand obliged Winceslaus to put himself at the head of an army in defence of himself and his people. He accordingly raised a considerable body of forces, and marched against the enemy. When the two armies were ready to engage, Winceslaus obtained a conference with Radislaus, and observed, that as it would be unjust to hazard the lives of so many innocent men, the most eligible method of putting an end to the dispute would be by single combat between themselves.

Radislaus accepted the proposal with joy, thinking that he was much more expert in the use of arms than his antagonist. They accordingly engaged in sight of the two armies, and the victory seemed doubtful for some time, till, at length, it declared in favor of Winceslaus: when his antagonist was obliged to relinquish his pretended claim, and retire into his own country.

Winceslaus being thus freed from the fears of a foreign enemy, turned his thoughts to domestic reformation. He removed corrupt judges and magistrates, and filled their places with persons of integrity; put an end to oppression, punished such nobles as tyrannized over their vassals, and made other wise regulations, which, though they relieved the poor and helpless, gave great offence to the great and rich, as they abridged their power, and took from them their self-importance and assumed consequence. Hence many became factious, and the malcontents censured all his best actions, and spoke contemptuously of his application to prayer, fasting, and other acts of religion, which they insinuated were low employments for a prince, and incompatible with the courage and policy necessary for the government of a state. His mother and brother were the most inveterate of his enemies; and were concerting measures for murdering him, when they understood that he had desired the pope to send some priests into his dominions, with whom he proposed to spend the remainder of his days in a religious retreat. This news suspended the execution of their conspiracy for some time; but, perceiving the affair did not come to a conclusion so soon as was necessary for their ambitious views, they reassumed their practices against him, and gained their ends in the following treacherous manner:

Bolislaw having been some time married, his princess brought him forth a son. This circumstance, which should have diffused joy throughout the family, furnished Drahomira and Bolislaw with an idea of the most horrid nature, and the innocent infant was made the object for perpetrating a deed of unexampled cruelty. The scheme concerted between them, was to get Winceslaus into their power. The birth of the child furnished them with a pretence; and a message was dispatched to the unsuspecting duke, requesting his company at an entertainment upon the occasion. Winceslaus, not having the least surmise of their intention, repaired to

the court of Bolislaw, where he was received with the greatest appearance of cordiality. He partook of the entertainment, and was festive, till it grew rather late, when he retired before the rest of the company, as he was not fond of late hours, and never neglected his devotions to the Almighty, previous to lying down to rest. When he had withdrawn, Drahomira urged Bolislaw to follow his brother instantly, and murder him. The prince took his mother's sanguinary advice, and repairing to his brother's chamber, he found him kneeling, and in fervent prayer, when he rushed upon him, and plunged a dagger to his heart. Thus, in A. D. 929, fell Winceslaus, the third duke of Bohemia, by a most infernal act of treachery and fratricide.

ADALBERT, BISHOP OF PRAGUE.

Adalbert, bishop of Prague, was a Bohemian by birth. His parents were persons of rank, but more distinguished for their virtue and piety than for their opulence and lineage. They had the highest expectations of their son, and gave him a good education; but their joy was damped, by his falling into a dropsy, from which he was with difficulty recovered. When cured, they sent him to Magdeburg, and committed him to the care of the archbishop of that city, who completed his education. The rapid progress which Adalbert made in human and divine learning, made him dear to the prelate, who, to the authority of a teacher, joined all the tenderness of a parent. Having spent nine years at Magdeburg, he retired to his own country upon the death of the archbishop, and entered himself among the clergy at Prague. Dithmar, bishop of Prague, died soon after the return of Adalbert to that city; and in his last moments, expressed great contrition for having been ambitious and solicitous of worldly honors and riches: Adalbert, who was among the number present, was so sensibly affected at the bishop's dying sentiments, that he received them as an admonition to the strict practice of virtue, which he afterwards exercised with the greatest attention, spending his time in prayer, and relieving the poor with his fortune.

Soon after the decease of Dithmar, an assembly was held for the choice of a successor, which consisted of the clergy of Prague, and the nobility of Bohemia. Adalbert's character determined them to raise him to the vacant see, which they did on the 19th of February, 983, and immediately dispatched messengers to Verona, to desire Otho II. would confirm the election. The emperor granted the request, ordered Adalbert to repair to court for investiture, gave him the ring and crosier, and then sent him to the archbishop of Mentz for consecration. That ceremony was performed on the 29th of June the same year; and he was received at Prague with great demonstrations of public joy. He divided the revenue of his see into four parts, according to the direction of the canons extant in the fifth century. The first was employed in the building and ornaments of the church; the second went to the maintenance of the clergy; the third was laid out for the relief of the poor; and the fourth reserved for the support of himself and family; which was always made to include twelve indigent persons, to whom he allowed daily subsistence. He performed his duty with the utmost assiduity, and spent a great portion of his time in preaching to and exhorting the people. His conduct was discreet and humane; and his manner neither too severe nor too indulgent. Yet some things which he could not remedy gave him great uneasiness, particularly the having a plurality of wives, and selling the Christians to the Jews for trivial offences. Hence he determined to consult the pope, and made a journey to Rome. John, who then occupied the papal chair, received him with cordiality, and advised him to give up his bishopric, rather than be the witness of enormities which he could not remedy. He, in consequence, determined to take the pope's advice, and to devote the remainder of his days to mortification and silence; and began by giving all his treasures to the poor. He was, however, before he entirely secluded himself from mankind, desirous of seeing the Holy Land, and set off accordingly in company with three persons.

On their way, they arrived at Mount Cassino, where the chiefs of the monastery of that place received them in a very friendly manner, and being apprized of the cause of their journey, when they were about to depart, the superior of the monastery addressed himself to Adalbert, and observed to him, that the journey he had undertaken would give him more trouble and uneasiness than he was aware of; that the frequent desire of travelling, often proceeded more from a restless disposition, than real religion. "Therefore," said he, "if you will listen to my advice, leave the world at once with sincerity, and settle in some religious community, without desiring to see more than you have already seen." Adalbert adopted the sentiments of the superior, and took up his residence in that monastery, where he then thought he might live entirely recluse; but he was mistaken; for the priests, by accident, coming to a knowledge of the rank and former dignity of their colleague, began to treat him with great deference and respect, which occasioned him to leave the place. Nilus, a Grecian, being then at the head of a community not far from Mount Cassino, Adalbert went to him, and begged to be received into his monastery. He assured him he

would willingly comply with his request, if the practice of his religious family would be agreeable to him; he told him that the house in which he and his people lived, was given to them by those of Mount Cassino; and therefore it might not be safe for him to receive one that had left that community, but he advised him to return to Rome, and apply to Leo, an abbot of his acquaintance there, to whom he gave him a letter of recommendation. Adalbert went to Rome, where he found Leo, who, after putting his virtue and courage to proper trials, conducted him to the pope, and, with the consent of that pontiff, and the whole college of cardinals, gave him the habit on Holy Thursday in the year 990. We have already said, that he had been attended only by three select persons ever since he had the pope's advice for resigning his bishopric: two of them now left him; but the third, who was his brother, Gaudentius, followed his example, and engaged in the same community. Adalbert, full of humility, took a particular pleasure in the lowest employments of the house, and lived an excellent pattern of Christian simplicity and obedience.

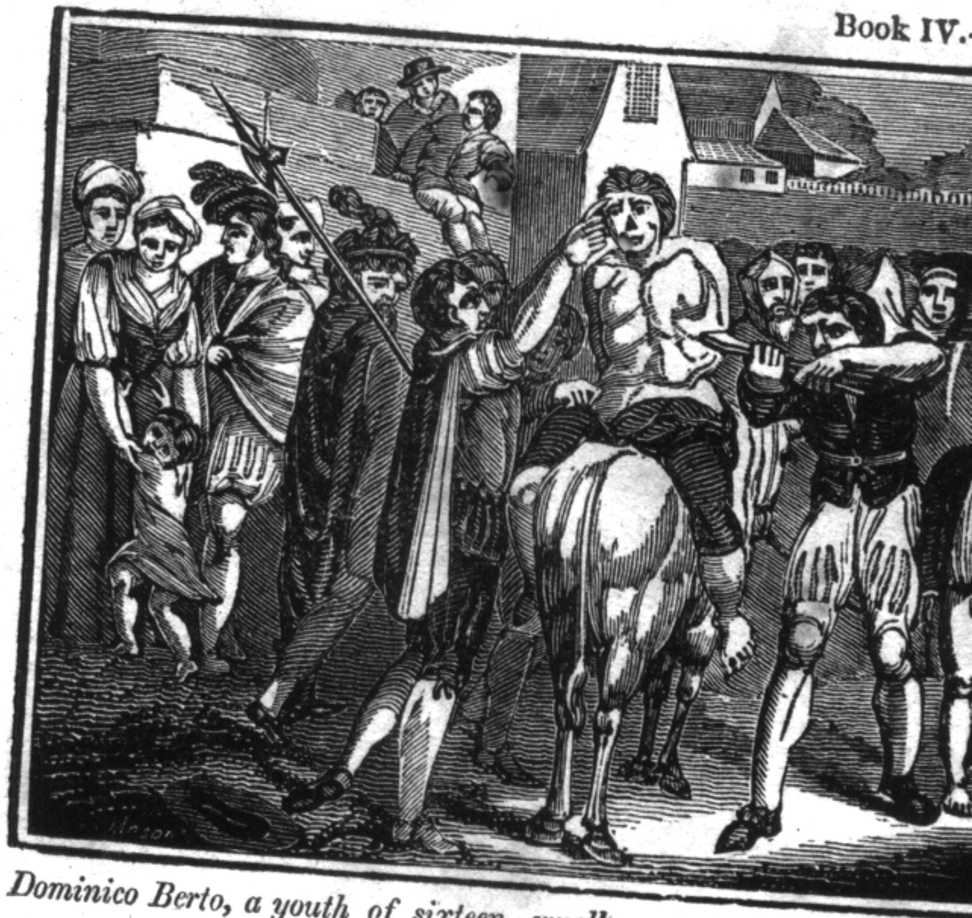
The archbishop of Mentz, the metropolitan, being exceedingly afflicted at the disorders in the church of Prague, and wishing for the return of the bishop, with whose retreat he was not, for some time, acquainted, after five years' absence, heard that Adalbert was at Rome, when he sent a deputation to the pope, to press his return to his diocese. The pope summoned a council to consider of the deputation, and after a warm dispute between the monks and deputies, the latter carried their point, and Adalbert was ordered to return to his diocese; but, at the same time, had permission to quit his charge again, if he found his flock as incorrigible as before. The inhabitants of Prague met him, on his arrival, with great joy, and promised obedience to his directions; but they soon forgot their promises, and relapsed into their former vices, which obliged him, a second time, to leave them, and return to his monastery. Nevertheless, the archbishop of Mentz sent another deputation to Rome, and desired that his suffragan might be again ordered back to his diocese. Gregory V., who was then pope, commanded him to return to Prague; and, with great reluctance, he obeyed.

The Bohemians, however, did not look upon him as before, but deemed him the censor of their faults, and the enemy of their pleasures, and threatened him with death upon his arrival; but not having him yet in their power, they murdered several of his relations, plundered their estates, and set fire to their houses. Adalbert had intelligence of these outrageous proceedings, and did not judge it prudent to proceed on his journey. He therefore went to the duke of Poland, who had a particular respect for him, and engaged that prince to sound the Bohemians in regard to his return; but could get no better answer from that wretched people, than "that they were sinners, hardened in iniquity; and Adalbert a saint, and consequently not fit to live among them; for which reason he was not to hope for a tolerable reception at Prague." The bishop thought this message discharged him from any further concern for that church, and began to direct his thoughts to the conversion of infidels; for which purpose he repaired to Dantzic, where he converted and baptized many, which so enraged the Pagan priests, that they fell upon him, and dispatched him with darts, on the 23d of April, A. D. 997.

Plate XX.

Adalbert, Bishop of Prague, put to death by the Pagans with
Dantzic, A.D. 997.

Plate XXI.



Dominico Berto, a youth of sixteen, cruelly mangled and tortured to
A.D. 1620.

Plate XX. Book III.—Sect. 2.

Adalbert, Bishop of Prague, put to death by the Pagans with darts, near Dantzic, A.D. 997.

Plate XXI. Book IV.—Sect. 3.

Dominico Berto, a youth of sixteen, cruelly mangled and tortured to death, A.D. 1620.

BOOK IV.

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

SECTION I.

Persecutions in the Eleventh Century.

ACCOUNT OF ARCHBISHOP ALPHAGE.

ALPHAGE, archbishop of Canterbury, came from a considerable family in Gloucestershire, and received an education suitable to his birth. His parents were Christians, and Alphage inherited all their virtues. He was prudent, humble, pious, and chaste; and made a rapid progress both in polite literature and theological learning. In order to be more at leisure to contemplate the beauties of divine history, he determined to renounce his fortune, quit his home, and become a recluse. He accordingly retired to a monastery of Benedictines, at Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire, and soon after took the habit. Here he lived with the utmost temperance, and spent the greatest part of his time in prayer. But not thinking the austerities he underwent in this monastery sufficiently severe, he retired to a lonely cell near Bath, and lived in a manner still more rigid; but some devout persons finding out his retreat, his austere life soon became the subject of conversation in the neighboring villages, whence many flocked to him, and begged to be taken under his pastoral care. Consenting to their importunities, he raised a monastery near his cell, by contributions of several well-disposed persons; formed his new pupils into a community, and placed a prior over them. Having prescribed rules for their regulation, he again retired to his cell, fervently wishing to pass the remainder of his days in religious security; when the following affair again drew him from his retreat.

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

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

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

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

Upon this occasion, the archbishop Alphage acted with great resolution and humanity; he went boldly to the Danes, purchased the freedom of several whom they had made captives; found means to send food to others, whom he had not money enough to redeem, and even made converts of some of the Danes: but the latter circumstance made the Danes, who still continued Pagans, greater enemies to him than they would otherwise have been, and they were determined to be revenged on him. Edric, an English malcontent and traitor, gave the

Danes every encouragement, and assisted them in laying siege to Canterbury. When the design of attacking that city was known, many of the principal people made a precipitate flight from it, and would have persuaded Alphage to follow their example; but he would not listen to such a proposal; assured them he could not think of abandoning his flock at a time when his presence was more necessary than ever, and was resolved to hazard his life in their defence. While he was employed in assisting his people, Canterbury was taken by storm; the enemy poured into the town, and destroyed all that came in their way. The monks endeavored to detain the archbishop in the church, where they hoped he might be safe. But his concern for his flock made him break from them, and run into the midst of the danger. On this occasion he addressed the enemy, begging the people might be saved, and that he alone might be their victim. The barbarians seized him, tied his hands, insulted and abused him, and obliged him to remain on the spot till his church was burnt, and the monks massacred. They then decimated all the inhabitants, both ecclesiastics and laymen, leaving only every tenth person alive: so that they put 7236 persons to death, and left only four monks and 800 laymen alive: after which they confined the archbishop in a dungeon, where they kept him for several months. During his confinement, they proposed to him to purchase his liberty with the sum of 3000*l.* and to persuade the king to procure their departure out of the kingdom with a farther sum of 10,000*l.* Alphage's circumstances not allowing him to satisfy the exorbitant demand, they bound him, and put him to severe torments, to oblige him to discover the treasure of his church. But he remaining inflexible, they remanded him to prison again, confined him six days longer, and then taking him with them to Greenwich, brought him to trial. Here he exhorted them to forsake their idolatry, and embrace Christianity. This so enraged them, that the soldiers dragged him out of the camp, and beat him unmercifully. Alphage bore this treatment patiently, and even prayed for his persecutors. One of the soldiers, who had been converted and baptized by him, was greatly afflicted that his pains should be so lingering, as he knew his death was determined on: he, therefore, in a kind of barbarous compassion, cut off his head, and thus put the finishing stroke to his martyrdom. This happened on April 19, A. D. 1012, on the very spot where the church of Greenwich, which is dedicated to him, now stands. After his death, his body was thrown into the Thames, but being found the next day, it was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul's, by the bishops of London and Lincoln: from whence it was, in the year 1023, removed to Canterbury by Æthelnoth, the archbishop of that province.

GERARD, A VENETIAN.

Gerard, a Venetian, having devoted himself to the service of God from a youth, entered into a religious house for some time, and then determined to visit the Holy Land. On arriving in Hungary, he became acquainted with Stephen, the king of that country, who acted the parts of prince and preacher, and not only regulated his subjects by wholesome laws, but taught them religious duties. Finding Gerard qualified to instruct his people, he tried to detain him in his kingdom; and, at length, founding several churches, he made Gerard bishop of that of Chonad. Here the new bishop had a very difficult task to perform, the people of his diocese being accustomed to idolatry. The bishop, however, assiduous in his zeal for the salvation of his flock, labored to bring them to a sense of their duty, and soon had the pleasure to find that his endeavors were not unsuccessful, for his sweetness of disposition won greatly upon the people. His success was not confined to his own diocese, but extended to the adjacent country, where many became converts to the pure faith of Christ. Wherever the faith made its way by his ministry, he took care to establish ecclesiastical discipline for the preservation of religion, and made several useful regulations in the public service of the church. His exemplary conduct was as instructive as his exhortations, and did much to convince his converts of the truth and dignity of their new profession. He was remarkable for an uncommon tenderness for the poor, especially such as were sick, or incapable of following their accustomed employments. During the life of Stephen, Gerard received every assistance which that excellent monarch could afford him; but on his demise, his nephew Peter, who succeeded him, was of so different a temper, that Gerard was greatly perplexed. At length, the tyranny of Peter exasperated his subjects so much, that they deposed him, and placed Ouvo on the throne. They, however, soon found that they had changed from bad to worse; for Ouvo proved a greater monster of cruelty than his predecessor. At Easter, Ouvo repaired to Chonad, in order to receive the crown from the hands of Gerard. When he arrived, the other prelates of the kingdom, who were assembled, assured the prince of their affection for his person, and promised to concur in his coronation; but Gerard refused to pay that compliment to a public and malicious enemy; and told him, that he could not look on Peter's exclusion as regular, and consequently should not proceed to do any thing to the prejudice of his title; he then told him, that if he persisted in his usurpation, the Divine Providence would soon put an end to his life and

reign. Ouvo, growing more insupportable than his predecessor, was brought to the scaffold, in the year 1044; upon which Peter was recalled, and placed on the throne a second time; but his deposition and retirement had made no alteration in his temper, so that he was again deprived of the royal dignity in less than two years.

An offer was then made of the crown to Andrew, son of Ladislaus, cousin-german of Stephen, upon condition that he would employ his authority in extirpating the Christian religion out of Hungary. The ambitious prince came into the proposal, and promised to do his utmost in re-establishing the idolatrous worship of his ancestors. Gerard, being informed of this impious bargain, undertook to go to Andrew, and persuade him to withdraw his promise. He accordingly set out, attended by three other prelates, full of zeal for religion: but as they were about to cross the Danube, they were stopped by a party of soldiers posted there by a nobleman, remarkable for his aversion to the Christian religion, and to Stephen's memory. They were attacked with a shower of stones, cruelly beaten, and at length dispatched with lances. Their martyrdoms happened in the year 1045.

STANISLAUS.

Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, was of an illustrious family. The piety of his parents was equal to their opulence, and they rendered their wealth subservient to all the purposes of benevolence. Stanislaus was their only child: he possessed a penetrating genius, retentive memory, and solid understanding; hence study became his amusement. His disposition was not inferior to his abilities; and he voluntarily gave himself, in the dawn of youth, to such austerities as might have acquired reputation for a hermit. In process of time, he was sent to a seminary of learning in Poland, and afterwards to the university of Paris; here he remained several years, and then returned to his own country, where, on the demise of his parents, he became possessed of a large fortune, of which he devoted the greater part to charitable uses. His views were now solely directed to the ministry; but he remained for some time undetermined whether he should embrace a monastic life, or engage among the secular clergy. He was at length persuaded to the latter by Lambert Zula, bishop of Cracow, who gave him holy orders, and made him a canon of his cathedral. In this capacity he lived in a most exemplary manner, and performed his duties with unremitting assiduity. Lambert was charmed with the many virtues which so particularly distinguished Stanislaus, and would fain have resigned his bishopric to him, alleging as a reason his great age; but Stanislaus absolutely refused to accept of the see, for the contrary reason, viz. his want of years; as being then only 36 years old, he deemed that too early a time of life for a man to undertake the important care of a diocese. Lambert, however, made him his substitute upon various occasions, and dying on November 25, 1071, all concerned in the choice of a successor declared for Stanislaus: but he declined the acceptance for the same reason as before. At length the king, clergy, and nobility, unanimously joined in writing to pope Alexander II. who, at their entreaty, sent an express order that Stanislaus should accept the bishopric. He then obeyed, and exerted himself to the utmost in improving his flock. He was equally careful with respect both to clergy and laity, kept a list of all the poor in his diocese, and by feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and administering remedies to the sick, he proved himself not only the godly pastor, but the physician and benefactor of the people.

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

The nobility and clergy, finding that the admonitions of the bishop had not the desired effect upon the king, thought proper to interpose. The nobility entreated the bishop to refrain from any further exasperating a monarch of so ferocious a temper; and the clergy endeavored to persuade the king not to be offended with Stanislaus for his chari-

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

SECTION II.

Persecutions of the Waldenses in France.

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

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

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

ACCUSATIONS OF PETER WALDO AGAINST POPERY.

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

TENETS OF THE WALDENSES.

1. That holy oil is not to be mingled in baptism.

2. That prayers used over things inanimate are superstitious.

3. Flesh may be eaten in Lent; the clergy may marry; and auricular confession is unnecessary.

4. Confirmation is no sacrament: we are not bound to pay obedience to the pope; ministers should live upon tithes; no dignity sets one clergyman above another, for their superiority can only be drawn from real worth.

5. Images in churches are absurd; image-worship is idolatry; the pope's indulgences ridiculous; and the miracles pretended to be done by the church of Rome are false.

6. Fornication and public stews ought not to be allowed; purgatory is a fiction; and deceased persons, called saints, ought not to be prayed to.

7. Extreme unction is not a sacrament; and masses, indulgences, and prayers, are of no service to the dead.

8. The Lord's prayer ought to be the rule of all other prayers.

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

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

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

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

ORIGIN OF THE INQUISITION.

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

CRUELTIES OF THE POPE, AND ARTIFICES OF DOMINIC.

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

PRISONS FILLED WITH CHRISTIANS.

A knight named Enraudus, being accused of embracing the opinions of Waldo, was burnt at Paris A. D. 1201. About 1228 such numbers of the reformed were apprehended, that the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, took compassion on them, and thus expressed themselves to the inquisitors: "We

hear that you have apprehended such a number of Waldenses, that it is not only impossible to defray the charge of their food and confinement, but to provide lime and stone to build prisons for them."

AVARICE AND INJUSTICE OF BORALLI.

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

PERSECUTIONS IN DAUPHINY.

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

ATTEMPTS OF THE POPE TO EXTERMINATE THE WALDENSES.

Pope Innocent VIII. in 1488, determined to persecute the Waldenses. To this end he sent Albert de Capitaneis, archdeacon of Cremona, to France; who, on arriving in Dauphiny, craved the assistance of the king's lieutenant to exterminate the Waldenses from the valley of Loyse: the lieutenant readily granted his assistance, and marched a body of troops to the place; but when they arrived at the valley, they found that it had been deserted by the inhabitants, who had retired to the mountains, and hid themselves in caverns, &c. The archdeacon and lieutenant immediately followed them with the troops, and apprehending many, they cast them headlong from the precipices, by which they were dashed to pieces. Several, however, retired to the innermost parts of the caverns, and knowing the intricacies, were able to conceal themselves. The archdeacon and lieutenant, not being able to come at them, ordered the mouths of the caves to be filled with fagots, which being lighted, those within were suffocated. On searching the caves, 400 infants were found smothered, either in their cradles or in their mothers' arms; and, upon the whole, about 3000 men, women, and children, were destroyed in this persecution.

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

THE KING OF FRANCE FAVORS THE WALDENSES.

In 1494, Anthony Fabri, *and Christopher* de Salience, having a commission to persecute the Waldenses of Dauphiny, put some to death, sequestered the estates of others, and confiscated the goods of many; but Louis XII. coming to the crown in 1498, the Waldenses petitioned him for a restitution of their property. The king determined to have the affair impartially canvassed, and sent a commissioner of his own, together with a commissary from the pope, to make the proper inquiries. The witnesses against the Waldenses having been examined, the innocence of those poor people evidently appeared, and the king's commissioner declared, "That he only desired to be as good a Christian as the worst of them." When this favorable report was made to the king, he immediately gave orders that the Waldenses should have their property restored to them. The archbishop of Ambrune, having the greatest quantity of these poor people's goods, it was generally imagined that he would set a laudable example to others, by being the first to restore them. The archbishop, however, declared, that he would

not restore any of the property, for it was incorporated with, and become part of, his archbishopric. He, however, with an affectation of candor, offered to relinquish several vineyards, of which he had dispossessed the Waldenses, provided the lords of Dauphiny would restore all they had taken from those poor people; but this the lords absolutely refused, being as desirous of keeping their plunder as the archbishop himself.

The Waldenses, finding that they were not likely to recover any of their property, again appealed to the king; and the monarch having attended to their complaints, wrote to the archbishop; but that artful and avaricious prelate replied, "That at the commencement of the persecution the Waldenses had been excommunicated by the pope, in consequence of which their goods were distrained; therefore, till the sentence of excommunication was taken off, which had occasioned them to be seized, they could not be restored with propriety." This plea was allowed to be reasonable; and application was ineffectually made to the pope to remove the sentence of excommunication: for the archbishop, supposing this would be the case, had used all his interest at Rome to prevent the application from succeeding.

PROGRESS OF THE WALDENSES.

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

PUNISHMENT OF THE MERINDOLIANS AND OTHERS.

It happened that some time after, the inhabitants of Merindol received a summons, that the heads of the families of that town should appear before the ecclesiastical court. When they appeared, and confessed themselves Waldenses, they were ordered to be burnt, their families outlawed, their habitations laid waste, and the woods that surrounded the town to be cut down two hundred paces square, so that the whole should be rendered desolate. The king, however, being informed of this barbarous decree, sent to countermand the execution of it; but his orders were suppressed by cardinal Tournon, and the greatest cruelties were consequently exercised.

The president of Opede sent several companies of soldiers to burn some villages occupied by Protestants, which they performed, murdering the men, ravishing the women, cutting off the breasts of mothers, and suffering the infants to famish, &c. &c. The president likewise proclaimed, that none should give any manner of assistance or sustenance, to the Waldenses. On reaching another small town, the president found there only a boy, the other inhabitants having deserted the place. The boy he ordered to be shot by the soldier to whom he had surrendered, and then destroyed every house in the place. He next marched against Cabrieres, and began to cannonade it. At this time there were not above sixty poor peasants, with their families, in the town; and they sent him word, that he need not expend powder and shot upon the place, as they were willing to open the gates and surrender, provided they might be permitted to retire, with their families, to Geneva or Germany. This was promised them; but the gates were no sooner opened, than the president ordered all the men to be cut to pieces, which cruel command was immediately executed. Several women and children were confined in a large barn, which was set fire to, and every one perished in the flames. Other women and children having taken refuge in a church, the president ordered one of his officers to go in and kill them all: the captain, at first, refused, saying, "Such unnecessary cruelty is unbecoming a military man." The president, being displeased at this reply, said, "I charge you, on pain of being accused of mutiny, immediately to obey my orders." The captain, afraid of the consequences, thought proper to comply. The president then sent a detachment of his troops to ravage the town of Costa, which was accomplished with the greatest barbarity.

At length the judgment of God overtook this monster of cruelty; for he was afflicted with a dreadful flux, and a painful strangury. In this extremity he sent for a surgeon from Arles, who, on examining his disorders, told him they were of a singular nature, and much worse than he had ever seen them in any other person. He then took occasion

to reprehend him for his cruelties, and told him, that unless he repented, he might expect that the hand of Heaven would fall still heavier upon him. On hearing these words, the president, violently enraged, ordered his attendants to seize upon the surgeon as a heretic. The surgeon, however, found means to escape, and soon after, the president's disorder increased to a terrible degree. As he had found some little ease from the operations of the surgeon, he again sent to him, for he had been informed of the place of his retirement: his message was accompanied with an apology for his former behavior, and a promise of personal security. The surgeon, forgiving what was past, went to him, but too late to be of any service; for he found him raving like a madman, and crying out, that he had a fire within him. After blaspheming for some time, he expired in the most dreadful agonies.

A MONK PUNISHED.

John de Roma, a monk, having a commission from the pope to search for heretics, executed it with great severity in Provence. The king of France hearing of his proceedings, sent an order to the parliament of Provence to apprehend him: the monk, however, made his escape to Avignon, and thought to live luxuriously upon what he had taken from the Waldenses. But in this he was mistaken, for some robbers soon after plundered him of the greatest part of his treasure; and his grief on this account brought on a violent disorder, which turned him, while living, into a mass of putrefaction, and soon put a period to his existence.

CRUELTY OF THE BISHOP OF AIX.

The bishop of Aix being at Avignon, with some priests, they were one day walking along the streets with some courtesans, and seeing a man who sold obscene pictures, they purchased several, and presented them to the women. A bookseller, who had a great number of Bibles in the French language for sale, lived at hand. The bishop, stepping up to him, said, "How darest thou be so bold as to sell French merchandise in this town?" The bookseller replied, with a kind of sneer, "My lord, do you not think that Bibles are as good as those pictures which you have bought for the ladies?" Enraged at the sarcasm, the bishop exclaimed, "I'll renounce my place in paradise if this fellow is not one of the Waldenses. Take him away, take him away to prison." These expressions occasioned him to be terribly used by the rabble; and the next day he was brought before the judge, who, at the instigation of the bishop, condemned him to the flames. He was accordingly burnt, with two Bibles hanging from his neck, the one before and the other behind.

The principal persecutor of the Merindolians was this bishop of Aix, who persuaded the president and counsellors of the court of parliament to send a great army through all Provence, in order to destroy those who professed the reformed religion. These poor people, on seeing the army, recommended themselves to God, and prepared for death. While they were in this grievous distress, mourning and lamenting together, news was brought that the army was retired, and no man knew at that time, how, or by what means; but it was afterwards known, that the lord of Alenc, a wise and good man, declared to the president Cassanee, that he ought not to proceed against the inhabitants of Merindol by force of arms, without judgment or condemnation; and used many arguments to this effect.

The president was at length persuaded to recall the commission which he had given out, and cause the army to retire.

The Merindolians understanding that the army was retired, gave thanks to God, comforting one another with admonition and exhortation always to have the fear of God before their eyes.

Shortly after, the bishop of Cavaillon came to Merindol, and calling before him the children, gave them money, and commanded them to learn the Paternoster and the Creed in Latin. Most of them answered, that they knew the Paternoster and the Creed already in Latin, but they could not understand what they spake, except in the vulgar tongue. The bishop answered, that it was not necessary they should; it being sufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requisite for their salvation to understand or expound the articles of their faith; for there were many bishops and doctors of divinity whom it would trouble to expound the Paternoster and the Creed. The bailiff of Merindol, named Andrew Maynard, asked what purpose it would serve to say the Paternoster and the Creed, and not to understand the same: for in so doing they should but mock and deride God. Then said the bishop, "Do you understand what is signified by these words, 'I believe in God?'" The bailiff answered, "I should think myself very miserable if I did not understand it:" and he began to give an account of his faith. Then said the bishop, "I did not think there had been such great doctors in Merindol." The bailiff answered, "The least of the inhabitants of Merindol can do it more readily than I: but I pray you question one or two of these young children, that you may understand whether they be well taught or no." But the bishop either knew not how to question them, or would not. On this a person named Pieron Roy said, "One of these children may question with another, if you think fit;" and the bishop consented. Then one of the children began to question with his fellows, with as

much grace and gravity as if he had been a schoolmaster; and the children, one after another, answered so to the purpose, that it was wonderful to hear them.

When the bishop saw he could not thus prevail, he tried another way, and went about by flattering words to effect his purpose. Wherefore he said, that he now perceived that they were not so bad as many thought them to be; notwithstanding, to satisfy their persecutors, it was necessary that they should make some small abjuration, which only the bailiff, with two officers, might make in his presence, in the name of all the rest, without any notary to record the same in writing; and by so doing they would obtain the favor even of those who now persecuted them: and that this proceeding might not be misrepresented, it should be reported only to the pope, and to the high court of parliament of Provence. The children, however, unanimously refused, and said that they conceived the way in which they had been instructed was the pure faith of Jesus Christ, and that in abjuring it, they would be denying their Redeemer.

SECTION III.

Persecutions of the Albigenses.

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

PERSECUTION OF THE EARL OF TOULOUSE.

A friar, named Peter, having been murdered in the dominions of the earl of Toulouse, the pope made the murder a pretence to persecute that nobleman and his subjects. He sent persons throughout all Europe, in order to raise forces to act coercively against the Albigenses, and promised paradise to all who would assist in this war, (which he termed holy,) and bear arms for forty days. The same indulgences were held out to all who entered for this purpose, as to such as engaged in crusades to the Holy Land. The pope likewise sent orders to all archbishops, bishops, &c. to excommunicate the earl of Toulouse every Sabbath and festival; at the same time absolving all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance to him, and commanding them to pursue his person, possess his lands, destroy his property, and murder such of his subjects as continued faithful to him. The earl of Toulouse, hearing of these mighty preparations against him, wrote to the pope in a very candid manner, desiring not to be condemned unheard, and assuring him that he had not the least hand in Peter's death: for that friar was killed by a gentleman, who, immediately after the murder, fled out of his territories. But the pope, being determined on his destruction, was resolved not to hear his defence: and a formidable army, with several noblemen and prelates at the head of it, began its march against the Albigenses. The earl had only the alternative to oppose force by force, or submit: and as he despaired of success in attempting the former, he determined on the latter. The pope's legate being at Valence, the earl repaired thither, and said, "He was surprised that such a number of armed men should be sent against him, before the least proof of his guilt had been deduced. He therefore came voluntarily to surrender himself, armed only with the testimony of a good conscience, and hoped that the troops would be prevented from plundering his innocent subjects, as he thought himself a sufficient pledge for any vengeance they chose to take on account of the death of the friar." The legate replied, that he was very glad the earl had voluntarily surrendered: but, with respect to the proposal, he could not pretend to countermand the orders to the troops, unless he would consent to deliver up seven of his best fortified castles as securities for his future behavior. At this demand the earl perceived his error in submitting, but it was too late; he knew himself to be a prisoner, and therefore sent an order for the delivery of the castles. The pope's legate had no sooner garrisoned these places, than he ordered the respective governors to appear before him. When they came, he said, "That the earl of Toulouse having delivered up his castles to the pope, they must consider that they were now the pope's subjects, and not the earl's; and that they must therefore act conformably to their new allegiance." The governors were great-

ly astonished to see their lord thus in chains, and themselves compelled to act in a manner so contrary to their inclinations and consciences. But the subsequent treatment of the earl afflicted them still more; for he was stripped nearly naked, led nine times round the grave of friar Peter, and severely scourged before all the people. Not contented with this, the legate obliged him to swear that he would be obedient to the pope during the remainder of his life, conform to the church of Rome, and make irreconcilable war against the Albigenses; and even ordered him, by the oaths he had newly taken, to join the troops, and inspect the siege of Bezieres. But thinking this too hard an injunction, he took an opportunity privately to quit the army, and determined to go to the pope and relate the ill usage he had received.

SIEGE OF BEZIERES.

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

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

HORRID CRUELTIES ON TAKING THE TOWN.

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

COURAGE OF THE EARL OF BEZIERES.

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

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

During these transactions, the king of Arragon arrived at the camp, and after paying his obedience to the legate, he told him, he understood the earl of Bezieres, his kinsman, was in the city of Carcasson, and that, if he would grant him permission, he would go thither, and endeavor to make him sensible of the duty he owed to the pope and church: the legate acquiescing, the king repaired to the earl, and asked him from what motives he shut himself up in that city against so great an army. The earl answered, it was to defend his life, goods, and subjects; that he knew the pope, under pretence of religion, resolved to destroy his uncle, the earl of Toulouse, and himself;

that he saw the cruelty which they had used at Bezieres, even against the priests; and at the town of Carcasson; and that they must look for no mercy from the legate or his army; he, therefore, rather chose to die, defending himself and his subjects, than fall into the hands of so inexorable an enemy as the legate; that though he had in his city some that were of another religion, yet they were such as had not wronged any, were come to his succor in his greatest extremity, and for their good service he was resolved not to abandon them; that his trust was in God, the defender of the oppressed; and that he would assist them against those ill-advised men who forsook their own homes, to burn, ravage, and murder, without reason, judgment, or mercy.

INFAMOUS TREACHERY OF THE LEGATE.

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

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

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

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

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

CONDUCT OF SIMON.

These proceedings so enraged Simon, that returning from Montpelier, he collected together some forces, marched against the Albigenses, and ordered every prisoner he took to be immediately burnt. But not succeeding in some of his enterprises, he grew disheart-

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

EARL OF TOULOUSE EXCOMMUNICATED.

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

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

SUCCESSES OF THE ALBIGENSES.

Nevertheless, the earl determined to interrupt the besiegers by frequent sallies. In the first attempt, he met with a severe repulse; but in the second, he took Simon's son prisoner, and in the third, he unhorsed Simon himself. After several furious assaults given by the popish army, and some successful sallies of the Albigenses, the earl of Toulouse compelled his enemies to raise the siege. In their retreat, they did much mischief in the countries through which they passed, and put many defenceless Albigenses to death.

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

As soon as the army of Albigenses was ready, the king of Arragon began his operations by laying siege to Murat, a strongly fortified town near Toulouse, belonging to the Roman Catholics. Earl Simon, by forced marches, came to the assistance of the place, at a time when the king of Arragon, who kept very little discipline in his army, was feasting and revelling. Simon suddenly attacked the Albigenses, while they were in confusion, when the united forces of the reformed were defeated, and the king of Arragon was killed. The loss of this battle was imputed to the negligence of the king, who would have as much entertainment in a camp as if he had been securely at peace in his capital. This victory made the popish commanders declare they would entirely extirpate the whole race of the Albigenses; and Simon sent an insolent message to the earls of Toulouse, Foix, and Comminges, to

deliver to him all the castles and fortresses of which they were possessed. Those noblemen, instead of answering the demand, retired to their respective territories, to put them into the best posture of resistance.

SURRENDER OF TOULOUSE.

Soon after, Simon marched towards the city of Toulouse, when the earl of Toulouse, who had retired to Montalban, sent word to the citizens to make the best terms they could with the Roman Catholics, as he was confident they could not hold out a siege; but he recommended them to preserve their hearts for him, though they surrendered their persons to another. The citizens of Toulouse, upon receiving this intimation, sent deputies to Simon, with offers of immediate surrender, provided the city itself, and the persons and properties of its inhabitants, should be protected from devastation. These conditions were agreed to, and Simon, in order to ingratiate himself at court, wrote a letter to prince Louis, the son of Philip, king of France, informing him that the city of Toulouse had offered to surrender to him; but being willing that the prince should have the honor of receiving the keys, and the homage of the people, he begged that he would repair to the camp for that purpose. The prince, pleased with the invitation, went directly to the army, and had the city of Toulouse surrendered to him in form. The pope's legate, however, was greatly displeased at the mild conditions granted to the people, and insisted, that though the prince might take upon him the sovereignty of the place, and receive the homage of the people, yet the plunder belonged to the *holy pilgrims* (for so the popish soldiers employed in these expeditions were called;) and that the place, as a receptacle of heretics, ought to be dismantled. The prince and earl Simon in vain remonstrated against proceedings so contrary to the conditions granted at the surrender: the legate was peremptory, when earl Simon and the prince, unwilling to come to an open rupture with him, gave up the point. The legate immediately set his holy pilgrims to work, when they presently dismantled the city, and plundered the inhabitants of all their property, in defiance of the security granted to them by the articles of the surrender.

DISPUTE BETWEEN THE LEGATE AND PRINCE.

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

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

DEFEAT OF EARL SIMON.

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

Soon afterwards, the pope's legate called a council at Montpelier, for renewing the military operations against the Albigenses, and for doing proper honor to earl Simon, who was present; for the Arragonese, not taking advantage of their victory, had neglected to block up Carcasson, by which omission Simon had an opportunity of repairing to Montpelier. On meeting the council, the legate, in the pope's name, paid many compliments to Simon, and declared, that he should be prince of all the countries that might in future be taken from the Albigenses: at the same time, by order of the pontiff, he styled him "the active and dexterous soldier of Jesus Christ, and the invincible defender of the Catholic faith." But just as the earl was about to return thanks for these great honors and fine encomiums, a messenger brought word, that the people, having heard earl Simon was in the council, had taken up arms, and were coming thither to

destroy him as a common disturber. This intelligence threw the whole council into great confusion; and earl Simon, though a minute before styled an *invincible* defender of the faith, jumped out of a window, and stole away from the city.

COUNCIL OF LATERAN.

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

RECOVERY OF TOULOUSE BY THE ALBIGENSES.

After this, Toulouse was recovered by the Albigenses; but the pope espousing earl Simon's cause, raised forces for him, and enabled him once more to undertake the siege of that city. The earl assaulted the place furiously, but being repulsed with great loss, he seemed sunk in affliction: when the pope's legate said, to comfort him, "Fear nothing, my lord, make another vigorous attack; let us by any means recover the city, and destroy the inhabitants; and those of our men who are slain in the fight, I will assure you shall immediately pass into paradise." One of the earl's principal officers, on hearing this, said with a sneer, "Monsieur cardinal, you talk with great assurance; but if the earl believes you, he will, as heretofore, pay dearly for his confidence." Earl Simon, however, took the legate's advice, made another assault, and was again repulsed. To complete his misfortune, before the troops could recover from their confusion, the earl of Foix made his appearance, at the head of a formidable body of forces, and attacking the already dispirited army of earl Simon, easily put them to the rout; when the earl himself narrowly escaped drowning in the Garonne, into which he had hastily plunged, in order to avoid being captured. This miscarriage almost broke his heart; but the pope's legate continued to encourage him, and offered to raise another army, which promise, with some difficulty, and three years' delay, he at length performed, and that bigoted nobleman was once more enabled to take the field. On this occasion he turned his whole force against Toulouse, which he besieged for the space of nine months, when, in one of the sallies made by the besieged, his horse was wounded. The animal being in great anguish, ran away with him, and bore him directly under the ramparts of the city, when an archer shot him in the thigh with an arrow; and a woman immediately after throwing a large stone from the wall, it struck him upon the head, and killed him; thus were the Albigenses, like the Israelites, delivered by the hand of a woman; and thus this atrocious monster, who had so long persecuted the people of God, was at length himself slain by one of those whom he had intended to have slaughtered if he had been successful. The siege was raised; but the legate, enraged to be disappointed of his vengeance on the inhabitants, engaged the king of France in the cause, who sent his son to besiege it. The French prince, with some chosen troops, furiously assaulted Toulouse; but meeting with a severe repulse, he abandoned that city to besiege Miromand. This place he soon took by storm, and put to the sword all the inhabitants, consisting of 5000 men, women, and children.

The bloodthirsty legate, whose name was Bertrand, being very old, grew weary of following the army; but his passion for murder still remained, as appears by his epistle to the pope, in which he begs to be recalled on account of age and infirmities; but entreats the pontiff to appoint a successor, who might carry on the war, as he had done, with spirit and perseverance. In consequence, the pope recalled Bertrand, and appointed Conrade, bishop of Portua, to be legate in his room. The latter determined to follow the steps of his predecessor, and to persecute the Albigenses with the greatest severity. Guido, earl of Montfort, the son and heir of earl Simon, undertook the command of the troops, and immediately laid siege to Toulouse, before the walls of which he was killed. His brother Almeric succeeded to the command, but the bravery of the garrison soon obliged him to raise the siege. On this the legate prevailed upon the king of France to undertake the siege of Toulouse in person, and reduce to the obedience of the church those obstinate heretics, as he called the brave Albigenses. The earl of Toulouse, hearing of the great preparations made by the king of France, sent the women, children, cattle, &c. into secret and secure places in the mountains, plowed up the land, that the king's forces should not obtain any forage, and did all that a skilful general could perform to distress the enemy. By these wise *regulations the French army, soon after entering* the earldom of Toulouse, suffered all the extremities of famine, which obliged the

troops to feed on the carcasses of horses, dogs, cats, &c which unwholesome food produced the plague. The king died of grief; but his son, who succeeded him, determined to carry on the war: he was, however, defeated in three engagements, by the earl of Toulouse. The king, the queen-mother, and three archbishops, again raised a formidable army, and had the art to persuade the earl of Toulouse to come to a conference, when he was treacherously seized upon, made a prisoner, forced to appear barefooted and bareheaded before his enemies, and compelled to subscribe the following ignominious conditions: 1. That he should abjure the faith that he had hitherto defended. 2. That he should be subject to the church of Rome. 3. That he should give his daughter Joan in marriage to one of the brothers of the king of France. 4. That he should maintain in Toulouse six popish professors of the liberal arts, and two grammarians. 5. That he should take upon him the cross, and serve five years against the Saracens in the Holy Land. 6. That he should level the walls of Toulouse with the ground. 7. That he should destroy the walls and fortifications of thirty of his other cities and castles, as the legate should direct. 8. That he should remain prisoner at Paris till his daughter was delivered to the king's commissioners. After these cruel conditions, a severe persecution took place against the Albigenses, many of whom suffered for the faith; and express orders were issued that *the laity should not be permitted to read the sacred writings!*

ANOTHER PERSECUTION.

From this period we find no further account of the Albigenses till the commencement of the seventeenth century: but although they are not distinctly mentioned, they suffered, in common with their Protestant brethren, at various times; and in 1620, a cruel persecution was commenced against them.

At a town called Tell, while the minister was preaching to a congregation of the reformed, the Papists attacked and murdered many of the people. A lady of considerable eminence, being exhorted to change her religion, if not for her own sake, at least for that of the infant she held in her arms, said, with undaunted courage, "I did not quit Italy, my native country, nor forsake the estates I had there, for the sake of Jesus Christ, to renounce him here. With respect to my infant, why should I not deliver him up to death, since God delivered up his son to die for us?" As soon as she had done speaking, they took the child from her, delivered it to a popish nurse to bring up, and then cut the mother to pieces.

Dominico Berto, a youth of sixteen, refusing to turn Papist, was set upon an ass with his face to the tail, which he was obliged to hold in his hand. In this condition he was led to the market-place, amidst the acclamations of the populace; after which they cut off his nose, ears, and cheeks, and burnt holes in several parts of his body till he at last died. An Albigense young lady, of noble family, was seized by the Papists, and carried through the streets with a paper mitre upon her head. After mocking, beating her, and smearing her face with dirt, they bade her call upon the saints; to which she replied, "My trust and salvation is in Christ only; for even the Virgin Mary, without the merits of her son, could not be saved." On this the multitude fell upon, and destroyed her.

Many other horrible cruelties were perpetrated by these bigoted monsters; and the pope sent them a letter, approving what they had done, and commanding them, if possible, not to leave one *heretic* alive in that part of the country; which command they strictly fulfilled; butchering all the Protestants in the Valtoline and neighboring districts.

SECTION IV.

Persecutions in France, previous to and during the Civil Wars of that Nation.

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

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

A native of Malda was burnt by a slow fire, for saying that mass was a plain denial of the death and passion of Christ. At Limoisin, John de Cadurco, a clergyman of the reformed religion, was apprehended, degraded, and ordered to be burnt. When under examination, a friar undertook to preach a sermon upon the occasion; when opening the New Testament he pitched upon this text, in the first epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, chap. iv. ver. 1. "Now the spirit

speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils." The friar began to expound this verse in favor of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and in condemnation of the reformed religion, when John de Cadurco begged, that before he proceeded in his sermon, he would read the two verses which followed his text:—the friar again opened the Testament, but on casting his eye on the passage, he appeared confounded. Cadurco then desired that the book might be handed to him; this request being complied with, he read thus, "Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth." The Roman Catholics, irritated at this exposure, condemned him to the flames.

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

MARTYRDOM AT ARRAS, &c.

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

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

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

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

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

NUMEROUS MARTYRDOMS.

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

Monsieur Blondel, a rich jeweller, was, in 15.9, apprehended at Lyons, and sent to

Paris, where he suffered death for the faith. Hubert, a youth of nineteen years of age, was committed to the flames at Dijon; as was Florent Venote, at the same time.

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

Shortly after the coronation of Henry the Second, a tailor was apprehended for working on a saint's day; being asked why he gave such an offence to religion, his reply was, "I am a poor man, and have nothing but my labor to depend upon; necessity requires that I should be industrious, and my conscience tells me there is no day but the Sabbath which I ought to keep sacred from labor." Having expressed himself thus, he was committed to prison, and the affair being soon after rumored at court, some of the nobles persuaded the king to be present at the trial. On the day appointed, the monarch appeared in a superb chair of state, and the bishop of Mascon was ordered to interrogate the prisoner. The tailor, on perceiving the king, paid his obedience to him in the most respectful manner. The king was much affected with his arguments, and seemed to muse; on which the bishop exclaimed, "He is an obstinate and impudent heretic; let him be taken back to prison, and burnt to death." The prisoner was accordingly conveyed to prison; and the bishop artfully insinuated, that the heretics, as he called the reformed, had many specious arguments, which, at first hearing, appeared conclusive; but on examination they were found to be false. He then endeavored to persuade the king to be present at the execution, who at length consented, and repaired to a balcony which overlooked the place. On seeing the king, the tailor fixed his eyes stedfastly upon him, and even while the flames were consuming him, kept gazing in such a manner, as threw the monarch into visible confusion, and obliged him to retire before the martyr was dead. He was so much shocked, that he could not recover his spirits for some time; and what added to his disquiet was, his continually dreaming, for many nights, that he saw the tailor with his eyes fixed upon him, in the same manner as during the execution.

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

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

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

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

BOOK V.

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

SECTION I.

Origin, Progress, and Cruelties of the Inquisition.

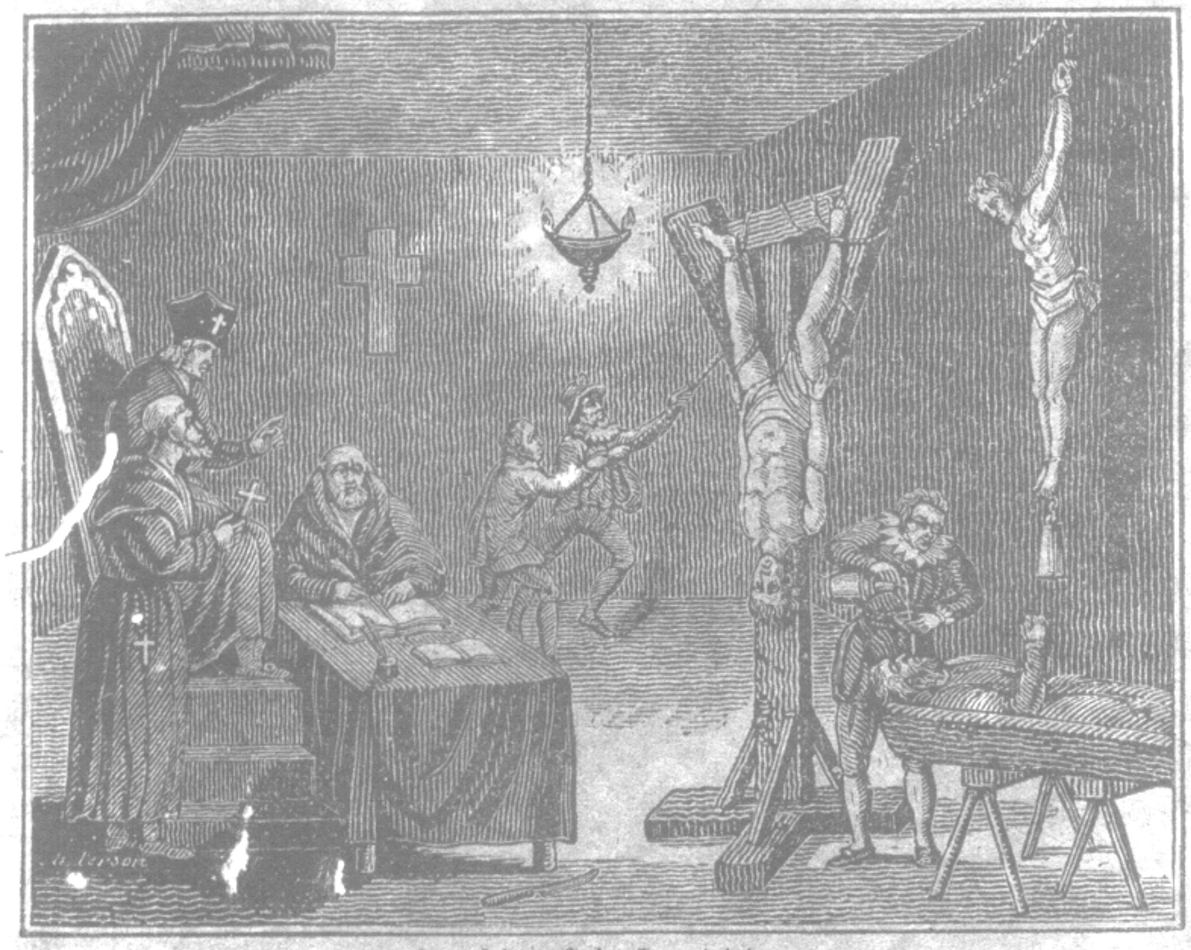
WHEN the reformed religion began to diffuse the pure light of the gospel throughout Europe, the bigoted Roman Catholics, fearing the exposure of the frauds and abuses of their church, determined to leave nothing unattempted to crush the Reformation in its infancy; pope Innocent III. therefore instituted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

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

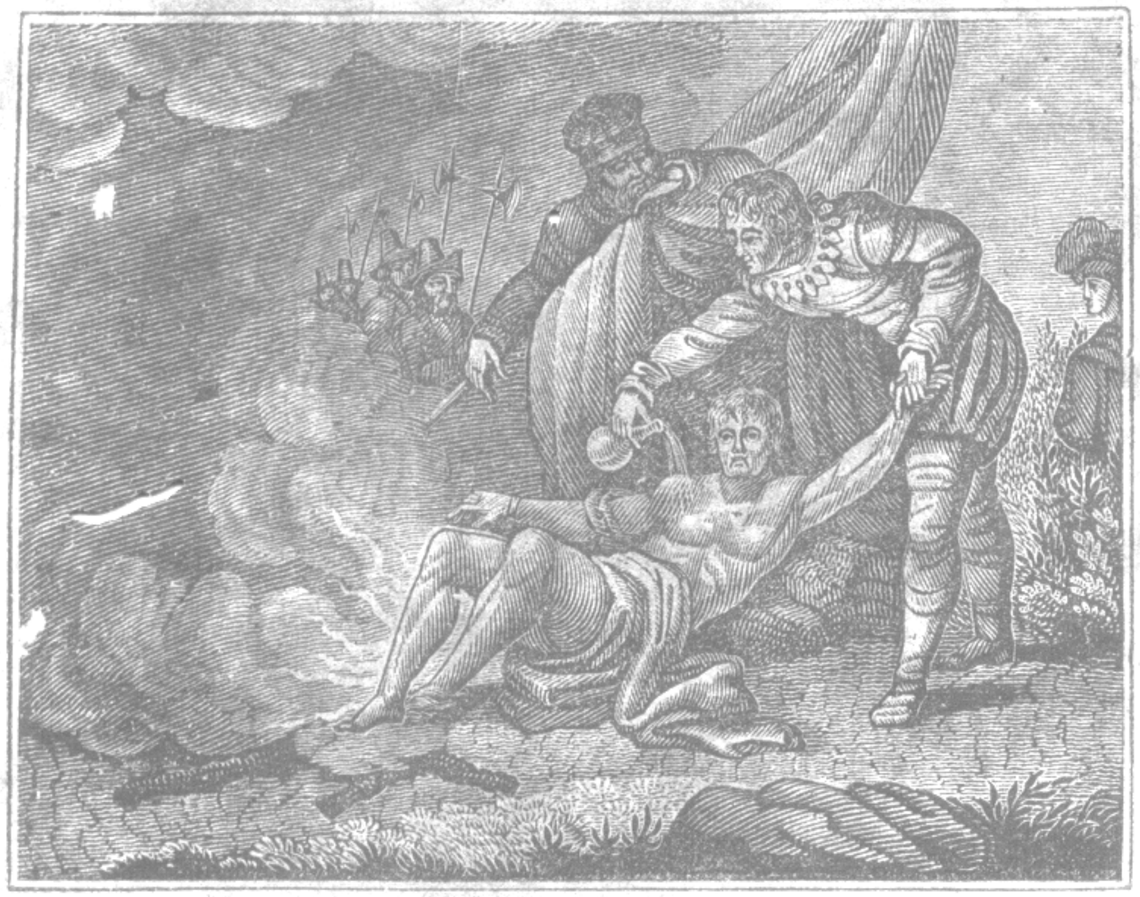
The pope gave the inquisitors the most unlimited powers, as judges delegated by him, and immediately representing his person: they were permitted to excommunicate, or sentence to death, whom they thought proper, upon the slightest information of heresy; were allowed to publish crusades against all whom they deemed to be heretics, and enter into leagues with sovereign princes, to join those crusades with their forces. About the year 1244, their power was further increased by the emperor Frederic the Second, who declared himself the protector and friend of all inquisitors, and published two cruel edicts, viz. that all heretics, who continued obstinate, should be burnt; and that all who repented, should be imprisoned for life. This zeal in the emperor for the inquisitors, and the Roman Catholic persuasion, arose from a report which had been propagated throughout Europe, that he intended to turn Mahometan; the emperor therefore judiciously determined, by the height of bigotry and cruelty, to show his attachment to *popery*.

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

Heresy comprises many subdivisions; and upon a suspicion of any of these, the party is immediately apprehended. Advancing an offensive proposition; failing to impeach others who may advance such; contemning church ceremonies; defacing idols; reading books condemned by the inquisition; lending such books to others to read; deviating from the ordinary practices of the Romish church; letting a year pass without going to confession; eating meat on fast



Cruelties of the Inquisition.



Horrible Cruelties inflicted by order of the Inquisition.

Dress of a Male Penitent who recants to the Inquisition.—Dress of a Female Penitent who recants to the Inquisition.

Dress of a Female condemned by the Inquisition.—Dress of a Man condemned by the Inquisition.

days; neglecting mass; being present at a sermon preached by a heretic; not appearing when summoned by the inquisition; lodging in the house of, contracting a friendship with, or making a present to, a heretic; assisting a heretic to escape from confinement, or visiting one in confinement, are all matters of suspicion, and prosecuted accordingly. All Roman Catholics are commanded, under pain of excommunication, to give immediate information, even of their nearest and dearest friends, if they judge them to be heretics, or inclining to heresy. All who give the least assistance to Protestants, are called fautors, or abettors of heresy, and the accusations against these are for comforting such as the inquisition have begun to prosecute; assisting, or not informing against such, if they should happen to escape; concealing, abetting, advising, or furnishing heretics with money; visiting, or writing to, or sending them subsistence; secreting or burning books and papers, which might serve to convict them. The inquisition also takes cognizance of such as are accused of being magicians, witches, blasphemers, soothsayers, wizards, common swearers; and of such who read, or even possess the Bible in the vulgar tongues, the Talmud of the Jews, or the Alcoran of the Mahometans.

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

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

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

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

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

form the duties which religion enjoins, must be of an infernal nature. What disorder and confusion must such conduct give rise to in a tenderly affectionate family! An expression, innocent in itself, and, perhaps, but too true, shall, from an indiscreet zeal, or a panic of fear, give infinite uneasiness to a family; shall ruin its peace entirely, and perhaps cause one or more of its members to be the unhappy victims of the most barbarous of all tribunals. What distractions must necessarily break forth in a house where the husband and wife are at variance, or the children loose and wicked! Will such children scruple to sacrifice a father, who endeavors to restrain them by his exhortations, by reproofs, or paternal corrections? Will they not rather, after plundering his house to support their extravagance and riot, readily delivered up their unhappy parent to all the horrors of a tribunal founded on the blackest injustice? A riotous husband, or a loose wife, has an easy opportunity, assisted by means of the persecution in question, to rid themselves of one who is a check to their vices, by delivering him, or her, up to the rigors of the inquisition."

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

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

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

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

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

AUTO DA FE AT MADRID.

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

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

When the day appointed arrived, a prodigious number of people appeared, dressed as splendidly as their circumstances would allow. In the great square was raised a high scaffold; and thither, from seven in the morning till the evening, were brought criminals of both sexes; all the inquisitions in the kingdom sending their prisoners to Madrid.

Twenty men and women of these prisoners, with one renegado Mahometan, were ordered to be burnt; fifty Jews and Jewesses, having never before been imprisoned, and repenting of their 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.

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

Among those who were to suffer, was a young Jewess of exquisite beauty, only seventeen years of age. Being on the same side of the scaffold where the queen was seated, she addressed her, in hopes of obtaining a pardon, in the following pathetic speech: "Great queen! will not your royal presence be of some service to me in my miserable condition? Have regard to my youth; and, oh! consider that I am about to die for professing a religion imbibed from my earliest infancy!" Her majesty seemed greatly to pity her distress, but turned away her eyes, as she did not dare to speak a word in behalf of a person who had been declared a heretic by the inquisition.

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

ANOTHER AUTO DA FE.

Another Auto da Fé is thus described by Dr. Geddes:—"At the place of execution there are so many stakes set as there are prisoners to be burned, a large quantity of dry furze being set about them. The stakes of the Protestants, or, as the inquisitors call them, the professed, are about four yards high, and have each a small board, whereon the prisoner is seated within half a yard of the top. The professed then go up a ladder betwixt two priests, who attend the whole day of execution. When they come even with the fore-mentioned 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. Then the priests go up a second time to renew their exhortations, and if they find them ineffectual, usually tell them, at parting, that they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow ready to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell-fire, as soon as they are out of their bodies.

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

INQUISITION OF PORTUGAL.

The inquisition of Portugal is exactly upon a similar plan to that of Spain, having been instituted about the same time, and put under the same regulations, and the proceedings nearly resemble each other. The house, or rather palace, of the inquisition, is a noble

edifice. It contains four courts, each about forty feet square, round which are about 300 dungeons or cells. The dungeons on the ground-floor are for the lowest class of prisoners, and those on the second floor are for persons of superior rank. The galleries are built of freestone, and hid from view both within and without by a double wall of about fifty feet high. So extensive is the whole prison, which contains so many turnings and windings, that none but those well acquainted with it can find the way through its various avenues. The apartments of the chief inquisitor are spacious and elegant; the entrance is through a large gate, which leads into a court-yard, round which are several chambers, and some large saloons for the king, royal family, and the rest of the court, to stand and observe the executions during an Auto da Fé.

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

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

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

The prisoner is then ordered by the president to kneel down, and lay his right hand upon a book, which is presented to him close shut. This being complied with, the following question is put to him: "Will you promise to conceal the secrets of the holy office, and to speak the truth?" Should he answer in the negative, he is remanded to his cell, and cruelly treated. If he answer in the affirmative, he is ordered to be again seated, and the examination proceeds; when the president asks a variety of questions, and the clerk minutes both them and the answers.

When the examination is closed, the bell is again rung, the jailor 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 jailors and attendants, when apprized that the prisoner has made an ingenuous confession, and readily answered every question, make him a low bow, and treat him with an affected kindness, as a reward for his candor.

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

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

Though the inquisitors allow the torture to be used only three times, yet at those three it is so severely inflicted, that the prisoner either dies under it, or continues always after a cripple. The following is a description of the severe torments occasioned by the tor-

ture, from the account of one who suffered it the three respective times, but happily survived its cruelties.

FIRST TIME OF TORTURING.

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

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

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

SECOND TIME OF TORTURING.

These inhuman wretches, finding that the torture inflicted, as above described, instead of extorting a discovery from the prisoner, only served the more fervently to excite his supplication to Heaven for patience and power to persevere in truth and integrity, were so barbarous, in six weeks after, as to expose him to another kind of torture, more severe, if possible, than the former; the manner of inflicting which was as follows: they forced his arms backwards, so that the palms of his hands were turned outward behind him; when, by means of a rope that fastened them together at the wrists, and which was turned by an engine, they drew them by degrees nearer each other, in such a manner that the back of each hand touched and stood exactly parallel to each other. In consequence of this violent contortion, both his shoulders were dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice; after which he was again taken to the dungeon, and delivered to the physician and surgeon, who, in setting the dislocated bones, put him to the most exquisite torment.

THIRD TIME OF TORTURING.

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

It may be judged, from the before-mentioned relation, what dreadful agony the sufferer must have endured. Most of his limbs

were disjointed; so much was he bruised and exhausted, as to be unable, for some weeks, to lift his hand to his mouth; and his body became greatly swelled from the inflammations caused by such frequent dislocations. After his discharge, he felt the effects of this cruelty for the remainder of his life, being frequently seized with thrilling and exeruciating pains, to which he had never been subject, till after he had the misfortune to fall into the power of the merciless and bloody inquisition.

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

Should the abovementioned modes of torturing force a confession from the prisoner, he is remanded to his horrid dungeon, and left a prey to the melancholy of his situation, to the anguish arising from what he has suffered, and to the dreadful ideas of future barbarities. Should he refuse to confess, he is, in the same manner, remanded to his dungeon; but a stratagem is used to draw from him what the torture fails to do. A companion is allowed to attend him, under the pretence of waiting upon, and comforting his mind till his wounds are healed: this person, who is always selected for his cunning, insinuates himself into the good graces of the prisoner, laments the anguish he feels, sympathizes with him, and, taking an advantage of the hasty expressions forced from him by pain, does all he can to dive into his secrets. This companion sometimes pretends to be a prisoner like himself, and imprisoned on similar charges. This is to draw the unhappy person into a mutual confidence, and persuade him, in unbosoming his grief, to betray his private sentiments.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Where such an absurd and detestable system exercises its deadening influence over the literature of a nation, can we be surprised that the grossest ignorance and the most bigoted superstition prevail? How can that people become enlightened, among whom the finest productions of genius are prohibited, all discussion prevented, the most innocent inquiries liable to misconstruction and punishment, the materials for thinking proscribed, and even *thought* itself chained down, and checked, by the fear of its escaping into expression, and thus bringing certain and cruel punishment on him who has dared to exercise his reason, the noblest gift of his Almighty Creator. Surely every well-wisher to the human race, must rejoice in the downfall of this most barbarous and infernal of all tribunals; and must view with indignation and abhorrence the iniquitous attempts now making to re-establish it in those unhappy countries which so long groaned under its sway.

SECTION II.

Barbarities exercised by the Inquisitions of Spain and Portugal.

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

A CARVER BURNT FOR INJURING AN IMAGE.

At St. Lucar, in Spain, resided a carver, named Rochus, whose principal business was to make 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, provoked at this expression, 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 the carver was apprehended. In vain did he plead that what he had defaced was his own property: his fate was decided: he was condemned to be burnt, and the sentence was executed accordingly.

A doctor Cacalla, his brother Francis, and his sister Blanche, were burnt at Valladolid, for having spoken against the inquisitors.

HORRID TREACHERY OF AN INQUISITOR.

A lady, with her two daughters and her niece, were apprehended at Seville for professing the Protestant religion. They were all put to the torture: and when that was over, one of the inquisitors sent for the youngest daughter, pretended to 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 will procure the discharge of your mother, sister, cousin, and yourself." Made confident by his oath, and entrapped by promises, she revealed the whole of the tenets they professed; when the perjured wretch, instead of acting as he had sworn, immediately ordered her to be put to the rack, saying, "Now you have revealed so much, I will make you reveal more." Refusing, however, to say any thing farther, they were all ordered to be burnt, which sentence was executed at the next Auto da 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 all the indulgence he could to the prisoners, and showed them every favor in his power, with as much secrecy as possible. At length, however, the inquisitors became acquainted with his kindness, and determined to punish him severely for it, that other jailors might be deterred from showing the least traces of that compassion which ought to glow in the breast of every human being. With this view they immediately threw him into a dismal dungeon, and used him with dreadful barbarity, so that he lost his senses. His deplorable situation, however, procured him no favor; for, frantic as he was, they brought him from prison, at an Auto da Fé, to the usual place of punishment, with a sanbenito (or garment worn by

criminals) on, and a rope about his neck. His sentence was then read, and ran thus: that he should be placed upon an ass, led through the city, receive 200 stripes, and then be condemned for six years to the galleys. This unhappy, frantic wretch, just as they were about to begin his punishment, suddenly 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 further mischief, seized, bound more securely to 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 jailor 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 with these words: "A favorer and aider of heretics." Near the same time, John Pontic, a Protestant gentleman, was, principally on account of his great estate, apprehended by the inquisitors, and charged with heresy. On this charge all his effects were confiscated to the use of the inquisition, and his body burnt to ashes.

John Gonsalvo, originally a priest, but who had embraced the reformed religion, was, with his mother, brother, and two sisters, seized upon by the inquisitors. Being condemned, they were led to execution, singing part of the 106th Psalm. They were ordered at the place of execution to say the creed, which they immediately complied with, but coming to these words, "the holy Catholic 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;" when the executioners obeyed, and strangled them.

Four Protestant women were seized upon at Seville, tortured, and afterwards ordered for execution. On the way they began to sing psalms; but the officers thinking that the words of the psalms reflected on themselves, put gags into their mouths to make them silent. They were then burnt, and the houses where they resided ordered to be demolished.

A Protestant schoolmaster, named Ferdinando, was apprehended by order of the inquisition, for instructing his pupils in the principles of Protestantism; and after being severely tortured, was committed 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, he 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; when the monk, sensible of his crime, returned to the Protestant faith, and declared to the inquisitors that he solemnly renounced his intended recantation. Sentence of death was therefore passed upon him, and he was burned at the same time as Ferdinando.

A Spanish Roman Catholic, named Juliano, on travelling into Germany, became a convert to the Protestant religion; and undertook to convey from Germany into his own country a great number of Bibles, concealed in casks, and packed up like Rhenish wine. This important commission he succeeded in, so far as to distribute the books. A pretended Protestant, however, who had purchased one of the Bibles, betrayed him, and laid an account of the affair before the inquisition. Juliano was then seized upon, and all means being used to find out the purchasers of these Bibles, 800 persons were apprehended. They were all tortured, and most of them sentenced to various other punishments. Juliano was burnt, twenty were roasted upon spits, several imprisoned for life, some publicly whipped, many sent to the galleys, and very few indeed acquitted.

A Protestant tailor of Spain, named John Leon, 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, determined to go with them. The Spanish inquisitors being apprized of their intentions, sent a number of familiars in pursuit of them, who overtook them at a seaport in Zealand. The prisoners were heavily fettered, hand-cuffed, gagged, had their heads and necks covered with a kind of iron network, and in this miserable condition they were conveyed to Spain, thrown into a dungeon, almost famished, barbarously tortured, and then burnt.

A young lady having been put into a convent, absolutely refused to take the veil; and on leaving the cloister she embraced the Protestant faith, on which she was apprehended and committed to the flames.

An eminent physician and philosopher, named Christopher Losada, became extremely obnoxious to the inquisitors, by exposing the errors of popery, and professing the tenets of Protestantism. He was apprehended, imprisoned, and racked: but those severities not making him confess the Roman Catholic church to be the only true one, he was sentenced to the fire; which he bore with exemplary patience, and resigned his soul to his Creator.

Arias, a monk of St. Isidore's monastery at Seville, was a man of great abilities, but of a vicious disposition. He sometimes pre-

tended 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. He now became a true Protestant, and the sincerity of his conversion being known, he was seized by the officers of the inquisition, severely tortured, and afterwards burnt at an Auto da Fé.

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

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

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

A famous writer of Toledo, and a Protest-

ant, 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, in verse. This piece, which hung in a conspicuous part of the house, was one day 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 of the circumstance, and this gentleman was seized, prosecuted, and burnt, only for ornamenting his house with a specimen of his skill.

SECTION III.

Trials and Sufferings of Mr. Isaac Martin.

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

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

On his arrival at Grenada, after a journey of three days, he was detained at an inn till it was dark, for they never put any one into the inquisition during day-light. At night he was taken to the prison, and led along a range of galleries till he arrived at a dungeon. The jailor nailed up a box of books, belonging to him, which had been brought from Malaga, saying, they must remain in that state till the lords of the inquisition chose to inspect them, for prisoners were not allowed to read books. He also took an inventory of every thing which Mr. Martin had about him, even to his very buttons; and having asked him a great number of frivolous questions, he at length gave him these orders: "You must observe as great silence here, as if you were dead; you must not speak, nor whistle, nor sing, nor make any noise that can be heard; and if you hear any body cry, or make a noise, you must be still, and say nothing, upon pain of 200 lashes." Mr. Martin asked if he might have liberty to walk about the room; the jailor replied he might, but it must be very softly. After giving him some wine, bread, and a few walnuts, the jailor left him till the morning.—It was frosty weather, the walls of the dungeon were between two and three feet thick, the floor was bricked, and a great deal of wind came through a hole of about a foot in length, and five inches in breadth, which served as a window. The next morning the jailor came to light his lamp, and bade him light a fire in order to dress his dinner. He then took him to a turn, or such a wheel as is found at the doors of convents, where a person on the other side turns the provisions round. He had then given him half a pound of mutton, two pounds of bread, some kidney beans, a bunch of raisins, and a pint of wine, which was the allowance for three

days. He had likewise two pounds of charcoal, an earthen stove, and a few other articles.

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

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

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

He was then remanded to his dungeon; was shaved on Whitsun-eve (shaving being allowed only three times in the year;) and the next day one of the jailors gave him some frankincense to be put into the fire, as he was to receive a visit from the lords of the inquisition. Two of them accordingly came, asked many trivial questions, concluding them, as usual, with, "We will do you all the service we can." Mr. Martin complained greatly of their having promised him a lawyer to plead his cause; "when, instead of a proper person," said he, "there was a man whom you called a lawyer, but he never spoke to me, nor I to him: if all your lawyers are so quiet in this country, they are the quietest in the world," for he hardly said any thing but yes and no to what your lordship said." To which one of the inquisitors gravely replied, "Lawyers are not allowed to speak here." At this the jailor and secretary went out of the dungeon to laugh, and Mr. Martin could scarce refrain from smiling in their faces, to think that his cause was to be defended by a man who scarce dared to open his lips. Some time after he was ordered to dress himself very clean: as soon as he was ready, one of the jailors came and told him, that he must go with him; but that first he must have a handkerchief tied about his eyes. He now expected the torture; but, after another examination, was remanded to his dungeon.

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

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

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

SECTION IV.

Discovery of some Enormities of the Inquisition.

In the beginning of the last century, when the crown of Spain was contested for by two princes, France espoused the cause of one competitor, and England of the other. The duke of Berwick, (a natural son of James II. of England) commanded the Spanish and French forces, and defeated the English, at the battle of Almanza. The army was then divided 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. On the troops approaching 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. Accordingly, he made a breach in the walls with his cannon, and then entered the city through it, together with his whole army. When he had made regulations here, and ordered that heavy contributions should be levied, he departed to subdue other places, leaving a strong garrison under the command of his lieutenant-general, M. De Legal. This gentleman, though brought up a Roman Catholic, was totally free from superstition: he united great talents with great bravery; and was, at once, the accomplished gentleman and skilful officer.

The money levied upon the magistrates and principal inhabitants, and upon every house, was paid as soon as demanded; but when the persons applied to the heads of the convents and monasteries, they found the ecclesiastics very unwilling to part with their cash.

M. De Legal sent to the Jesuits a peremptory order to pay 2000 pistoles 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 that could authorize such a procedure. M. De Legal then sent four companies of dragoons to quarter themselves in the college, with this sarcastic message: "To convince you of the necessity of paying the money, I have sent four substantial arguments to your college, drawn from the system of military logic; and, therefore, hope you will not need any further admonition to direct your conduct."

The Jesuits, greatly perplexed at these proceedings, 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 ruin, thought proper to adjust the matter, and paid the money before the return of the messenger. The Augustins and Carmelites, taking warning by what had happened to the Jesuits, prudently went and paid the money, and by that means escaped the study of military arguments, and of being taught logic by the dragoons.

On the other hand, the Dominicans, who are all agents of 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 not any money whatever to pay the donative: "for," said he, "the whole wealth of the Dominicans consists only in the silver images of the apostles and saints, which are placed in our church, and to remove which would be accounted sacrilege."

This insinuation was meant to terrify the French commander; he, however, 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," said he, "while you possess them, they stand up in niches, useless and motionless, without being of the least benefit to mankind; 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."

The inquisitors were astonished at this treatment, which they never expected to receive, even from crowned heads; they therefore determined to deliver their precious images in a solemn procession, that they might excite the people to an insurrection. The Dominican friars were accordingly 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!"

When M. De Legal heard of these proceedings, he ordered four companies of grenadiers to line the streets 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 with force, or do honor to the farcical ceremony. The friars did all they could to raise a tumult, but the people were too much afraid of the troops; the silver images were, therefore, delivered up to M. De Legal, who sent them to the mint to be coined.

The inquisitors, however, determined to excommunicate M. De Legal, unless he would release their precious saints from imprisonment in the mint before they were melted down. The French commander absolutely refused to do this, upon which the inquisitors drew up the form of excommunication, and ordered their secretary to go and read it to him.

This commission the secretary punctually performed, and read the excommunication deliberately and distinctly. The French commander heard him with great patience, and politely told him he would answer it next day. As soon as the secretary was gone, M. De Legal ordered his own secretary to prepare a form of excommunication exactly like that sent by the inquisition: but instead of his name, to put in those of the inquisitors.

The next morning he ordered four regi-

ments under arms, and commanded them to accompany his secretary, and act according to his direction. 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. They were all present, and heard it with astonishment. They cried out against De Legal, as a heretic; and said this was a most daring insult against the Catholic 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 his troops there, as it was the most commodious place in the whole city. On this the inquisitors exclaimed loudly, when the secretary put them under a strong guard, and sent them to a place appointed by M. De Legal to receive them. Here, finding their threats disregarded, they begged that they might be permitted to retire from the city, taking with them 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 the troops of his grandfather, the king of France, by whose assistance alone he could be firmly established in his kingdom.

In the mean time, M. De Legal set open all the doors of the inquisition, and released the prisoners, who amounted in the whole to 400; and among these were *sixty beautiful young women*, who formed a *seraglio* for the three principal inquisitors.

This discovery, which laid open the enormity 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 inquisition. But the French commander sent word to the archbishop, that the prisoners had either run away, or were securely concealed by their friends, or 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 and shame.

One of the ladies thus delivered from captivity was afterwards married to the French officer who opened the door of her dungeon, and released her. She related many singular circumstances respecting the *holy fathers* to her husband, and to M. Gavin, who afterwards made them public in his work entitled "The Master-Key to Popery."

From the foregoing narrative it will be perceived, that the inquisitors, under the exterior garb of sanctity and self-denial, are guilty of the greatest enormities. Lust, pride, avarice, and cruelty, are their predominant passions; and such is the blindness and bigotry of the deluded people over whom they extend their despotic sway, that not a voice is raised, not a murmur heard, against the most horrible barbarities, if they be sanctified by the specious pretext of zeal for the Catholic faith, and executed by the familiars of the *Holy Office*.

It might have been expected, that their influence over the minds of the higher orders of society, would have been less powerful; and that some one would have been found, among the sovereigns of Spain or Portugal, sufficiently enlightened to see through the imposture, and courageous enough to assert his own rights and those of his subjects against the hypocritical tyrants who trampled on both. But such is the benumbing effect of this horrible tribunal, so powerful has it become by the weakness and folly of the people, that the only prince who dared to threaten its existence, was put to death by the machinations of the inquisitors, before his accession to the throne gave him an opportunity of executing his noble purpose. This unfortunate prince was Don Carlos, son of Philip the Second, and grandson of Charles the Fifth.

Don Carlos possessed all the good qualities of his grandfather, without any of the bad ones of his father. He had sense enough to see into the errors of popery, and abhorred the very name of the inquisition. He inveighed publicly against it, ridiculed the affected piety of the inquisitors, and declared, that if he ever came to the crown, he would abolish the inquisition, and exterminate its agents. This irritated and alarmed the inquisitors; and they, accordingly, determined on his destruction. They therefore employed all their emissaries to spread the most artful insinuations against the prince; and, at length, raised such a spirit of discontent among the people, that the king was under the necessity of removing Don Carlos from court. They even pursued his friends, and obliged the king to banish Don John, duke of Austria, his brother, together with his own nephew, the prince of Parma, because both these illustrious persons had a most sincere attachment to their kinsman, Don Carlos.

Shortly after, the prince having shown great lenity and favor to the Protestants in the Netherlands, the inquisitors gladly seized the opportunity of declaring, that as the persons in question were heretics, the prince himself must be one, since he gave them countenance. Thus they gained so great an ascendancy over the mind of the king, who was an absolute slave to superstition, that he sacrificed the feelings of nature to the

force of bigotry, and from fear of incurring the anger of the inquisition, passed sentence of death on his only son.

The prince had what was termed an indulgence; that is, he was permitted to choose the manner of death. He chose bleeding, and the hot bath; when the veins of his arms and legs being opened, he expired gradually, falling a martyr to the malice of the inquisitors, and the besotted bigotry of his father.

SECTION V.

Further Accounts of the Persecutions of Protestants in Foreign Countries.

DR. ÆGIDIO.

Dr. Ægidio was educated at the university of Alcala, and applied himself to the study of the sacred scriptures. The professor of theology dying, he was elected in his place, and gave great satisfaction to every impartial person by his learning and piety. His enemies, however, laid a complaint against him to the inquisitors, who sent him a citation, and when he appeared to it, cast him into a dungeon.

As the greatest part of those who belonged to the cathedral at Seville, and many persons belonging to the bishopric of Dertois, approved of the doctrines of Ægidio, which they thought perfectly consonant with true religion, they petitioned the emperor in his behalf. Though the monarch had been educated a Roman Catholic, he was not a bigot; and therefore sent an immediate order for his liberation. Soon after, he visited the church of Valladolid, did every thing he could to promote the cause of religion, and returning home he fell sick, and died in an extreme old age.

The inquisitors having been disappointed of gratifying their malice against him while living, determined (as the emperor's whole thoughts were engrossed by a military expedition) to wreak their vengeance on him when dead. They therefore, soon after he was buried, ordered his remains to be dug up; and a legal process being carried on, they were condemned to be burnt, which was accordingly executed.

DR. CONSTANTINE.

This gentleman, an intimate acquaintance of Dr. Ægidio, was a man of uncommon natural abilities and profound learning. His eloquence, and the soundness of his doctrines, rendered him a highly pleasing and popular preacher.

When fully confirmed in Protestantism by Dr. Ægidio, he preached boldly such doctrines only as were agreeable to gospel purity, and uncontaminated by the errors of the Romish church. This created him many enemies among the Roman Catholics, who determined on his utter ruin. One Scobarte, a worthy gentleman, having erected a school for divinity lectures, appointed Dr. Constantine to be reader therein. He immediately undertook the task, and read lectures, by portions, on the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles; but while beginning to expound the book of Job, the inquisitors seized him. When brought to examination, he answered with such precaution that they could not find any explicit charge against him, but remained doubtful in what manner to proceed, when the following circumstance occurred.

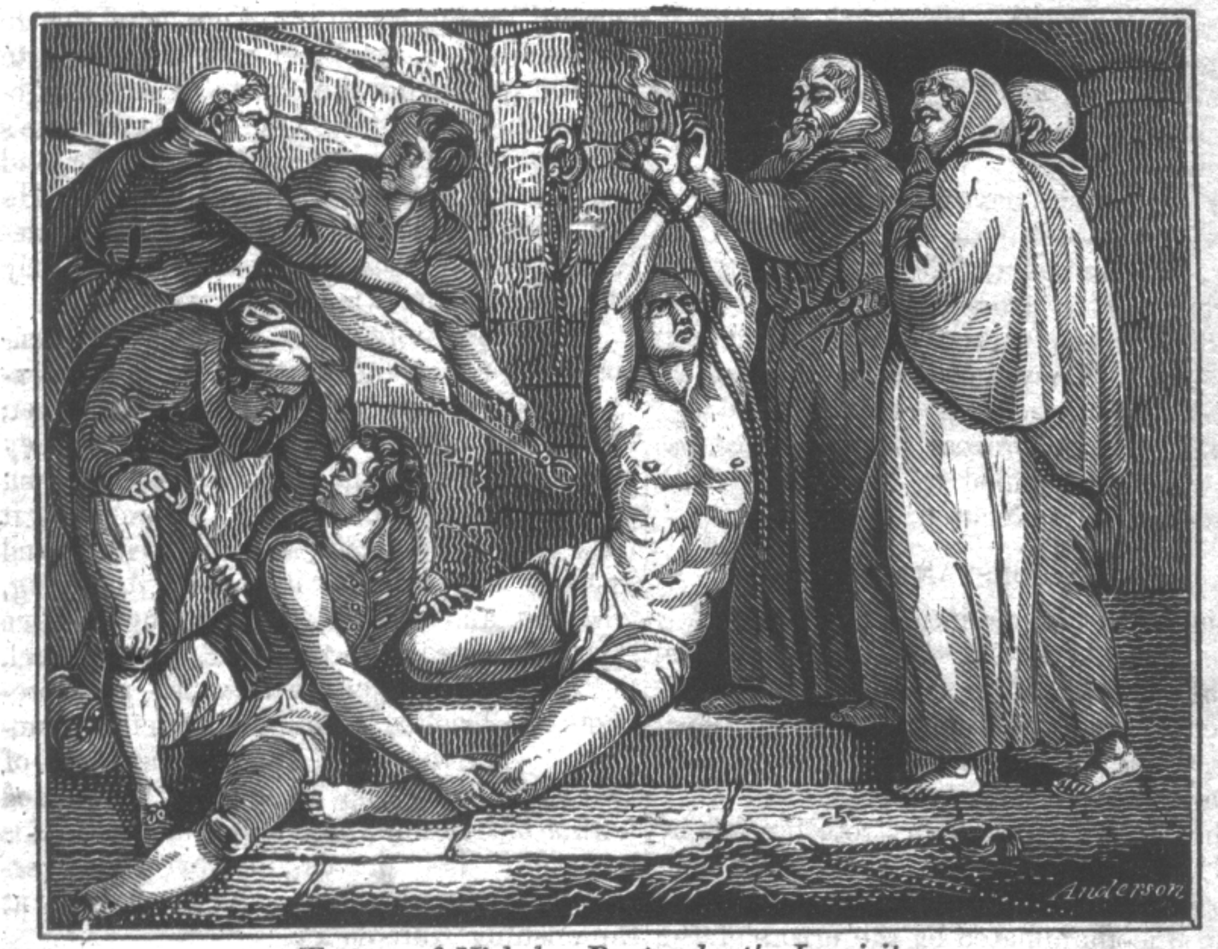
The doctor had deposited with a woman, named Martin, several books, which to him were very valuable, but which he knew were exceptionable in the eyes of the inquisition. This woman was apprehended, and, after a short process, her goods were ordered to be confiscated. Previous, however, to the officers coming to her house, her son had removed several chests full of the most valuable articles, and among these were the books of Dr. Constantine; but a treacherous servant having given intelligence of this to the inquisitors, an officer was dispatched to the son to demand the chests. The son, supposing the officer only came for Constantine's books, said, "I know what you come for, and I will fetch them to you immediately." He then fetched the books and papers, and delivered them to the officer, who was greatly surprised to find what he did not look for.

The inquisitors, thus possessed of Constantine's books and writings, were soon enabled to form charges against him. When he was brought up for re-examination, they presented one of his papers, and asked him if he knew the handwriting. Perceiving it to be his own, he confessed the writing, and justified the doctrine it contained, saying, "In that and all my other writings, I have never departed from the truth of the gospel, but have always kept in view the pure precepts of Christ as he delivered them to mankind." Having been detained upwards of two years in prison, he was at last seized with a bloody-flux, which put an end to his miseries. The process, however, was carried on against his body, which was burnt at the ensuing Auto da Fé.

MARTYRDOM OF NICHOLAS BURTON.

Mr. Burton was a merchant of London, who traded into Spain. Being at Cadiz, a familiar of the inquisition called upon him one day at his lodgings, pretending that he

Rochus, a Carver of St Lucar in Spain, burnt by order of the Inquisition.



Torture of Nicholas Burton by the Inquisitors.

ments under arms, and commanded them to accompany his secretary, and act according to his direction. 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. They were all present, and heard it with astonishment. They cried out against De Legal, as a heretic; and said this was a most daring insult against the Catholic 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 his troops there, as it was the most commodious place in the whole city. On this the inquisitors exclaimed loudly, when the secretary put them under a strong guard, and sent them to a place appointed by M. De Legal to receive them. Here, finding their threats disregarded, they begged that they might be permitted to retire from the city, taking with them 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 the troops of his grandfather, the king of France, by whose assistance alone he could be firmly established in his kingdom.

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From the foregoing narrative it will be perceived, that the inquisitors, under the exterior garb of sanctity and self-denial, are guilty of the greatest enormities. Lust, pride, avarice, and cruelty, are their predominant passions; and such is the blindness and bigotry of the deluded people over whom they extend their despotic sway, that not a voice is raised, not a murmur heard, against the most horrible barbarities, if they be sanctified by the specious pretext of zeal for the Catholic faith, and executed by the familiars of the *Holy Office*.

It might have been expected, that their influence over the minds of the higher orders of society, would have been less powerful; and that some one would have been found, among the sovereigns of Spain or Portugal, sufficiently enlightened to see through the imposture, and courageous enough to assert his own rights and those of his subjects against the hypocritical tyrants who trampled on both. But such is the benumbing effect of this horrible tribunal, so powerful has it become by the weakness and folly of the people, that the only prince who dared to threaten its existence, was put to death by the machinations of the inquisitors, before his accession to the throne gave him an opportunity of executing his noble purpose. This unfortunate prince was Don Carlos, son of Philip the Second, and grandson of Charles the Fifth.

Don Carlos possessed all the good qualities of his grandfather, without any of the bad ones of his father. He had sense enough to see into the errors of popery, and abhorred the very name of the inquisition. He inveighed publicly against it, ridiculed the affected piety of the inquisitors, and declared, that if he ever came to the crown, he would abolish the inquisition, and exterminate its agents. This irritated and alarmed the inquisitors; and they, accordingly, determined on his destruction. They therefore employed all their emissaries to spread the most artful insinuations against the prince; and, at length, raised such a spirit of discontent among the people, that the king was under the necessity of removing Don Carlos from court. They even pursued his friends, and obliged the king to banish Don John, duke of Austria, his brother, together with his own nephew, the prince of Parma, because both these illustrious persons had a most sincere attachment to their kinsman, Don Carlos.

Shortly after, the prince having shown great lenity and favor to the Protestants in the Netherlands, the inquisitors gladly seized the opportunity of declaring, that as the persons in question were heretics, the prince himself must be one, since he gave them countenance. Thus they gained so great an ascendancy over the mind of the king, who was an absolute slave to superstition, that he sacrificed the feelings of nature to the

force of bigotry, and from fear of incurring the anger of the inquisition, passed sentence of death on his only son.

The prince had what was termed an indulgence; that is, he was permitted to choose the manner of his death. He chose bleeding, and the hot bath; when the veins of his arms and legs being opened, he expired gradually, falling a martyr to the malice of the inquisitors, and the besotted bigotry of his father.

SECTION V.

Further Accounts of the Persecutions of Protestants in Foreign Countries.

DR. ÆGIDIO.

Dr. Ægidio was educated at the university of Alcala, and applied himself to the study of the sacred scriptures. The professor of theology dying, he was elected in his place, and gave great satisfaction to every impartial person by his learning and piety. His enemies, however, laid a complaint against him to the inquisitors, who sent him a citation, and when he appeared to it, cast him into a dungeon.

As the greatest part of those who belonged to the cathedral at Seville, and many persons belonging to the bishopric of Dertois, approved of the doctrines of Ægidio, which they thought perfectly consonant with true religion, they petitioned the emperor in his behalf. Though the monarch had been educated a Roman Catholic, he was not a bigot; and therefore sent an immediate order for his liberation. Soon after, he visited the church of Valladolid, did every thing he could to promote the cause of religion, and returning home he fell sick, and died in an extreme old age.

The inquisitors having been disappointed of gratifying their malice against him while living, determined (as the emperor's whole thoughts were engrossed by a military expedition) to wreak their vengeance on him when dead. They therefore, soon after he was buried, ordered his remains to be dug up; and a legal process being carried on, they were condemned to be burnt, which was accordingly executed.

DR. CONSTANTINE.

This gentleman, an intimate acquaintance of Dr. Ægidio, was a man of uncommon natural abilities and profound learning. His eloquence, and the soundness of his doctrines, rendered him a highly pleasing and popular preacher.

When fully confirmed in Protestantism by Dr. Ægidio, he preached boldly such doctrines only as were agreeable to gospel purity, and uncontaminated by the errors of the Romish church. This created him many enemies among the Roman Catholics, who determined on his utter ruin. One Scobarte, a worthy gentleman, having erected a school for divinity lectures, appointed Dr. Constantine to be reader therein. He immediately undertook the task, and read lectures, by portions, on the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles; but while beginning to expound the book of Job, the inquisitors seized him. When brought to examination, he answered with such precaution that they could not find any explicit charge against him, but remained doubtful in what manner to proceed, when the following circumstance occurred.

The doctor had deposited with a woman, named Martin, several books, which to him were very valuable, but which he knew were exceptionable in the eyes of the inquisition. This woman was apprehended, and, after a short process, her goods were ordered to be confiscated. Previous, however, to the officers coming to her house, her son had removed several chests full of the most valuable articles, and among these were the books of Dr. Constantine; but a treacherous servant having given intelligence of this to the inquisitors, an officer was dispatched to the son to demand the chests. The son, supposing the officer only came for Constantine's books, said, "I know what you come for, and I will fetch them to you immediately." He then fetched the books and papers, and delivered them to the officer, who was greatly surprised to find what he did not look for.

The inquisitors, thus possessed of Constantine's books and writings, were soon enabled to form charges against him. When he was brought up for re-examination, they presented one of his papers, and asked him if he knew the handwriting. Perceiving it to be his own, he confessed the writing, and justified the doctrine it contained, saying, "In that and all my other writings, I have never departed from the truth of the gospel, but have always kept in view the pure precepts of Christ as he delivered them to mankind." Having been detained upwards of two years in prison, he was at last seized with a bloody-flux, which put an end to his miseries. The process, however, was carried on against his body, which was burnt at the ensuing Auto da Fé.

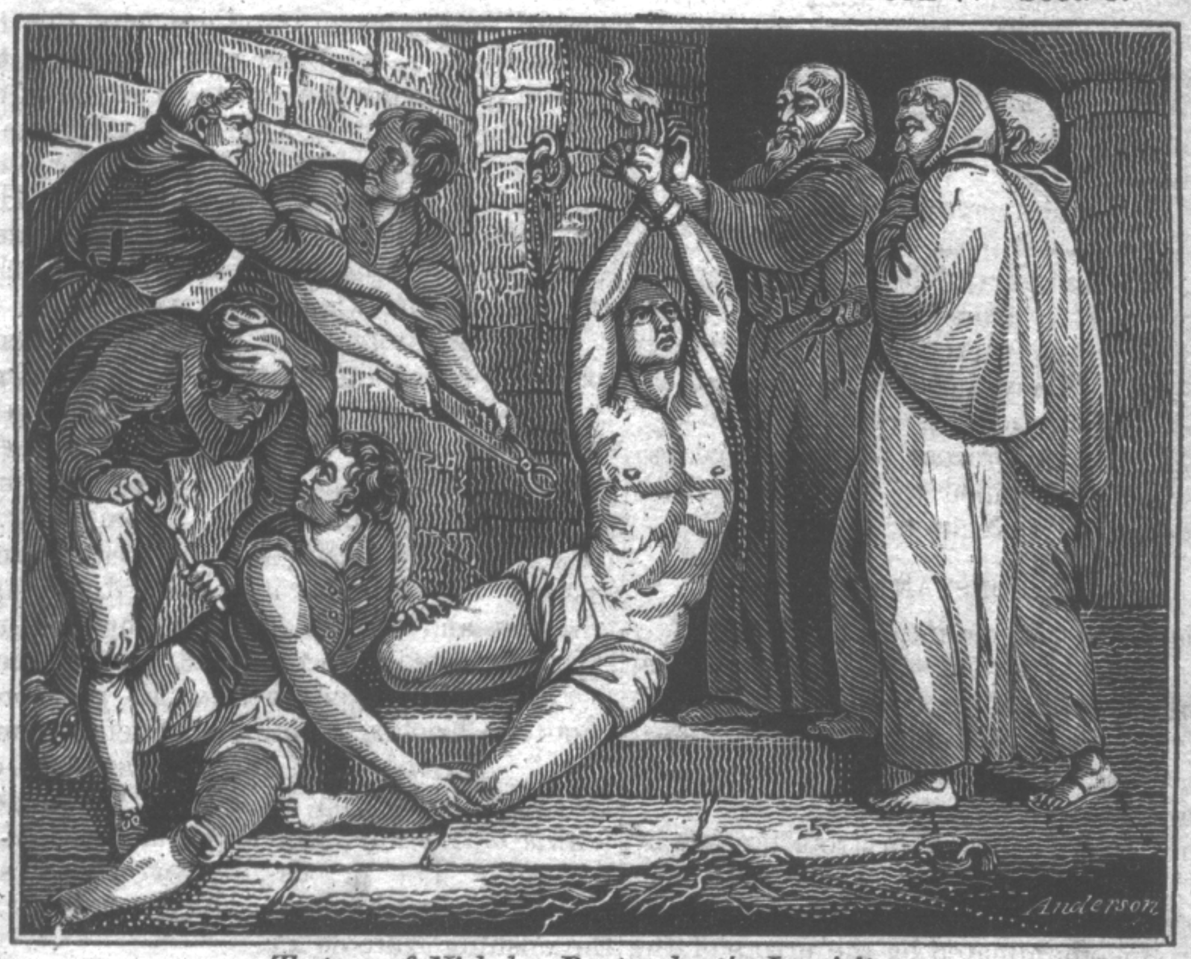
MARTYRDOM OF NICHOLAS BURTON.

Mr. Burton was a merchant of London, who traded into Spain. Being at Cadiz, a familiar of the inquisition called upon him one day at his lodgings, pretending that he

Plate XXVI. Book V.—Sect. 2.

Rochus, a Carver of St Lucar in Spain, burnt by order of the Inquisition.

Plate XXVII. Book V.—Sect. 5.



Torture of Nicholas Burton by the Inquisitors.

wanted to send a quantity of merchandise to London. Having asked many questions he departed, and the next day one of the inquisitorial officers took Mr. Burton into custody. The president, on his examination, demanded if he had said or insinuated any thing disrespectful to the Roman Catholic persuasion. Mr. Burton replied in the negative, saying, that he was sensible, in whatever country we were, respect ought to be paid to its established religion. This defence, however, availed him nothing: they proceeded to torture him, in the most cruel manner, in order to gain information.

Failing in this, they condemned him for invincible obstinacy, and at the next Auto da Fé he was burnt. When the flames first touched him, he bore the torments with such exemplary patience, and appeared with so smiling a countenance, that one of the priests, enraged at his serenity, said, with great malice and absurdity, "The reason why he does not seem to feel, is to me very evident; the devil has already got his soul, and his body is of course deprived of the usual sensations."

Several other Englishmen in Spain were, about the time of Mr. Burton's martyrdom, put to death by the inquisition; particularly John Baker, William Burgate, and William Burgess, were burnt, and William Hooker was stoned to death.

WILLIAM GARDENER.

William Gardener was born at Bristol, received a good education, and was, at a proper age, placed under the care of an eminent merchant. When twenty-six years of age, he was sent to Lisbon as factor. Here he applied himself to the study of the Portuguese language, conversed privately with a few, whom he knew to be zealous Protestants; and, at the same time, cautiously avoided giving the least offence to the Roman Catholics; but hitherto he had not gone into any of their churches.

A marriage being concluded between the king of Portugal's son and the infanta of Spain, upon the wedding-day the bridegroom, bride, and the whole court, went to the cathedral attended by multitudes of all ranks of people, and among the rest William Gardener, who stayed during the whole ceremony, and was greatly shocked at the superstitions he beheld. He, therefore, formed the noble, though inconsiderate design, of effecting a reform in Portugal, or perishing in the attempt; and determined to sacrifice his prudence to his zeal, even though it should cost him his life. For this purpose he settled all his worldly affairs, paid his debts, closed his books, and consigned over his merchandise.

On the ensuing Sunday he went again to the cathedral, and placed himself near the altar with a New Testament in his hand. In a short time the king and his court appeared, and a cardinal began mass: at that part of the ceremony in which the people adore the wafer, Gardener, springing towards the cardinal, snatched the host from him, and trampled it under his feet. The whole congregation were thunderstruck, and one person, drawing a dagger, wounded Gardener in the shoulder, and would, by repeating the blow, have killed him, had not the king ordered him to forbear. Thinking that he had been stimulated by some other person to act as he had done, the king demanded who was his abettor? to which he replied, "My own conscience alone. I would not hazard what I have done for any man living; but I owe that and all other services to my Creator."

Hereupon he was sent to prison, and an order was issued to apprehend all Englishmen in Lisbon. This order was immediately put in execution (very few escaping), and many innocent persons were tortured to make them confess if they knew any thing of the matter; in particular, a person who resided in the same house with Gardener was treated with unparalleled barbarity, to make him confess something which might throw a light upon the business.

Then Gardener himself was tormented in the most excruciating manner: but in the midst of all his torments he gloried in the deed. Being condemned to death, a large fire was kindled near a gibbet; Gardener was drawn up to the gibbet by pulleys, and then let down near the fire, but not so close as to touch it; for they burnt or rather roasted him by slow degrees. Some of the sparks were blown from the fire which consumed Gardener, towards the haven, burnt one of the king's ships of war, and did other considerable damage. The Englishmen who were taken up on this occasion were, soon after Gardener's death, all discharged, except the person that resided in the same house with him, who was detained two years before he could procure his freedom.

WILLIAM LITHGOW.

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

While he resided here, he contracted with the master of a French ship for his passage to Alexandria, but was prevented from going by the following circumstances: 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 Mala-

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

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

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

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

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

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

He received a visit from the governor the next day, who promised him his liberty, with many other advantages, if he would confess being a spy; but on his protesting that he was entirely innocent, the governor left him in a rage, saying he should see him no more till further torments constrained him to confess; commanding the keeper, to

whose care he was committed, not to allow his sustenance to exceed three ounces of musty bread, and a pint of water every second day; and that he should be allowed neither bed, pillow, nor coverlet. "Close up," said he, "this window in his room with lime and stone; stop up the holes of the door with double mats; let him have nothing that bears any likeness to comfort." The unfortunate Lithgow continued in this melancholy state, without seeing any person, for several days, in which time the governor received an answer to a letter he had written, relative to the prisoner, from Madrid; and, pursuant to the instructions given him, began to put in practice the cruelties devised, which they hastened, because Christmas approached, it being then the 47th day since his confinement.

About three o'clock in the morning, he heard the noise of a coach in the street, and some time after heard the opening of the prison doors, not having had any sleep for two nights. Immediately after the prison doors were opened, the nine serjeants, who had first seized him, with the notary, entered the place where he lay, and without uttering a word conducted him in his irons into the street, where a coach waited, in which they laid him at the bottom on his back, being unable to sit. Two of the serjeants rode with him, and the rest walked by the coach side, but all observed the most profound silence. They drove him to a vine-press house, about a league from the town, to which place a rack had been privately conveyed before; and here they shut him up for that night.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Lithgow at length received information which gave him little hopes of ever being released. The substance of this information was, that an English seminary priest, and a Scotch cooper, had been for some time employed by the governor to translate from the English into the Spanish language, all his books and observations; and that it was commonly said in the governor's house, that he was an arch and dangerous heretic. About two days after he had received the above information, the governor, an inquisitor, and a canonical priest, accompanied by two Jesuits, entered his dungeon, and, after several idle questions, the inquisitor asked Mr. Lithgow if he was a Roman Catholic, and acknowledged the pope's supremacy? He answered, that he neither was the one, nor did the other. In the bitterness of his soul he made use of some warm expressions. "As you have almost murdered me," said he, "for pretended treason, so now you intend to make a martyr of me for my religion."

After some time, the inquisitor addressed Mr. Lithgow in the following words: "You have been taken up as a spy, accused of treachery, and tortured, as we acknowledge,

innocently; (which appears by the account lately received from Madrid of the intentions of the English) yet it was the divine power that brought those judgments upon you, for presumptuously treating the blessed miracle of Loretto with ridicule, and expressing yourself in your writings irreverently of his holiness, Christ's vicar upon earth; therefore you are justly fallen into our hands by their special appointment: your books and papers are miraculously translated by the assistance of Providence influencing your own countrymen."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Spanish gentleman of quality came from Grenada to Malaga; who, being invited to

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

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

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

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

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

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

BOOK VI.

FARTHER HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS, SUFFERINGS, AND CRUEL DEATHS OF PROTESTANT MARTYRS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES, DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

Brief Relation of the Horrible Massacre in France, Anno 1572.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The admiral, on being wounded in both

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

Many honorable men, and great personages, were, at the same time, murdered, namely, count Rochefoucault; Telinius, the admiral's son-in-law; Antonius Claromontus, marquis of Ravely, Lewis Bussius, Bandineus, Pleuvialius, Bernius, &c.

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

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

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

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

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

The citizens of Augustobona, hearing of the massacre at Paris, shut the gates of their town that no Protestants might escape, and cast all they suspected into prison, who were afterwards brought forth and murdered.

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

At Toulouse two hundred were murdered.

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

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

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

At Bordeaux, by the instigation of a monk, named Enimund Angerius, two hundred and sixty-four persons were cruelly murdered, of whom some were senators. This monk continually provoked the people in his sermons to this slaughter.

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

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

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

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

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

At Albia of Cahors, upon the Lord's day, the 16th of December, the Papists, at the ringing of a bell, broke open the houses in which the Protestants were assembled, and killed all they could find; among whom was one Guacerius, a rich merchant, whom they drew into his house, and then murdered him, with his wife and children.

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

The town of Nonne having capitulated to the Papists, upon condition that the foreign soldiers should depart safe with horse and armor, leaving their ensigns, that the ene-

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

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

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

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

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

Seven assaults were made against the town, none of which succeeded. At one time a breach was made by the tremendous cannonade; but through the undaunted valor of the citizens, assisted even by their wives and daughters, the soldiers were driven back with great slaughter.

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

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

ROBERT OGUIER, HIS WIFE, AND TWO SONS, BURNED AT LISLE.

On March 6, 1556, about ten o'clock at night, the provost of Lisle, with his serjeants, armed themselves, and went to seek if they could find any Protestants met together in houses; but there was then no assembly. They therefore came to the house of Robert Oguier, which was a little church, where both rich and poor were familiarly instructed in the scriptures.

Having entered into the said house, and seeking for their prey, they found certain books, which they carried away. But he whom they principally aimed at was not there, namely, Baudicon, the son of the said Robert Oguier, who at that time was gone abroad to commune and talk of the work of God with some of the brethren. On his return home, he knocked at the door, when Martin, his younger brother, watching his coming, bade him be gone: but Baudicon, thinking his brother mistook him for some other, said, "It is I, open the door:" with that the serjeants opened the same, and let him in, saying, "Ah, sir, you are well met;" to whom he answered, "I thank you, my friends, you are also welcome hither." Then said the provost, "I arrest you all in the emperor's name;" and with that commanded each of them to be bound, viz. the husband, his wife, and their two sons (leaving their two daughters to look to the house), and confined them in several prisons. A few days after, the prisoners were brought before the magistrates, and examined concerning their course of life. They first charged Robert Oguier with not only absenting him-

self from the celebration of mass, but with dissuading others from attending it, and "maintaining conventicles" in his house.

He confessed the first charge, and justified his conduct by proving from the scriptures that the saying of mass was contrary to the ordinances of Jesus Christ, and a mere human institution; and he defended the religious meetings in his house by showing that they were authorized and commanded by our blessed Savior himself.

One of the magistrates demanded what they did when they met together. To which Baudicon, the eldest son, answered, "If it please you to give me leave, I will open the whole business at large unto you."

The sheriffs, seeing his promptness, looking upon one another, said, "Well, let us hear it." Baudicon lifting up his eyes to heaven, began thus: "When we meet together in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to hear the word of God, we first of all prostrate ourselves upon our knees before God, and in the humility of our spirits do make a confession of our sins before his Divine Majesty. Then we pray that the word of God may be rightly divided, and purely preached; we also pray for our sovereign lord the emperor, and for all his honorable counsellors, that the commonwealth may be peaceably governed to the glory of God; yea, we forget not you, whom we acknowledge our superiors, entreating our good God for you, and for this whole city, that you may maintain it in all tranquillity. Thus I have exactly related unto you what we do: think you now, whether we have offended so highly in this matter of our assembling."

While they were thus examined, each of them made an open confession of their faith; and being returned again to prison, they not long after were put to the torture, to make them confess who they were that frequented their house: but they would discover none, unless such as were well known to the judges, or else were at that time absent. Four or five days after, the father and his two sons were again brought before the magistrates, and after many words passed, they asked them whether they would submit themselves to the will of the magistrates. The father and his eldest son, with some deliberation, said, "Yea, we will."

Then the same being demanded of the younger son, he answered, that he would not submit himself thereto, but would accompany his mother; so he was sent back again to prison, whilst the father and brother were sentenced to be burnt to ashes. One of the judges, after sentence was pronounced, said, "To-day you shall go to dwell with all the devils in hell-fire," which he spake as one transported with fury in beholding the great patience of these two servants of Christ. Having received the sentence of death, they were returned to the prison from whence they came, being joyful that the Lord did them that honor to be enrolled in the number of his martyrs. They no sooner entered the prison, than a band of friars came thither: one amongst the rest told them, the hour was come in which they must finish their days. Robert Oguier and his son answered, "We know it well; but blessed be the Lord our God, who now delivering our bodies out of this vile prison, will receive our souls into his glorious and heavenly kingdom."

One of the friars endeavored to turn them from their faith, saying, "Father Robert, thou art an old man: let me entreat thee in this thy last hour to think of saving thine own soul; and if thou wilt give ear unto me, I warrant thee thou shalt do well."

The old man answered, "Poor man, how darest thou attribute that to thyself which belongs to the eternal God, and so rob him of his honor? For it seems by thy speech, that if I will hearken to thee, thou wilt become my Savior. No, no, I have one only Savior, Jesus Christ, who, by and by, will deliver me from this miserable world. I have one doctor, whom the heavenly Father hath commanded me to hear, and I purpose to hearken to none other."

Another exhorted him to take pity on his soul: "Thou willest me," said Robert, "to pity mine own soul: dost thou not see what pity I have on it, when for the name of Christ I willingly abandon this body of mine to the fire, hoping to-day to be with him in paradise? I have put all my confidence in God, and my hope is wholly fixed upon the merits of Christ, his death, and passion; he will direct me the right way to his kingdom. I believe what the holy prophets and apostles have written, and in that faith will I live and die." The friar hearing this, said, "Out, dog, thou art not worthy the name of a Christian! thou and thy son with thee are both resolved to damn your bodies and souls with all the devils in the bottom of hell."

As they were about to separate Baudicon from his father, he said, "Let my father alone, and trouble him not thus; he is an old man, and hath an infirm body: hinder him not, I pray you, from receiving the crown of martyrdom." Baudicon was then conveyed into a chamber apart, and there being stripped of his clothes, was prepared to be sacrificed. While one brought him gunpowder to put to his breast, a fellow standing by, said, "Wert thou my brother, I would sell all that I am worth to buy fagots to burn thee—thou findest but too much favor." The young man answered, "Well, sir, the Lord show you more mercy." Whilst they spake thus to Baudicon, some of the friars pressed about the old man, persuading him at least to take a crucifix into his hands, "lest the people," said they, "should murmur against you;" adding further, that he might for all

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that lift up his heart to God, "because you know," said they, "it is but a piece of wood." They then fastened it between his hands, but as soon as Baudicon came down, and espied what they had done to his father, he said, "Alas! father, what do you do now? will you play the idolater even at our last hour?" And then pulling the idol out of his hands, which they had fastened therein, he threw it away, saying, "What cause have the people to be offended at us for not receiving a Jesus Christ of wood? We bear upon our hearts the cross of Christ, the Son of the ever-living God, feeling his holy word written therein in letters of gold."

A band of soldiers attended them to execution. Being come to the place where they were to suffer, they ascended the scaffold; when Baudicon asked leave of the sheriffs to make a confession of his faith before the people: answer was made, that he was to look unto his spiritual father and confessor; "Confess yourself," said they, "to him." He was then dragged to the stake, where he began to sing the 16th Psalm. The friar cried out, "Do you not hear, my masters, what wicked errors these heretics sing, to beguile the people with?" Baudicon, hearing him, replied, "How, simple idiot, callest thou the psalms of the prophet David errors? But no wonder, for thus you are wont to blaspheme the Spirit of God." Then turning his eyes towards his father, who was about to be chained to the stake, he said, "Be of good courage, father, the worst will be passed by and by." Then he often reiterated these short breathings, "O God, Father everlasting, accept the sacrifice of our bodies, for thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ's sake." One of the friars cried out, "Heretic, thou liest, he is none of thy father, the devil is thy father." And thus, during these conflicts, he bent his eyes to heaven, and speaking to his father, said, "Behold, I see the heavens open, and millions of angels ready to receive us, rejoicing to see us thus witnessing the truth in the view of the world. Father, let us be glad and rejoice, for the joys of heaven are set open to us." Fire was forthwith put to the straw and wood, which burnt beneath, whilst they (not shrinking from the pains) spake one to another; Baudicon often repeating this in his father's ears, "Faint not, father, nor be afraid; yet a very little while, and we shall enter into the heavenly mansions." In the end, the fire growing hot upon them, the last words they were heard to pronounce, were, "Jesus Christ, thou Son of God, into thy hands we commend our spirits." And thus these two slept sweetly in the Lord.

Having thus put to death the father and one son, the bigoted monsters next determined to sacrifice the mother and the other son; but before doing this, all arts were employed to induce them to quit the faith, and embrace the errors of popery. The mother, at length, induced by their threats and promises, abandoned the truth; and was then exhorted by the monks to convert her son, which she promised to do; but upon his being admitted to her for that purpose, he remonstrated so earnestly with her on the sinfulness and folly of her conduct, that she was convinced, and turned again to the Lord, beseeching him, with tears, to grant her strength to maintain the right. And she continued ever after firm in the faith; which so incensed the bigoted monks, that they adjudged her, with her son, to the flames, as *obstinate heretics*.

Soon after, they were bound and brought to the place of their martyrdom: his mother having ascended the scaffold, cried to Martin, "Come up, come up, my son." And as he was speaking to the people, she said, "Speak out, Martin, that it may appear to all that we do not die heretics." Martin would have made a confession of his faith, but was not suffered. His mother being bound to the stake, spake in the hearing of the spectators, "We are Christians, and that which we now suffer, is not for murder nor theft, but because we will believe no more than that which the word of God teacheth us:" both rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the same. The fire being kindled, the vehemency thereof did nothing abate the fervency of their zeal, but they continued in the faith, and with lifting up their hands to heaven, in a holy accord said, "Lord Jesus, into thy hand we commend our spirits." And thus they blessedly slept in the Lord.

THE MASSACRE AT VASSY, IN CHAMPAIGNE.

The duke of Guise, on his arrival at Joinville, asked, whether the people of Vassy used to have sermons preached constantly by their minister? It was answered, they had, and that they increased daily. At the hearing of which report, he fell into a violent passion; and upon Saturday, the last day of February, 1562, that he might the more covertly execute his conceived wrath against the Protestants of Vassy, he departed from Joinville, accompanied with the cardinal of Guise, his brother, and those of their train, and lodged in the village of Dammartin, distant about two miles and a half.

The next day, after he had heard mass very early in the morning, he left Dammartin, with about two hundred armed men, passing along to Vassy. As he went by the village of Bronzeval, which is distant from Vassy a quarter of a mile, the bell (after the usual manner) rang for sermon. The duke hearing it, asked those he met why the bell rang so loud? A person named La Montague told him, it was for the assembling of the Hugonots; adding, that there were many in the said Bronzeval who frequented the ser-

mons preached at Vassy; therefore, that the duke would do well to begin there, and offer them violence. But the duke answered, "March on, march on, we shall take them amongst the rest of the assembly."

Now, there were certain soldiers and archers accompanying the duke, who compassed about Vassy; most of them being lodged in the houses of Papists. The Saturday before the slaughter, they were seen to make ready their weapons, arquebuses, and pistols; but the faithful not dreaming of such a conspiracy, thought the duke would offer them no violence, being the king's subjects; also, that not above two months before, the duke and his brethren passing by the said Vassy, gave no sign of their displeasure.

The duke of Guise being arrived at Vassy, with all his troops, they went directly towards the common-hall or market-house, and then entered into the monastery; where, having called to him one Dessales, the prior of Vassy, and another whose name was Claude le Sain, provost of Vassy, he talked awhile with them, and issued hastily out of the monastery, attended by many of his followers. Then command was given to the Papists, to retire into the monastery, and not to be seen in the streets, unless they would venture the loss of their lives. The duke perceiving others of his retinue to be walking to and fro under the town-hall, and about the church-yard, commanded them to march on towards the place where the sermon was, being in a barn, about a hundred paces distant from the monastery. This command was put in execution by such of the company as went on foot. He that marched foremost of this rabble, was La Brosse, and on the side of these marched the horsemen, after whom followed the duke with another company of his own followers, likewise those of the cardinal of Guise, his brother. By this time, Mr. Leonard Morel, the minister, after the first prayer, had begun his sermon before his auditors, who might amount to about 1200 men, women, and children. The horsemen first approaching to the barn within about twenty-five paces, shot off two arquebuses right upon those who were placed in the galleries joining to the windows. The people within perceiving this, endeavored to shut the door, but were prevented by the ruffians rushing in upon them, who drawing their swords, furiously cried out, "Death of God, kill, kill these Hugonots."

Three persons were slain at the door; and the duke of Guise, with his company, rushed in among the congregation, striking the poor people down with their swords, daggers, and cutlasses, not sparing age or sex; besides, they within were so astonished, that they knew not which way to turn them, but running hither and thither, fell one upon another, flying as poor sheep before a company of ravening wolves entering in among the flock. Some of the murderers shot off their pieces against them that were in the galleries; others cut in pieces such as they lighted upon; some had their heads cleft in twain, their arms and hands cut off; so that many of them gave up the ghost even in the place. The walls and galleries of the place were dyed with the blood of those who were everywhere murdered: yea, so great was the fury of the murderers, that part of the people within were forced to break open the roof of the house, in hopes to save themselves upon the top thereof. Being got thither, and then fearing to fall again into the hands of these cruel tigers, some of them leaped over the walls of the city, which were very high, flying into the woods and amongst the vines, which with most expedition they could soonest attain unto; some hurt in their arms, others in their heads, and other parts of their bodies. The duke presented himself in the house with his sword drawn in his hand, charging his men to kill especially the young men. Only, in the end, women with child were spared. And pursuing those who went upon the house-tops, they cried, "Come down, ye dogs, come down!" using many cruel threatening speeches to them. The cause why women with child escaped, was, as the report went, for the duchess's sake, his wife, who, passing along by the walls of the city, and hearing so hideous outcries amongst these poor creatures, with the noise of the pieces and pistols continually discharging, sent in all haste to the duke her husband with much entreaties to cease his persecution, for frighting women with child.

During this slaughter, the cardinal of Guise remained before the church of Vassy, leaning upon the walls of the church-yard, looking towards the place where his followers were busied in killing and slaying all they could. Many of this assembly being thus hotly pursued, did in the first brunt save themselves upon the roof of the house, not being discerned by those who stood without: but at length, some of this bloody crew espying where they lay hid, shot at them with long pieces, wherewith many of them were hurt and slain. The household servants of Dessalles, prior of Vassy, shooting at the people on the roof, one of that wretched company was not ashamed to boast, after the massacre was ended, that he for his part had caused six at least to tumble down in that pitiful plight, saying, that if others had done the like, not many of them could possibly have escaped.

The minister, in the beginning of the massacre, ceased not to preach, till one discharged his piece against the pulpit where he stood, after which, falling down upon his knees, he entreated the Lord not only to have mercy upon himself, but also upon his poor persecuted flock. Having ended his prayer, he left his gown behind him, thinking

thereby to keep himself unknown; but whilst he approached towards the door, in his fear he stumbled upon a dead body, where he received a blow with a sword upon his right shoulder. Getting up again, and then thinking to get forth, he was immediately laid hold of, and grievously hurt on the head with a sword, whereupon being felled to the ground, and thinking himself mortally wounded, he cried, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, thou God of truth." While he thus prayed, one of this bloody crew ran upon him, with an intent to have hamstringed him; but it pleased God his sword broke in the hilt. Two gentlemen knowing him, said, "He is the minister, let him be conveyed to my lord duke." These leading him away by both the arms, they brought him before the gate of the monastery, from whence the duke, and the cardinal his brother, coming forth, said, "Come hither;" and asked him, saying, "Art thou the minister of this place? Who made thee so bold to seduce this people thus?" "Sir," said the minister, "I am no seducer, for I have preached to them the gospel of Jesus Christ." The duke perceiving that this answer condemned his cruel outrages, began to curse and swear, saying, "Death of God, doth the gospel preach sedition? Provost, go and let a gibbet be set up, and hang this fellow." At which words the minister was delivered into the hands of two pages, who misused him vilely. The women of the city, being ignorant Papists, caught up dirt to throw in his face, and with great outcries, said, "Kill him, kill this varlet, who hath been the cause of the death of so many." In the mean time, the duke went into the barn, to whom they presented a great Bible, which they used for the service of God. The duke taking it into his hands, calling his brother the cardinal, said, "Lo, here is one of the Hugonot books." The cardinal viewing it, said, "There is nothing but good in this book, for it is the Bible, to wit, the holy scriptures." The duke, being offended that his brother suited not to his humor, grew into a greater rage than before, saying, "Blood of God, how now? What! the holy scripture? It is one thousand five hundred years ago since Jesus Christ suffered his death and passion, and it is but a year since these books were printed, how then say you that this is the gospel? You say you know not what." This unbridled fury of the duke displeased the cardinal, so that he was heard secretly to mutter, "An unworthy brother!"

This massacre continued a full hour, the duke's trumpeters sounding the while two several times. When any of these desired to have mercy showed them for the love of Jesus Christ, the murderers in scorn would say unto them, "You use the name of Christ, but where is your Christ now?"

There died in this massacre, within a few days, threescore persons; besides these, there were about two hundred and fifty, as well men as women, that were wounded, whereof many died. The poor's box, which was fastened to the door of the church with two iron hooks, containing twelve pounds, was wrested thence, and never restored.

The minister was closely confined and frequently threatened to be sewed up in a sack and drowned. He was, however, on the 8th of May, 1563, liberated at the earnest suit of the prince of Portien.

MURDER OF DE LA PLACE.

This gentleman, whose piety equalled his courage, was president of the court of requests at Paris. On Sunday morning, about six o'clock, captain Michael, arquebusier to the king, came armed into his lodgings, and presenting himself before De la Place, said, that the duke of Guise had slain the admiral of France by the king's orders, with many Hugonots: and because the rest of them, of what quality soever, were destined to death, he was come to his lodging to exempt him from the common destruction; and that he desired to have a sight of what gold and silver was in his possession. De la Place, amazed at his audacity, who, in the midst of several persons present in the room, durst presume to utter such language, asked him if he knew where he was, or whether or not he thought there was a king? To this the captain roughly answered, that he must go with him to know the king's pleasure. De la Place, hearing this, began to apprehend some danger. He, therefore, slipped out at a back door, proposing to secrete himself in a neighbor's house. Meanwhile, most of his servants disappeared; and the captain having enriched himself with a thousand crowns, was entreated by the lady Marets, daughter to De la Place, to convey her father, and her husband, into the house of some Roman Catholic; which he consented to do, and performed it.

De la Place, like a deer singled out for death, being refused admittance at three several houses, retired again into his own, where he found his wife overwhelmed with grief; but he being strengthened by the Spirit of God, consoled her with the scripture promises. He then commanded all his servants that remained to be called together, when, according to his custom, on the Lord's day, he made an exhortation, and went to prayer.

While thus employed, word was brought him, that Seneca, the provost-marshal, with many archers, were at the door demanding admittance in the king's name, saying, that he came to secure the person of the lord De la Place, and to preserve his house from being pillaged by the rabble. De la Place immediately commanded the door to be opened to him. Seneca, on entering, declared the great slaughter that was made upon the Hu-

gonots everywhere in the city, by the king's command; adding, "Yet have I express charge from his majesty to see you sustain no wrong; only suffer me to conduct you to the Louvre, because the king is desirous to be informed about the affairs of those of the religion which he hath now in hand." De la Place answered, that it had always been his greatest wish, and nothing could render him more happy, than to gain any opportunity by which he might give an account to his majesty of his behavior and actions. But that such horrible massacres were everywhere committed, it was impossible for him to pass to the Louvre, without danger of his life: he therefore prayed him to assure his majesty of his willingness to come, but to excuse his appearance until the fury of the people was somewhat abated. The provost agreed to this request, and left with him one of his lieutenants, and four archers.

Soon after, came president Charron, with whom the provost conferred a little in secret, and then left him with four more of the city archers. The whole night following was spent in the stopping up, and fortifying all the passages and windows of the house, with logs and flint stones, apparently for the defence of De la Place and his family. Next day Seneca returning, declared that he had express charge from the king to bring him to his majesty without delay. He replied as before, that it was dangerous as yet to pass through the city. But Seneca insisted on his compliance, saying that he should have a captain of Paris, well known to the people, to accompany him. At that moment, the captain, named Pazon, a principal actor in this sedition, entered and offered his service to conduct him to the king. De la Place refused, telling Seneca, that Pazon was one of the most cruel and bloody-minded men in all the city; and therefore, seeing that he must go to the king, he entreated him to be his guard. Seneca answered that having now other affairs to look into, he could not conduct him above fifty paces.

The lady of De la Place then prostrated herself at the feet of Seneca, beseeching him to accompany her husband to the king; but her husband, who never showed any sign of a dejected spirit, came to her and lifting her from the ground, told her, that it was not an arm of flesh that we must stoop to, but unto God only. Then turning round, he perceived in his son's hat a white cross, which he had placed there to delude the enemy; he sharply chid him, and commanded him to pluck that mark of apostasy thence; telling him, that they must now submit to bear the true cross of Christ, namely, those afflictions and tribulations which it shall please God to lay upon us, as pledges of that eternal happiness, which he hath treasured up for his servants. Being now pressed by Seneca, to go, as he foresaw, to death, he took his cloak, and embracing his wife, earnestly exhorted her above all things to have the fear of God, and his honor, in precious esteem; and then boldly went on his way. Coming into the street, certain murderers, who waited his approach, with their daggers in readiness, killed him, as an innocent lamb in the midst of Seneca's archers, who led him into that butchery. They then plundered his house of all they could find, while his body being dragged into a stable, they covered his face over with dung, and the next day threw him into the river.

PETER RAMUS.

Peter Ramus, the king's professor in logic, a man renowned for his learning, was not forgotten. He had taken refuge in the college of priests; but being discovered, he offered a great sum of money for his life; nevertheless, he was massacred, and cast down from a high chamber window upon the ground, so that his bowels issued out on the stones, and were afterwards trailed through the streets, while the body was whipped by certain scholars, instigated by the envy and malevolence of their tutors.*

INSTANCES OF HORRIBLE BARBARITY.

Philip le Doux, a jeweller, on his return from a journey, had gone to bed; his wife at that time had the midwife attending upon her, and was ready to be delivered, when she heard the furies below thundering at the door, and commanding it to be opened to them in the king's name. Ill as she was, she ventured down, and opened it to these tigers, who presently stabbed her husband in his bed. The midwife seeing them bent to murder the woman also, now ready to be delivered, entreated them to stay, at least till the infant was born. They, notwithstanding, took this poor woman, half dead with fear, and thrust into her fundament a dagger to the very hilt. She, finding herself mortally wounded, and yet desirous to give birth to her infant, ran into a corn-loft, whither they pursued her and stabbed her likewise in the belly, then threw her out of a window into the street: upon which fall, the child came from her, to the great astonishment and confusion of the Papists, who were constrained to confess the cruelties of these butchers.

One of the murderers having snatched up a little child in his arms, the poor innocent babe began to play with his beard, and to smile upon him; but instead of being moved to compassion, the barbarian wounded it with his dagger, and threw it into the river.

PERSECUTIONS AT TROIS, IN CHAMPAGNE.

When news arrived at Trois of the massacre at Paris, the greater part of the judges

*It is remarkable that in this extensive massacre, not more than two ministers were known to have suffered.

and officers of the king went to the bailiff, and commanded a diligent search for those of the reformed religion, and to imprison all they could find.

In the city, was a merchant, named Peter Belin, a man of a turbulent temper. This man was at the massacre in Paris, on St. Bartholomew's day, and was dispatched thence with letters from the king, dated the 28th of August, to the mayor and sheriffs of Trois, to cause all persecutions to cease, and the prisoners to be set at liberty. He did not, however, arrive till the 3d of September, and on entering Trois, proceeded to the house of the bailiff, a man of the same stamp as himself. They agreed before they published the letters to murder all the Hugonots who were in prison; and to make it appear, that this act was sanctioned by authority, they requested the assistance of the city executioner, whose name was Charles.

The man, however, more just and humane than they, peremptorily refused to have any hand in an act of so great cruelty; answering, that it was contrary to his office to execute any man before sentence of death had first been pronounced by the magistrates; and that he would not presume, without a warrant, to deprive any man of his life; with these words, he left them. Upon this, the bailiff sent for one of the jailors of the prison, but he being confined by sickness, Martin de Bures was sent to know his pleasure. The bailiff told him what Belin had signified to him in private; as also, that on a sudden all the prisoners of the reformed religion must die, that the place might be purged of them; "and this," said he, "you must do."

De Bures, however, made no haste to execute the command, acquainting no man with aught that passed between the bailiff and him; not even Perennet the keeper, then sick in bed.

The day following the bailiff came to the prison, and calling for Perennet, who was then recovered, asked him with a smile, "Whether it was done?" "What?" said Perennet, knowing nothing of it. "Why," said the bailiff, "are not the prisoners dispatched?" and was ready with his dagger to have stabbed him. But coming a little to himself, he told Perennet his purpose, and how he was to behave himself concerning the execution thereof. At this, Perennet standing amazed, (though otherwise forward enough to commit any outrages against the Protestants) certified to the bailiff, that he would not perpetrate such an inhuman act, apprehending, that it might be avenged by the friends of the prisoners. "No, no," said the bailiff, "fear not, I will stand between you and all harms. Others of the justices have consented thereunto besides myself, and would you have better security than that?"

In a short time after, the jailor coming into the court of the prison, where the prisoners were walking, ordered each to his cabin, "because, (said he) the bailiff is coming to see whether the keepers have done their duty." Then began these poor sheep to fear they were destined to the slaughter, and therefore went presently to prayers. Perennet now calling his companions about him, reported to them what the bailiff had given him in charge, on which they all took an oath to execute the same; but approaching near to the prisoners, their hearts failed them, and they stood gazing one upon another, having no courage to act such a deed: they, therefore, returned to the lodge, without doing any thing.

This repugnance, however, was of short duration; for instead of considering [illegible] a warning from above, they sent for sixteen pints of wine, thereby to drown every spark of conscience. Having drank which, they drew a list of the prisoners; which they delivered to one who was to call them forth in order.

The first that came forth was Meurs, who was no sooner in their sight, than one of them thrust at him with the point of his halberd, redoubling the same often with intent to kill him; on which, the poor man took hold of the point, and pointing it himself to his heart, cried to the murderer, "Here, soldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart!" and was instantly slain.

When the massacre was ended, the murderers made a great pit on the back side of the chapel of the prison, wherein they cast the bodies, some of them yet breathing. One called Maufere, lying in the midst of them, being observed to raise himself above his fellow martyrs, they poured earth upon him, until they had stifled him. The blood ran in such abundance out at the prison door, and thence through a channel into a river, that it was turned into the color of blood.

Next day, the sanguinary bailiff of Trois caused the king's letters to be published in all corners of the city with sound of trumpet.

MASSACRE AT ORLEANS.

Dechampeaux, lord of Bouifli, a counsellor of Orleans, was murdered in the following manner: One called Texier came with a small troop to his house, inviting himself and company to supper with him. Dechampeaux bid them all kindly welcome, being ignorant of what had happened at Paris. But supper being ended, Texier bade him deliver his purse, at which Dechampeaux laughed, thinking he had been in jest. But this cruel guest, with blasphemous oaths, told him in a few words what had occurred at Paris, and what preparations the Roman Catholics of Orleans were making to root out the Protestants there. Dechampeaux finding it in vain to contest with him, gave him money: when, to requite the courtesy and good entertain-

ment he had received, Texier imbrued his hands in his blood, and afterwards pillaged the house.

On the 26th of August following, the massacre was begun. All night was heard nothing but firing of guns and pistols, forcing open of doors and windows, fearful outcries of men, women, and little children, trampling of horses, and rumbling of carts, hurrying off dead bodies to and fro.

The massacre was continued the next day, and to the end of the week: "Where is now your God?" cried the murderers; "What is become of all your prayers and psalms now? Let your God, whom you called upon, save you if he can!" Yea, some of them, who had been professors of the same religion, whilst they were massacring the poor innocents, sung unto them, in scorn, the beginning of the 43d psalm: "Judge me, O God, and plead my cause." Others, striking them, said, "Sing now, 'Have mercy on me, O God.'" But these execrable outrages by no means daunted the courage of the Christians, who died stedfast in the faith. The murderers boasted, that in this city they caused eighteen thousand men to perish, a hundred and fifty women, with a great number of children of nine years old and upwards. The manner of their death was, first to shoot them with pistols, then to strip them, and either sink their bodies in the river, or bury them in pits.

At night, several of this bloody crew knocked at the door of a doctor of civil law, called Taillebous; who came down immediately, and opened the door to them. They immediately told him he must die. Whereupon he uttered a prayer to heaven with such zeal and affection, that the murderers, being astonished, and restrained by a secret power, contented themselves with taking his purse, and so left him.

The day following, some students resorting to his lodging, requested to see his library, into which he brought them; one asked this book of him, and another that, which he gave them. At length they told him they were not as yet satisfied, their purpose being to kill him. He, prostrating himself upon the ground and having ended his prayer, desired them to kill him there, but they forced him out of his own house, from one place to another, and at length dispatched him.

A rich burgess of the city, called Nicholas Bougars, Sieur de Nove, a man of singular worth, and highly esteemed, was at that time dangerously ill. Some of the murderers came into the chamber intending to kill him: but seeing him in that case spared him: yet finding there Noel Chaperon, an apothecary, they cut off one of his arms, then drew him into the market-place, where they made an end of him.

The next day, an acquaintance came to the lodging of Nicholas Bougars; as he was entering, he met the mother of Nicholas at the door. He then proceeded into the chamber, stabbed the sick man with a dagger in many places, and so killed him. Then with all silence, as if he had done no such act, wiping his dagger, he went down stairs again, without any change in his behavior or countenance.*

Francis Stample, a rich merchant, was threatened to have his throat cut if he refused to give the murderers money: but having got none about him, he wrote to his wife to send him his ransom: he had no sooner sealed the letter, but the monsters put him to death; and though they got from his widow a considerable sum of money, yet could she not obtain from them the body of her husband.

Among those that confessed the name of Jesus Christ, Francis le Bossu, a merchant, with his two sons, well deserve our notice; for whilst he trampled in the blood of his brethren, being besmeared therewith, he encouraged his children to take their death willingly and patiently. When he saw the murderers come, he clasped his arms about his two sons, and they likewise embraced their father; and thus embracing, they were all three found dead.

At the conclusion of this furious assault, the perpetrators went up and down the city, displaying their white doublets, all sprinkled with blood; some boasting that they had killed a hundred, some more, some less.

THE POPE'S LEGATE ABSOLVES THE MURDERERS OF THE PROTESTANTS.

Not many months after, when these tragedies were ended, the pope sent cardinal Ursin, as legate to the king, who was received with great solemnity at Lyons. On his return from St. John's church, where he had been to hear mass, a great number of persons presented themselves before him, at the door, and kneeled down for his absolution. But the legate not knowing the reason of it, one of the leaders told him, they were those who had been the actors in the massacre. On which the cardinal immediately absolved them all.

MASSACRE AT ANGERS.

As soon as the massacre commenced at Paris, a gentleman, named Monsoreau, obtained a passport with letters to massacre the Protestants at Angers. Being disappointed of his prey in one place, he came to the lodging of a reverend and learned minister, Mr. John Mason. Meeting his wife at

* This atrocious deed reminds us of the enormities practised by the Irish Roman Catholics in their massacre of the English Protestants in the reign of Charles I., when every social tie was banished from their remorseless hearts, and the oldest friends were murdered by the hands they had so often pressed in amity and brotherhood.

the entrance of the house, he saluted her, and asked her "where her husband was?" She answered him, "That he was walking in his garden."

He immediately went in search of him; and meeting him, embraced him, and said, "Do you know wherefore I am come? The king hath commanded me to kill you forthwith, and hath given me express charge to do it, as you shall see by his letters." Upon which he showed him a pistol ready charged. Riviere replied, "That he knew not wherein he had offended the king; but seeing," said he, "you seek my life, give me a little time to recommend my spirit into the hands of God."

Having made a short prayer, he presented his body to the murderer, who shot him immediately. His wife was soon after drowned, with nine others; and six thousand were murdered at Rouen in much the same manner.

The king of France proposed three things to the prince of Condé; "Either to go to mass, to die, or else to be perpetually imprisoned; and therefore to weigh well with himself which he liked best." The prince answered, "That by God's grace he would never choose the first; as for the latter, he referred himself to the king's pleasure."

About three hundred were barbarously murdered at Thoulouse, and after taking all their goods, their bodies were stripped naked, and exposed to public view for two days, and then thrown in heaps into great pits. Certain counsellors, after they were massacred, were hung up in their long gowns, upon a great elm which was in the court of the palace.

MASSACRE AT BOURDEAUX.

The massacre at Bourdeaux was begun and carried on much in the same manner as those before mentioned. But their ministers found means to escape, hiding themselves in the rocks and marshes, till they had an opportunity to take shipping for England.

One thing is worthy of notice. The house of a counsellor in parliament was forced open, pillaged, and spoiled. His clerk seeing his master about to suffer a cruel death, embraced and comforted him: and being asked whether he were of the same religion, he answered, "Yea, and would die with his master for the same." And they were slain in one another's arms.

Du Tour, a deacon of the reformed church, an old man, who in the days of his ignorance had been a priest in the popish church, being sick in his bed, was dragged into the open street, and was asked, "whether he would go to mass, and thereby save his life!" he freely answered, "No, particularly as I am now drawing so near my end, both by age and sickness: I hope," continued he, "I shall not so far forget the eternal salvation of my soul, as for fear of death to prolong this life for a few days; for thus I should buy a short term of life at too dear a rate:" on which they slew him instantly.

The poor Protestants wandered up and down, not knowing where to save their lives: some were rejected of their own parents and relations, who shut their doors against them, pretending that they knew them not; others were betrayed and delivered up by those to whose friendship they had committed themselves: many were saved even by priests and others, from whom they had little reason to expect such security; but whose hearts abhorred those detestable outrages. All the city was full of terror and horrible threats against them, saying, that the king's commandment was, that he would not have so much as one of them left in his kingdom; and if any refused to go to mass, *that a hole should be digged for him in the* earth, in which he should be buried without any more ado.

The judgment of God was manifested upon one of these inhuman murderers, called Vincent: he fell dangerously sick, but in the end recovering again as he thought, told some of his friends that he felt his arms strong enough to handle his cutlass as well as ever. But shortly after he was overtaken by the hand of God, with such a bleeding at his nose, as could not be restrained by any of the remedies that were used. It was a hideous sight to see him continually bowing his head over a basin full of blood, which, without ceasing, issued out of his nose and mouth, until his last gasp.

Another was taken with such a swelling in all the parts of his body, that there was scarcely to be discerned the form of a man, and thus he continued swelling till at length he burst asunder.

Thus during the extreme afflictions of the reformed churches in many parts of France, there were within a few weeks nigh 30,000 put to death.

SIEGE OF SANCERRE.

In 1573, Sancerre, a city inhabited chiefly by Protestants, and to which many fled from other places for refuge, was besieged by the Catholic army. The want of provisions was soon felt by the inhabitants, and they were compelled to feed on the flesh of horses, asses, &c. At length even this failed; and *they were then reduced to devour offal and* excrements; and some, less capable of resisting the calls of hunger, even had recourse to the horrible expedient of cannibalism. This outrage on humanity it was necessary to punish, and accordingly we find that on the 29th of July, a man and his wife were executed for having eaten the head, brains, and entrails of a child, three years old, which died of hunger; having preserved the other parts to eat at another meal. An old woman, who lodged in their house, and had eaten a

part, died a few hours after her imprisonment. The greater part of the children died of famine; and many affecting accounts are given of their patience and fortitude, among which the following is worthy of record:

A boy of ten years old, being ready to yield up the ghost, seeing his father and mother weeping over him, said unto them, "Wherefore weep ye thus, in seeing me famished to death? Mother, I ask you no bread, I know you have none: but seeing it is God's will I must die this death, let us be thankful for it. Did not the holy man Lazarus die of famine? have I not read it in my Bible?" In uttering these, with the like speeches, he expired, the 30th of July.

Not more than eighty-four persons died by the hand of the enemy, but of the famine more than five hundred. Many soldiers, in order to avoid the lingering death of hunger, fled from the city, and chose rather to die by the sword of the enemy; whereof some were imprisoned, and others put to death.

Every hope seemed cut off from them, and death appeared both within and without their walls; and so far was the king of France from relenting at their hapless state, that, enraged at their courage, he swore they should eat up one another. But the King of kings had ordained it otherwise; for the election of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Poland, caused a general pacification, and the Protestants once more enjoyed liberty of conscience and freedom from persecution.

BOOK VII.

FARTHER ACCOUNTS OF THE PERSECUTIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

SECTION I.

Persecutions in Bohemia and Germany.

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

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

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

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

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

ble, and ordered the prisoners to be tied with their hands and feet behind them, and in that manner thrown into the river. This being put into execution, the young lady watched her opportunity, leaped into the waves, and embracing the body of her husband, both sunk together.

PERSECUTION BY THE EMPEROR FERDINAND.

The emperor Ferdinand, whose hatred to the Protestants was unlimited, not thinking he had sufficiently oppressed them, instituted a high court of reformers, upon the plan of the inquisition, with this difference, that the reformers were to remove from place to place. The greater part of this court consisted of Jesuits, and from its decisions there was no appeal. Attended by a body of troops, it made the tour of Bohemia, and seldom examined or saw a prisoner; but suffered the soldiers to murder the Protestants as they pleased, and then to make report of the matter afterwards.

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

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

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

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

Some time after, a secret order was issued by the emperor, for apprehending all noblemen and gentlemen who had been principally concerned in supporting the Protestant cause, and in nominating Frederick, elector palatine of the Rhine, to be the king of Bohemia. Fifty of these were suddenly seized in one night, and brought to the castle of Prague; while the estates of those who were absent were confiscated, themselves made outlaws, and their names fixed upon a gallows as a mark of public ignominy.

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

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

and cheerfulness, through soldiers, Jesuits, priests, executioners, attendants, and a prodigious concourse of people assembled to see the exit of these devoted martyrs. They were executed in the following order:

1. *Lord Schilik*, a nobleman about the age of fifty. He possessed great abilities, natural and acquired. On being told he was to be quartered, he smiled with great serenity, and said, "The loss of a sepulchre is but a trifling consideration." A gentleman who stood by, crying, "Courage, my lord;" he replied, "I possess the favor of God, which is sufficient to inspire any one with courage: the fear of death does not trouble me. I have faced him in fields of battle to oppose Antichrist." After repeating a short prayer, he told the executioner he was ready, who cut off his right hand and head, and then quartered him. His hand and head were placed upon the high tower of Prague, and his quarters distributed in different parts of the city.

2. *Lord Winceslaus:* this venerable nobleman, exalted by his piety, had attained the age of seventy, and was respectable equally for his learning and hospitality. He was so little affected by the loss of worldly riches, that on his house being broken open, his property seized, and his estates confiscated, he only said, with great composure, "The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away." Being asked why he engaged in a cause so dangerous as that of attempting to support the elector palatine against the emperor, he replied, "I acted according to the dictates of my conscience, and, to this day, acknowledge him my king. I am now full of years, and wish to lay down my life, that I may not be a witness of the evils which await my country. You have long thirsted for my blood; take it, for God will be my avenger." He then approached the block, stroked his gray beard, and said, "Venerable hairs, the greater honor now attends you; a crown of martyrdom is your portion." Then laying down his head, it was severed from his body, and afterwards placed upon a pole in a conspicuous part of the town.

3. *Lord Hurant.* He was a nobleman whose natural abilities were improved by travelling. The accusations against him were, his being a Protestant, and having taken an oath of allegiance to the elector palatine, as king of Bohemia. When he ascended the scaffold, he said, "I have traveled through many countries, and traversed many barbarous nations, yet have I never found so much cruelty as at home. I have escaped innumerable perils both by sea and land, and have surmounted all to suffer innocently in my native place. My blood is likewise sought by those for whom I and my ancestors have hazarded our lives and fortunes; but, Almighty God! forgive them, for they know not what they do." Then approaching the block, he kneeled down, and exclaimed, with great energy, "Into thy hands, O Lord! I commend my spirit; in thee have I always trusted; receive me, therefore, my blessed Redeemer." The fatal stroke was then given.

4. *Lord Frederic de Bile* suffered as a Protestant, and as an instigator of the war: he met his fate with firmness, and only said, he wished well to the friends whom he left behind, forgave his enemies, denied the authority of the emperor in that country, acknowledged Frederic to be the only true king of Bohemia, and trusted for salvation in the merits of his Redeemer.

5. *Lord Henry Otto*, on first coming upon the scaffold, seemed greatly agitated, and said, as if addressing himself to the emperor, "Thou tyrant Ferdinand, thy throne is established in blood; but if thou killest my body, and dispersest my members, they shall still rise up in judgment against thee." Then growing calm, he said to a gentleman, "A few minutes I was greatly discomposed, but now I feel my spirits revive; God be praised, death no longer appears as the king of terrors, but seems to invite me to participate of some unknown joys." Then kneeling before the block, he said, "Almighty God! to thee I commend my soul, receive it for the sake of Christ, and admit it to the glory of thy presence." The pains of his death must have been severe, the executioner making several strokes before his head was separated from his body.

6. *The Earl of Rugenia* was distinguished for his great accomplishments and unaffected piety. On the scaffold he said, "We, who drew our swords, fought only to preserve the liberties of the people, and to keep our consciences sacred. As we were overcome, however, I am better pleased at the sentence of death than if the emperor had given me life; for I find that it pleases God to have his truth defended, not by our swords, but by our blood." He then went boldly to the block, saying, "I shall now soon be with Christ," and was instantly launched into the ocean of eternity and glory.

7. *Sir Gaspar Kaplitz.* This gentleman was eighty-six years of age. On coming to the place of execution, he addressed the principal officer thus: "Behold a miserable ancient man, who hath often entreated God to take him out of this wicked world, but could not till now obtain his desire; for God reserved me till these years to be a spectacle to the world, and a sacrifice to himself; therefore God's will be done. An officer told him that, in consideration of his great age, if he would only ask pardon, he would immediately receive it. "Ask pardon!" exclaimed he; "I will ask pardon of God whom I have frequently offended, but not of the emperor, whom I never offended. Should I

sue for pardon, it might justly be suspected I had committed some crime for which I deserved this fate. No, no; as I die innocent, and with a clear conscience, I would not be separated from these noble companions:" so saying, he cheerfully resigned his neck to the block.

8. *Procopius Dorzecki* said on the scaffold, "We are now under the emperor's judgment; but in time he shall be judged, and we shall appear as witnesses against him." Then taking a gold medal from his neck, which was struck when the elector Frederic was crowned king, he presented it to one of the officers with these words, "As a dying man I request, that if ever king Frederic be restored to the throne of Bohemia, you will give him this medal. Tell him, for his sake I wore it till death, and that now I willingly lay down my life for God and my king." He then cheerfully submitted to the fatal blow.

9. *Dionysius Zervius.* This gentleman had been educated as a Roman Catholic, but had embraced the reformed religion. The Jesuits used their utmost endeavors to make him recant when on the scaffold, and return to his former faith, but he gave not the least heed to their exhortations. Kneeling down, he said, "They may destroy my body, but cannot injure my soul; that I commend to my Redeemer."

10. *Valentine Cockan* was a gentleman of great fortune, and eminent for his piety and uprightness. His talents and acquirements were, however, of very inferior order; yet his imagination seemed to brighten, and his faculties to improve, on the approach of death, and just before he was beheaded, he expressed himself with such eloquence, energy, and precision, as amazed his hearers.

11. *Tobias Steffick* was remarkable for his affability and the serenity of his temper; which did not desert him in this awful crisis. A few minutes before he died, he said, "I have received, during the course of my life, many favors from God; ought I not therefore cheerfully to take one bitter cup, when he thinks proper to present it? or rather, ought I not to rejoice, that it is his will I should give up a corrupted life for that of immortality!"

12. *Dr. Jessenius.* This gentleman was a student of physic, and was accused of having spoken disrespectfully of the emperor, of having sworn allegiance to the elector Frederic, and of being a Protestant: for the first accusation he had his tongue cut out; for the second he was beheaded; and for the last, his body was quartered.

13. *Christopher Chober.* No sooner had this gentleman stepped upon the scaffold, than he said, "I come, in the name of God, to die for his glory; I have fought the good fight, and finished my course; so, executioner, do your office." On this he instantly received the crown of martyrdom.

14. *John Shultis* was, by all who knew him, beloved in his life, and regretted at his death. The only words he spoke before his martyrdom were, "The righteous seem to die in the eyes of fools, but they only go to rest. Lord Jesus! thou hast promised that those who come to thee shall not be cast off. Behold, I am come; look on me, pity me, pardon my sins, and receive my soul."

15. *Maximilian Hostialick* was celebrated for his learning, piety, and humanity. When he first came on the scaffold, he seemed terrified at the approach of death. Soon after, he said, "Christ will wash me from my crimes." He then told the officer he should repeat the song of Simeon; at the conclusion of which the executioner might do his duty. He accordingly said, "Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation:" after uttering these words his head at one blow was severed from his body.

16. *John Kutnaur*, not having been born independent, but having acquired a fortune by trade, was ordered to be hanged. Just before he was turned off, he said, "I die, not for having committed any crime, but for following the dictates of my conscience, and defending my country and religion."

17. *Simeon Sussickey* was father-in-law to Kutnaur, and was ordered to be executed in the same manner. He appeared impatient to be gone, saying, "Every moment delays me from entering into the kingdom of Christ."

18. *Nathaniel Wodnianskey.* This gentleman was also hanged. At the gallows, the Jesuits used all their persuasions to make him renounce his faith. Finding their attempts unavailing, one of them said, "If you will not abjure your heresy, at least repent of your rebellion." To which Wodnianskey replied, "You take away our lives under a pretended charge of rebellion; and, not content with that, seek to destroy our souls: glut yourselves with blood, and be satisfied, but tamper not with our consciences." His own son then approached the gallows, and said, "Sir, if life should be offered to you on condition of apostasy, I entreat you to remember Christ." To this the father replied, "It is very acceptable, my son, to be exhorted to constancy by you; but suspect me not; rather endeavor to confirm in their faith your brothers, sisters, and children, and teach them to imitate my constancy." He had no sooner concluded these words, than he received his fate with great fortitude.

19. *Wenceslaus Gisbitzkey*, during his whole imprisonment, had great hopes of life given him, from which his friends became very apprehensive for the safety of his soul. He, however, continued stedfast in his faith,

prayed fervently at the gallows, and met his end like a Christian hero.

20. *Martin Foster* was an unfortunate cripple; the chief accusations against whom were, his being charitable to heretics, and advancing money to the elector Frederic. It is supposed, however, that his great wealth was the principal cause of his death.

SECTION II.

Life, Sufferings, and Martyrdom of John Huss.

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

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

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

The English reformer, Wickliffe, had so kindled the light of reformation, that it began to illumine the darkest corners of popery and ignorance. His doctrines were received in Bohemia with avidity and zeal, by great numbers of people, but by none so particularly as John Huss, and his friend and fellow-martyr, Jerome of Prague.

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

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

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

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

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

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

* These were, John, proposed and set up by the Italians; Gregory, by the French; and Benedict, by the Spaniards. The council continued four years, in which the severest laws were enacted to crush

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

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

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

On his arrival at Constance, he immediately took lodgings in a remote part of the city. Soon after, came one Stephen Paletz, who was engaged by the clergy 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 articles against him, which they presented to the pope, and the prelates of the council.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Shortly after the petition was presented, four bishops, and two lords, were sent by the emperor to the prison, in order to prevail on Huss to make a recantation. But he called God to witness, that he was not conscious of having preached, or written, any thing against his truth, or the faith of his orthodox church. The deputies then represented the great wisdom and authority of the council: to which Huss replied, "Let them send the meanest person of that council, who can convince me by argument from the word of God,

the Protestants. Pope John was deposed and obliged to fly, the most heinous crimes being proved against him; among which were, his attempt to poison his predecessor, his being a gamester, a liar, a murderer, an adulterer, and guilty of unnatural offences.

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

and I will submit my judgment to him." This pious answer had no effect, because he would not take the authority of the council upon trust, without the least shadow of an argument offered. The deputies, therefore, finding they could make no impression on him, departed, greatly astonished at the strength of his resolution.

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

He received the sentence without the least emotion; and at the close of it, he kneeled down with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and, with all the magnanimity of a primitive martyr, thus exclaimed: "May thy infinite mercy, O my God! pardon this injustice of mine enemies. Thou knowest the injustice of my accusations: how deformed with crimes I have been represented; how I have been oppressed with worthless witnesses, and a false condemnation; yet, O my God! let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can express, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs." These excellent sentences were received as so many expressions of heresy, and only tended to inflame his adversaries. Accordingly, the bishops appointed by the council, stripped him of his priestly garments, degraded him, and put a paper mitre on his head, on which were painted devils, with this inscription: "A ringleader of heretics."

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

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

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

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

When the fagots were piled around him, the duke of Bavaria desired him to abjure. "No," said he, "I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips, I now seal with my blood." He then said to the executioner, "You are now going to burn a *goose*, (*Huss* signifying *goose* in the Bohemian language) but in a century you will have a *swan*, whom you can neither roast nor broil." If this were spoken in prophecy, he must have meant Martin Luther, who flourished about a century after, and who had a *swan* for his arms.

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

SECTION III.

Life, Sufferings, and Martyrdom, of Jerome of Prague.

THIS hero in the cause of truth, was born at Prague, and educated in its university, where he soon became distinguished for his learning and eloquence. Having completed his studies, he travelled over great part of Europe, and visited many of the seats of learning, particularly the universities of Paris, Heidelburg, Cologne, and Oxford. At the latter he became acquainted with the works of Wickliffe, and translated many of them into his own language.

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

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

Finding that his arrival at Constance was

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

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

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

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

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

He remained confined till the martyrdom of his friend Huss, after which he was brought forth, and threatened with immediate torments and death if he remained obstinate. Terrified at the preparations which he beheld, he, in a moment of weakness, forgot his resolution, abjured his doctrines, and confessed that Huss merited his fate, and that both he and Wickliffe were heretics. In consequence of this, his chains were taken off, and he was treated more kindly; he was, however, still confined, but in hopes of liberation. But his enemies, suspecting his sincerity, proposed another form of recantation to be drawn up and proposed to him. To this, however, he refused to answer, except in public, and was, accordingly, brought before the council, when, to the astonishment of his auditors, and to the glory of truth, he renounced his recantation, and requested permission to plead his own cause, which was refused; and the charges against him were read, in which he was accused of being a derider of the papal dignity, an opposer of the pope, an enemy to the cardinals, a persecutor of the prelates, and a hater of the Christian religion.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION IV.

General Persecutions in Germany.

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

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

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

Among others, Henry Voes, and John Esch, were apprehended and brought to examination; when, confessing and defending their adoption of the tenets of Luther, they were both condemned to the flames, and, soon after, suffered with the fortitude of real Christians.

An eloquent and pious preacher named Henry Stutphen, was taken out of his bed at night, and compelled to walk barefoot a considerable way, so that his feet were terribly cut. On desiring a horse, his conductors said, in derision, "A horse for a heretic! no, no, heretics may go barefoot." On arriving at the place of his destination, he was condemned to be burnt; and while suffering in the flames, he was cut and slashed in a terrible manner.

Many were murdered at Halle. Middleburgh being taken by assault, all the Protestants were put to the sword. Great numbers were also burned at Vienna.

Peter Sprengler, a divine, of the town of Schalet, was thrown into the river, and drowned.

Wolfgang, Seuch and John Huglin, two worthy ministers, were burned; likewise Leonard Keyser, a student of the university of Wirtemburg: and George Carpenter, a Bavarian, was hanged.

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

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

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

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

When the imperial forces prevailed at Griphenburgh, they shut up the senators in the senate-chamber, and surrounding it by lighted straw, suffocated them.

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

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

In Hesse-Cassel some of the troops entered an hospital, in which were principally mad

women, when stripping all the poor wretches naked, they made them run about the streets for their diversion, and then put them to death.

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION V.

Persecutions in the Netherlands.

THE glorious light of the gospel spreading over every part of the continent, and chasing thence the dark night of ignorance, increased the alarm of the pope, who urged the emperor to commence a persecution against the Protestants; when many thousands fell martyrs to superstitious malice and barbarous bigotry: among whom were the following.

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

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

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

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

burnt to ashes, which sentence was accordingly put in execution.

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

Giles Tolleman, a cutler of Brussels, was a man of singular humanity and piety. He was apprehended as a Protestant, and many attempts were made by the monks to persuade him to recant. Once, by accident, a fair opportunity of escaping from prison offered itself to him, but of which he did not avail himself. Being asked the reason, he replied, "I would not do the keepers so much injury; as they must have answered for my absence had I got away." When he was sentenced to be burnt, he fervently thanked God for allowing him, by martyrdom, to glorify his name. Observing at the place of execution a great quantity of 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 pain.

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

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

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

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

A short time after, Hues died in prison; upon which occasion Coomans thus vents his mind to his friends; "I am now deprived of my friends and companions; Scoblant is martyred and Hues dead by the visitation of the Lord; yet I am not alone: I have with me the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; he is my comfort, and shall be my reward." When brought to trial, Hues freely confessed himself of the reformed religion, and answered with a manly firmness to every charge brought against him, proving his doctrine from the gospel. "But," said the judge, "will you die for the faith you profess?"—"I am not only willing to die," replied Coomans, "but also to suffer the utmost stretch of inventive cruelty for it: after which my soul shall receive its confirmation from God himself, in the midst of eternal glory." Being condemned, he went cheerfully to the place of execution, and died with Christian fortitude and resignation.

ASSASSINATION OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

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

A Minister of Bohemia, inhumanly murdered by a band of Popish Ruffians.

Assassination of the Prince of Orange by Baltazar Gerard.

only power to say, "Lord have mercy upon my soul, and upon this poor people," and immediately expired.

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

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

SECTION VI.

Persecutions in Lithuania.

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION VII.

Persecutions in China and Japan.

PERSECUTIONS IN CHINA.

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

The zeal displayed by these missionaries in the discharge of their duty, was very great; but Roger and Pasis, in a few years returning to Europe, the whole labor devolved upon Ricci. The perseverance of Ricci was proportioned to the arduous task he had undertaken. Though disposed to indulge his converts as far as possible, he disliked many of their ceremonies, which seemed idolatrous. At length, after eighteen years' labor and reflection, he thought it most advisable to tolerate all those customs which

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

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

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

In 1665, the ensuing year, the ministers of state published the following decree: 1. That the Christian doctrines were false. 2. That they were dangerous to the interests of the empire. 3. That they should not be practised under pain of death.

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

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

PERSECUTIONS IN JAPAN.

The first introduction of Christianity into the empire of Japan, took place in 1552, when some Portuguese missionaries commenced their endeavors to make converts to the light of the gospel, and met with such success as amply compensated their labors. They continued to augment the number of their converts till 1616, when, being accused of having meddled in politics, and formed a plan to subvert the government, and dethrone the emperor, great jealousies arose, and subsisted till 1622, when the court commenced a dreadful persecution against both foreign and native Christians. Such was the rage of this persecution, that, during the first four years, 20,570 Christians were massacred. Death was the consequence of a public avowal of their faith, and their churches were shut up by order of government. Many, on a discovery of their religion by spies and informers, suffered martyrdom with great heroism. The persecution continued many years, when the remnant of the innumerable Christians with which Japan abounded, to the number of 37,000 souls, retired to the town and castle of Siniabara, in the island of Xinio, where they determined to make a stand, to continue in their faith, and to defend themselves to the very last extremity. To this place the Japanese army followed them, and laid siege to the place. The Christians defended themselves with great bravery, and held out against the besiegers three months, but were at length compelled to surrender, when men, women, and children, were indiscriminately murdered; and Christianity from that time ceased in Japan.

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

BOOK VIII.

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

SECTION I.

Persecutions in Abyssinia.

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

The priests gained such an influence at court, that the emperor consented to abolish the established rites of the Ethiopian church, and to admit those of Rome; and, soon after, consented to receive a patriarch from the pope, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the latter. This innovation, however, did not take place without great opposition. Several of the most powerful lords, and a majority of the people, who professed the primitive Christianity established in Abyssinia, took up arms, in their defence, against the emperor. Thus, by the artifices of the court of Rome and its emissaries, the whole empire was thrown into commotion, and a war commenced, which was carried on through the reigns of many emperors, and which ceased not for above a century. All this time the Roman Catholics were strengthened by the power of the court, by means of which conjunction, the primitive Christians of Abyssinia were severely persecuted, and multitudes perished by the hands of their inhuman enemies.

PERSECUTIONS IN TURKEY.—ACCOUNT OF MAHOMET.

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

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

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

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

† About fifteen years before this fatal event took place, the city had yielded the liberties of its church to the pope of Rome. A manifest want of patriotism was evidenced in the inhabitants, who, instead of bringing forth their treasures to the public service and defence of the place, buried them in vast heaps; insomuch, that when Mahomet, suspecting the case, commanded the earth to be dug up, and found immense hoards, he exclaimed, "How was it that this place lacked ammunition and fortification, amidst such abundance of riches?" The Turks found a

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

ATTACK ON RHODES.

About the year 1521, Solyman the First took Belgrade from the Christians. Two years after, he, with a fleet of 450 ships, and an army of 300,000 men, attacked Rhodes, then defended by the knights of Jerusalem. These heroes resisted the infidels till all their fortifications were levelled with the ground, their provisions exhausted, and their ammunition spent; when, finding no succors from the Christian princes, they surrendered, the siege having lasted about six months, in which the Turks suffered prodigiously, no less than 30,000 of them having died by the bloody flux. After this, Solyman retook Buda from the Christians, and treated those who were found there with great cruelty. Some had their eyes put out, others their hands, noses, and ears cut off. Pregnant women were ripped open, and their fruit cast into the flames, while many children were buried up to their necks in the earth, and left to perish.

SIEGE OF VIENNA.

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

Having pitched his tent before the walls of Vienna, he sent three Christian prisoners into the town, to terrify the citizens with an account of the strength of his army, while a great many more, whom he had taken in his march, were torn asunder by horses. Happily for the Germans, three days only before the arrival of the Turks, the earl palatine Frederic, to whom was assigned the defence of Vienna, had entered the town with 14,000 chosen veterans, besides a body of horse. Solyman sent a summons for the city to surrender; but the Germans defying him, he instantly commenced the siege. It has before been observed, that the religion of Mahomet promises to all soldiers who die in battle, whatever be their crimes, immediate admission to the joys of paradise. Hence arises that fury and temerity which they usually display in fighting. They began with a most tremendous cannonade, and made many attempts to take the city by assault. But the steady valor of the Germans was superior to the enthusiasm of their enemies. Solyman, filled with indignation at this unusual check to his fortune, determined to exert every power to carry his project; to this end he planted his ordnance before the king's gate, and battered it with such violence, that a breach was soon made, whereupon the Turks, under cover of the smoke, poured in torrents into the city, and the soldiers began to give up all for lost. But the officers, with admirable presence of mind, causing a great shouting to be made in the city, as if fresh troops had just arrived, their own soldiers were inspired with fresh courage, while the Turks, being seized with a panic, fled precipitately, and overthrew each other, by which means the city was freed from destruction.

VICTORY OF THE CHRISTIANS.

Grown more desperate by resistance, Solyman resolved upon another attempt, and this was by undermining the Corinthian gate. Accordingly he set his Illyrians to work, who were expert at this mode of warfare. They succeeded in coming under ground to the foundations of the tower; but being discovered by the wary citizens, they, with amazing activity and diligence, countermined them; and having prepared a train of gunpowder, even to the trenches of the enemy, they set fire to it, and by that means rendered abortive their attempts, and blew up about 8000 of them. Foiled in every attempt, the courage of the Turkish chief degenerated into madness; he ordered his men to scale the walls, in which attempt they were destroyed by thousands, their very numbers serving to their own defeat, till, at length, the valor of his troops relaxed; and, dreading the hardihood of their European adversaries, they began to refuse obedience. Sickness also seized their camp, and numbers perished from famine; for the Germans, by their vigilance, had found means to cut off their supplies. Foiled in every attempt, Solyman at length, after having lost above 80,000 men, resolved to abandon his enterprise. He accordingly put this resolve in execution, and, sending his baggage before him, proceeded homewards with the utmost expedition, thus freeing Europe from the impending terror of universal Mahometanism.

crucifix in the great church of St. Sophia, on the head of which they wrote, "This is the God of the Christians," and then carried it with a trumpet around the city, and exposed it to the contempt of the soldiers, who were commanded to spit upon it. Thus did the superstition of Rome afford a triumph to the enemies of the cross.

PERSECUTIONS IN GEORGIA AND MINGRELIA.

The Georgians are Christians, and being remarkable for their beauty, the Turks and Persians persecute them by the most cruel method. Instead of taking money for their taxes, they compel them to deliver up their children, the females for concubines in the seraglios, maids of honor to sultanas, &c. or to be sold to merchants of different nations, who proportion their price to the beauty of the devoted fair. The boys are taken for mutes and eunuchs in the seraglio, clerks in the offices of state, and soldiers in the army.

Westward of Georgia is Mingrelia, a country likewise inhabited by Christians, who undergo the same persecutions and rigors as the Georgians, by the Turks and Persians, their children being torn from them, or they murdered for refusing to consent to the sale.

PERSECUTIONS IN THE STATES OF BARBARY.

In no part of the globe are Christians so hated, or treated with such severity, as at Algiers. The conduct of the Algerines towards them is marked with perfidy and cruelty. By paying a most exorbitant fine, some Christians are allowed the title of Free Christians; these are permitted to dress in the fashion of their respective countries, but the Christian slaves are obliged to wear a coarse gray suit, and a seaman's cap.

The following are the various punishments exercised towards them: 1. If they join any of the natives in open rebellion, they are strangled with a bow-string, or hanged on an iron hook. 2. If they speak against Mahomet, they must become Mahometans, or be impaled alive. 3. If they profess Christianity *again, after having changed to the Mahometan* persuasion, they are roasted alive, or thrown from the city walls, and caught upon large sharp hooks, on which they hang till they expire. 4. If they kill a Turk, they are burnt. 5. If they attempt to escape, and are retaken, they suffer death in the following manner: they are hung naked on a high gallows by two hooks, the one fastened quite through the palm of one hand, and the other through the sole of the opposite foot, where they are left till death relieves them. Other punishments for crimes committed by the Christians are left to the discretion of the judges, who usually decree the most barbarous tortures.

At Tunis, if a Christian is caught in attempting to escape, his limbs are all broken; and if he slay his master, he is fastened to the tail of a horse, and dragged about the streets till he expires.

Fez and Morocco conjointly form an empire, and are the most considerable of the Barbary states. The Christian slaves are treated with the greatest rigor: the rich have exorbitant ransoms fixed upon them; the poor are hard worked and half starved, and sometimes, by the emperor, or their brutal masters, they are murdered.

SECTION II.

Persecutions in Calabria.

About the fourteenth century, a great many Waldenses of Pragela and Dauphiny emigrated to Calabria, where, having received permission to settle in some waste lands, they soon, by the most industrious cultivation, converted those wild and barren spots into regions of beauty and fertility.

The nobles of Calabria were highly pleased with their new subjects and tenants, finding them honest, quiet, and industrious; but the priests, filled with jealousy, soon exhibited complaints against them, charging them with not being Roman Catholics, not making any of their boys priests, not making any of their girls nuns, not going to mass, not giving wax tapers to their priests, as offerings, not going on pilgrimages, and not bowing to images.

To these the Calabrian lords replied, that these people were extremely harmless, giving no offence to the Roman Catholics, but cheerfully paying the tithes to the priests, whose revenues were considerably increased by their coming into the country, and who, consequently, ought to be the last persons to make a complaint.

Those enemies to truth being thus silenced, things went on in peace for a few years, during which the Waldenses formed themselves into two corporate towns, annexing several villages to their jurisdiction. At length they sent to Geneva for two clergymen, one to preach in each town. This being known, intelligence was conveyed to pope Pius the Fourth, who determined to exterminate them from Calabria without further delay. To this end cardinal Alexandrino, a man of a violent temper, and a furious bigot, was sent, together with two monks, to Calabria, where they were to act as inquisitors. These authorized persons came to St. Xist, one of the towns built by the Waldenses, where, having assembled the people they told them, that they should receive no injury if they would accept of preachers appointed by the pope; but if they refused, they should be deprived both of their properties and lives; and that to prove them, mass should be publicly said that afternoon, at which they must attend.

But the people of St. Xist, instead of obeying this, fled with their families into the

woods, and thus disappointed the cardinal and his coadjutors. Then they proceeded to La Garde, the other town belonging to the Waldenses, where, to avoid the like disappointment, they ordered the gates to be locked, and all avenues guarded. The same proposals were then made to the inhabitants as had been made to those of St. Xist, but with this artifice: the cardinal assured them that the inhabitants of St. Xist had immediately come into his proposals, and agreed that the pope should appoint them preachers. This falsehood succeeded; for the people of La Garde, thinking what the cardinal had told them to be truth, said, they would exactly follow the example of their brethren at St. Xist.

Having thus gained his point by a lie, he sent for two troops of soldiers with a view to massacre the people of St. Xist. He accordingly commanded them into the woods, to hunt them down like wild beasts, and gave them strict orders to spare neither age nor sex, but to kill all they came near. The troops accordingly entered the woods, and many fell a prey to their ferocity, before the Waldenses were apprized of their design. At length, however, they determined to sell their lives as dear as possible, when several conflicts happened, in which the half-armed Waldenses performed prodigies of valor, and many were slain on both sides. At length, the greater part of the troops being killed in the different rencounters, the remainder were compelled to retreat; which so enraged the cardinal, that he wrote to the viceroy of Naples for reinforcements.

The viceroy, in obedience to this, proclaimed throughout the Neapolitan territories, that all outlaws, deserters, and other proscribed persons, should be freely pardoned for their several offences, on condition of making a campaign against the inhabitants of St. Xist, and of continuing under arms till those people were destroyed. On this several persons of desperate fortune came in, and being formed into light companies, were sent to scour the woods, and put to death all they could meet with of the reformed religion. The viceroy himself also joined the cardinal, at the head of a body of regular forces; and, in conjunction, they strove to accomplish their bloody purpose. Some they caught, and, suspending them upon trees, cut down boughs and burnt them, or ripped them open and left their bodies to be devoured by wild beasts or birds of prey. Many they shot at a distance; but the greatest number they hunted down by way of *sport*. A few escaped into caves; but famine destroyed them in their retreat: and the inhuman chase was continued till all these poor people perished.

The inhabitants of St. Xist being exterminated, those of La Garde engaged the attention of the cardinal and viceroy. The fullest protection was offered to themselves, their families, and their children, if they would embrace the Roman Catholic persuasion; but, on the contrary, if they refused this *mercy*, as it was insolently termed, the most cruel deaths would be the certain consequence. In spite of the promises on one side, and menaces on the other, the Waldenses unanimously refused to renounce their religion, or embrace the errors of popery. The cardinal and viceroy were so enraged at this, that they ordered thirty of them to be put immediately to the rack, as a terror to the others. Several of these died under the torture: one Charlin, in particular, was so cruelly used, that his belly burst, his bowels came out, and he expired in the greatest agonies. These barbarities, however, did not answer the end for which they were intended; for those who survived the torments of the rack, and those who had not felt it, remained equally constant in their faith, and boldly declared, that nothing, either of pain or fear, should ever induce them to renounce their God, or bow down to idols. The inhuman cardinal then ordered several of them to be stripped naked, and whipped to death with iron rods: some were hacked to pieces with large knives; others were thrown from the top of a high tower; and many were cased over with pitch and burnt alive.

One of the monks who attended the cardinal, discovered a most inhuman and diabolical nature. He requested that he might shed some of the blood of these poor people with his own hands; his request being granted, the monster took a large sharp knife, and cut the throats of fourscore men, women, and children. Their bodies were then quartered, the quarters placed upon stakes, and fixed in different parts of the country.

The four principal men of La Garde were hanged, and the clergyman was thrown from the top of his church steeple. He was dreadfully crushed, but not quite killed by the fall. The viceroy being present, said, "Is the dog yet living? Take him up, and cast him to the hogs:" which brutal sentence was actually put in execution.

The monsters, in their hellish thirst of cruelty, racked sixty of the women with such severity, that the cords pierced their limbs quite to the bone. They were after this remanded to prison, where their wounds mortified, and they died in the most miserable manner. Many others were put to death by various means; and so jealous and arbitrary were those monsters, that if any Roman Catholic, more compassionate than the rest, interceded for any of the reformed, he was immediately apprehended, and sacrificed as a favorer of heretics.

The viceroy being obliged to return to Naples, and the cardinal having been recalled to Rome, the marquis of Butiane was commissioned to complete what they had begun;

which he at length effected by acting with such barbarous rigor, that there was not a single person of the reformed religion left in all Calabria. Thus were a great number of inoffensive and harmless people deprived of their possessions, robbed of their property, driven from their homes, and, at length, murdered, only because they would not sacrifice their consciences to the superstitions of others, embrace doctrines which they abhorred, and attend to teachers whom they could not believe.

SECTION III.

Persecutions in the Valleys of Piedmont.

The Waldenses, in consequence of the continued persecutions they met with in France, fled for refuge to various parts of the world; among other places, many of them sought an asylum in the valleys of Piedmont, where they increased and flourished exceedingly for a considerable time.

Notwithstanding their harmless behavior, inoffensive conversation, and their paying tithes to the Romish clergy, the latter could not be contented, but sought to give them disturbance, and accordingly complained to the archbishop of Turin, that the Waldenses were heretics; upon which, he ordered a persecution to be commenced, in consequence of which many fell martyrs to the superstitious rage of the monks and priests.

At Turin, one of the reformed had his bowels torn out, and put into a basin before his face, where they remained, in his view, till he expired. At Revel, Catelin Girard being at the stake, desired the executioner to give him up a stone, which he refused, thinking that he meant to throw it at somebody; but Girard assuring him that he had no such design, the executioner complied; when Girard, looking earnestly at the stone, said, "When it is in the power of a man to eat and digest this stone, the religion for which I am about to suffer shall have an end, and not before." He then threw the stone on the ground, and submitted chearfully to the flames. A great many more were oppressed or put to death, till, wearied with their sufferings, the Waldenses flew to arms in their defence, and formed themselves into regular bodies. Full of revenge at this, the archbishop of Turin sent troops against them; but in most of the skirmishes the Waldenses were victorious; for they knew, if they were taken, they should not be considered as prisoners of war, but be tortured to death as heretics.

NOBLE CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF SAVOY.

Philip the Seventh, who was at this time duke of Savoy, and supreme lord of Piedmont, determined to interpose his authority, and stop these bloody wars, which so disturbed his dominions. Nevertheless, unwilling to offend the pope or the archbishop of Turin, he sent them both messages, importing, that he could not any longer tamely see his dominions overrun with troops, who were commanded by prelates in the place of generals; nor would he suffer his country to be depopulated, while he himself had not been even consulted upon the occasion.

The priests, perceiving the determination of the duke, had recourse to their usual artifice, and endeavored to prejudice his mind against the Waldenses; but he told them, that although he was unacquainted with the religious tenets of these people, yet he had always found them quiet, faithful, and obedient, and was therefore determined they should be persecuted no longer. The priests then vented the most palpable and absurd falsehoods: they assured the duke that he was mistaken in the Waldenses, for they were a wicked set of people, and highly addicted to intemperance, uncleanness, blasphemy, adultery, incest, and many other abominable crimes; and that they were even monsters in nature, for their children were born with black throats, with four rows of teeth, and bodies covered with hair. But the duke was not so to be imposed upon, notwithstanding the solemn affirmations of the priests. In order to come at the truth, he sent twelve gentlemen into the Piedmontese valleys, to examine into the real character of the people.

These gentlemen, after travelling through all their towns and villages, and conversing with the Waldenses of every rank, returned to the duke, and gave him the most favorable account of them, affirming, in contradiction to the priests, that they were harmless, inoffensive, loyal, friendly, industrious, and pious; that they abhorred the crimes of which they were accused; and that, should an individual, through his depravity, fall into any of those crimes, he would, by their laws, be punished in the most exemplary manner. With respect to the children, of whom the priests had told the most gross and ridiculous falsehoods, they were neither born with black throats, teeth in their mouths, nor hair on their bodies, but were as fine children as could be seen. "And to convince your highness of what we have said," continued one of the gentlemen, "we have brought twelve of the principal male inhabitants, who are come to ask pardon in the name of the rest, for having taken up arms without your leave,

though even in their own defence, and to preserve their lives from their merciless enemies. We have likewise brought several women, with children of various ages, that your highness may have an opportunity of judging for yourself." His highness then accepted the apology of the twelve delegates, conversed with the women, examined the children, and afterwards graciously dismissed them. He then commanded the priests, who had attempted to mislead him, immediately to leave the court; and gave strict orders, that the persecution should cease throughout his dominions.

During the remainder of the reign of this virtuous prince, the Waldenses enjoyed repose in their retreats; but, on his death, this happy scene changed, for his successor was a bigoted papist. About the same time, some of the principal Waldenses proposed, that their clergy should preach in public, that every one might know the purity of their doctrines; for hitherto they had preached only in private, and to such congregations as they well knew to consist of none but persons of the reformed religion.

When this reached the ears of the new duke, he was greatly exasperated, and sent a considerable body of troops into the valleys, swearing that if the people would not conform to the Romish faith, he would have them flayed alive. The commander of the troops soon found the impracticability of conquering them with the number of men then under him: he, therefore, sent word to the duke that the idea of subjugating the Waldenses with so small a force was ridiculous; that they were better acquainted with the country than any that were with him; that they had secured all the passes, were well armed, and determined to defend themselves. Alarmed at this, the duke commanded the troops to return, determining to act by stratagem. He, therefore, ordered rewards for taking any of the Waldenses, who might be found straying from their places of security; and these, when taken, were either flayed alive or burnt.

Pope Paul the Third, a furious bigot, ascending the pontifical chair, immediately solicited the parliament of Turin to persecute the Waldenses, as the most pernicious of all heretics. To this the parliament readily assented, when several were suddenly seized and burnt by their order. Among these was Bartholomew Hector, a bookseller of Turin. He had been brought up a Roman Catholic, but some treatises written by the reformed clergy having fallen into his hands, he was fully convinced of their truth, and of the errors of the church of Rome; yet his mind was, for some time, wavering between fear and duty, when, after serious consideration, he fully embraced the reformed religion, and was apprehended, as we have already mentioned, and burnt.

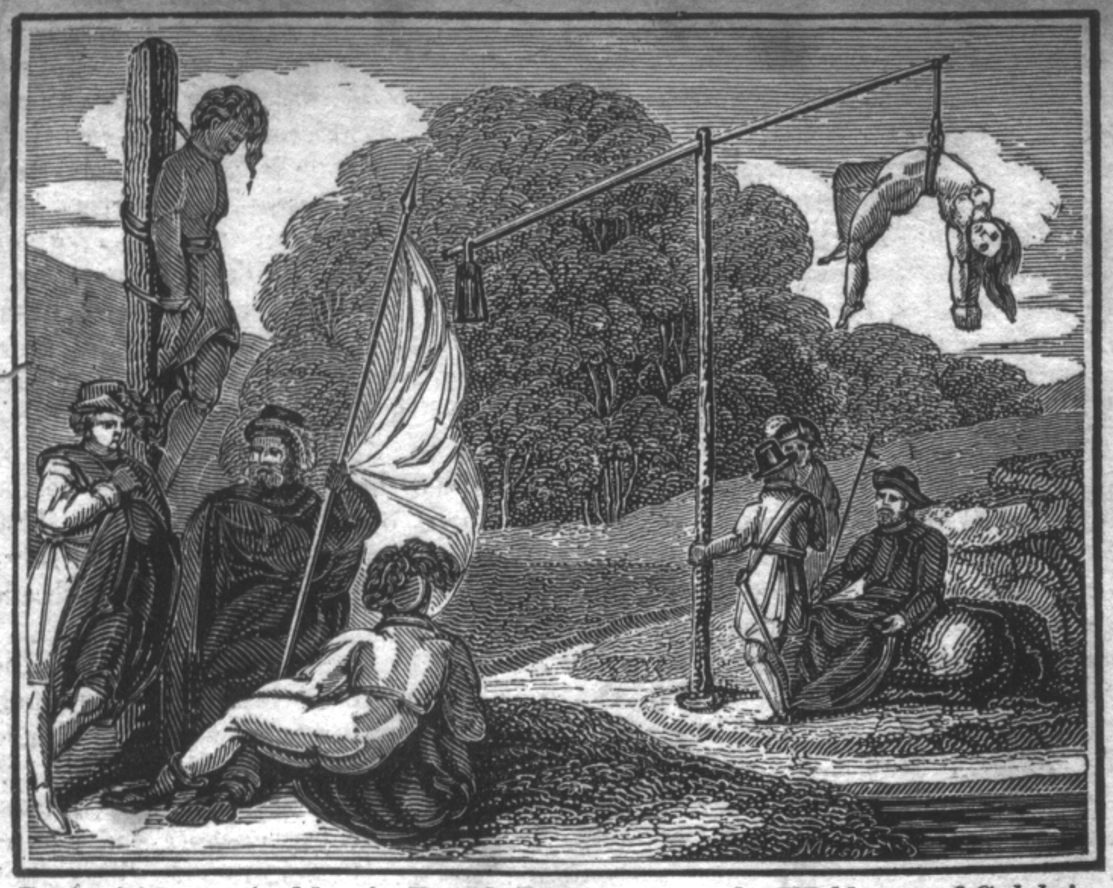
A consultation was again held by the parliament of Turin, in which it was agreed that deputies should be sent to the valleys of Piedmont, with the following propositions: 1. That if the Waldenses would return to the bosom of the church of Rome, they should enjoy their houses, properties, and lands, and live with their families, without the least molestation. 2. That to prove their obedience, they should send twelve of their principal persons, with all their ministers and schoolmasters, to Turin, to be dealt with at discretion. 3. That the pope, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, approved of, and authorized the proceedings of the parliament of Turin, upon this occasion. 4. That if the Waldenses of Piedmont rejected these propositions, persecution and death should be their reward.

In answer to these hostile articles, the Waldenses made the following noble replies: 1. That no consideration whatever should make them renounce their religion. 2. That they would never consent to intrust their best friends to the custody and discretion of their worst enemies. 3. That they valued the approbation of the King of kings, who reigns in heaven, more than any temporal authority. 4. That their souls were more precious than their bodies.

As may be conjectured, these spirited and pointed answers greatly exasperated the parliament of Turin; in consequence of which they continued, with more avidity than ever, to seize such Waldenses as unfortunately had strayed from their hiding-places, and put them to the most cruel deaths.

They soon after solicited from the king of France a considerable body of troops, in order to exterminate the reformed from Piedmont; but just as the troops were about to march, the Protestant princes of Germany interposed, and threatened to send troops to assist the Waldenses. On this, the king of France, not wishing to enter into a war, remanded the troops. This greatly disappointed the sanguinary members of the parliament, and for want of power the persecution gradually ceased, and they could only put to death such as they caught by chance, which, owing to the caution of the Waldenses, were very few.

After a few years' tranquillity, they were again disturbed in the following manner: the pope's nuncio, coming to Turin, told the duke he was astonished that he had not yet either rooted out the Waldenses from Piedmont entirely, or compelled them to return to the church of Rome. That such conduct in him awakened suspicion, and that he really thought him a favorer of those heretics, and should accordingly report the affair to the pope. Roused by this reflection, and fearful of being misrepresented to the pope, the duke determined to banish those



Barbarities exercised by the Popish Persecutors on the Waldenses of Calabria.

Massacre of the Protestants in Piedmont.

suspicions; and, to prove his zeal, resolved to persecute the unoffending Waldenses. He, accordingly, issued express orders for all to attend mass regularly, on pain of death. This they absolutely refused to do, on which he entered Piedmont with a great body of troops, and began a most furious persecution, in which great numbers were hanged, drowned, ripped open, tied to trees, pierced with prongs, thrown from precipices, burnt, stabbed, racked to death, worried by dogs, and crucified with their heads downwards. Those who fled had their goods plundered and their houses burnt. When they caught a minister or a schoolmaster, they put him to such exquisite tortures, as are scarcely credible. If any whom they took seemed wavering in their faith, they did not put them to death, but sent them to the galleys, to be made converts, by dint of hardships.

In this expedition the duke was accompanied by three men who resembled devils, viz. 1. Thomas Incomel, an apostate, brought up in the reformed religion, but who had renounced his faith, embraced the errors of popery, and turned monk. He was a great libertine, given to unnatural crimes, and most particularly solicitous for the plunder of the Waldenses. 2. Corbis, a man of a very ferocious and cruel nature, whose business was to examine the prisoners. 3. The provost of justice, an avaricious wretch, anxious for the execution of the Waldenses, as every execution added to his hoards.

These three monsters were unmerciful to the last degree; wherever they came, the blood of the innocent was shed. But, besides the cruelties exercised by the duke with these three persons and the army in their different marches, many local barbarities took place. At Pignerol was a monastery, the monks of which finding they might injure the reformed with impunity, began to plunder their houses, and pull down their churches: and not meeting with opposition, they next seized upon the persons of those unhappy people, murdering the men, confining the women, and putting the children to Roman Catholic nurses.

In the same manner the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the valley of St. Martin did all they could to torment the neighboring Waldenses; they destroyed their churches, burnt their houses, seized their property, carried away their cattle, converted their lands to their own use, committed their ministers to the flames, and drove the people to the woods, where they had nothing to subsist on but wild fruits, the bark of trees, roots, &c. &c.

Some Roman Catholic ruffians having seized a minister, as he was going to preach, determined to take him to a convenient place and burn him. His parishioners hearing of [illegible]med themselves, pursued, and attacked the villains; who, finding they could not execute their first intent, stabbed the poor gentleman, and, leaving him weltering in his blood, made a precipitate retreat. His parishioners did all they could to recover him, but in vain; for he expired as they were carrying him home.

The monks of Pignerol having a great desire to get into their possession a minister of the town of St. Germain, hired a band of ruffians for the purpose of seizing him. These fellows were conducted by a treacherous servant to the clergyman, who knew a secret way to the house, by which he could lead them without alarming the neighborhood. The guide knocked at the door, and being asked who was there, answered in his own name. The clergyman, expecting no injury from a person on whom he had heaped favors, immediately opened the door; perceiving the ruffians, he fled, but they rushed in, and seized him. They then murdered all his family; after which they proceeded with their captive towards Pignerol, goading him all the way. He was confined a considerable time in prison, and then burnt.

The murderers continuing their assaults about the town of St. Germain, murdering and plundering many of the inhabitants, the reformed of Lucerne and Angrogne sent some armed men to the assistance of their brethren. These men frequently attacked and routed the ruffians, which so alarmed the monks, that they left their monastery of Pignerol, till they could procure regular troops for their protection.

The duke of Savoy, not finding himself so successful as he at first imagined he should be, augmented his forces, joined to them the ruffians, and commanded that a general delivery should take place in the prisons, provided the persons released would bear arms, and assist in the extermination of the Waldenses.

No sooner were the Waldenses informed of these proceedings, than they secured as much of their property as they could, and quitting the valleys, retired to the rocks and caves among the Alps.

The army no sooner reached their destination than they began to plunder and burn the towns and villages; but they could not force the passes of the Alps, gallantly defended by the Waldenses, who in these attempts always repulsed their enemies; but if any fell into the hands of the troops, they were treated in the most barbarous manner. A soldier having caught one of them, bit his right ear off, saying, "I will carry this member of that wicked heretic with me into my own country, and preserve it as a rarity." He then stabbed the man, and threw him into a ditch.

At one time, a party of troops found a venerable man upwards of a hundred years of age, accompanied by his granddaughter, a

maiden, of about eighteen, in a cave. They murdered the poor old man in a most inhuman manner, and then attempted to ravish the girl, when she started away, and being pursued, threw herself from a precipice and was dashed to pieces.

Determined, if possible, to expel their invaders, the Waldenses entered into a league with the Protestant powers in Germany, and with the reformed of Dauphiny and Pragela. These were respectively to furnish bodies of troops; and the Waldenses resolved, when thus reinforced, to quit the mountains of the Alps, where they soon must have perished, as the winter was coming on, and to force the duke's army to evacuate their native valleys.

But the duke of Savoy himself was tired of the war, it having cost him great fatigue and anxiety of mind, a vast number of men, and very considerable sums of money. It had been much more tedious and bloody than he expected, as well as more expensive than he at first imagined, for he thought the plunder would have discharged the expenses of the expedition: in this, however, he was mistaken; for the pope's nuncio, the bishops, monks, and other ecclesiastics, who attended the army and encouraged the war, sunk the greatest part of the wealth that was taken, under various pretences. For these reasons, and the death of his duchess, of which he had just received intelligence, and fearing that the Waldenses, by the treaties they had entered into, would become too powerful for him, he determined to return to Turin with his army, and to make peace with them.

This resolution he put in practice, greatly against the wish of the ecclesiastics, who by the war gratified both their avarice and their revenge. Before the articles of peace could be ratified, the duke himself died; but on his death-bed he strictly enjoined his son to perform what he had intended, and to be as favorable as possible to the Waldenses.

Charles-Emanuel, the duke's son, succeeded to the dominions of Savoy, and fully ratified the peace with the Waldenses, according to the last injunctions of his father, though the priests used all their arts to dissuade him from his purpose.

SECTION IV.

Persecutions in Venice.

BEFORE the terrors of the inquisition were known at Venice, a great number of Protestants fixed their residence there, and many converts were made by the purity of their doctrines, and the inoffensiveness of their conversation.

The pope no sooner learned the great increase of Protestantism, than he, in the year 1542, sent inquisitors to Venice, to apprehend such as they might deem obnoxious. Hence a severe persecution began, and many persons were martyred for serving God with sincerity, and scorning the trappings of superstition.

Various were the modes by which the Protestants were deprived of life; but one in particular, being both new and singular, we shall describe: as soon as sentence was passed, the prisoner had an iron chain, to which was suspended a great stone, fastened to his body; he was then laid flat upon a plank, with his face upwards, and rowed between two boats to a certain distance at sea, when the boats separated, and, by the weight of the stone, he was sunk to the bottom.

If any dared to deny the jurisdiction of the inquisitors at Venice, they were conveyed to Rome, where being committed to damp and nauseous dungeons, their flesh mortified, and a most miserable death ensued.

A citizen of Venice, named Anthony Ricetti, being apprehended as a Protestant, was sentenced to be drowned in the manner above described. A few days previous to his execution, his son went to him, and entreated him to recant, that his life might be saved, and himself not left an orphan. To this the father replied, "A good Christian is bound to relinquish not only goods and children, but life itself, for the glory of his Redeemer." The nobles of Venice likewise sent him word, that if he would embrace the Roman Catholic religion, they would not only grant him life, but redeem a considerable estate which he had mortgaged, and freely present him with it. This, however, he absolutely refused to comply with, saying that he valued his soul beyond all other considerations. Finding all endeavors to persuade him ineffectual, they ordered the execution of his sentence, which took place accordingly, and he died recommending his soul fervently to his Redeemer.

Francis Sega, another Venetian, stedfastly persisting in his faith, was executed, a few days after Ricetti, in the same manner.

Francis Spinola, a Protestant gentleman of very great learning, was apprehended by order of the inquisitors, and carried before their tribunal. A treatise on the Lord's Supper was then put into his hands, and he was asked if he knew the author of it. To which he replied, "I confess myself its author; and solemnly affirm, that there is not a line in it but what is authorized by, and consonant to, the Holy Scriptures." On this confession he was committed close pris-

to a dungeon. After remaining there several days, he was brought to a second examination, when he charged the pope's legate, and the inquisitors, with being merciless barbarians, and represented the superstition and idolatry of the church of Rome in so strong a light, that, unable to refute his arguments, they recommitted him to his dungeon. Being brought up a third time, they asked him if he would recant his errors, to which he answered, that the doctrines he maintained were not erroneous, being purely the same as those which Christ and his apostles had taught, and which were handed down to us in the sacred scriptures. The inquisitors then sentenced him to be drowned, which was executed in the manner already described. He went to death with joy, thinking it a happiness to be so soon ushered to the world of glory, to dwell with God and the spirits of just men made perfect.

SECTION V.

Martyrdoms in various parts of Italy.

John Mollius was born at Rome of a respectable family. At twelve years old his parents placed him in a monastery of gray friars, where he made so rapid a progress in his studies, that he was admitted to priest's orders at the early age of eighteen years. He was then sent to Ferrara, where, after six years' further study, he was appointed theological reader in the university of that city. Here he began to exert his great talents to disguise the gospel truths, and to varnish over the errors of the church of Rome. Having passed some years here, he removed to the university of Bononia, where he became a professor. At length, happily reading some treatises written by ministers of the reformed religion, he was suddenly struck with the errors of popery, and became in his heart a zealous Protestant. He now determined to expound, in truth and simplicity, St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, in a regular course of sermons; at each of which he was attended by a vast concourse of people. But when the priests learned his doctrines, they dispatched an account thereof to Rome; upon which the pope sent Cornelius, a monk, to Bononia, to expound the same epistle, according to his own tenets, and to controvert the doctrine of Mollius. The people, however, found such a disparity between the two preachers, that the audience of Mollius increased, while Cornelius preached to empty benches. The latter on this wrote of his bad success to the pope, who immediately ordered Mollius to be apprehended. He was seized accordingly, and kept in close confinement. The bishop of Bononia sent him word that he must recant or be burnt; but he appealed to Rome, and was in consequence removed thither. Here he begged to have a public trial; but this the pope absolutely denied him, and commanded him to explain his opinions in writing, which accordingly he did on scripture authority. The pope, for reasons of policy, spared him for the present; but, in 1553, had him hanged, and his body afterwards burnt to ashes.

Francis Gamba, a Lombard and a Protestant, was apprehended, and condemned to death by the senate of Milan, in the year 1554. At the place of execution, he was presented by a monk with a cross. "My mind," said Gamba, "is so full of the real merits and goodness of Christ, that I want not a piece of senseless stick to put me in mind of him." For this expression his tongue was bored through, after which he was committed to the flames.

About the same period Algerius, a learned and accomplished student in the university of Padua, embraced the reformed religion, and was zealous in the conversion of others. For these proceedings he was accused of heresy to the pope, and being apprehended, was committed to the prison at Venice, whence he wrote to his converts at Padua the following celebrated and beautiful epistle:—

"Dear Friends,

"I cannot omit this opportunity of letting you know the sincere pleasure I feel in my confinement; to suffer for Christ is delectable indeed; to undergo a little transitory pain in this world, for his sake, is cheaply purchasing a reversion of eternal glory, in a life that is everlasting. Hence I have found honey in the entrails of a lion; paradise in a prison; tranquillity in the house of sorrow: where others weep, I rejoice; where others tremble and faint, I find strength and courage. The Almighty alone confers these favors on me; be his the glory and the praise.

"How different do I find myself from what I was before I embraced the truth in its purity! I was then dark, doubtful, and in dread; I am now enlightened, certain, and full of joy. He that was far from me is present with me; he comforts my spirit, heals my grief, strengthens my mind, refreshes my heart, and fortifies my soul. Learn, therefore, how merciful and amiable the Lord is, who supports his servants under temptations, expels their sorrows, lightens their afflictions, and even visits them with

his glorious presence in the gloom of a dismal dungeon.

"Your sincere friend,
"ALGERIUS."

The pope being informed of Algerius's great learning and abilities, sent for him to Rome, and tried, by every means, to win him to his purpose. But finding his endeavors hopeless, he ordered him to be burnt.

In 1559, John Alloisius, a Protestant teacher, having come from Geneva to preach in Calabria, was there apprehended, carried to Rome, and burnt, by order of the pope; and at Messina, James Bovellus was burnt for the same offence.

In the year 1560, pope Pius the Fourth commenced a general persecution of the Protestants throughout the Italian states, when great numbers of every age, sex, and condition, suffered martyrdom. Concerning the cruelties practised upon this occasion, a learned and humane Roman Catholic thus speaks in a letter to a nobleman:

"I cannot, my lord, forbear disclosing my sentiments with respect to the persecution now carrying on. I think it cruel and unnecessary; I tremble at the manner of putting to death, as it resembles more the slaughter of calves and sheep, than the execution of human beings. I will relate to your lordship a dreadful scene, of which I was myself an eye-witness: seventy Protestants were cooped up in one filthy dungeon together; the executioner went in among them, picked out one from among the rest, blindfolded him, led him out to an open place before the prison, and cut his throat with the greatest composure. He then calmly walked into the prison again, bloody as he was, and, with the knife in his hand, selected another, and dispatched him in the same manner; and this, my lord, he repeated till the whole number were put to death. I leave it to your lordship's feelings to judge of my sensations upon the occasion; my tears now wash the paper upon which I give you the recital. Another thing I must mention, the patience with which they met death: they seemed all resignation and piety, fervently praying to God, and cheerfully encountering their fate. I cannot reflect without shuddering, how the executioner held the bloody knife between his teeth; what a dreadful figure he appeared, all covered with blood, and with what unconcern he executed his barbarous office!"

SECTION VI.

Persecutions in the Marquisate of Saluces.

THE marquisate of Saluces, or Saluzzo, is situated on the south side of the valleys of Piedmont, and in the year 1561 was principally inhabited by Protestants; when the marquis began a persecution against them at the instigation of the pope. He commenced by banishing the ministers; if any of whom refused to leave their flocks they were imprisoned and severely tortured: he did not, however, put any to death.

A little time after, the marquisate fell into the possession of the duke of Savoy, who sent circular letters to all the towns and villages, that he expected the people should all go to mass. Upon this the inhabitants of Saluces returned a submissive yet manly answer, entreating permission to continue in the practice of the religion of their forefathers.

This letter for a time seemed to pacify the duke, but at length, he sent them word, that they must either conform to his former commands, or leave his dominions in fifteen days. The Protestants, upon this unexpected edict, sent a deputy to the duke to obtain his revocation, or at least to have it moderated. Their petitions, however, were vain, and they were given to understand that the edict was peremptory.

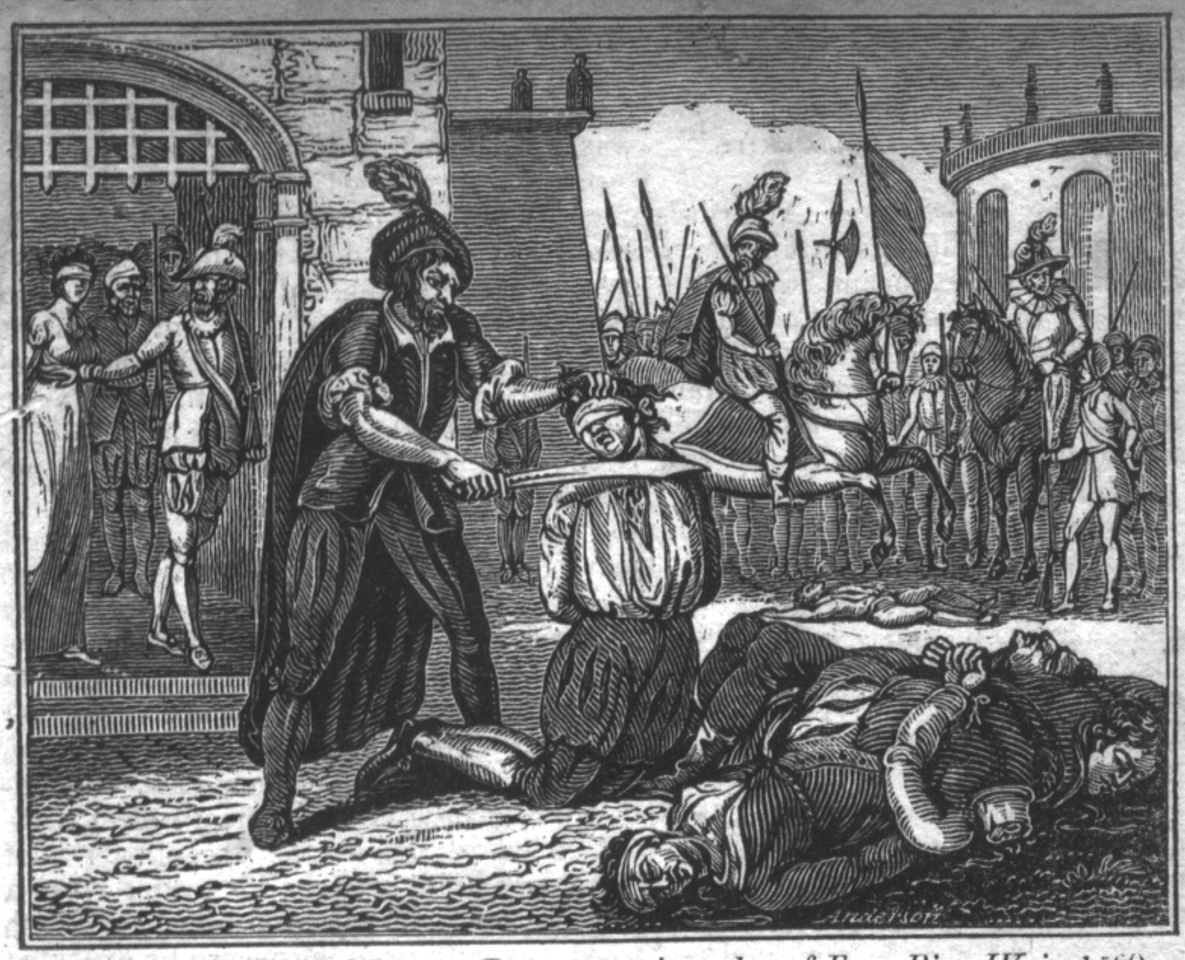
Some, under the impulse of fear or worldly interest, were weak enough to go to mass, in order to avoid banishment, and preserve their property; others removed, with all their effects, to different countries; many neglected the time so long, that they were obliged to abandon all they were worth, and leave the marquisate in haste; while some, who unhappily staid behind, were seized, plundered, and put to death.

SECTION VII.

Persecutions in Piedmont, in the Seventeenth Century.

POPE CLEMENT the Eighth sent missionaries into the valleys of Piedmont, with a view to induce the Protestants to renounce their religion. These missionaries erected monasteries in several parts of the valleys, and soon became very troublesome to the reformed, to whom the monasteries appeared not only as fortresses to curb, but as sanctuaries for all such to fly to as had injured them in any degree.

The insolence and tyranny of these missionaries increasing, the Protestants



Inhuman Butchery of Seventy Protestants, by order of Pope Pius IV. in 1560.

The Emperor Henry IV. with his Empress and Son, waiting three days and nights, to gain admission to Pope Gregory VI.

tioned the duke of Savoy for protection. But instead of granting any redress, the duke published a decree, in which he declared that one witness should be sufficient in a court of law against a Protestant; and that any witness who convicted a Protestant of any crime whatever, should be entitled to a hundred crowns as a reward.

In consequence of this, as may be imagined, many Protestants fell martyrs to the perjury and avarice of the Papists, who would swear any thing against them for the sake of the reward, and then fly to their own priests for absolution from their false oaths.

These missionaries endeavored to get the books of the Protestants into their power, in order to burn them; and on the owners concealing them, wrote to the duke of Savoy, who, for the heinous crime of not surrendering their bibles, prayer-books, and religious treatises, sent a number of troops to be quartered on them, which occasioned the ruin of many families.

To encourage, as much as possible, the apostasy of the Protestants, the duke published a proclamation, granting an exemption for five years from all taxes to every Protestant who should become a Catholic. He likewise established a court called the council for extirpating the heretics; the object and nature of which are sufficiently evident from its name.

After this, the duke published several edicts, prohibiting the Protestants from acting as schoolmasters or tutors; from teaching any art, science, or language; from holding any places of profit, trust, or honor; and, finally, commanding them to attend mass. This last was the signal for a persecution, which, of course, soon followed.

Before the persecution commenced, the missionaries employed kidnappers to steal away the children of the Protestants, that they might privately be brought up Roman Catholics; but now they took away the children by open force, and if the wretched parents resisted, they were immediately murdered.

The duke of Savoy, in order to give force to the persecution, called a general assembly of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, whence issued a solemn edict against the reformed, containing many heads, and including several reasons for extirpating them, among which the following were the principal: the preservation of the papal authority; that the church livings might be all under one mode of government; to make a union among all parties; in honor of all the saints, and of the ceremonies of the church of Rome.

This was followed by a most cruel order, published on January 25, 1655, which decreed that every family of the reformed religion, of whatever rank, residing in Lucerne, St. Giovanni, Bibiana, Campiglione, St. Secondo, Lucernetta, La Torre, Fenile, or Bricherassio, should, within three days after the publication thereof, depart from their habitations to such places as were appointed by the duke, on pain of death and confiscation.

This order produced the greatest distress among the unhappy objects of it, as it was enforced with the greatest severity in the depth of a very severe winter, and the people were driven from their habitations at the time appointed, without even sufficient clothes to cover them; by which many perished in the mountains through the severity of the weather, or for want of food. Those who remained behind after the publication of the decree, were murdered by the popish inhabitants, or shot by the troops, and the most horrible barbarities were perpetrated by these ruffians, encouraged by the Roman Catholic priests and monks, of which the following may serve as a specimen.

Martha Constantine, a beautiful young woman, was first ravished, and then killed, by cutting off her breasts. These some of the soldiers fried, and set before their comrades, who eat them without knowing what they were. When they had done eating, the others told them what they had made a meal of, in consequence of which a quarrel ensued, and a battle took place. Several were killed in the fray, the greater part of whom were those concerned in the horrid massacre of the woman, and the inhuman deception on their comrades.

Peter Simonds, a Protestant, of about eighty years of age, was tied neck and heels, and then thrown down a precipice. In his fall the branch of a tree caught hold of the ropes that fastened him, and suspended him in the mid-way, so that he languished for several days, till he perished of hunger.

Esay Garcino, refusing to renounce his religion, the soldiers cut him into small pieces, saying, in ridicule, they had minced him. A woman, named Armand, was torn limb from limb, and then the respective parts were hung upon a hedge.

Several men, women, and children, were flung from the rocks, and dashed to pieces. Among others, Magdalen Bertino, a Protestant woman of La Torre, was stripped naked, her head tied between her legs, and she was then thrown down a precipice. Mary Raymondet, of the same town, had her flesh sliced from her bones till she expired; Magdalen Pilot, of Villaro, was cut to pieces in the cave of Castolus: Ann Charboniere had one end of a stake thrust up her body, and the other end being fixed in the ground, she was left in that manner to perish; and Jacob Perrin the elder, of the church of Villaro, with David, his brother, was flayed alive.

Giovanni Andrea Michialin, an inhabitant of La Torre, with four of his children, was

apprehended; three of them were hacked to pieces before him, the soldiers asking him, at the death of every child, if he would recant, which he constantly refused. One of the soldiers then took up the last and youngest by the legs, and putting the same question to the father, he replied as before, when the inhuman brute dashed out the child's brains. The father, however, at the same moment started from them, and fled: the soldiers fired after him, but missed him; and he escaped to the Alps, and there remained concealed.

Giovanni Pelanchion, on refusing to abjure his faith, was tied by one leg to the tail of a mule, and dragged through the streets of Lucerne, amidst the acclamations of an inhuman mob, who kept stoning him, and crying out, "He is possessed of the devil." They then took him to the river side, chopped off his head, and left that and his body unburied, upon the bank of the river.

A beautiful child, ten years of age, named Magdalene Fontaine, was ravished and murdered by the soldiers. Another girl, of about the same age, they roasted alive at Villa Nova; and a poor woman, hearing the soldiers were coming towards her house, snatched up the cradle in which her infant son was asleep, and fled towards the woods. The soldiers, however, saw and pursued her, when she lightened herself by putting down the cradle and child, which the soldiers no sooner came to, than they murdered the infant, and continuing the pursuit, found the mother in a cave, where they first ravished and then cut her to atoms.

Jacobo Michelino, chief elder of the church of Bobbio, and several other Protestants, were hung up by hooks fixed in their flesh, and left so to expire. Giovanni Rostagnal, a venerable Protestant, upwards of fourscore years of age, had his nose and ears cut off, and the flesh cut from his body, till he bled to death.

Daniel Saleago and his wife, Giovanni Durant, Lodwich Durant, Bartholomew Durant, Daniel Revel, and Paul Reynaud, had their mouths stuffed with gunpowder, which being set fire to, their heads were blown to pieces.

Jacob Birone, a schoolmaster of Rorata, was stripped naked; and after having been so exposed, had the nails of his toes and fingers torn off with red-hot pincers, and holes bored through his hands with the point of a dagger. He next had a cord tied round his middle, and was led through the streets with a soldier on each side of him. At every turning the soldier on his right-hand side cut a gash in his flesh, and the soldier on his left-hand side struck him with a bludgeon, both saying, at the same instant, "Will you go to mass? Will you go to mass?" He still replied in the negative, and being at length taken to the bridge, they cut off his head on the balustrades, and threw both that and his body into the river.

Paul Garnier, a Protestant beloved for his piety, had his eyes put out, was then flayed alive, and being divided into four parts, his quarters were placed on four of the principal houses of Lucerne. He bore all his sufferings with the most exemplary patience, praised God as long as he could speak, and plainly evinced the courage arising from a confidence in God.

Daniel Cardon, of Rocappiata, being apprehended by some soldiers, they cut off his head. Two poor old blind women, of St. Giovanni, were burnt alive; and a widow of La Torre, with her daughter, was driven into the river, and stoned to death there.

A man named Paul Giles 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 heated a furnace red-hot, and forced them to push each other in till they came to the last man, whom they themselves pushed in.

Michael Gonot, a man about 90 years old, was burnt to death; Baptista Oudri, another old man, was stabbed; and Bartholomew Frasche had his heels pierced, through which ropes being put, he was dragged by them to the gaol, where, in consequence of his wounds mortifying, he soon died.

Magdalene de la Peire being pursued by some of the soldiers, and taken, was cast down a precipice, and dashed to pieces. Margaret Revella and Mary Pravillerin, two very old women, were burnt alive; Michael Bellino, with Ann Bochardno, were beheaded; Joseph Chabret, and Paul Carniero, were flayed alive.

Cipriana Bustia being asked if he would renounce his religion, and turn Roman Catholic, replied, "I would rather renounce life, 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 they confined him till he perished of hunger, after which they threw his corpse into the street before the prison, and it was devoured by dogs.

Joseph Pont was severed in two; Margaret Soretta was stoned to death; and Antonio Bertina had his head cleft asunder.

Daniel Maria, and all his 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 murdering the whole family.

Lucy, the wife of Peter Besson, being in an advanced state of pregnancy, determined, if possible to escape from such dreadful scenes as everywhere surrounded her: she accordingly took two young children, one in each hand, and set off towards the Alps.

But on the third day of the journey she was taken in labor among the mountains, and delivered of an infant, who perished through the inclemency of the weather, as did the other two children; for all three were found dead by her side, and herself just expiring, by the person to whom she related the above circumstances.

Francis Gross had his flesh slowly cut from his body into small pieces, and put into a dish before him; two of his children were minced before his sight, while his wife was fastened to a post, to behold these cruelties practised on her husband and offspring. The tormenters, at length tired of exercising their cruelties, decapitated both husband and wife.

The Sieur Thomas Margher fled to a cave, where, being discovered, the soldiers shut up the mouth, and he perished with famine. Judith Revelin, with seven children, were barbarously murdered in their beds.

Jacob Roseno was commanded to pray to the saints, which he refusing, the soldiers beat him violently with bludgeons, to make him comply, but he continuing steady to his faith, they fired at him. While in the agonies of death, they cried to him, "Will you pray to the saints?" To which he answered, "No!" when one of the soldiers, with a broadsword, clove his head asunder, and put an end to his sufferings.

A young woman, named Susanna Ciacquin, being attempted to be ravished by a soldier, made a stout resistance, and in the struggle, pushed him over a precipice, when he was dashed to pieces by the fall. His comrades immediately fell upon her with their swords, and cut her to atoms.

Giovanni Pullius, being apprehended as a Protestant by the soldiers, was ordered by the marquis of Pianessa to be executed in a place near the convent. When brought to the gallows, several monks attended, to persuade him to renounce his religion. But finding him inflexible, they commanded the executioner to perform his office, which he did, and so launched the martyr into the world of glory.

Paul Clement, an elder of the church of Rossana, being apprehended by the monks of a neighboring monastery, was carried to the market-place of that town, where some Protestants had just been executed. On beholding the dead bodies, he said calmly, "You may kill the body, but you cannot prejudice the soul of a true believer: with respect to the dreadful spectacles which you have here shown me, you may rest assured, that God's vengeance will overtake the murderers of those poor people, and punish them for the innocent blood they have spilt." The monks were so exasperated at this reply, that they ordered him to be hung up directly: and while he was hanging, the soldiers amused themselves by shooting at the body.

Daniel Rambaut, of Villaro, the father of a numerous family, was seized, and, with several others, committed to the jail of Paysana. Here he was visited by several priests, who, with continual importunities, strove to persuade him to turn Papist; but this he peremptorily refused, and the priests finding his resolution, and enraged at his answers, determined to put him to the most horrible tortures, in the hope of overcoming his faith; they therefore ordered one joint of his fingers to be cut off every day, till all his fingers were gone: they then proceeded in the same manner with his toes; afterwards they alternately cut off, daily, a hand and a foot; but finding that he bore his sufferings with the most unconquerable fortitude, and maintained his faith with stedfast resolution, they stabbed him to the heart, and then gave his body to be devoured by dogs.

Peter Gabriola, a Protestant gentleman, of considerable eminence, being seized by a troop of soldiers, and refusing to renounce his religion, they hung several bags of gunpowder about his body, and then setting fire to them, blew him up.

Anthony, the son of Samuel Catieris, a poor dumb lad, and extremely inoffensive, was cut to pieces by a party of the troops: and soon after, the same ruffians entered the house of Peter Moniriat, and cut off the legs of the whole family, leaving them to bleed to death, they being unable to assist each other in that melancholy plight.

Daniel Benech being apprehended, had his nose slit, and his ears cut off; after which, he was divided into quarters, and each quarter hung upon a tree. Mary Monino had her jaw-bones broken, and was then left to languish till she was starved to death.

Mary Pelanchion, a widow, of the town of Villaro, was seized by a party of the Irish brigades, who, having beat her cruelly, and ravished her, dragged her to a high bridge which crossed the river, and stripping her naked, hung her by the legs to the bridge, with her head downwards towards the water, and then going into boats, they shot her.

Mary Nigrino, and her daughter, a poor 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 and starved to death; and Susanna Calvio, running away from some soldiers, and hiding herself in a barn, they set fire to the straw, by which she was burnt to death.

Daniel Bertino, a child, was burnt; Paul Armand was hacked to pieces; Daniel Michialino, having his tongue plucked out, was left to perish in that condition; and Andreo Bertino, a lame and very old man, was mangled in a most shocking manner, and at length had his belly ripped open, and his bowels carried about on the point of a halbert.

A Protestant lady, named Constantia Bel-

lione, was apprehended on account of her faith, and asked by a priest if she would renounce the devil and go to mass; to which she replied, "I was brought up in a religion by which I was always taught to renounce the devil; but should I comply with your desire, and go to mass, I should be sure to meet him there, in a variety of shapes." The priest was highly incensed at this, and told her to recant, or she should suffer cruelly. She, however, boldly answered, "That she valued not any sufferings he could inflict, and in spite of all the torments he could invent, she would keep her faith inviolate." The priest then ordered slices of her flesh to be cut off from several parts of her body. This she bore with the most singular patience, only saying to the priest, "What horrid and lasting torments will you suffer in hell, for the trifling and temporary pains which I now endure!" Exasperated at this expression, the priest ordered a file of musketeers to draw up and fire upon her, by which she was soon dispatched.

Judith Mandon was fastened to a stake, and sticks thrown at her from a distance. By this inhuman treatment, her limbs were beat and mangled in a most terrible manner. At last one of the bludgeons striking her head, she was at once freed from her pains and her life.

Paul Genre and David Paglia, each with his son, attempting to escape to the Alps, were pursued, and overtaken by the soldiers in a large plain. Here they hunted them for their diversion, goading them with their swords, and making them run about till they dropped down with fatigue. When they found that their spirits were quite exhausted, the soldiers hacked them to pieces, and left their mangled bodies on the spot.

Michael Greve, a young man of Bobbio, was apprehended in the town of La Torre, and being led to the bridge, was thrown over into the river. Being an expert swimmer, he swam down the stream, thinking to escape, but the soldiers and mob followed on both sides, and kept stoning him, till, receiving a blow on one of his temples, he sunk and was drowned.

David Armand was forced to lay his head down on a block, when a soldier, with a large hammer, beat out his brains. David Baridona was apprehended at Villaro, and carried to La Torre, where, refusing to renounce his religion, he was tormented by brimstone matches being tied between his fingers and toes, and set fire to, and afterwards, by having his flesh plucked off with red-hot pincers, till he expired. Giovanni Barolina, with his wife, were thrown into a pool of stagnant water, and compelled, by means of pitch-forks and stones, to duck down their heads till they were suffocated with the stench.

A number of soldiers assaulted the house of Joseph Garniero, and before they entered, fired in at the window, and shot Mrs. Garniero, who was at that instant suckling her child. She begged them to spare the life of the infant, which they promised to do, and sent it immediately to a Roman Catholic nurse. They then seized the husband and hanged him at his own door, and having shot the wife through the head, left her body weltering in its blood.

Isaiah Mondon, an aged and pious Protestant, fled from the merciless persecutors to a cleft in a rock, where he suffered the most dreadful hardships; for, in the midst of the winter, he was forced to lie on the bare stone, without any covering; his food was the roots he could scratch up near his miserable habitation; and the only way by which he could procure drink, was to put snow in his mouth till it melted. Here, however, some of the soldiers found him, and after beating him unmercifully, they drove him towards Lucerne, goading him all the way with the points of their swords. Being exceedingly weakened by his manner of living, and exhausted by the blows he had received, he fell down in the road. They again beat him to make him proceed; till on his knees, he implored them to put him out of his misery. This they at last agreed to do; and one of them shot him through the head, saying, "There, heretic, take thy request."

To screen themselves from danger, a number of men, women, and children, fled to a large cave, where they continued for some weeks in safety, two of the men going by stealth to procure provisions. These were, however, one day watched, by which the cave was discovered, and, soon after, a troop of Roman Catholics appeared before it. Many of these were neighbors, and intimate acquaintances, and some even relations to those in the cave. The Protestants, therefore, came out, and implored them, by the ties of hospitality and of blood, not to murder them. But the bigoted wretches told them, they could not show any mercy to heretics, and, therefore, bade them all prepare to die. Hearing this, and knowing the obduracy of their enemies, the Protestants fell on their knees, lifted their hearts to heaven, and patiently awaited their fate; which the Papists soon decided, by cutting them to pieces.

HEROIC DEFENCE OF THE PROTESTANTS OF RORAS.

The blood of the faithful being almost exhausted in all the towns and villages of Piedmont, there remained but one place that had been exempted from the general slaughter. This was the little commonalty of Roras, which stood upon an eminence. Of this, one of the duke of Savoy's officers determined,

if possible, to make himself master; with that view, he detached three hundred men to surprise it.

The inhabitants, however, had intelligence of the approach of these troops, and captain Joshua Gianavel, a brave Protestant officer, put himself at the head of a small body of the citizens, and waited in ambuscade, to attack the enemy in a narrow passage, the only place by which the town could be approached.

As soon as the troops appeared, and had entered the passage, the Protestants commenced a well-directed fire against them, and kept themselves concealed behind bushes. A great number of the soldiers were killed, and the rest, receiving a continual fire, and not seeing any to whom they might return it, made a precipitate retreat.

The members of this little community immediately sent a memorial to the marquis of Pianessa, a general officer of the duke, stating, "That they were sorry to be under the necessity of taking up arms; but that the secret approach of a body of troops, without any previous notice sent of the purpose of their coming, had greatly alarmed them; that as it was their custom never to suffer any of the military to enter their little community, they had repelled force by force, and should do so again; but in all other respects, they professed themselves dutiful, obedient, and loyal subjects to their sovereign the duke of Savoy."

The marquis, in order to delude and surprise them, answered, "That he was perfectly satisfied with their behavior, for they had done right, and even rendered a service to their country, as the men who had attempted to pass the defile were not his troops, but a band of desperate robbers, who had, for some time, infested those parts, and been a terror to the neighboring country." To give a greater color to his treachery, he published a proclamation to the same purpose, expressive of thanks to the citizens of Roras.

The very day after, however, he sent 500 men to take possession of the town, while the people, as he thought, were lulled into security by his artifice.

Captain Gianavel, however, was not thus to be deceived; he, therefore, laid a second ambuscade for these troops, and compelled them to retire with great loss.

Foiled in these two attempts, the sanguinary marquis determined on a third, still more formidable; but, with his usual duplicity, he published another proclamation, disowning any knowledge of the second attempt.

He soon after sent 700 chosen men upon the expedition, who, in spite of the fire from the Protestants, forced the defile, entered Roras, and began to murder every person they met with, without distinction of sex or age. Captain Gianavel, at the head of his friends, though he had lost the defile, determined to dispute the passage through a fortified pass, that led to the richest and best part of the town. Here he succeeded, by keeping up a continual fire, which did great execution, his men being all good marksmen. The Roman Catholic commander was astonished and dismayed at this opposition, as he imagined that he had surmounted all difficulties. He, however, strove to force the pass, but being able to bring up only twelve men in front at a time, and the Protestants being secured by a breast-work, he saw all his hopes frustrated.

Enraged at the loss of so many of his troops, and fearful of disgrace if he persisted in attempting what appeared so impracticable, he thought it wiser to retreat. Unwilling, however, to withdraw his men by the defile at which he had entered, on account of the danger, he designed to retreat towards Villaro, by another pass called Piampra, which, though hard of access, was easy of descent. Here, however, he again felt the determined bravery of captain Gianavel, who having posted his little band here, greatly annoyed the troops as they passed, and even pursued their rear till they entered the open country.

The marquis of Pianessa, finding all his attempts baffled, and all his artifices discovered, resolved to throw off the mask; and therefore proclaimed, that ample rewards should be given to any who would bear arms against the obdurate heretics of Roras, and that any officer who would exterminate them, should be honored accordingly.

Captain Mario, a bigoted Roman Catholic, and a desperate ruffian, stimulated by this, resolved to undertake the enterprise. He, therefore, levied a regiment of 1000 men, and with these he resolved to attempt gaining the summit of a rock, which commanded the town. But the Protestants, aware of his design, suffered his troops to proceed without molestation till they had nearly reached the summit of the rock, when they made a most furious attack upon them; one party keeping up a well-directed and constant fire, and others rolling down large stones. Thus were they suddenly stopped in their career. Many were killed by the musketry, and more by the stones, which beat them down the precipices. Several fell sacrifices to their own fears, for by attempting a precipitate retreat, they fell down, and were dashed to pieces; and captain Mario himself, having fallen from a craggy place into a river at the foot of the rock, was taken up senseless, and after lingering some time, expired.

After this, another body of troops from the camp at Villaro, made an attempt upon Roras; but were likewise defeated, and compelled to retreat to their camp.

Captain Gianavel, for each of these signal victories, made a suitable discourse to his

men, kneeling down with them to return thanks to the Almighty for his providential protection; and concluding with the 11th psalm.

The marquis of Pianessa, now enraged to the highest degree at being thus foiled by a handful of peasants, determined on their expulsion or destruction.

To this end, he ordered all the Roman Catholic militia of Piedmont to be called out and disciplined. To these he joined eight thousand regular troops, and dividing the whole into three distinct bodies, he planned three formidable attacks to be made at once, unless the people of Roras, to whom he sent an account of his great preparations, would comply with the following conditions:

To ask pardon for taking up arms. To pay the expenses of all the expeditions sent against them. To acknowledge the infallibility of the pope. To go to mass. To pray to the saints. To deliver up their ministers and school-masters. To go to confession. To pay loans for the delivery of souls from purgatory; and to give up captain Gianavel and the elders of their church at discretion.

The brave inhabitants, indignant at these proposals, answered, "That sooner than comply with them, they would suffer their estates to be seized; their houses to be burnt; and themselves to be murdered."

Enraged at this, the marquis sent them the following laconic letter:

To the obstinate Heretics of Roras.

"You shall have your request, for the troops sent against you have strict injunctions to plunder, burn, and kill.

"PIANESSA."

The three armies were accordingly put in motion, and the first attack ordered to be made by the rocks of Villaro; the second by the pass of Bagnol; and the third by the defile of Lucerne.

As might be expected, from the superiority of numbers, the troops gained the rocks, pass, and defile, entered the town, and commenced the most horrid depredations. Men they hanged, burnt, racked to death, or cut to pieces; women they ripped open, crucified, drowned, or threw from the precipices; and children they tossed upon spears, minced, cut their throats, or dashed out their brains. On the first day of their gaining the town, one hundred and twenty-six suffered in this manner.

Agreeably to the orders of the marquis, they likewise plundered the estates, and burnt the houses of the people. Several Protestants, however, made their escape, under the conduct of the brave Gianavel, whose wife and children were unfortunately made prisoners, and sent to Turin under a strong guard.

The marquis thinking to conquer at least the mind of Gianavel, wrote him a letter, and released a Protestant prisoner, that he might carry it to him. The contents were, that if the captain would embrace the Roman Catholic religion, he should be indemnified for all his losses since the commencement of the war, his wife and children should be immediately released, and himself honorably promoted in the duke of Savoy's army; but if he refused to accede to the proposals made to him, his wife and children should be put to death; and so large a reward should be given to take him, dead or alive, that even some of his own confidential friends should, from the greatness of the sum, be tempted to betray him.

To this, Gianavel returned the following answer:

"MY LORD MARQUIS,

"THERE is no torment so great, or death so cruel, that I would not prefer to the abjuration of my religion: so that promises lose their effects, and menaces do but strengthen me in my faith.

"With respect to my wife and children, my lord, nothing can be more afflicting to me than the thoughts of their confinement, or more dreadful to my imagination, than their suffering a violent death. I keenly feel all the tender sensations of a husband and parent; I would suffer any torment to rescue them; I would die to preserve them.

"But having said thus much, my lord, I assure you that the purchase of their lives must not be the price of my salvation. You have them in your power, it is true; but my consolation is, that your power is only a temporary authority over their bodies: you may destroy the mortal part, but their immortal souls are out of your reach, and will live hereafter, to bear testimony against you for your cruelties. I therefore recommend them and myself to God, and pray for a reformation in your heart.

"JOSHUA GIANAVEL."

He then, with his followers, retired to the Alps, where, being afterwards joined by several Protestant officers, with a considerable number of fugitive Protestants, they conjointly defended themselves, and made several successful attacks upon the Roman Catholic towns and forces; carrying terror by the valor of their exploits, and the boldness of their enterprises.

Nevertheless, the disproportion between their forces and those of their enemies was so great, that no reasonable expectations could be entertained of their ultimate success; which induced many Protestant princes and states, in various parts of Europe, to interest themselves in favor of these courageous sufferers for religious and civil liberty.

Among these intercessors, the Protestant cantons of Switzerland early distinguished themselves; and as their mediation was rejected by the duke of Savoy, they raised con-

siderable sums of money, by private subscription, for the relief of the fugitives and the assistance of the brave defenders of their native valleys. Nor did they limit their kindness to pecuniary relief; they dispatched a messenger to the United Provinces, for the purpose of procuring subscriptions, and the interference of the Dutch government in favor of the Piedmontese, both of which they at length obtained. They then made another attempt to prevail on the duke of Savoy to grant his Protestant subjects liberty of conscience, and to restore them to their ancient privileges; but this, after much evasion on the part of the duke, also failed.

But that God, whom they worshipped in purity of spirit, now raised them up a more powerful champion in the person of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England. This extraordinary man, however criminal in the means by which he obtained power, certainly deserves the praise of having exercised it with dignity and firmness; and if his usurpation be censured, it must be acknowledged that he raised this country to a station among the neighboring powers to which it had never before attained. From the throne which he had just seized, he dictated to the most potent monarchs of Europe; and never was his influence more justly exercised than in behalf of the persecuted Protestants of Piedmont. He caused subscriptions to be set on foot throughout England in their favor;* he sent an envoy to the court of France, and wrote to all the Protestant powers of Europe, to interest them in the same good cause. He dispatched an ambassador to the court of Turin, who was received with great respect by the duke, who pretended to justify his treatment of the Piedmontese, under the pretence of their being rebellious.

But Cromwell would not suffer himself to be trifled with; his ambassador gave the duke to understand that if negotiation failed, arms would be had recourse to; and as the kings of Denmark and Sweden, the Dutch government, and many of the German states, encouraged by the example of the Protector, now came forward in the same cause, the duke found himself under the necessity of dismissing the English ambassador, with a very respectful message to his master, assuring him that "the persecutions had been much misrepresented and exaggerated; and that they had been occasioned by his rebellious subjects themselves: nevertheless, to show his great respect for his highness, he would pardon them, and restore them to their former privileges."

This was accordingly done; and the Protestants returned to their homes, grateful for the kindness which had been shown to them, and praising the name of the Lord, who is as a tower of strength to those who put their trust in him.

During the lifetime of Cromwell, they lived in peace and security; but no sooner had his death relieved the Papists from the terror of his vengeance, than they began anew to exercise that cruel and bigoted spirit which is inherent in popery: and although the persecutions were not avowedly countenanced by the court, they were connived at, and unpunished; insomuch that whatever injury had been inflicted on a Protestant, he could obtain no redress from the corrupted judges to whom he applied for that protection which the laws nominally granted to him.

At length, in the year 1686, all the treaties in favor of the Protestants were openly violated, by the publication of an edict prohibiting the exercise of any religion but the Roman Catholic, on pain of death.

The Protestants petitioned for a repeal of this cruel edict; and their petitions were backed by their ancient friends the Protestant cantons of Switzerland. But the cries of his subjects, and the intercession of their allies, were equally unavailing; the duke replied that "his engagements with France obliged him to extirpate the *heretics* from Piedmont."

Finding supplications useless, the Protestants flew to arms; and being attacked by the duke's army, and some French troops, on the 22d of April, 1686, they, after an obstinate engagement of several hours, obtained a complete victory, killing great numbers of the French and Savoyards.

Exasperated by this defeat, the duke immediately collected a large army, which he augmented with a reinforcement of French and Swiss troops; and was so successful in several engagements against the Protestants, that the latter, despairing of success, consented to lay down their arms and quit the country, on his solemn promise of safety for themselves, their families, and property.

No sooner were they disarmed, than the treacherous Papists, acting upon their maxim that no faith is to be kept with heretics, massacred a large body of them in cold blood, without distinction of age or sex; and burnt and ravaged the country in every direction.

The horrors perpetrated by these faithless and bigoted monsters almost exceed belief. We will not weary and disgust our readers with the recital; suffice it to say, that every variety of rapine, lust, and cruelty, was exhausted by these demons in human shape. Those Protestants who were fortunate enough to escape, found an asylum in the Swiss cantons, and in Germany, where they were treated kindly, and lands granted to them for their residence.

The natural consequence of these horrible proceedings was, that the fruitful valleys of

* They amounted in England and Wales to forty thousand pounds; a very large sum in those days, when the nation was exhausted and impoverished by a long civil war.

Piedmont were depopulated and desolate; and the barbarous monster, who had caused this devastation, now feeling its ill effects, tried, by all means in his power, to draw Roman Catholic families from all parts of Europe, to repeople the valleys, and to cultivate the fields which had been blasted by the malignant breath of bigotry.

Some of the exiles, in the meanwhile, animated by that *love of country* which glows with peculiar warmth in their breasts, determined to make an attempt to regain a part of their native valleys, or to perish in the attempt. Accordingly, nine hundred of them, who had resided, during their exile, near the lake of Geneva, crossing it in the night, entered Savoy without resistance, and seizing two villages, obtained provisions, for which they paid, and immediately passed the river Arve, before the duke had notice of their arrival in the country.

When he became acquainted with this, he was astonished at the boldness of the enterprise, and dispatched troops to guard the defiles and passes; which, however, were all forced by the Protestants, and great numbers of the Savoyard troops defeated.

Alarmed by this intelligence, and still more by a report that a great body of the exiles was advancing from Brandenburg to support those already in Savoy, and that many Protestant states meant to assist them in their attempts to regain a footing in their native country, the duke published an edict by which he restored them to all their former privileges.

This just and humane conduct was, however, so displeasing to that bigoted and ferocious tyrant, Louis XIV. of France, that he sent an order to the duke of Savoy to extirpate every Protestant in his dominions; and to assist him in the execution of this horrible project, or to punish him if he were unwilling to engage in it, M. Catinat was dispatched at the head of an army of 16,000 men. This insolent dictation irritated the duke; he determined no longer to be the slave of the French king, and solicited the aid of the emperor of Germany and the king of Spain, who sent large bodies of troops to his assistance. Being also joined, at his own request, by the Protestant army, he hesitated no longer to declare war against France; and in the campaign which followed, his Protestant subjects were of infinite service by their valor and resolution. The French troops were at length driven from Piedmont, and the heroic Protestants were reinstated in their former possessions, their ancient privileges confirmed, and many new ones granted to them. The exiles now returned from Germany and Switzerland; and were accompanied by many French refugees, whom the cruel persecutions of Louis had driven from their native land in search of the toleration denied to them at home. But this infuriated bigot, not yet glutted with revenge, insisted on their being expelled from Piedmont; and the duke of Savoy, anxious for peace, was compelled to comply with this merciless demand, before the French king would sign the treaty. The wanderers, thus driven from the South of Europe, sought and found an asylum from the hospitality of the elector of Brandenburg, and consoled themselves for the loss of a genial climate and a delightful country, in the enjoyment of the more substantial blessings of liberty of conscience and security of property.

SECTION VIII.

Persecutions of Michael de Molinos, a native of Spain.

Michael de Molinos, a Spaniard, of a rich and noble family, entered, at an early age, into priest's orders, but would accept of no preferment in the church. His talents were of a very superior class, and he dedicated them to the service of his fellow-creatures. His life was uniformly pious; but he did not assume those austerities so common among the religious orders of the Romish church.

Being of a contemplative turn, he pursued the track of the mystical divines, and having acquired great reputation in Spain, he became desirous of propagating his mode of devotion, and, accordingly, left his own country, and settled at Rome. Here he soon connected himself with some of the most distinguished among the literati, who, approving of his religious maxims, assisted him in propagating them. His followers soon augmented to a considerable number, and, from the peculiarity of their doctrine, were distinguished by the name of Quietists.

In 1675, he published a book, entitled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, which soon became known and was read with great avidity, both in Italy and Spain. His fame was now blazed abroad, and friends flowed in upon him. Many letters were written to him, and a correspondence was settled between him and those who approved of his tenets, in different parts of Europe. Some secular priests, both at Rome and Naples, declared themselves openly in his favor, and consulted him as a sort of oracle; but those who attached themselves to him with the greatest sincerity were some of the fathers of the Oratory, the most eminent of whom were, Coloredi, Ciceri, and Petrucci. Many of the cardinals also courted his friendship. Among others was

the cardinal d'Estrées, a man of great learning, to whom Molinos opened his mind without reserve.

His reputation now began to alarm the Jesuits and Dominicans; they, therefore, exclaimed against him and his followers as heretics, and published several treatises in defence of their charge, which Molinos answered with becoming spirit.

These disputes occasioned such a disturbance in Rome, that the affair was noticed by the inquisition. Molinos and his book, and father Petrucci, who had written some treatises and letters on the same subject, were brought under a severe examination; and the Jesuits were considered as the accusers. In the course of the examination, both Molinos and Petrucci acquitted themselves so ably, that their books were again approved, and the answers which the Jesuits had written were censured as scandalous and unbecoming.

Petrucci, on this occasion, was so highly applauded, that he was soon after made bishop of Jesis. Their books were now esteemed more than ever, and their method was more followed.

Thus the great reputation acquired by Molinos and Petrucci, occasioned a daily increase of the Quietists. All who were thought sincerely devout, or at least affected to be so, were reckoned among the number. These persons, in proportion as their zeal increased in their mental devotions, appeared less careful as to the exterior parts of the church ceremonies. They were not so assiduous at masses, nor so earnest to procure them to be said for their friends; nor were they so frequently either in processions or at confession.

Notwithstanding the approbation expressed for Molinos's book by the inquisition, had checked the open hostility of his enemies, they were still inveterate against him in their hearts, and determined, if possible, to ruin him. They therefore secretly insinuated that he had ill designs, and was an enemy to Christianity: that under pretence of raising men to a sublime strain of devotion, he intended to erase from their minds a sense of the mysteries of religion. And because he was a Spaniard, they gave out that he was descended from a Jewish, or Mahometan race, and that he might carry in his blood, or in his first education, some seeds of those doctrines he had since cultivated with no less art than zeal.

Molinos finding himself attacked with such unrelenting malice, took every necessary precaution to prevent its effect upon the public mind. He wrote a treatise entitled, "Frequent and Daily Communion," which was likewise approved by some of the most learned of the Romish clergy. This, with his Spiritual Guide, was printed in the year 1675; and in the preface to it he declared, that he had not written it with any design to engage in matters of controversy, but by the earnest solicitations of many pious people.

The Jesuits having again failed in their attempts to crush his influence at Rome, applied to the court of France, when they so far succeeded, that an order was sent to cardinal d'Estrées, commanding him to prosecute Molinos with all possible rigor. The cardinal, notwithstanding his attachment to Molinos, resolved to sacrifice friendship to interest. Finding, however, there was not sufficient matter for an accusation against him, he determined to supply that defect himself. He therefore went to the inquisitors, and informed them of several particulars, relative to Molinos and Petrucci, both of whom, with several of their friends, were put into the inquisition.

On being brought before the inquisitors (which was in the beginning of the year 1684), Petrucci answered the questions put to him with so much judgment and temper, that he was soon dismissed; but with regard to Molinos, though the inquisitors had not any just accusation against him, yet they strained every nerve to find him guilty of heresy. They first objected to his holding a correspondence in different parts of Europe; but of this he was acquitted, as the matter of that correspondence could not be considered as criminal. They then directed their attention to some suspicious papers found in his chamber; but he so clearly explained their meaning, that nothing could be wrested from them to his prejudice. At length, cardinal d'Estrées, after producing the order sent him by the king of France for prosecuting Molinos, said, he could convince the court of his heresy. He then proceeded to pervert the meaning of some passages in Molinos's books and papers, and related many false and aggravating circumstances relative to the prisoner. He acknowledged he had lived with him under the appearance of friendship, but that it was only to discover his principles and intentions; that he found them to be of a bad nature, and that dangerous consequences were likely to ensue; but in order to make a full discovery, he had assented to several things, which, in his heart, he detested; and that, by these means, he became master of all his secrets.

In consequence of this evidence, Molinos was closely confined in the inquisition, where he continued for some time, during which period all was quiet, and his followers continued their mode of worship without interruption. But at the instigation of the Jesuits, a storm suddenly broke out upon them with the most inveterate fury.

PERSECUTION OF THE QUIETISTS.

Count Vespiniani and his lady, Don Paulo Rocchi, and nearly seventy other persons, among whom many were highly esteemed both for their learning and piety, were put into the inquisition. The accusation laid against the clergy was, their neglecting to say the breviary; the rest were accused of going to communion without first attending confession, and neglecting all the exterior parts of religion.

The countess Vespiniani, on her examination before the inquisitors, said, that she had never revealed her method of devotion to any mortal but her confessor, without whose treachery it was impossible they should know it. That, therefore, it was time to give over going to confession, if priests thus abused it, betraying the most secret thoughts intrusted to them; and that, for the future, she would only make her confession to God.

From this spirited speech, and the great noise made in consequence of the countess's situation, the inquisitors thought it most prudent to dismiss both her and her husband, lest the people might be incensed, and what she said might lessen the credit of confession. They were, therefore, both discharged, but bound to appear whenever they should be called upon.

Such was the inveteracy of the Jesuits against the Quietists, that within the space of a month upwards of two hundred persons, besides those already mentioned, were put into the inquisition; and that method of devotion which had passed in Italy as the most elevated to which mortals could aspire, was deemed heretical, and the chief promoters of it confined in dungeons.

A circular letter, urging the extirpation of the Quietists, was sent, by the inquisitors, through Cardinal Cibo, the pope's chief minister, to the Italian bishops, but without much effect, as the greater number of them were inclined to Molinos's method. It was intended that this, as well as all other orders from the inquisitors, should be kept secret; but notwithstanding all their care, copies of it were printed, and dispersed in most of the principal towns in Italy. This gave great uneasiness to the inquisitors, who use every method they can to conceal their proceedings from the knowledge of the world. They blamed the cardinal, and accused him of being the cause of it: but he retorted on them, and his secretary laid the fault on both.

SENTENCE AGAINST MOLINOS.

In the mean time, Molinos suffered greatly from the officers of the inquisition; and the only comfort he received was, being sometimes visited by father Petrucci. Yet, although he had lived in the highest reputation in Rome for some years, he was now as much despised as he had been admired. Most of his followers, who had been placed in the inquisition, having abjured his mode, were dismissed; but a harder fate awaited their leader. When he had lain a considerable time in prison, he was brought again before the inquisitors, to answer to a number of articles exhibited against him from his writings. As soon as he appeared in court, a chain was put round his body, and a wax-light in his hand, when two friars read aloud the articles of accusation. Molinos answered each with great steadiness and resolution: and notwithstanding his arguments totally defeated the force of all, yet he was found guilty of heresy, and was condemned to imprisonment for life.

Having left the court, he was attended by a priest, who had borne him the greatest respect. On his arrival at the prison, he entered the cell with great tranquillity; and on taking leave of the priest, thus addressed him: "Adieu, father; we shall meet again at the day of judgment, and then it will appear on which side the truth is, whether on my side, or on yours."

While in confinement he was several times tortured in the most cruel manner, till, at length, the severity of the punishments overpowered his strength, and death released him from his cruel persecutors.

The followers of Molinos were so terrified by the sufferings of their leader, that the greater part of them soon abjured his mode; and by the assiduity of the Jesuits, Quietism was totally extirpated.

SECTION IX.

Persecutions of the Protestants in France, during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

At the conclusion of our sixth book we had related the sufferings of the French Protestants, to the period of the siege of Sancerre in 1573; from which time we will now continue the narrative.

The persecutions were then interrupted by the election of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Poland, one of the conditions of that election being, that the king of France should cease to molest his Protestant subjects on account of their faith. But this state of peace did not continue long; the wars were renewed during the succeeding reigns, with various success; and the history of this period is filled with the most horrible relations of battles, sieges, assassinations,

massacres, and treasons. At length, Henry III. favoring the Protestants, although more from political than religious motives, was assassinated by Clement, a friar; and was succeeded by the king of Navarre, under the title of Henry IV.

This prince, after struggling with his numerous enemies during several years, found it expedient to declare himself a Roman Catholic, and thus to obtain the suffrages of the majority of his subjects. This apostasy was a severe affliction to the faithful; but, although he abandoned his religion, and sacrificed a heavenly for an earthly crown, he did not, like many apostates, persecute the members of the church which he had quitted. He was, in all other respects, truly worthy of the appellation of *Great*; a title so frequently and so unjustly bestowed on men who sacrifice the lives and happiness of their fellow-creatures at the shrine of their own vanity and cruelty, and deserve rather to be execrated than admired, and regarded as demons than as demi-gods.

Upon the restoration of tranquillity in his dominions, Henry applied himself to the cultivation of the arts of peace, and by encouraging agriculture, manufactures, and trade, labored successfully to recover France from the desolation and misery which thirty years of civil war and religious persecution had brought upon her. Nor was he unmindful of his ancient friends the Protestants. By the Edict of Nantes, issued in 1598, he granted them a full toleration and protection in the exercise of their religious opinions. In consequence of this, the true church of Christ abode in peace during many years, and flourished exceedingly.

Henry was at length assassinated in 1610, by Ravaillac, a Jesuit, filled with that frantic bigotry which the Roman Catholic religion has so peculiar a tendency to inspire and to cherish.

Louis XIII. being a minor at the death of his father, the kingdom was nominally governed by the queen-mother, but really by her minion, cardinal Richelieu, a man of great abilities, which were unhappily perverted to the worst purposes. He was cruel, bigoted, tyrannical, rapacious, and sensual; he trampled on the civil and religious liberties of France; and hesitated not to accomplish his intentions by the most barbarous and infamous methods.

The Protestants at length, unable longer to endure the injuries daily heaped upon them, resolved to take arms in defence of their religion and their liberty. But the vigor of the cardinal defeated all their enterprises, and Rochelle, the last fortress which remained in their possession, was, in 1628, after a long siege, in which the defenders were reduced to the most horrible extremities of famine and suffering, surrendered to his victorious arms. He immediately caused the walls and fortifications to be destroyed; and those of the garrison who survived, were either put to death by the infuriated soldiery, or condemned to the galleys for life.

After this unhappy event, although the power of the Protestants was too much broken to permit them to assert their rights in the field, and they therefore appeared to their enemies as if crushed and extinguished, there yet remained many thousands who "refused to bow the knee to Baal;" their God upheld them by his gracious promises; they knew that He without whose orders "not even a sparrow shall perish," would not allow his faithful servants to fall unregarded; and they consoled themselves with the reflection, that however they might be despised, contemned, and persecuted on earth, they would in the end arrive at those heavenly mansions prepared for them by their Father, where "all tears shall be wiped from all faces;" and where an eternity of glorious and celestial happiness shall infinitely outweigh the temporary and trivial sufferings of mortality.

During the fifty years which succeeded the reduction of Rochelle, the Protestants suffered every indignity, injustice, and cruelty, which their barbarous persecutors could devise. They were at the mercy of every petty despot, who, "drest in a little brief authority," wished to gratify his malice, or signalize the season of his power, by punishing the *heretics*, and evincing his attachment to the *infallible church*. The consequences of this may easily be imagined; every petty vexation which can render private life miserable, every species of plunder and extortion, and every wanton exertion of arbitrary power, were employed to harass and molest the Protestants of all ranks, sexes, and ages.

At length, in 1684, the impious and blasphemous tyrant Louis XIV., who, in imitation of the worst Roman emperors, wished to receive divine honors, and was flattered by his abject courtiers into the belief that he was more than human, determined to establish his claim to the title of *le grand*, which their fulsome adulation had bestowed on him, by the extirpation of the *heretics* from his dominions. Pretending, however, to wish for their conversion to the *true faith*, he gave them the alternative of voluntarily becoming Papists, or *being compelled to it*.

On their refusal to apostatize, they were *dragooned*; that is, the dragoons, the most ruffianly and barbarous of his *Christian* majesty's troops, were quartered upon them, with orders to *live at discretion*. Their ideas of *discretion* may easily be conceived, and accordingly the unhappy Protestants were exposed to every species of suffering, which lust, avarice, cruelty, bigotry, and brutality, can engender in the breasts of an

ignorant, depraved, and infuriated soldiery, absolved from all restraint, and left to the diabolical promptings of their worst passions, whose flames were fanned by the assurances of the bishops, priests, and friars, that they were fulfilling a sacred duty, by punishing the enemies of God and religion!

An order was issued by the king, for the demolition of the Protestant churches, and the banishment of the Protestant ministers. Many other reformers were also ordered to leave the kingdom in a few days; and we are told by Monsieur Claude, the celebrated author of "*Les Plaintes des Protestans*," who was himself banished at this time, that the most frivolous pretexts were employed to detain those who were about to quit France, so that by remaining in that country beyond the time allowed by the edict, they might be sent to the galleys as a punishment for infringing an order which they were thus prevented from complying with.

On the whole, more than five hundred thousand persons escaped or were banished. And these industrious citizens, whom the blind bigotry of a besotted tyrant had driven from their native land, found shelter and protection in England, Germany, and other countries, which they amply repaid by the introduction of many useful arts and processes; in particular, it is to them that we are indebted for the commencement of the silk manufacture in Great Britain.

In the meanwhile, those who either were purposely detained, or were unable to escape, were condemned to the galleys; and after being imprisoned in the most horrible dungeons, and fed only on bread and water, and that very scantily, were marched off in large bodies, handcuffed, and chained together, from one extremity of the kingdom to another. Their sufferings during this dreadful journey were indescribable. They were exposed to every vicissitude of weather, almost without covering; and frequently, in the midst of winter, were obliged to pass the nights on the bare earth, fainting from hunger and thirst, agonized by disease, and writhing from the lash of their merciless conductors. The consequence was, that scarcely half the original number reached their place of destination; those who did, were immediately exposed to new sufferings and additional calamities.

They were put on board the galleys, where they were subjected to the absolute control of the most inhuman and barbarous wretches who ever disgraced the human form. The labor of rowing, as performed in the galleys, is described as being the most excessive that can be imagined; and the sufferings of the poor slaves were increased a hundred fold by the scourgings inflicted on them by their savage taskmasters. The recital of their miseries is too horrible to be dwelt upon; we shall therefore pass to that period when the Lord, of his infinite mercy, gave ear to the cries of his afflicted servants, and graciously raised them up a deliverer in Anne, queen of England, who, filled with compassion for the unhappy fate of so many of her fellow-Protestants, ordered her ambassador at the court of France to make a spirited remonstrance in their favor, which Louis, whose affairs were then in a very critical situation, was under the necessity of complying with; and he accordingly dispatched orders to all the sea-ports for the immediate release of every galley-slave condemned for his religion.

When this order was received at Marseilles, where the majority of the Protestants were detained, the priests, and most particularly the Jesuits, were much chagrined at the prospect of thus losing their victims, and determined to use all means in their power to prevent the order from being carried into effect. They prevailed on the intendant, a violent and cruel bigot, to delay its execution for eight days, till they could receive an answer to an address which they immediately dispatched to the king, exhorting him to abandon his intention of releasing the *heretics*, and representing the dreadful judgments which, they asserted, might be expected to fall on himself and his kingdom, as the punishment of so great a dereliction from his duty as the *eldest son of the church*. At least, they desired, if his majesty were determined to release the Protestants, that he would not allow them to remain in, or even pass through, France; but would compel them to leave the ports by sea, and never again to enter his dominions, on pain of revisiting the galleys.

Although Louis could not comply with the first part of the petition of these truly Papistical bigots, the latter part was too congenial to his own inclinations, to be rejected. The Protestants were ordered to sail from the ports at which they had been confined; and the difficulty of obtaining vessels for their conveyance, which the malignant priests used all their arts to augment, occasioned a long delay, during which the poor prisoners were suffering all the agonies of uncertainty—that "hope deferred, which maketh the heart sick,"—and which led them to fear that something might still intervene to prevent their so much desired emancipation. But their heavenly Father, ever mindful of those who suffer for his sake, at length removed every obstacle which bigotry and malice could interpose, and delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. They went forth rejoicing, praising and blessing His holy name, who had wrought for them this great deliverance.

A deputation of those who had been released by the interposition of queen Anne, waited upon her majesty in London, to return their most grateful thanks, on behalf of

themselves and their brethren, for her Christian interference in their favor. She received them very graciously, and assured them that she derived more pleasure from the consciousness of having lessened the miseries of her fellow-Protestants, than from the most brilliant events of her reign.

These exiles also established themselves in England, which by their industry and ingenuity acquired new riches every day, while France, by expelling them, received a blow, from which her commercial and trading interests never recovered. Thus, even on earth, did the Almighty punish the bigoted and cruel, and reward the pious and beneficent. But how fearful shall be the judgment of the persecutors in that great day when every action shall be weighed in the balance of Eternal Justice! How awful the denunciation—"Depart from me, ye cursed! I know you not!" Will the plea of *religious zeal* be then allowed? Will not the true motives of their barbarity be exposed to Him "from whom no secret is hid?" Undoubtedly they will; and lamentably ignorant are they of the genuine spirit of Christianity, who imagine that cruelty and persecution form any part of it. Let them look to the conduct of its Divine Founder; to his meekness, his charity, his universal benevolence; let them consider these, and blush to call themselves his followers; and tremble at the doom his justice will award to those who have perverted his maxims of mercy and of peace into denunciations of hostility and extirpation.

SECTION X.

Martyrdom of John Calas, of Thoulouse.

By this interesting story, the truth of which is certified in historical records, we have ample proofs, if any were requisite, that the abominable spirit of persecution will a ways prevail wherever popery has an ascendency. This shocking act took place in a polished age, and proves, that neither experience, nor improvement, can root out the inveterate prejudices of the Roman Catholics; or render them less cruel or inexorable to the Protestants.

John Calas was a merchant, of the city of Thoulouse, where he had settled, and lived in good repute; and had married an Englishwoman of French extraction.

Calas and his wife were both Protestants, and had five sons, whom they educated in the same religion; but Lewis, one of the sons, became a Roman Catholic, having been converted by a maid-servant, who had lived in the family above thirty years. The father, however, did not express any resentment or ill-will upon the occasion, but kept the maid in the family, and settled an annuity upon the son. In October 1761, the family consisted of John Calas and his wife, one woman servant, Mark Anthony Calas, the eldest son, and Peter Calas, the second son. Mark Anthony was bred to the law, but could not be admitted to practice, on account of his being a Protestant: hence he grew melancholy, read all the books which he could procure relative to suicide, and seemed determined to destroy himself. To this may be added, that he led a very dissipated life, and was greatly addicted to gaming. On this account his father frequently reprehended him, and sometimes in terms of severity, which considerably added to the gloom that oppressed him.

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

In a short time Anthony returned, having bought the cheese, and La Vaisse also coming back about the same time, the family and their guest sat down to supper, the whole company consisting of Calas and his wife, Anthony and Peter Calas the sons, and La Vaisse, no other person being in the

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

There was on the ground-floor of Calas's house a shop and a ware-house; the latter of which was divided from the shop by a pair of folding-doors. When Peter Calas and La Vaisse came down stairs into the shop, they were extremely shocked to see Anthony hanging in his shirt, from a bar which he had laid across the top of the two folding-doors, having half opened them for that purpose. On discovering this horrid spectacle, they shrieked out, which brought down Calas the father, the mother being seized with such a terror as kept her trembling in the passage above. The unhappy old man rushed forward, and taking the body in his arms, the bar, to which the rope was fastened, slipped off from the folding-door of the ware-house, and fell down. Having placed the body on the ground, he loosed and took off the cord in an agony of grief and anguish not to be expressed, weeping, trembling, and deploring his loss. The two young men, who had not had presence of mind to attempt taking down the body, were standing by, stupid with amazement and horror. In the mean time the mother, hearing the confused cries and complaints of her husband, and finding no one come to her, found means to get down stairs. At the bottom she saw La Vaisse, and hastily demanded what was the matter. This question roused Calas in a moment, and instead of answering her, he urged her to go again up-stairs, to which, with much reluctance, she consented; but the conflict of her mind being such as could not be long borne, she sent down the maid to know what was the matter. When the maid discovered what had happened, she continued below, either because she feared to carry an account of it to her mistress, or because she busied herself in doing some good office to her master, who was still embracing the body of his son, and bathing it in his tears. The mother, therefore, being thus left alone, went down, and mixed in the scene that has been already described, with such emotions as it must naturally produce.

In the mean time Peter had been sent for La Moire, a surgeon in the neighborhood. La Moire was not at home, but his apprentice, named Grosse, came instantly. Upon examination, he found the body quite dead; and upon taking off the neckcloth, which was of black taffeta, he saw the mark of the cord, and immediately pronounced that the deceased had been strangled. This particular had not been told, for the poor old man, when Peter was going for La Moire, cried out, "Save at least the honor of my family; do not go and spread a report that your brother has made away with himself."

A crowd of people by this time were gathered about the house, and one Casing, with another friend or two of the family, had come in. Some of those who were in the street had heard the cries and exclamations within, but knew not the occasion; and having by some means heard that Anthony Calas was suddenly dead, and that the surgeon, who had examined the body, declared he had been strangled, they took it into their heads he had been murdered; and as the family were Protestants, they presently supposed that the young man was about to change his religion, and had been put to death for that reason. The cries they had heard they fancied were those of the deceased, while he was resisting the violence done to him. The tumult in the street increased every moment: some said that Anthony Calas was to have abjured the next day; others, that Protestants are bound by their religion to strangle or cut the throats of their children when they are inclined to become Catholics. Others, who had found out that La Vaisse was in the house when the accident happened, very confidently affirmed, that the Protestants, at their last assembly, appointed a person to be their common executioner upon these occasions, and that La Vaisse was the man, who, in consequence of the office to which he had been appointed, had come to Calas's house to hang his son.

Now the poor father, who was overwhelmed with grief for the loss of his child, was advised by his friends to send for the officers of justice, to prevent his being torn to pieces by the ignorant and bigoted mob. A messenger was accordingly dispatched to the capitoul, or first magistrate of the place: and another to an inferior officer, called an assessor. The capitoul had already set out, having been alarmed by the rumor of a murder. He entered Calas's house with forty soldiers, took the father, Peter the son, the mother, La Vaisse, and the maid, all into custody, and set a guard over them. He sent for M. de la Tour, a physician, and M. la Marque and Perronet, surgeons, who examined the body for marks of violence, but found none except the mark of the ligature on the neck: they found also the hair of the deceased done up in the usual manner, per-

fectly smooth, and without the least disorder: his clothes were also regularly folded up, and laid upon the counter, nor was his shirt either unbuttoned or torn.

The capitoul, notwithstanding these appearances, thought proper to agree with the opinion of the mob, and took it into his head that old Calas had sent for La Vaisse, telling him he had a son to be hanged; that La Vaisse had come to perform the office of executioner; and that he had received assistance from the father and brother.

On account of these notions, the capitoul ordered the body of the deceased to be carried to the town-house, with the clothes. The father and son were thrown into a dark dungeon; and the mother, La Vaisse, the maid, and Casing, were imprisoned in one that admitted the light. The next day, what is called the verbal process was taken at the town-house, instead of the spot where the body was found, as the law directs, and was dated at Calas's house to conceal the irregularity. This verbal process is somewhat like the coroner's inquest in England; witnesses are examined, and the magistrate makes his report, similar to the verdict of a coroner's jury in England. The witnesses examined by the capitoul were, the physician and surgeon, who proved Anthony Calas to have been strangled. The surgeon having been ordered to examine the stomach of the deceased, deposed also, that the food which was found there had been taken four hours before his death. Finding that no proof of the murder could be procured, the capitoul had recourse to a monitory, or general information, in which the crime was taken for granted, and all persons were required to give such testimony against it as they were able, particularizing the points to which they were to speak. This recites, that La Vaisse was commissioned by the Protestants to be their executioner in ordinary, when any of their children were to be hanged for changing their religion; it recites also, that when the Protestants thus hang their children, they compel them to kneel, and one of the interrogatories was, whether any person had seen Anthony Calas kneel before his father when he strangled him: it recites, likewise, that Anthony died a Roman Catholic, and requires evidence of his Catholicism.

These ridiculous opinions being adopted and published by the principal magistrate of a considerable city, the church of Geneva thought itself obliged to send an attestation of its abhorrence of opinions so abominable and absurd, and of its astonishment that they should be suspected of such opinions by persons whose rank and office required them to have more knowledge and better judgment.

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

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

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

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

From these dreadful proceedings the sufferers appealed to the parliament, which immediately took cognizance of the affair, and annulled the sentence of the capitoul as irregular; but the prosecution still continued.

As soon as the trial came on, the hangman, who had been taken to Calas's house, and shown the folding-doors and the bar, deposed, that it was impossible Anthony should hang himself as was pretended. Another witness swore, that he looked through the key-hole of Calas's door into a room, where he saw men running hastily to and fro. A third swore, that his wife had told him, a woman named Maundrill had told her, that a certain woman, unknown, had declared she heard the cries of Anthony Calas at the further end of the city.

From this absurd evidence the majority of the parliament were of opinion, that the prisoners were guilty, and therefore ordered them to be tried by the criminal court of Thoulouse.

There was among those who presided at the trial one La Borde, who had zealously espoused the popular prejudices: and though it was manifest to demonstration that the prisoners were either all innocent or all

guilty, he voted that the father should first suffer the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, to discover his accomplices, and be then broken alive upon the wheel; to receive the last stroke when he had lain two hours, and then to be burnt to ashes. In this opinion he had the concurrence of six others; three were for the torture alone; two were of opinion that they should endeavor to ascertain on the spot whether Anthony could hang himself or not; and one voted to acquit the prisoner. After long debates the majority was for the torture and wheel, and probably condemned the father by way of experiment, whether he was guilty or not, hoping he would, in the agony, confess the crime, and accuse the other prisoners, whose fate, therefore, they suspended. It is, however, certain, that if they had evidence against the father that would have justified the sentence they pronounced against him, that very evidence would have justified the same sentence against the rest; and that they could not justly condemn him alone, they being all in the house together when Anthony died.

However, poor Calas, who was 68 years of age, was condemned to this dreadful punishment. He suffered the torture with great constancy, and was led to execution in a frame of mind which excited respect and admiration.

Father Bourges and father Coldagues, the two Dominicans who attended him in his last moments, wished their latter end might be like his, and declared, that they thought him not only wholly innocent of the crime laid to his charge, but an exemplary instance of true Christian patience, charity, and fortitude.

He gave but one shriek, when he received the first stroke; after which he uttered no complaint. Being at length placed on the wheel, to wait for the moment which was to end his life and his misery together, he declared himself full of an humble hope of a glorious immortality, and a compassionate regard for the judges who had condemned him. When he saw the executioner prepared to give him the last stroke, he made a fresh declaration of his innocence to father Bourges; but while the words were yet in his mouth, the capitoul, the author of 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 him, and bawled out, "Wretch, there are the fagots which are to reduce your body to ashes; speak the truth." M. Calas made no reply, but turned his head a little aside, and that moment the executioner did his office.

Donat Calas, a boy of fifteen years of age, the youngest son of the unfortunate victim, was apprentice to a merchant at Nismes, when he heard of the dreadful punishment by which seven prejudiced judges of Thoulouse had put his worthy father to death.

So violent was the popular outcry against this family in Languedoc, that every body expected to see the children of Calas broke upon the wheel, and the mother burnt alive. So weak had been the defence made by this innocent family, oppressed by misfortunes, and terrified at the sight of lighted piles, racks, and wheels. Young Donat Calas, dreading to share the fate of the rest of his family, was advised to fly into Switzerland. He did so, and there found a gentleman, who, at first, could only pity and relieve him, without daring to judge of the rigor exercised against his father, mother, and brothers. Shortly after, one of the brothers, who was only banished, likewise threw himself into the arms of the same person, who, for more than a month, took all possible means to be assured of the innocence of this family. But when he was once convinced, he thought himself obliged, in conscience, to employ his friends, his purse, his pen, and his credit, to repair the fatal mistake of the seven judges of Thoulouse, and to have the proceedings revised by the king's counsel. This revision lasted three years, and at the end of that time, fifty masters of the Court of Requests unanimously declared the whole family of Calas innocent, and recommended them to the benevolent justice of his majesty. The duke de Choiseul, who never let slip an opportunity of signalizing the greatness of his character, not only assisted this unfortunate family with money from his own purse, but obtained for them a gratuity of 36,000 livres from the king.

The arrêt which justified the family of Calas, and changed their fate, was signed on the 9th of March, 1765. The 9th of March, 1762, was the very day on which the innocent and virtuous father of that family had been executed. All Paris ran in crowds to see them come out of prison, and clapped their hands for joy, while the tears streamed down their cheeks.

King John surrendering his Crown to Pandulph, the Pope's Legate.

Pope Alexander treading on the neck of Frederick, Emperor of Germany.

BOOK IX.

CONTAINING A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, AND THE REMARKABLE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH PRECEDED IT, FROM THE TIME OF WICKLIFFE TO THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

SECTION I.

Particulars relative to the Great Ascendency of the Popes throughout Christendom, in the Middle Ages.

In the Introduction will be found an account of the rise and progress of popery, from the commencement of its usurpations to the tenth century. From this period, till the reformation was attempted by Wickliffe, the abominations of these arch and unchristian heretics increased with rapid strides, till at length all the sovereigns of Europe were compelled to do them the most servile homage. It was in the reign of Edgar, king of England, that monks were first made spiritual ministers, though contrary to the decrees and custom of the church; and in the time of this sovereign they were allowed to marry, there being no law forbidding it, before the papacy of Gregory VII.

To relate the tyrannical innovations upon the religion of Christ during the space of more than three hundred years, would be the province of a writer on church history, and is quite incompatible with our limits. Suffice it to say, that scarcely a foreign war or civil broil convulsed Europe during that period, which did not originate in the infernal artifices of popes, monks, and friars. They frequently fell victims to their own machinations; for, from the year 1004, many popes died violent deaths: several were poisoned; Sylvester was cut to pieces by his own people; and the reigns of his successors were but short. Benedict, who succeeded John XXI., thought proper to resist the emperor Henry III. and place in his room Peter, king of Hungary; but afterwards being alarmed by the success of Henry, he *sold* his seat to Gratianus, called Gregory VI. At this time there were three popes in Rome, all striving against each other for the supreme power, viz. Benedict IX., Sylvester III., and Gregory VI. But the emperor, Henry, coming to Rome, displaced these three monsters at once, and appointed Clement the Second, enacting that henceforth no bishop of Rome should be chosen but by the consent of the emperor. Though this law was necessary for public tranquillity, yet it interfered too much with the ambitious views of the cardinals, who accordingly exerted themselves to get it repealed; and failing in this, on the departure of the emperor for Germany, they poisoned Clement, and at once violated the law by choosing another pope, without the imperial sanction.

This was Damasus II., who being also poisoned, within a few days from his appointment, much contention took place. Whereupon the Romans sent to the emperor, desiring him to give them a bishop; upon which he selected Bruno, a German, called Leo IX. This pope was also poisoned, in the first year of his popedom.

After his death Theophylactus made an effort to be pope, but Hildebrand, to defeat him, went to the emperor, and persuaded him to assign another bishop, a German, who ascended the papal chair under the title of Victor II.

The second year of his papacy, this pope also followed his predecessors, like them being poisoned.

On the death of Victor, the cardinals elected Stephen IX. for pope, contrary to their oath, and the emperor's assignment. From this period, indeed, their ascendency was so great, that the most powerful sovereigns of Europe were obliged to do them homage; and Nicholas, who succeeded Stephen, established the Council of the Lateran.

In this council first was promulgated the terrible sentence of excommunication against all such as "do creep into the seat of Peter by money or favor, without the full consent of the cardinals;" cursing them and their children with the anger of Almighty God; and giving authority and power to cardinals, with the clergy and laity, to depose all such persons, and call a council-general, wheresoever they will, against them.

Pope Nicholas only reigned three years and a half, and then, like his predecessors, was poisoned.

SUBMISSION OF THE EMPEROR HENRY IV. TO THE POPE.

To such a height had papal insolence now attained, that, on the emperor Henry IV. refusing to submit to some decrees of pope Gregory VII., the latter excommunicated him, and absolved all his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him: on this he was

deserted by his nobility, and dreading the consequences, though a brave man, he found it necessary to make his submission. He accordingly repaired to the city of Canusium, where the pope then was, and went barefooted with his wife and child to the gate; where he remained from morning to night, fasting, humbly desiring absolution, and craving to be let in. But no ingress being given him, he continued thus three days together; at length, answer came, that his holiness had yet no leisure to talk with him. The emperor patiently waited without the walls, although in the depth of winter. At length his request was granted, through the entreaties of Matilda, the pope's paramour. On the fourth day, being let in, for a token of his true repentance, he yielded to the pope's hands his crown, and confessed himself unworthy of the empire, if he ever again offended against the pope, desiring for that time to be absolved and forgiven. The pope answered, he would neither forgive him, nor release the bond of his excommunication, but upon condition, that he would abide by his arbitrement in the council, and undergo such penance as he should enjoin him; that he should answer to all objections and accusations laid against him, and that he should never seek revenge; that it should be at the pope's pleasure, whether his kingdom should be restored, or not. Finally, that before the trial of his cause, he should neither use his kingly ornaments, nor usurp the authority to govern, nor to exact any oath of allegiance from his subjects, &c. These things being promised to the pope by an oath, the emperor was only released from excommunication.

KING JOHN SURRENDERS HIS CROWN TO THE POPE.

The ascendency of the popes was never more fully evinced than by a remarkable fact in the history of our own country. King John, having incurred the hatred of his barons and people by his cruel and tyrannical measures, they took arms against him, and offered the crown to Lewis, son of the French king. By seizing the possessions of the clergy, John had also fallen under the displeasure of the pope, who accordingly laid the kingdom under an interdict, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. Alarmed at this, the tyrant earnestly sued for peace with his holiness, hoping, by his mediation, to obtain favorable terms from the barons, or, by his thunders, to terrify them into submission. He made the most abject supplications, and the pope, ever willing to increase the power of the church, sent cardinal Pandulf as legate to the king at Canterbury; to whom John resigned his crown and dominions; and the cardinal, after retaining the crown five days, in token of possession, returned it to the king, on condition of his making a yearly payment of 1000 marks to the court of Rome, and holding the dominions of England and Ireland *in farm* from the pope.

But if John expected any benefit from this most disgraceful transaction, he was disappointed; and instead of enjoying the crown which he had so basely surrendered and received again, the short remainder of his life was disturbed by continual insurrections, and he at last died either of grief, or by poison administered to him by a monk of the convent of Swineshead in Lincolnshire. The latter cause is assigned by many historians, and we are told that the king, suspecting some fruit, which was presented to him at the above convent, to be poisoned, ordered the monk who brought it to eat of it; which he did, and died in a few hours after.

AN EMPEROR TRODDEN ON BY THE POPE.

The papal usurpations were extended to every part of Europe. In Germany, the emperor Frederic was compelled to submit to be trodden under the feet of pope Alexander, and dared not make any resistance. In England, however, a spirit of resentment broke out in various reigns, in consequence of the oppressions and horrible conduct of those antichristian blasphemers, which continued with more or less violence till the time of the great Wickliffe, of whom we shall speak more fully in the following pages.

SECTION II.

Account of Wickliffe, and of the Martyrs who suffered in Defence of his Doctrines.

THE first attempts made in England towards the reformation of the church, took place in the reign of Edward III., about A. D. 1350, when John Wickliffe appeared. This early star of the English church was public reader of divinity in the university of Oxford, and, by the learned of his day, was accounted deeply versed in theology, and all kinds of philosophy. This even his adversaries allowed, as Walden, his bitterest enemy, writing to pope Martin, says, that he was wonderfully astonished at his strong arguments, with the places of authority which he had gathered, with the vehemency and force of his reasons, &c. At the time of his appearance, the greatest darkness pervaded the church. Scarcely any thing but the name of Christ remained; his true doctrine being as far unknown to the most part, as his name was common to all. As to faith,

consolation, the end and use of the law, the office of Christ, our impotency and weakness, the greatness and strength of sin, of true works, grace, and free justification by faith, wherein Christianity consists, they were either unknown or disregarded. Scripture learning, and divinity, were known but to a few, and that in the schools only, where they were turned and converted into sophistry. Instead of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinas and Scotus; and, forsaking the lively power of God's spiritual word and doctrine, were altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and human traditions, insomuch that scarcely any other thing was seen in the churches, taught or spoken of in sermons, or intended or sought after in their whole lives, but the heaping up of ceremonies upon ceremonies; and the people were taught to worship no other thing but that which they saw, and almost all they saw they worshipped. But Wickliffe was inspired with a purer sense of religion; and knowing it to be his duty to impart the gracious blessing to others, he published his belief with regard to the several articles of religion, in which he differed from the common doctrine. Pope Gregory XI., hearing this, condemned some of his tenets, and commanded the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, to oblige him to subscribe the condemnation of them; and, in case of refusal, to summon him to Rome. This commission could not easily be executed, Wickliffe having powerful friends, the chief of whom was John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III. The archbishop holding a synod at St. Paul's, Wickliffe appeared, accompanied by the duke of Lancaster and lord Percy, marshal of England, when a dispute arising whether Wickliffe should answer sitting or standing, the duke of Lancaster proceeded to threats, and treated the bishop with very little ceremony. The people present thinking the bishop in danger, sided with him, so that the duke and the earl marshal thought it prudent to retire, and to take Wickliffe with them. After this an insurrection ensued, the clergy and their emissaries spreading a report, that the duke of Lancaster had persuaded the king to take away the privileges of the city of London, &c. which fired the people to such a degree that they broke open the Marshalsea, and freed all the prisoners: and not contented with this, a vast number of them went to the duke's palace in Savoy, when missing his person, they plundered his house. For this outrage the duke of Lancaster caused the lord mayor and aldermen to be removed from their offices, imagining that they had not used their authority to quell the mutineers. After this, the bishops meeting a second time, Wickliffe explained to them his sentiments with regard to the sacrament of the eucharist, in opposition to the belief of the Papists; for which the bishops only enjoined him silence, not daring at that time to proceed to greater extremities against him.

GREAT SCHISM IN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

A circumstance occurred at this period, by the providence of God, which greatly tended to facilitate the progress of truth. This was a great schism in the church of Rome, which originated as follows: After the death of Gregory XI., who expired in the midst of his anxiety to crush Wickliffe and his doctrines, Urban the Sixth succeeded to the papal chair. This pope was so proud and insolent, and so intent on the advancement of his nephews and kindred, which he frequently accomplished by injuring other princes, that the greatest number of his cardinals and courtiers deserted him, and set up another pope against him, named Clement, who reigned eleven years. After him, Benedict the Thirteenth, who reigned twenty-six years. Again, on the contrary side, after Urban the Sixth succeeded Boniface the Ninth, Innocent the Eighth, Gregory the Twelfth, Alexander the Fifth, and John the Thirteenth. To relate all the particulars of this miserable schism, would require volumes; we shall merely take notice of a few of the principal occurrences, from which the reader may form an idea of the bloodshed and misery brought on the Christian world by the ambition and wickedness of these pretended representatives of our blessed Savior; and may judge how widely they departed from his blessed maxims of peace and good-will to all men. Otho, duke of Brunswick and prince of Tarentum, was taken and murdered. Joan, his wife, queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, who had sent to pope Urban, beside other gifts, 40,000 ducats in gold, was afterwards, by his order, committed to prison, and there strangled. Many cardinals were racked, and tortured to death; battles were fought between the rival popes, in which great multitudes were slain. Five cardinals were beheaded together, after long torments. The bishop of Aquilonensis, being suspected by pope Urban, for not riding faster when in his company, was slain on the spot by the pope's order. Thus did these demons in human form torment each other for the space of thirty-nine years, until the council of Constance.

WICKLIFFE TRANSLATES THE BIBLE.

Wickliffe, paying less regard to the injunctions of the bishops than to his duty to God, continued to promulgate his doctrines, and gradually to unveil the truth to the eyes of men. He wrote several books, which, as may be supposed, gave great alarm and offence to the clergy. But God raising him up a protector in the duke of Lancaster, he

was secure from their malice. He translated the Bible into English, which, amidst the ignorance of the times, may be compared to the sun breaking forth in a dark night. To this Bible he prefixed a bold preface, wherein he reflected on the immoralities of the clergy, and condemned the worship of saints, images, and the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament: but what gave the greatest offence to the priests, was his exhorting all people to read the scriptures, in which the testimonies against all those corruptions appeared so strongly.

About the same time the common people, goaded to desperation by the oppressions of the nobility and clergy, rose in arms, and committed great devastations; and, among other persons of distinction, they put to death Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury. He was succeeded by William Courtney, who was no less diligent than his predecessor had been, in attempting to root out *heretics*. Notwithstanding all opposition, however, Wickliffe's sect increased, and daily grew to greater force, until the time that William Burton, vice-chancellor of Oxford, who had the whole rule of that university, assisted by some monastic doctors, issued an edict, prohibiting all persons, under a heavy penalty, from associating themselves with any of Wickliffe's favorers; and threatening Wickliffe himself with excommunication and imprisonment, unless he, after three days' canonical admonition or warning, did repent and amend. Upon this, Wickliffe wished to appeal to the king: but the duke of Lancaster forbade him; whereupon he was forced again to make confession of his doctrine; in which confession, by qualifying his assertions, he mitigated the rigor of his enemies.

Still his followers greatly multiplied. Many of them, indeed, were not men of learning; but being wrought upon by the conviction of plain reason, they were the more stedfast in their persuasion. In a short time his doctrines made a great progress, being not only espoused by vast numbers of the students of Oxford, but also by many of the nobility, particularly by the duke of Lancaster and lord Percy, earl marshal, as before mentioned.

Wickliffe may thus be considered as the great founder of the reformation in this kingdom. He was of Merton college in Oxford, where he took his doctor's degree, and became so eminent for his fine genius and great learning, that Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, having founded Canterbury college, now Christ church, in Oxford, appointed him rector; which employment he filled with universal approbation, till the death of the archbishop. Langholm, successor to Islip, being desirous of favoring the monks, and introducing them into the college, attempted to remove Wickliffe, and put Woodhall, a monk, in his place. But the fellows of the college being attached to Wickliffe, would not consent to this. Nevertheless, the affair being carried to Rome, Wickliffe was deprived in favor of Woodhall. This did not at all lessen the reputation of the former, every one perceiving it was a general affair, and that the monks did not so much strike at Wickliffe's person, as at all the secular priests who were members of the college. And, indeed, they were all turned out, to make room for the monks. Shortly after, Wickliffe was presented to the living of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester, where he remained unmolested till his death, which happened December 31, 1385. But after the body of this good man had lain in the grave forty-one years, his bones were taken up by the decree of the synod of Constance, publicly burnt, and his ashes thrown into a river. The condemnation of his doctrine did not prevent its spreading all over the kingdom, and with such success that, according to Spelman, "two men could not be found together, and one not a Lollard, or Wickliffite."

TENETS OF WICKLIFFE.

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 doth 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 the Sixth, 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 scriptures, that ecclesiastical ministers should have any temporal possessions.

That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man except he knew him first to be excommunicate of God.

That he who doth so excommunicate any man, is thereby himself either a heretic, or excommunicated.

That all such which 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 Catholics.

That so long as a man is in deadly sin, he is neither bishop nor prelate in the church of God.

Wickliffe wrote several works, which, in the year 1410, were burnt at Oxford, the abbot of Shrewsbury being then commissary. And in Bohemia, likewise, his books were burnt by the archbishop of Prague.

BURNING OF THE WICKLIFFITES.

In the council of the Lateran, a decree was made with regard to heretics, which required all magistrates to extirpate them upon pain of forfeiture and deposition. The canons of this council being received in England, the prosecution of heretics became a part of the common law; and a writ (styled *de heretico comburendo*) was issued under king Henry IV., for burning them upon their conviction; and it was enacted, that all who presumed to preach without the license of the bishops, should be imprisoned, and be brought to trial within three months. If, upon conviction, they offered to abjure, and were not relapses, they were to be imprisoned and fined at pleasure; but if they refused to abjure, or were relapses, they were to be delivered over to the secular arm; and the magistrates were to burn them in some public place. About this time William Sautre, parish priest of St. Osith, in London, being condemned as a relapse, and degraded by Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, a writ was issued, wherein burning is called the common punishment, and referring to the custom of other nations. This was the first example of that sort in England.

The clergy, alarmed lest the doctrines of Wickliffe should ultimately become established, used every exertion in their power to check them. In the reign of Richard II. the bishops had obtained a general license to imprison heretics, without being obliged to procure a special order from court, which, however, the house of commons caused to be revoked. But as the fear of imprisonment could not check the pretended evil dreaded by the bishops, Henry IV., whose particular object was to secure the affection of the clergy, earnestly recommended to the parliament the concerns of the church. How reluctant soever the house of commons might be to prosecute the Lollards, the credit of the court, and the cabals of the clergy, at last obtained a most detestable act, for the burning of obstinate heretics; which bloody statute was not repealed till the year 1677. It was immediately after the passing of this statute that the ecclesiastical court condemned William Sautre above mentioned.

INCREASE OF WICKLIFFE'S DOCTRINES.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the popish clergy, Wickliffe's doctrine continued to spread greatly in Henry the IVth's reign, even to such a degree, that the majority of the House of Commons were inclined to it; whence they presented two petitions to the king, one against the clergy, the other in favor of the Lollards. The first set forth, that the clergy made ill use of their wealth, and consumed their income in a manner quite different from the intent of the donors. That their revenues were excessive, and consequently that it would be necessary to lessen them; that so many estates might easily be seized as would provide for 150 earls at the rate of 3000 marks a year each, 1500 barons at 100 marks each, 6200 knights at 40 marks, and 100 hospitals; that by this means the safety of the kingdom might be better provided for, the poor better maintained, and the clergy more devoted to their duty.—In the second petition the commons prayed, that the statute passed against the Lollards, in the second year of this reign, might be repealed, or qualified with some restrictions. As it was the king's interest to please the clergy, he answered the commons very sharply, that he neither could nor would consent to their petitions. And with regard to the Lollards, he declared he wished the heretics were extirpated out of the land. To prove the truth of this, he signed a warrant for burning Thomas Badby.

MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS BADBY.

Thomas Badby was a layman, and by trade a tailor. He was arraigned in the year 1409 before the bishop of Worcester, and convicted of heresy. On his examination he said, that it was impossible any priest could make the body of Christ sacramentally, nor would he believe it, unless he saw, manifestly, the corporal body of the Lord to be handled by the priest at the altar; that it was ridiculous to imagine that at the supper Christ held in his own hand his own body, and divided it among his disciples, and yet remained whole. "I believe," said he, "the omnipotent God in trinity; but if every consecrated host at the altars be Christ's body, there must then be in England no less than 20,000 gods." After this he was brought before the archbishop of Canterbury at St. Paul's church, and again examined in presence of a great number of bishops, the duke of York, and several of the first nobility. Great pains were used to make him recant; but he courageously answered, that he would still abide by his former opinions, which no power should force him to forego.

On this, the archbishop of Canterbury ratified the sentence given by the bishop of Worcester. When the king had signed the warrant for his death, he was brought to Smithfield,* and there being put in an empty tun, was bound with iron chains fastened to a stake, and had dry wood piled around him. And as he was thus standing in the tun, it happened that the prince of Wales, the king's eldest son, was there present: who being moved with compassion, endeavored to save the life of him whom the hypocritical Levites and Pharisees sought to put to death. He admonished and counselled him, that having respect unto himself, he should speedily withdraw himself out of these dangerous labyrinths of opinions, adding oftentimes threatenings, which might have daunted any man not supported by the true faith. Also Courtney, at that time chancellor of Oxford, preached unto him, and informed him of the faith of holy church.

In the mean time the prior of St. Bartholomew's, in Smithfield, brought with all solemnity the sacrament of God's body, with twelve torches borne before, and showed the sacrament to the poor man at the stake. And when they demanded of him how he believed in it, he answered, that he knew well it was hallowed bread, and not God's body. And then was the tun put over him, and fire put unto him. And when he felt the fire, he cried, "Mercy!" (calling upon the Lord,) when the prince immediately commanded to take away the tun, and quench the fire. He then asked him if he would forsake heresy, and take the faith of holy church, which, if he would do, he should have goods enough, promising him also a yearly pension out of the king's treasury. But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the prince's fair words, as also contemning all men's devices, refused the offer of worldly promises, being more inflamed by the spirit of God, than by any earthly desire. Wherefore, as he continued immovable in his former mind, the prince commanded him straight to be put again into the tun, and that he should not afterwards look for any grace or favor. But as he could be allured by no rewards, he was not at all abashed at their torments, but, as a valiant soldier of Christ, persevered invincibly till his body was reduced to ashes, and his soul rose triumphant unto him who gave it.

MARTYRDOM OF SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE.

The persecutions of the Lollards in the reign of Henry V. were owing to the cruel instigations of the clergy, who thought that the most effectual way to check the progress of Wickliffe's doctrine, would be to attack the then chief protector of it, viz. Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham; and to persuade the king that the Lollards were engaged in conspiracies to overturn the state. It was even reported, that they intended to murder the king, together with the princes, his brothers, and most of the lords spiritual and temporal, in hopes that the confusion which must necessarily arise in the kingdom, after such a massacre, would prove favorable to their religion. Upon this a false rumor was spread, that Sir John Oldcastle had got together 20,000 men in St. Giles's in the Fields, a place then overgrown with bushes. The king himself went thither at midnight, and finding no more than fourscore or a hundred persons, who were privately met upon a religious account, he fell upon them and killed many. Some of them being afterwards examined, were prevailed upon, by promises or threats, to confess whatever their enemies desired; and these accused Sir John Oldcastle.

The king hereupon thought him guilty; and in that belief set a thousand marks upon his head, with a promise of perpetual exemption from taxes to any town which should secure him. Sir John was apprehended, and imprisoned in the Tower; but escaping from thence, he fled into Wales, where he long concealed himself. But being afterwards seized in Powisland, in North Wales, by Lord Powis, he was brought to London, to the great joy of the clergy, who were highly incensed against him, and resolved to sacrifice him, to strike a terror into the rest of the Lollards. Sir John was of a very good family, had been sheriff of Hertfordshire under Henry IV., and summoned to parliament among the barons of the realm in that reign. He had been sent beyond the sea, with the earl of Arundel, to assist the duke of Burgundy against the French. In a word, he was a man of extraordinary merit, notwithstanding which he was condemned to be hanged up by the waist with a chain, and burnt alive. This most barbarous sentence was executed amidst the curses and imprecations of the priests and monks, who used their utmost endeavors to prevent the people from praying for him. Such was the tragical end of Sir John Oldcastle, who left the world with a resolution and constancy, that answered perfectly to the brave spirit with which he had ever maintained the cause of truth and of his God.

Not satisfied with his single death, the clergy induced the parliament to make fresh statutes against the Lollards. It was enacted, among other things, that whosoever read the scriptures in English, should forfeit land, chattels, goods, and life; and be condemned

* It will not be uninteresting to our town readers, to be informed, that that part of Smithfield where the large board containing the laws and regulations of the market formerly stood, is the very spot on which their forefathers suffered for the cause of Christ. There many an English martyr's body mingled with dust; from thence ascended many a soul to inherit everlasting glory.

as heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and traitors to the kingdom; that they should not have the benefit of any sanctuary; and that, if they continued obstinate, or relapsed after being pardoned, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then burned for heresy against God. This act was no sooner passed, but a violent persecution was raised against the Lollards; several of them were burnt alive, some fled the kingdom, and others were weak enough to abjure their religion, to escape the torments prepared for them.

CONFESSION OF SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE.

The following is the confession of this virtuous and true Christian, which, from its clearness and simplicity, is well worthy of remembrance. He commences with the apostles' creed, thus:

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth: and in Jesus Christ his only son our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, crucified, dead, and buried, went down to hell, the third day rose again from death, ascended up to heaven, sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the universal holy church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the uprising of the flesh, and everlasting life, amen.

"And for a more large declaration of this my faith in the Catholic church, I stedfastly believe, that there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose godhead are these three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the self-same God Almighty. I believe, also, that the second person in this most blessed trinity, in most convenient time appointed thereunto before, took flesh and blood of the most blessed Virgin Mary, for the safeguard and redemption of the universal kind of man, which was before lost in Adam's offence.

"Moreover I believe, that the same Jesus Christ our Lord, thus being both God and man, is the only head of the whole Christian church, and that all those that have been or shall be saved, be members of this most holy church.

"Whereof the first sort be now in heaven, and they are the saints from hence departed. These as they were here conversant, conformed always their lives to the most holy laws and pure examples of Christ, renouncing Satan, the world, and the flesh, with all their concupiscence and evils.

"The other sort are here upon earth, and called the church militant. For day and night they contend against crafty assaults of the devil, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious filthiness of the flesh."

SECTION III.

Progress of the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII.

The reader will, doubtless, attend to the transactions recorded in this reign, with peculiar interest. It was in this period that God, through the instrumentality of the king, liberated this country from the papal yoke, when England became, as it were, a religious world dependent on itself.

The wars between the two houses of York and Lancaster, had produced such fatal revolutions, and thrown England into such frequent convulsions, that the nation, with great joy, hailed the accession of Henry the Seventh to the throne, who being himself descended from the house of Lancaster, by his marriage with the heiress of the house of York, freed them from the fear of any further civil wars. But the covetousness of his temper, the severity of his ministers, and his jealousy of the house of York, made him so generally odious to his people, that his death was little lamented.

Henry the Eighth succeeded, with all the advantages he could have desired; and his disgracing Empson and Dudley, the cruel ministers of his father's avaricious designs, his appointing restitution to be made of the sums that had been unjustly exacted of the people, and his ordering justice to be done on those rapacious ministers, gave all people hopes of happy times; and when ministers, by the king's orders, were condemned and executed for invading the liberties of the people, under the covert of the king's prerogative, it made the nation conclude, that they should hereafter live secure, under the protection of such a prince, and that the violent remedies of parliamentary judgments should be no more necessary, except as in this case, to confirm what had been done before in the ordinary courts of justice.

The king, also, either from the magnificence of his own temper, or the observation he had made of the ill effects of his father's parsimony, distributed his rewards and largesses with an unmeasured bounty; so that he quickly expended those treasures, which his father had left; but till the ill effects of this appeared, it raised in his court and subjects the greatest hopes possible of a prince, whose first actions showed an equal mixture of justice and generosity.

The king had been educated with more

than ordinary care: learning being then in its dawning, after a night of long and gross ignorance, his father having given orders that both his elder brother and he should be well instructed in matters of knowledge. The learning then most in credit among the clergy was the scholastical divinity, which, by a show of subtlety, recommended itself to curious persons; and being very suitable to a vain and contentious temper, agreed best with his disposition; and further, it being likely to draw the most flattery, became the chief subject of his studies, in which he grew not only to be eminent for a prince, but he might really have past for a learned man had his quality been never so mean. He delighted in the purity of the Latin tongue, and understood philosophy, and was so great a master in music, that he composed well. He was a bountiful patron to all learned men, more particularly to Erasmus and Polydore Virgil, and delighted much in those returns which hungry scholars make to liberal princes; for he loved flattery out of measure, and he had enough of it to have surfeited a man of any modesty; for all the world, both at home and abroad, contended who should exceed most indecently in setting out his praises. The clergy carried it; for as he had merited most at their hands, both by espousing the interests of the papacy, and by his entering the lists with Luther,* so those that hoped to be advanced by those arts, were as little ashamed in magnifying him out of measure, as he was in receiving their gross commendations.

CHARACTER OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

One of the most remarkable men of this, or perhaps of any other age, was Cardinal Wolsey. He was of mean extraction, but possessed great abilities, and had a wonderful dexterity in insinuating himself into men's favor. He had but a little time been introduced to the king before he obtained an entire ascendency over him, and the direction of all his affairs, and for fifteen years continued to be the most absolute favorite ever known in England. He saw the king was much set on his pleasures, and had a great aversion to business, and the other counsellors being unwilling to bear the load of affairs, were troublesome to him, by pressing him to govern by his own counsels; but Wolsey knew the methods of favorites better, and so was not only easy, but assistant to the king in his pleasures, and undertook to free him from the trouble of government, and to give him leisure to follow his appetites.

He was master of all the offices at home, and treaties abroad, so that all affairs went as he directed them. He soon became obnoxious to parliaments, and therefore tried but one during his ministry, where the supply was granted so scantily, that afterwards he chose rather to raise money by loans and benevolences, than by the free gift of the people in parliament. He in time became so scandalous for his ill life, that he grew to be a disgrace to his profession; for he not only served the king, but also shared with him in his pleasures. He was first made bishop of Tournay in Flanders, then of Lincoln, after that he was promoted to the see of York, and had both the abbey of St. Albans, and the bishopric of Bath and Wells, in commendam; the last he afterwards exchanged for Duresm, and upon Fox's death he quitted Duresm, that he might take Winchester; and besides all this, the king, by a special grant, gave him power to dispose of all the ecclesiastical preferments in England; so that in effect he was the pope of the British world, and no doubt but he copied skilfully enough after those patterns that were set him at Rome. Being made a cardinal, and setting up a legatine court, he found it fit for his ambition to have the great seal likewise, that there might be no clashing between those two jurisdictions. He had, in one word, all the qualities necessary for a great minister, and all the vices usual in a great favorite.

The manner of promotion to bishoprics and abbeys was then the same that had taken place ever since the investitures by the ring and staff were taken out of the hands of princes. Upon a vacancy the king seized on all the temporalties, and granted a license for an election, with a special recommendation of the person; who being returned, the royal assent was given, and it was sent to Rome, that bulls might be procured, and then the bishop elect was consecrated: after that he came to the king, and renounced every clause in his bulls that was contrary to the king's prerogative, or to the law, and swore fealty; and then were the temporalties restored. Nor could bulls be sued out at Rome without a license under the great seal; so that the kings of England had reserved the power to themselves of promoting to ecclesiastical benefices, notwithstanding all the invasions the popes had made on the temporal power of princes.

CONTEST CONCERNING ECCLESIASTICAL IMMUNITY.

The immunity of churchmen for crimes committed by them till they were first degraded by the spiritual court, occasioned a contest in the beginning of this reign between the secular and ecclesiastical courts. A law was passed under Henry VII., that clerks convict should be burnt in the hand. A temporary law was also made in the

* It was for his writings against Luther, in defence of papacy, that the pope bestowed upon him the title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, which the British monarchs have, absurdly enough, retained to this day.

lished their tyranny; under which all classes of people had long groaned. All these things concurred to make way for the advancement of the reformation: and, the books of the German reformers being brought into England, and translated, many were prevailed on by them. Upon this, a furious persecution was set on foot, to such a degree, that six men and women were burnt in Coventry in passion-week, only for teaching their children the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments in English. Great numbers were everywhere brought into the bishops' courts; of whom some were burnt, but the greater part abjured.

The king laid hold on this occasion to become the champion of the church, and wrote against Luther, as mentioned above. His book, besides the title of "Defender of the Faith," drew upon him all that flattery could invent to extol it; yet Luther, not daunted by such an antagonist, answered it, and treated him as much below the respect that was due to a king, as his flatterers had raised him above it. Tindal's translation of the New Testament, with notes, drew a severe condemnation from the clergy, there being nothing in which they were more concerned, than to keep the people unacquainted with that book. Thus much may serve to show the condition of affairs in England both in church and state, when the process of the king's divorce was first set on foot.

HISTORY OF HENRY'S MARRIAGE WITH CATHARINE.

As this incident is so replete with consequences, a particular relation of its cause will not, it is presumed, be unacceptable to the reader.

Henry the Seventh had entered into a firm alliance with Ferdinand of Spain, and agreed on a match between his son, prince Arthur, and Catharine the Infanta of Spain. She came into England, and was married in November; but on the second of April after, the prince died. They were not only bedded in ceremony the night of the marriage, but continued still to lodge together; and the prince gave occasion to believe, that the marriage was consummated.

The king being unwilling to restore so great a portion as 200,000 ducats, which the princess brought as her dowry, proposed a second match for her with his younger son Henry. Warham objected against the lawfulness of it; but Fox, bishop of Winchester, was for it, and the opinion of the pope's authority was then so well established, that it was thought a dispensation from Rome was sufficient to remove all objections. Accordingly, one was obtained, grounded upon the desire of the two young persons to marry together, for the preservation of peace between the crowns of England and Spain.

The pope was then at war with Lewis the Twelfth of France, and so would refuse nothing to the king of England, being perhaps not unwilling that princes should contract such marriages, by which the legitimation of their issue depending on the pope's dispensation, they would be thereby obliged in interest to support that authority. Upon this a marriage followed, the prince being yet under age; but the same day in which he came to be of age, he did, by his father's orders, make a protestation that he retracted and annulled his marriage.

Henry the Seventh, on his death-bed, charged his son to break it off entirely, being perhaps apprehensive of such a return of confusion upon a controverted succession to the crown, as had been during the wars of the houses of York and Lancaster; but after his father's death, Henry the Eighth being then eighteen years of age, married her: she bore him two sons, who died soon after they were born; and a daughter, Mary, afterwards queen of England. After this, the queen contracted some diseases that made her unacceptable to the king; who, at the same time, beginning to have some scruples of conscience with regard to the lawfulness of his marriage, determined to have the affair investigated.

THE KING'S SCRUPLES CONCERNING HIS MARRIAGE.

He seemed to lay the greatest weight on the prohibition, in the levitical law, of marrying the brother's wife, and being conversant in Thomas Aquinas's writings, he found that he and the other schoolmen looked on those laws as moral, and for ever binding; and consequently the pope's dispensation was of no force, since his authority went not so far as to dispense with the laws of God. All the bishops of England, Fisher of Rochester only excepted, declared under their hands and seals, that they judged the marriage unlawful. The ill consequences of wars that might follow upon a doubtful title to the crown, were also much considered. It is not probable that Henry's affection for any other lady was the origin of these proceedings; but rather, that, conceiving himself upon the point of being freed of his former marriage, he gave free scope to his affections, which settled on Anne Boleyn.

This lady was born in the year 1507, and at seven years of age was sent to France, where she remained twelve years, and then returned to England. She was much admired in both courts, was more beautiful than graceful, and more cheerful than discreet. She wanted none of the charms of wit or person, and must have had extraordinary attractions, since she could so long retain her place in such a king's affection.

Knight, then secretary of state, was sent to Rome to prepare the pope to grant a dispensation from the former marriage. Knight

made application to the pope in the most secret manner he could, and had a very favorable answer; for the pope promised frankly to dissolve the marriage: but another promise being exacted of him by the emperor Charles V., nephew of Catharine, not to proceed in that affair, he was reduced to great straits, being then at his mercy, and yet unwilling to offend the king of England: he therefore studied to gain time, and promised that if the king would have a little patience, he should not only have that which he asked, but every thing that was in his power to grant.

Some scruples were made concerning the bull that was demanded, till, by great presents it was at length obtained, and then the pope signed a commission for Wolsey to try the cause, and judge in it, and also a dispensation, and put them in Knight's hands: but with tears prayed him that there might be no proceedings upon them, till the emperor were put out of a capacity of executing his revenge upon him, and whenever that was done he would own this act of justice which he did in the king's favor.

The pope was at this time offended with Cardinal Wolsey; for he understood, that during his captivity, Wolsey had been in an intrigue to get himself chosen vicar of the papacy, and was to have sate at Avignon, which might have produced a new schism. Staphileus, dean of the Rota, being then in England, was prevailed on by the promise of a bishopric, and a recommendation to a cardinal's hat, to promote the king's affair; and by him the cardinal wrote to the pope, in a most earnest strain, for a dispatch of this business; and he desired, that an indifferent and tractable cardinal might be sent over, with a full commission to join with him, and to judge the matter; proposing to the king's ambassadors, Campegio, who was the fittest man.

The cardinal, in his letters to Cassali, who was in great favor with the pontiff, offered to take the blame on his own soul, if the pope would grant this bull; and with an earnestness, as hearty and warm as can be expressed in words, he pressed the thing, and added, that if the pope continued inexorable, he perceived the king would proceed another way.

These entreaties had such an effect, that Campegio was declared legate, and ordered to go for England, and join in commission with Wolsey for judging this matter. He accordingly set out from Rome, and carried with him a decretal bull, for annulling the marriage, which he was authorized to show to the king and Wolsey; but was required not to give it out of his hands to either of them.

CAMPEGIO COMES INTO ENGLAND.

In October he arrived in England, and, advised the king to relinquish the prosecution of his suit; and then counselled the queen, in the pope's name, to enter into a religious community: but both were in vain; and he, by affecting an impartiality, almost lost both sides. But he in great measure pacified the king, when he showed him the bull he had brought over for annulling the marriage; yet he would not part with it out of his hands, neither to the king, nor the cardinal; upon which, great solicitation was employed at Rome, that Campegio might be ordered to show it to some of the king's counsellors, and to go on and end the business, otherwise Wolsey would be ruined, and England lost: yet all this did not prevail on the pope, who knew that the king intended to get the bull out of Campegio's hands, and then to leave the pontiff to the emperor's indignation: but though he positively refused to grant that, yet, he said, he left the legates in England free to judge as they saw cause, and promised that he would confirm their sentence.

The affair proceeding very slowly, ambassadors were dispatched to Rome with new propositions, for a speedy termination. On this, the pope gave new assurances, that though he would not grant a bull, by which the divorce should be immediately his own act, yet he would confirm the legate's sentence.

About this time, the pope was taken suddenly ill, upon which, the Imperialists began to prepare for a conclave: but Farnese, and the cardinal of Mantua, opposed them, and seemed to favor Wolsey; whom, as his correspondents wrote to him, "they reverenced as a deity." Upon this, he dispatched a courier to Gardiner, then on his way to Rome, with large directions how to manage the election; it was reckoned, that on the king of France joining heartily with Henry, of which he seemed confident, there were only six cardinals wanting to make the election sure; and besides sums of money, and other rewards, that were to be distributed among them, he was to give them assurance, that the cardinal's preferments should be divided among them. These were the secret methods of attaining that chair; and indeed it would puzzle a man of an ordinary degree of credulity, to think, that one chosen by such means could presume to be Christ's vicar, and the infallible judge of controversies. The recovery, however, of the pope, put an end to those intrigues.

THE QUEEN APPEALS TO THE POPE.

At length the legates began the process, when the queen protested against them as incompetent judges. They, however, proceeded according to the forms of law, although the queen had appealed from them to the pope, and objected both to the place, to the judges, and her lawyers: yet they pronounced her contumacious, and went on

to examine witnesses, chiefly as to the consummation of her marriage with prince Arthur. But now, since the process was thus going on, the emperor's agent pressed the pope vehemently for an avocation; and all possible endeavors were used by the king's agents to hinder it; it was told him, that there was a treaty on foot between the king and the Lutheran princes of Germany; and that upon declaring himself so partial as to grant the avocation, this would certainly be concluded. But the pope thought the king so far engaged in honor in the points of religion, that he would not be prevailed with to unite with Luther's followers; he did not, therefore, imagine, that the effects of his granting the avocation would be so fatal as was represented. In conclusion, therefore, after the emperor had engaged to him to restore his family to the government of Florence, the pope resolved to publish his treaty with him: he told the English ambassadors, that he was forced to it; both because all the lawyers told him it could not be denied, and that he could not resist the emperor's forces, which surrounded him on all hands. Their endeavors to gain a little time by delays were as fruitless as their other arts had been, for, on the 15th of July, the pope signed it, and on the 19th sent it by an express messenger to England.

The legates, Campegio in particular, drew out the matter, by all the delays they could contrive, and gained much time. At last, sentence being to be pronounced, Campegio, instead of pronouncing it, adjourned the court till October, and said, that they being a part of the consistory, must observe their times of vacation. This gave the king and his court great offence, when they saw what was like to be the issue of a process, on which his majesty was so much bent, and in which he was so far engaged, both in honor and interest. The king governed himself upon this occasion with more temper than was expected: he dismissed Campegio civilly, only his officers searched his coffers when he went beyond sea, with design, as was thought, to see if the decretal bull could be found. Wolsey was now upon the point of being disgraced, though the king seemed to treat him with all his former confidence.

ACCOUNT OF CRANMER.

At this period, Dr. Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, meeting accidentally with Gardiner and Fox at Waltham, and entering into discourse upon the royal marriage, suggested, that the king should engage the chief universities and divines of Europe, to examine the lawfulness of his marriage; and if they gave their resolutions against it, then it being certain that the pope's dispensation could not derogate from the law of God, the marriage must be declared null. This novel and reasonable scheme they proposed to the king, who was much pleased with it, as he saw this way was better in itself, and would mortify the pope. Cranmer was accordingly sent for, and on conversing with him, the king conceived a high opinion both of his learning and prudence, as well as of his probity and sincerity, which took such root in his mind, that no artifices, nor calumnies, were ever able to remove it.

WOLSEY IS DISGRACED.

From this moment began the decline of Wolsey. The great seal was taken from him, and given to Sir Thomas More: and he was sued in a præmunire, for having held the legatine courts by a foreign authority, contrary to the laws of England: he confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance, and submitted himself to the king's mercy; so judgment passed on him: then was his rich palace and royal furniture seized on for the royal use; yet the king received him again into his protection, and restored to him the temporalties of the sees of York and Winchester, and above 6000*l.* in plate, and other goods. Articles were, however, preferred against him, in the house of lords, where he had but few friends; but Cromwell, who had been his secretary, did so manage the matter in the house of commons, that it came to nothing. This failing, his enemies procured an order to be sent to him, to go into Yorkshire; thither he went in great state, with 160 horses in his train, and 72 carts following him. There he lived some time; but the king being informed, that he was practising with the pope and the emperor, sent the earl of Northumberland to arrest him for high treason, and bring him up to London. On the way he sickened, and died at Leicester, making great protestations of his constant fidelity to the king, particularly in the matter of his divorce: and "wishing he had served God as faithfully as he had done the king; for then he would not have cast him off in his gray hairs, as the king had done:" words that declining favorites are apt to reflect on, but seldom remember in the height of their fortune.

THE UNIVERSITIES DECLARE AGAINST THE KING'S MARRIAGE.

The king now intending to proceed in the method proposed by Cranmer, sent to Oxford and Cambridge, to procure their conclusions. At Oxford, it was referred by the major part of the convocation to thirty-three doctors and bachelors of divinity, whom that faculty was to name: they were empowered to determine the question, and put the seal of the university to their conclusion. And they gave their opinions, that the marriage of the brother's wife was contrary both to the laws of God and nature. At Cambridge the con-

vocation referred the question to twenty-nine; of which number, two-thirds agreeing, they were empowered to put the seal of the university to their determination. These agreed in opinion with those of Oxford. The jealousy of Dr. Cranmer's favoring Lutheranism, caused the fierce popish party to oppose every thing in which he was engaged. They were also afraid of Anne Boleyn's advancement, who was believed to be tinctured with these opinions. Crook, a learned man, was employed in Italy, to procure the resolution of divines there; in which he was so successful, that besides the great discoveries he made in searching the manuscripts of the Greek fathers concerning their opinions in this point, he engaged several persons to write for the king's cause: and also got the Jews to give their opinions of the laws in Leviticus, that they were moral and obligatory; yet, when a brother died without issue, his brother might marry his widow within Judea, for preserving their families and succession; but they thought that might not be done out of Judea. The state of Venice would not declare themselves, but said they would be neutral, and it was not easy to persuade the divines of the republic to give their opinions, till a brief was obtained of the pope, permitting all divines and canonists to deliver their opinions according to their consciences. The pope abhorred this way of proceeding, though he could not decently oppose it: but he said, in great scorn, that no friar should set limits to his power. Crook was ordered to give no money, nor make promises to any, till they had freely delivered their opinion; which he is said to have faithfully observed.

He sent over to England a hundred several books, and papers, with many subscriptions; all condemning the king's marriage as unlawful in itself. At Paris, the Sorbonne made their determination with great solemnity; after mass, all the doctors took an oath to study the question, and to give their judgment according to their consciences; and after three weeks' study, the greater part agreed on this: "that the king's marriage was unlawful, and that the pope could not dispense with it." At Orleans, Angiers, and Toulouse, they determined to the same purpose.

Calvin thought the marriage null, and all agreed that the pope's dispensation was of no force. Osiander was employed to engage the Lutheran divines, but they were afraid of giving the emperor new grounds of displeasure.

Melancthon thought the law in Leviticus was dispensable, and that the marriage might be lawful; and that, in those matters, states and princes might make what laws they pleased; and though the divines of Leipsic, after much disputing about it, did agree that those laws were moral, yet they could never be brought to justify the divorce, with the subsequent marriage; but the pope was more compliant, for he offered to Cassali, to grant the king dispensation for having another wife, with which the Imperialists seemed not dissatisfied.

The king's cause being thus fortified by so many resolutions in his favor, he made many members of parliament, in a prorogation time, sign a letter to the pope, complaining, that notwithstanding the great merits of the king, the justice of his cause, and the importance of it to the safety of the kingdom, yet the pope made still new delays; they therefore pressed him to dispatch it speedily, otherwise they would be forced to seek other remedies, though they were not willing to drive things to extremities, till it was unavoidable. The letter was signed by the cardinal, the archbishop of Canterbury, four bishops, twenty-two abbots, forty-two peers, and eleven commoners.

To this the pope wrote an answer: he took notice of the vehemence of their style: he freed himself from the imputations of ingratitude and injustice: he acknowledged the king's great merits; and said, he had done all he could in his favor: he had granted a commission, but could not refuse to receive the queen's appeal; all the cardinals, with one consent, judged, that an avocation was necessary. Since that time, the delays lay not with him, but with the king; that he was ready to proceed, and would bring it to as speedy an issue as the importance of it would admit of; and for their threatenings, they were neither agreeable to their wisdom, nor their religion.

The king, now disgusted at his dependence on the pope, issued a proclamation against any that should purchase, bring over, or publish, any bull from Rome, contrary to his authority: and after that he made an abstract of all the reasons and authorities of the fathers or modern writers, against his marriage, to be published both in Latin and English.

Both sides having produced the strength of their cause, it evidently appeared, that, according to the authority given to the tradition in the church of Rome, the king had clearly the right on his side.

Amidst these disputes the queen continued firm to her resolution of leaving the matter in the pope's hands, and would not listen to any propositions for referring the matter to the arbitration of a number chosen on both sides.

The kings of England claimed the same latitude of power in ecclesiastical matters, as the Roman emperors had exercised before the fall of that empire: anciently they had by their authority divided bishoprics, granted the investitures, and made laws relating both to ecclesiastical causes and persons. When the popes began to extend their

power beyond the limits assigned them by the canons, great opposition arose to them in England; but they managed the advantages they found, either from the weakness of ill circumstances of princes, so steadily, that at length they subdued the world: and if they had not, by their cruel exactions, so oppressed the clergy, that they were driven to seek shelter under the covert of the temporal authority, the world was so overwhelmed by superstition and credulity, that not only the whole spiritual power, but even the temporal authority of the princes, was likely to have fallen under popish tyranny. But the discontented clergy supported the secular power as much as they had before advanced that of the papal. Boniface VIII. had raised his pretensions to that impudent pitch, that he declared all power, both ecclesiastical and civil, was derived from him; and this he established as an article of faith, necessary to salvation; on which he, and his successors, took upon them to dispose of all ecclesiastical benefices by their bulls and provisions. To restrain these invasions of the rights of princes, laws were made in England, which condemned them for the future: but no punishment being declared for the transgressors, the courtiers at Rome were not frighted at so general a law: so that these abuses still continued: but in the reign of Edward III. a more severe act was made, by which, all that transgressed were to be imprisoned, to be fined at pleasure, and to forfeit all their benefices.

THE CLERGY SUED IN A PRÆMUNIRE.

These long forgotten statutes were now revived, to bring the clergy into a snare: it was designed, by the terror of this, to force them into an entire submission, and to oblige them to redeem themselves by the grant of a considerable subsidy. They pleaded ignorance; it was a public error, and they ought not therefore to be punished for it. To this it was answered, that the laws which they had transgressed were still in force, and so no ignorance could excuse the violation of them. The convocation of Canterbury made their submission, and in their address to the king, he was called the protector and supreme head of the church of England; but some objecting to that, it was added, "in so far as it is agreeable to the law of Christ." This was signed by nine bishops, fifty abbots and priors, and the greatest part of the lower house; and with it they offered the king a subsidy of 100,000*l.*, to procure his favor, and promised for the future not to make nor execute any constitutions without his license.

The convocation of York did not pass this so easily; they objected to the word *head*, as agreeing to none but Christ; whereupon the king wrote them a long expostulatory letter, and told them with what limitations those of Canterbury had passed that title; upon which they all submitted, and offered 18,840*l.*, which was accepted; and thus the clergy were again received into the king's protection, and pardoned.

THE KING LEAVES THE QUEEN.

After the prorogation of this session of parliament, new applications were made to the queen to persuade her to depart from her appeal; but she remained fixed in her resolution, and said she was the king's lawful wife, and would abide by it till the court of Rome should declare the contrary. Upon that, the king desired her to choose any of his houses in the country to live in, and resolved never to see her more.

THE POPE WRITES TO THE KING, AND IS ANSWERED.

In January 1532, the pope, upon the motion of the Imperialists, wrote to the king, complaining, that notwithstanding a suit was depending concerning his marriage, yet he had put away his queen, and kept one Anne as his wife, contrary to a prohibition served on him; he therefore exhorted him to live with his queen again, and to put away Anne. Upon this the king sent Dr. Bennet to Rome with a large dispatch, in which he complained that the pope proceeded in that matter upon the suggestion of others, who were ignorant and rash men, and had carried himself inconstantly and deceitfully in it, and not as became Christ's vicar: he had granted a commission, had promised never to recall it, and had sent over a decretal bull defining the cause. Either these were unjustly granted, or unjustly recalled. It was plain that he acted more with regard to his interests, than according to conscience; and that, as the pope had often confessed his own ignorance in these matters, so he was not furnished with learned men to advise him, otherwise he would not defend a marriage which almost all the learned men and universities in England, France, and Italy, had condemned as unlawful. He would not question his authority, unless he were compelled to it, and would do nothing but reduce it to its first and ancient limits.

This haughty letter made the pope resolve to proceed and end this matter, either by a sentence or a treaty. The king was cited to answer to the queen's appeal, at Rome, in person or by proxy: accordingly, Sir Edward Karne was sent thither in the new character of the king's excusator, to excuse the king's appearance, upon such grounds as could be founded on the canon law, and upon the privileges of the crown of England. The Imperialists pressed the pope to give sentence, but the wiser cardinals, who observed that the nation would adhere to the king, if he should be provoked to shake off the pope's yoke, suggested milder counsels.

In conclusion, the pope seemed to favor the king's excusatory plea, upon which the Imperialists made great complaints. But this amounted to no more, than that the king was not bound to appear in person; therefore the cardinals, who were in his interest, advised the king to send over a proxy for answering to the merits of the cause. Bonner was also sent to England to assure the king, that the pope was now so much in the French interest, that he might confidently refer his matter to him.

At that time the king sent for the speaker of the house of commons, and told him he found the prelates were but half subjects; for they swore at their consecration an oath to the pope, inconsistent with their allegiance and oath to him. By their oath to the pope, they swore to be in no council against him, nor to disclose his secrets; but to maintain the papacy, and the rights and authorities of the church of Rome, against all men. In their oath to the king, they renounced all clauses in their bulls contrary to the king's royal dignity, and swore to be faithful to him, and to live and die with him against all others, and to keep his counsel; acknowledging that they held their bishoprics only of him. It was evident they could not keep both those oaths, in case of a breach between the king and the pope. But the plague broke off the consultations of parliament at this time. Soon after, Sir Thomas More, seeing a rupture with Rome coming on so fast, desired leave to lay down his office, which was, upon that, conferred on Sir Thomas Audley. More was satisfied with the king's keeping up the laws formerly made in opposition to the papal encroachments, and so had concurred in the suit of the præmunire; but now the matter went farther, and not being able to keep pace with the king's measures, he returned to a private life.

INTERVIEW OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

An interview soon followed between the kings of France and England; in which, Francis promised Henry to second him in his suit; encouraged him to proceed to a second marriage without delay; and assured him of his assistance and support: meantime, the pope offered to the king, to send a legate to any indifferent place out of England, to form the process, reserving only the giving sentence to himself; and proposed to him, and all princes, a general truce, to be followed by a general council.

The king answered, that such was the present state of the affairs of Europe, that it was not seasonable to call a general council; and that it was contrary to his prerogative to send a proxy to appear at Rome; that by the decrees of general councils, all causes ought to be judged on the place and by a provincial council; and that it was fitter to judge it in England, than anywhere else: and that by his coronation oath he was bound to maintain the dignities of his crown, and the rights of his subjects; and not to appear before any foreign court. Sir Thomas Elliot was, therefore, sent over, with instructions to move that the cause might be judged in England.

THE KING MARRIES ANNE BOLEYN.

Soon after this, the king married Anne Boleyn; Rowland Lee (afterwards bishop of Coventry and Lichfield) officiated, none being present but the duke of Norfolk, and her father, mother, brother, and Cranmer. It was thought that the former marriage being null, the king might proceed to another: and perhaps they hoped, that as the pope had formerly proposed this method, so he would now approve of it. But though the pope had joined himself to France, yet he was still so much in fear of the emperor, that he dared not provoke him. A new citation was therefore issued out, for the king to answer to the queen's complaints; but Henry's agents protested, that their master was a sovereign prince, and England a free church, over which the pope had no just authority; and that the king could expect no justice at Rome, where the emperor's power was so great.

THE PARLIAMENT CONDEMNS APPEALS TO ROME.

At this time, the parliament met again, and passed an act, condemning all appeals to Rome; and enacting, that thenceforth all causes should be judged within the kingdom, and that sentences given in England were to have full effect: and all that executed any censures from Rome, were to incur the pain of præmunire.

CRANMER MADE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, having died the preceding year, was succeeded by Cranmer, who was then in Germany, disputing in the king's cause with some of the emperor's divines. The king resolved to advance him to that dignity, and sent him word of it, that so he might make haste over: but a promotion so far above his thoughts, had not its common effects on him: he had a true and primitive sense of so great a charge; and instead of aspiring to it, feared it; and, returning very slowly to England, used all his endeavors to be excused from that advancement. Bulls were sent for to Rome, in order to his consecration, which the pope granted, and on the 30th of March, Cranmer was consecrated by the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph. The oath to the pope was of hard digestion to him. He therefore made a protestation, before he

took it, that he conceived himself not bound up by it in any thing that was contrary to his duty to God, to his king, or to his country; and this he repeated when he took it.

THE KING'S MARRIAGE CONDEMNED BY THE CONVOCATION.

The convocation had then two questions before them; the first was, concerning the lawfulness of the king's marriage, and the validity of the pope's dispensation; the other was, of matter of fact, whether Prince Arthur had consummated the marriage. For the first, the judgments of nineteen universities were read; and after a long debate, there being twenty-three only in the lower house, fourteen were against the marriage, seven for it, and two voted dubiously. In the upper house, Stokesly, bishop of London, and Fisher maintained the debate long: the one for the affirmative, and the other the negative: at last it was carried *nemine contradicente*, (the few that were of the other side, it seems, withdrawing) against the marriage, 216 being present. The other question was referred to the canonists; and they all, except five or six, reported, that the presumptions were violent; and these, in a matter not capable of plain proof, were always received in law.

The convocation having thus judged in the matter, the ceremony of pronouncing the divorce judicially was now only wanting. The new queen being pregnant, was a great evidence of her having preserved her chastity previously to her marriage. On Easter eve she was declared queen of England; and soon after, Cranmer, with Gardiner, who had been made, upon Wolsey's death, bishop of Wincester, and the bishops of London, Lincoln, Bath, and Wells, with many divines and canonists, went to Dunstable; queen Catharine living then near it, at Ampthill. The king and queen were cited; he appeared by proxy, but the queen refused to take any notice of the court: so after three citations she was declared contumacious, and the merits of the cause were examined. At last, on the 23d of May, sentence was given, declaring the marriage to have been null from the beginning.

CORONATION OF ANNE BOLEYN.

Some days after this, another judgment was given, confirming the king's marriage with queen Anne, and on the first of June she was crowned. All people admired her conduct, who, during so many years, managed the spirit of so violent a king in such a manner, as neither to surfeit him with too many favors, nor to provoke him with too much rigor. They that loved the reformation, looked for better days under her protection; but many priests and friars, both in sermons and discourses, condemned the king's proceedings. Henry sent ambassadors to the various courts of Europe, to justify what he had done: he sent also to queen Catharine, charging her to assume no other title but that of princess dowager; but to this she refused obedience, saying, she would not take that infamy on herself; and so resolved, that none should serve about her who did not treat her as queen.

At Rome the cardinals of the Imperial faction complained much of the attempt made on the pope's power, and urged him to proceed to censures. But there was only sentence given, annulling all that the archbishop of Canterbury had done; and the king was required, under pain of excommunication, to place things again in the state in which they formerly were; and this notification was affixed at Dunkirk. The king sent an embassy to the French monarch, who was then setting out to Marseilles, to meet the pope; their errand was to dissuade him from the journey, unless the pope promised Henry satisfaction: Francis said, he was engaged in honor to go on; but assured them, he would mind the king's concerns with as much zeal as if they were his own.

BIRTH OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

In September the queen brought forth a daughter, afterwards the renowned queen Elizabeth; and the king having before declared lady Mary princess of Wales, did now the same for her: though, since a son might exclude her from it, she could not be heir apparent, but only heir presumptive to the crown.

The eventful moment was now at hand, when the incident should take place that would cause the separation of England from the church of Rome. There was a secret agreement between the pope and Francis, that if king Henry would refer his cause to the consistory, excepting only the cardinals of the Imperial faction, as partial, and would in all other things return to his obedience to the see of Rome, the sentence should be given in his favor. When Francis returned to Paris, he sent over the bishop of that city to the king, to tell what he had obtained of the pope in his favor, and the terms on which it was promised: this wrought so much on the king, that he presently consented to them: upon which, the bishop of Paris, though it was now in the middle of winter, went to Rome in consequence. Upon his arrival there, the matter seemed agreed: for it was promised, that upon the king's sending a promise under his hand, to place things in their former state, and his ordering a proxy to appear for him, judges should be sent to Cambray for making the process, and then sentence should be given. Upon the notice given of this, and of a day fixed for the return of the courier, the king dispatched him with all possible haste; and now the business seemed at an end. But the courier

had the sea and the Alps to pass, and in winter it was not easy to observe a limited day so exactly. The appointed day came, and no courier arrived; upon which the Imperialists gave out, that the king was abusing the pope's easiness; and pressed him vehemently to proceed to a sentence: the bishop of Paris requested only a delay of six days. But the design of the Imperialists was to hinder a reconciliation; for if the king had been set right with the pope, there would have been so powerful a league formed against the emperor, as would have frustrated all his measures: and therefore it was necessary for his politics to embroil them. Seduced by the artifice of this intriguing prince, the pope, contrary to his ordinary prudence, brought the matter before the consistory; and there the Imperialists having the majority, it was driven on with so much precipitation, that they did, in one day, that which, according to form, should have occupied three.

They gave the final sentence, declared the king's marriage with queen Catharine good, and required him to live with her as his wife, otherwise they would proceed to censures. Two days after this, the courier came with the king's submission in due form; he also brought earnest letters from Francis in the king's favor. This wrought on all the indifferent cardinals, as well as those of the French faction, so much that they prayed the pope to recall what was done. A new consistory was called; but the Imperialists urged, with greater vehemence than ever, that they would not give such scandal to the world as to recall a definitive sentence past of the validity of a marriage, and give the heretics such advantages by their unsteadiness in matters of that nature; it was therefore carried, that the former sentence should take place, and the execution of it committed to the emperor. When this was known in England, it determined the king in his resolution of shaking off the papal yoke, in which he had made so great a progress, that the parliament had passed all the acts concerning it, before he received the news from Rome; for he judged that the best way to secure his cause was to let Rome see his power, and with what vigor he could make war.

ARGUMENTS FOR REJECTING THE POPE'S POWER.

In England the foundations on which the papal authority was built, had been examined with extraordinary care of late years; and several books were written on that subject. It was demonstrated that all the apostles were made equal in the powers that Christ gave them, and he often condemned their contests about superiority but never declared in St. Peter's favor. St Paul withstood him to his face, and reckoned himself not inferior to him. If the dignity of a person left any authority with the city in which he sat, then Antioch must carry it as well as Rome; and Jerusalem, where Christ suffered, was to be preferred to all the world, for it was truly the mother-church. The other privileges ascribed to St. Peter, were either only a precedence of order, or were occasioned by his fall, as that injunction, "Feed my sheep," it being a restoring him to the apostolical function. St. Peter had also a limited province, the circumcision, as St. Paul had the uncircumcision, of far greater extent; which showed that Peter was not considered as the universal pastor.

Several sees, as Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia, pretended exemption from the papal authority. Many English bishops had asserted that the popes had no authority against the canons, and to that day no canon the pope made was binding till it was received; which showed the pope's authority was not believed to be founded on a divine authority: and the contests which the kings of England had had with the popes concerning investitures, bishops doing homage, appeals to Rome, and the authority of papal bulls and provisions, showed that the pope's power was believed to be subject to laws and custom, and so not derived from Christ and St. Peter; and as laws had given them some power, and princes had been forced in ignorant ages to submit to their usurpations, so they might, as they saw cause, change those laws, and resume their rights.

The next point inquired into was, the authority that kings had in matters of religion and the church. In the New Testament, Christ was himself subject to the civil powers, and charged his disciples not to affect temporal dominion. They also wrote to the churches to be subject to the higher powers, and call them supreme, and charge every soul to be subject to them: so in scripture the king is called head and supreme, and every soul is said to be under him, which, joined together, makes up his conclusion, that he is the supreme head over all persons. In the primitive church the bishops only made rules or canons, but pretended to no compulsive authority, but what came from the civil magistrate. Upon the whole matter, they concluded that the pope had no power in England, and that the king had an entire dominion over all his subjects, which extended even to the regulation of ecclesiastical matters.

These questions being fully discussed in many disputes, and published in several books, all the bishops, abbots, and friars of England, Fisher only excepted, were so far satisfied with them, that they resolved to comply with the changes the king was resolved to make.

THE POPE'S POWER REJECTED BY PARLIAMENT.

At the next meeting of parliament there were but seven bishops and twelve abbots present, the rest being unwilling to concur in making this change, though they complied with it when it was made. Every Sunday during the session a bishop preached at St. Paul's, and declared that the pope had no authority in England: before this, they had only said that a general council was above him, and that the exactions of his court, and appeals to it, were unlawful; but now they went a strain higher, to prepare the people for receiving the acts then in agitation. On the 9th of March the commons began the bill for taking away the pope's power, and sent it to the lords on the 14th, who passed it on the 20th without any dissent. In it they set forth the exactions of the court of Rome, grounded on the pope's power of dispensing; and that as none could dispense with the laws of God, so the king and parliament only had the authority of dispensing with the laws of the land; and that therefore such licenses or dispensations as were formerly in use, should be for the future granted by the two archbishops; some of these were to be confirmed under the great seal; and they appointed that thereafter all intercourse with Rome, on those subjects, should cease. They also declared that they did not intend to alter any article of the catholic faith of Christendom, or of that which was declared in the scriptures necessary to salvation. They confirmed all the exemptions granted to monasteries by the popes, but subjected them to the king's visitation, and gave the king and his council power to examine and reform all indulgences and privileges granted by the pope. This act subjected the monasteries entirely to the king's authority, and put them in no small confusion. Those who loved the reformation rejoiced both to see the pope's power rooted out, and to find the scripture made the standard of religion.

After this act, another passed in both houses in six days' time without any opposition, settling the succession of the crown, confirming the sentence of divorce, and the king's marriage with queen Anne, and declaring all marriages within the degrees prohibited by Moses to be unlawful: all that had married within them were appointed to be divorced, and their issue illegitimated; and the succession to the crown was settled upon the king's issue by the present queen, or, in default of that, to the king's right heirs for ever. All were required to swear to maintain the contents of this act; and if any refused to swear to it, or should say any thing to the slander of the king's marriage, he was to be judged guilty of misprision of treason, and to be punished accordingly.

About this time one Phillips complained to the house of commons of the bishop of London for using him cruelly in prison upon suspicion of heresy; the commons sent up his petition to the lords, but received no answer: they therefore sent some of their members to the bishop, desiring him to answer the complaints put in against him: but he acquainted the house of lords with it; and they with one consent voted that none of their house ought to appear or answer to any complaint at the bar of the house of commons. On which the commons let this particular case fall, and sent up a bill, to which the lords agreed, regulating the proceedings against heretics; repealing the statute of Henry IV.; and declaring that none were to be committed for heresy but upon a presentment made by two witnesses; none were to be accused of speaking against things that were grounded only upon the pope's canons; bail was to be taken for heretics, and they were to be brought to trial in open court; and if upon conviction they did not abjure, or were relapses, they were to be burnt; the king's writ being first obtained. This was a great check to the bishop's tyranny, and gave great satisfaction to the friends of the reformation.

The convocation sent in a submission at the same time, by which they acknowledged, that all the convocations ought to be assembled by the king's writ; and promised never to make nor execute any canons without the king's assent. They also desired, that since many of the received canons were found to be contrary to the king's prerogative and the laws of the land, there might be a committee named by the king of thirty-two, the one half out of both houses of parliament, and the other of the clergy, empowered to abrogate or regulate them, as they should see cause. This was confirmed in parliament; the act against appeals was renewed; and an appeal was allowed from the archbishop to the king, upon which the lord chancellor was to grant a commission for a court of delegates.

Another act passed for regulating the elections and consecrations of bishops, condemning all bulls from Rome, and appointing that upon a vacancy the king should grant a license for an election, and should by a missive letter signify the person's name whom he would have chosen; and within twelve days after these were delivered, the dean and chapter, or prior and convent, were required to return an election of the person named by the king, under their seals. The bishop elect was upon that to swear fealty, and a writ was to be issued out for his consecration in the usual manner; after that he was to do homage to the king, upon which both the temporalties and spiritualties were to be restored, and bishops were to exercise

their jurisdictions as they had done before. All who transgressed this act were made guilty of a præmunire.

A private act passed, depriving cardinal Campegio and Jerome de Gianuccii of the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester: the reasons given for it were, because they did not reside in their dioceses, for preaching the laws of God, and keeping hospitality, but lived at the court of Rome, and drew £3000 a year out of the kingdom.

The last act of a public nature, though relating only to private persons, was concerning the nun of Kent and her accomplices. It was the first occasion of shedding any blood in this quarrel, and the imposture was much cherished by all the superstitious clergy who adhered to the interests of the queen and the pope. The nun, and many of her accomplices, were brought to the bar of the house of lords, where they confessed the whole matter.

Sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher were charged with having concealed their knowledge of the affair; the former wrote a long letter upon the subject to Cromwell, giving him a particular account of all the conversations he had had with the nun: he acknowledged that he had esteemed her highly, not so much out of any regard to her prophecies, as for the opinion he conceived of her holiness and humility. But he added, that "he was then convinced that she was the most false dissembling hypocrite that had ever been known, and guilty of the most detestable hypocrisy and devilish dissembled falsehood:" he also believed that she had communication with an evil spirit. More's justification of his conduct prevailed so far, that his name was struck out of the bill.

STORY OF THE NUN OF KENT.

Elizabeth Barton, of Kent, fell into some hysterical fits, and spake such things as made those about her think she was inspired by God. The parson of the parish, named Master, hoping to draw advantages from this, informed archbishop Warham of it, who ordered him to watch her carefully, and bring him an account of what he should observe. But it seems she forgot all that she said in her fits when they were over. But the artful priest would not suffer his hopes thus to pass away, but persuaded her she was inspired, and taught her so to counterfeit those trances, that she became very expert at it, and could assume them at her pleasure. The matter was soon noised about; and the priest intended to raise the credit of an image of the blessed virgin, which stood in his church, that so pilgrimages and offerings might be made to it by her means. He accordingly associated to himself one Bocking, a monk of Canterbury, and they taught the nun to say, in her fits, that the blessed virgin appeared to her, and told her, she could not be well till she visited that image. She spake many good words against ill life, and also against heresy, and the king's suit of divorce then depending; and by many strange motions of her body, she seemed, to the ignorant multitude of that age, to be inwardly possessed.

Soon after this, a day was appointed for her cure; and before an assemblage of two thousand people, she was carried to the image; and after she had acted over her fits, she seemed suddenly to recover, which was ascribed to the intercession of the virgin, and the virtue of her image. She then took the veil, and Bocking was her confessor.

Her popularity increased daily, and many thought her a prophetess, among whom was archbishop Warham himself. A book was also written of her revelations, and a letter was shown, all in letters of gold, pretended to be written to her from Heaven by Mary Magdalen. She said, that when the king was last at Calais, she was carried invisibly beyond sea, and brought back again; and that an angel gave her the sacrament; and that God revealed to her, that if the king went on in his divorce, and married another wife, he should fall from his crown, and not live a month longer, but should die a villain's death.

Several monks of the Charter-house, and the observant friars, with many nuns, and bishop Fisher, gave credit to this, set a great value on her, and grew very insolent upon it; for friar Peyto preaching in the king's chapel at Greenwich, denounced the judgments of God upon him; and said, though others as lying prophets deceived him, yet he, in the name of God, told him, that dogs should lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's. The king bore this patiently, contenting himself with ordering Dr. Corren to preach next Sunday, and to answer all that he had said; who railed against Peyto as a dog and a traitor. Peyto had gone to Canterbury; but Elston, a Franciscan of the same house, interrupted him, and called him one of the lying prophets that went about to establish the succession of the crown by adultery; and spoke with so much vehemence, that the king himself was forced to command silence. So unwilling was the king to go to extremities, that all that was done upon so high a provocation, was, that they were summoned before the council, and rebuked for their insolence. But the nun's confederates proceeding to publish her revelations in all parts of the kingdom, she and nine of her accomplices were apprehended, when they all, without any rack or torture, discovered the whole conspiracy. Upon this confession they were appointed to go to St. Paul's, where, after a sermon preached by the bishop of Bangor, they repeated their confession in

the hearing of the people, and were sent as prisoners to the Tower. But it was given out that all was extorted from them by violence, and messages were sent to the nun, desiring her to deny all that she had confessed. The king, on this, judged it necessary to proceed to further extremities: accordingly she and six of her chief accomplices were attainted of treason, and the bishop of Rochester and five more were attainted of misprision of treason. But at the intercession of queen Anne (as is expressed in the act) all others that had been concerned with her were pardoned.

After this, the nun and her coadjutors were executed at Tyburn. There she voluntarily confessed herself to be an impostor, and acknowledged the justice of her sentence, laying the blame on those who suffered with her, by whom she had been seduced into the crime; adding, that they had exalted her for no other cause than for her having been of great profit to them, and that they had presumed to say, that all she had done was through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, when they were sensible the whole was a trick. She then begged pardon of God and the king, and resigned herself to her fate.—Thus ended one of the vilest impostures ever known in this country.

Had this fallen out in a darker age, the king might have lost his crown by it. But at the present era, the discovery of it disposed men to look on older stories of trances, &c. as contrivances to serve base ends, and made way for the ruin of the monastic order in England; but all that followed at present upon it was, that the observants were put out of their houses, and mixed with the other Franciscans, and the Austin friars were put in their room.

Upon the first discovery of the above imposture, Cromwell sent Fisher's brother to him to reprove him for his carriage in that business, and to advise him to ask the king's pardon for the encouragement he had given to the nun, which he was confident the king would grant him. But Fisher excused himself, and said, he had only tried whether her revelations were true or not. He confessed, that upon the reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high opinion of her, and that he had never discovered any falsehood in her. It was true, she had said some things to him concerning the king's death which he had not revealed, but he thought it was not necessary to do it, because he knew she had told them to the king herself; she had named no person that should kill the king, but had only denounced it as a judgment of God upon him; and he had reason to think that the king would have been offended with him if he had spoken of it to him; he therefore desired to be no more troubled with the matter. But, upon that, Cromwell wrote him a sharp letter, wherein he showed him that he had proceeded rashly in that affair; being so partial in the matter of the king's divorce, that he easily believed every thing that seemed to make against it; he showed him how necessary it was to use great caution before extraordinary things should be received, or spread about as revelations, since otherwise the peace of the world would be in the hands of every bold or crafty impostor; yet, in conclusion, he advised him again to ask the king's pardon for his rashness, and assured him that the king was ready to forgive him. But Fisher would make no submission, and was in consequence included in the act; yet it was not executed till a new provocation drew him into farther trouble. The secular and regular clergy did everywhere swear the oath of succession, which none more zealously promoted than Gardiner, who before the 6th of May prevailed upon all his clergy to swear it: and the religious orders being apprehensive of the king's jealousies of them, took care to remove them by sending in declarations, under the seals of their houses, that in their opinion the king's present marriage was lawful, and that they would always acknowledge him head of the church of England.

The council met at Lambeth, to which many were cited for the purpose of taking the oath, among whom was Sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher. More was first called on to take it: he answered, that he neither blamed those that made the acts, nor those that swore the oath; and that he was willing to swear to maintain the succession to the crown, but could not take the oath as it was conceived. Fisher made the same answer, but all the rest that were cited before them took it. More was pressed to give his reasons against it; but he refused, for it might be called disputing against law, yet he would put them into writing if the king would command him to do it. Cranmer said, if he did not blame those that took it, it seems he was not persuaded it was a sin, and so was only doubtful of it; but he was sure he ought to obey the law, if it was not sinful; so there was a certainty on the one hand, and only a doubt on the other, and therefore the former ought to determine him: this he confessed did shake him a little, but he said he thought in his conscience that it would be a sin to comply. In conclusion, both he and Fisher declared that they thought it was in the power of the parliament to settle the succession to the crown, and so were ready to swear to that; but they could not take the oath that was tendered to them, for by it they must swear that the king's former marriage was unlawful, to which they could not assent; so they were both committed to the Tower, and denied the use of pen, ink, and paper. The old bishop was also hardly used

both in his clothes and diet; he had only rags to cover him, and fire was often denied him; a cruelty not capable of excuse, and as barbarous as it was undeserved.

In the winter, parliament met again, and the first act that passed declared the king to be the supreme head on earth of the church of England, which was ordered to be prefixed to his other titles; and it was enacted that he and his successors should have full authority to reform all heresies and abuses in the spiritual jurisdiction. By another act the parliament confirmed the oath of succession, which had not been specified in the former act, though agreed to by the lords. They also gave the king the first-fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical benefices, as being the supreme head of the church. Another act passed, declaring some things treason; one of these was the denying the king any of his titles, or the calling him heretic, schismatic, or usurper of the crown. By another act, provision was made for setting up twenty-six suffragan bishops over England, for the more speedy administration of the sacraments, and the better service of God. The bishop of the diocese was to present two to the king, and upon the king's declaring his choice, the archbishop was to consecrate the person, and then the bishop was to delegate such parts of his charge to his care as he thought fitting, during his pleasure. The great extent of the dioceses in England made it hard for one bishop to govern them with that exactness that was necessary; these were therefore appointed to assist in the discharge of the pastoral functions.

Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, by two special acts, were attainted of misprision of treason; five other clerks were in like manner condemned, all for refusing to swear the oath of succession. The see of Rochester was declared void; and continued vacant two years.

But now a new scene commenced; before we enter upon which it will be necessary to state the progress that the new opinions had made in England during the king's suit of divorce. Under Wolsey's ministry, the reformed preachers were gently used; and it is probable the king ordered the bishops to cease inquiring after them, when the pope began to use him ill; for the progress of heresy was always reckoned at Rome among the mischiefs that would follow upon the pope's rejecting the king's suit. But Sir Thomas More, coming into favor, offered new counsels, and thought the king's proceeding severely against heretics would be so meritorious at Rome, that it would work more effectually than all his threatenings had done. Upon this, a severe proclamation was issued out both against their books and persons, ordering all the laws against them to be put in execution.

TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT INTO ENGLISH.

Tindal and others at Antwerp were every year either translating or writing books against some of the received errors, and sending them over to England. But the translation of the New Testament, by Tindal, gave the greatest offence, and was much complained of by the clergy as full of errors. Tonstall, then bishop of London, returning from Cambray, to which place More and he had been sent by the king, as he came through Antwerp, bargained with an English merchant who was secretly a friend of Tindal, to procure him as many of his New Testaments as could be had for money. Tindal gladly received this; for being about a more correct edition, he found he would be better enabled to proceed if the copies of the old were sold off; he therefore gave the merchant all he had, and Tonstall, paying for them, brought them over to England, and burnt them publicly in Cheapside. This was called a burning of the word of God; and it was said the clergy had reason to revenge themselves on it, for it had done them more mischief than all other books whatsoever. But a year after this, the second edition being finished, great numbers were sent over to England, when Constantine, one of Tindal's partners, happened to be taken: believing that some of the London merchants furnished them with money, he was promised his liberty if he would discover who they were: upon this he said the bishop of London did more than all the world besides, for he bought up the greatest part of a faulty impression. The clergy, on their condemning Tindal's translation, promised a new one: but a year after, they said, that it was not necessary to publish the scripture in English, and that the king did well not to set about it.

About this time a book, written by Fish, of Gray's Inn, was published. It was entitled, "The Supplication of the Beggars," and had a vast sale. In it, the beggars were made to complain that the alms of the people were intercepted by the mendicant friars, who were a useless burden to the government; and to tax the pope with cruelty for taking no pity on the poor, since none but those who could pay for it were delivered out of purgatory. The king was so pleased with this, that he would not suffer any thing to be done against the author. Sir Thomas More answered it by another supplication in behalf of the souls in purgatory; setting forth the miseries they were in, and the relief which they received by the masses that were said for them; and therefore they called upon their friends to support the religious orders, which had now so many enemies.

Frith published a serious answer to the last mentioned work, in which he showed that there was no mention made of purgatory

in scripture; that it was inconsistent with the merits of Christ, by which, upon sincere repentance, all sins were pardoned; for if they were pardoned, they could not be punished: and though temporal judgments, either as medicinal corrections or a warning to others, do sometimes fall even on true penitents, yet terrible punishments in another state cannot consist with a free pardon, and the remembering of our sins no more. In expounding many passages of the New Testament, he appealed to More's great friend Erasmus, and showed, that the fire which was spoken of by St. Paul, as that which would consume the wood, hay, and stubble, could only be meant of the fiery trial of persecution. He showed that the primitive church received it not; Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin did not believe it; the last had plainly said, that no mention was made of it in scripture. The monks alone brought it in; and by many wonderful stories persuaded their ignorant followers of the truth of it, and so made a very profitable trade. This book so provoked the clergy, that they resolved to make the author feel a real fire, for endeavoring to extinguish their imaginary one. Sir Thomas More objected poverty and want of learning to the new preachers; but it was answered, the same was made use of to reproach Christ and his apostles; but a plain simplicity of mind, without artificial improvements, was rather thought a good disposition for men that were to bear a cross, and the glory of God appeared more eminently when the instruments seemed contemptible.

But the pen being thought too feeble and gentle, the clergy betook themselves to persecution. Many were vexed with imprisonments for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English, for harboring the reformed preachers, and for speaking against the corruptions and vices of the clergy.

Hinton, formerly a curate, who had gone over to Tindal, was seized on his way back with some books he was conveying to England, and was condemned by archbishop Warham. He was kept long in prison; but remaining firm in the truth, he was, at length, burned at Maidstone.

STORY AND MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS BILNEY.

Thomas Bilney was brought up at Cambridge from a child. On leaving the university, he preached in several places; and in his sermons spoke with great boldness against the pride and insolence of the clergy. This was during the ministry of cardinal Wolsey, who, hearing of his attacks, caused him to be seized and imprisoned. Overcome with fear, Bilney abjured, was pardoned, and returned to Cambridge in the year 1530. Here he fell into great horror of mind, in consequence of his instability and denial of the truth. He became ashamed of himself, bitterly repented of his sin, and, growing strong in faith, resolved to make some atonement by a public avowal of his apostasy, and confession of his sentiments. To prepare himself for his task, he studied the scriptures with deep attention for two years; at the expiration of which he again quitted the university, went into Norfolk, where he was born, and preached up and down that county against idolatry and superstition; exhorting the people to a good life, to give alms, to believe in Christ, and to offer up their souls to him in the sacrament. He openly confessed his own sin of denying the faith; and using no precaution as he went about, was soon taken by the bishop's officers, condemned as a relapse, and degraded. Sir Thomas More sent down the writ to burn him. Parker, afterwards archbishop, was an eye-witness of his sufferings; and affirms, that he bore all his hardships with great fortitude and resignation, and continued very cheerful after his sentence. He eat up the poor provision that was brought him heartily, saying, he must keep up a ruinous cottage till it fell. He had these words of Isaiah often in his mouth, "When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt:" and by burning his finger in the candle, he prepared himself for the stake; saying, the fire would only consume the stubble of his body, and would purify his soul.

On the 10th of November he was brought to the stake, where he repeated the creed, prayed earnestly, and with the deepest sense repeated these words, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, oh Lord!" Dr. Warner, who attended, embraced him, shedding many tears, and wishing he might die in as good a frame of mind as Bilney then was. The friars requested him to inform the people, that they were not instrumental to his death, which he did; so that the last act of his life was one of charity and forgiveness.

The officers then put the reeds and fagots about his body, and set fire to the first, which made a great flame, and disfigured his face: he held up his hands, and struck his breast, crying sometimes "Jesus;" sometimes "Credo!" but the flame was blown away from him several times, the wind being very high, till at length the wood taking fire, the flame was stronger, and so he yielded up the ghost.

His body being shrunk up, leaned down on the chain, till one of the officers with his halbert struck out the staple of the chain behind him, on which it fell down into the bottom of the fire, when it was covered with wood, and consumed.

The sufferings, the confession, and the heroic death of this martyr, inspirited and animated others to imitate his conduct.

BYFIELD AND OTHERS BURNT.

Byfield, who had formerly abjured, was taken dispersing Tyndal's books; and he, with one Tewkesbury, were condemned by Stokesly, and burnt. Two men and a woman suffered also the same fate at York. Upon these proceedings, the parliament complained to the king; but this did not check the sanguinary proceedings of the clergy. One Bainham, a counsellor of the Temple, was taken on suspicion of heresy, whipped in the presence of Sir T. More, and afterwards racked in the Tower, yet he could not be wrought on to accuse any, but through fear he abjured. After this, however, being discharged, he was in great trouble of mind, and could find no quiet till he went publicly to church, where he openly confessed his sins, and declared the torments he felt in his conscience for what he had done. Upon this he was again seized on, and condemned for having said that Thomas Becket was a murderer, and was damned if he did not repent; and that in the sacrament, Christ's body was received by faith, and not chewed with the teeth. Sentence was passed upon him, and he was burnt. Soon after this, More delivered up the great seal, in consequence of which the reformed preachers had a short respite.

But the persecution was soon revived, and its rage stopped not at the living, but vented itself even on the dead. Lord Tracy made a will, by which he left his soul to God, in hopes of mercy through Christ, without the help of any saint; and therefore he declared that he would leave nothing for soul-masses. This will being brought to the bishop of London's court to be proved, after his death, provoked the clergy so much,* that he was condemned as a heretic, and an order was sent to the chancellor of Worcester to raise his body; but he went beyond his instructions, and burnt it, which could not be justified, since the deceased was not a relapse. Tracy's heir sued him for it, and he was turned out of his place, and fined £400.

The clergy proclaimed an indulgence of forty days' pardon to any that carried a fagot to the burning of a heretic, that so cruelty might seem the more meritorious.

The reformed now enjoyed a respite of two years, when the crafty Gardiner represented to the king, that it would tend much to his advantage, if he would take some occasion to show his hatred of heresy. Accordingly a young man named Frith was chosen as a sacrifice to this affected zeal for religion.

* We shall not be surprised at their anger, if we consider, that they foresaw, in the event of Lord Tracy's example being followed, the abolition of the most profitable part of their traffic. They railed against him on the same grounds as Demetrius the silversmith did against Paul at Ephesus—they feared that "*their craft was in danger*"

STORY AND MARTYRDOM OF FRITH.

He was a young man much famed for learning, and was the first who wrote in England against the corporeal presence in the sacrament. He followed Zuinglius's doctrine on these grounds: Christ, received in the sacrament, gave eternal life, but this was given only to those who believed, from which he inferred that he was received only by faith. St. Paul said, that the fathers before Christ eat the same spiritual food with Christians; from which it appears, that Christ is now no more corporeally present to us than he was to them; and he argued, from the nature of sacraments in general, and the end of the Lord's Supper, that it was only a commemoration. Yet, upon these premises, he built no other conclusion but that Christ's presence was no article of faith. These reasons he put in writing, which falling into the hands of Sir Thomas More, were answered by him: but Frith never saw the answer till he was put in prison; and then, though he was loaded with irons, and had no books allowed him, he replied.

In his reply he insisted much on the argument, that the Israelites did eat the same food, and drank of the same rock, and that rock was Christ; and since Christ was only mystically and by faith received by them, he concluded that he was at the present time also received only by faith. He showed that Christ's words, "This is my body," were accommodated to the Jewish phrase of calling the lamb the Lord's passover; and confirmed his opinion with many passages out of the fathers, in which the elements were called signs and figures of Christ's body; and they said, that upon consecration they did not cease to be bread and wine, but remained still in their own proper natures. He also showed that the fathers were strangers to all the consequences of that opinion, as that a body could be in more places than one at the same time, or could be in a place in the manner of a spirit: yet he concluded, that if that opinion were held only as a speculation, it might be tolerated, but he condemned the adoration of the elements as gross idolatry.

For these opinions he was seized on, in May, 1533, and brought before Stokesly, Gardiner, and Longland. They charged him with not believing in purgatory and transubstantiation. He gave the reasons that determined him to look on neither of these as articles of faith; but thought that neither the affirming nor denying them ought to be determined positively. The bishops seemed unwilling to proceed to sentence; but he continuing resolute, Stokesly pronounced it, and so delivered him to the secular arm, desiring that his punishment might be moderated. This request was thought a mockery, when all the world knew that it was

intended to burn him. One Hewet, an apprentice of London, was also condemned with him on the same account.

They were brought to the stake at Smithfield on the 4th of July, 1533. On arriving there, Frith expressed great joy, and hugged the fagots with transport: a priest, named Cook, who stood by, called to the people not to pray for them more than they would do for a dog: at this Frith smiled, and prayed God to forgive him: after which the fire was kindled, which consumed them to ashes.

This was the last instance of the cruelty of the clergy at that time; for the act, formerly mentioned, regulating their proceedings, followed soon after. Philips, at whose complaint that bill was begun, was committed upon suspicion of heresy, a copy of Tracy's will being found about him; but he being required to abjure, appealed to the king as supreme head, and upon that was set at liberty; but whether he was tried by the king or not, is not upon record.

The act gave the new preachers and their followers some respite. The king was also empowered to reform all heresies and idolatries: and his affairs obliged him to unite himself to the princes of Germany, that, by their means, he might so embroil the emperor's affairs, as not to give him leisure to turn his arms against England; and this produced a slackening of all severities against them: for those princes, in the first fervor of the reformation, made it an article in all their treaties, that none should be persecuted for favoring their doctrine. The queen also openly protected the reformers; she took Latimer and Shaxton to be her chaplains, and promoted them to the bishoprics of Worcester and Salisbury.

Cranmer was fully convinced of the necessity of a reformation, and that he might carry it on with true judgment, and justify it by good authorities, he made a good collection of the opinions of the ancient fathers, and later doctors, in all the points of religion, comprising six folio volumes. He was a man of great candor, and much patience and industry; and so was on all accounts well prepared for that work, to which the providence of God now called him: and though he was in some things too much subject to the king's imperious temper, yet in the matter of the six articles, he showed that he wanted not the courage that became a bishop in so critical an affair. Cromwell was his great and constant friend; a man of mean birth, but of excellent qualities, as appeared in his adhering to his master Wolsey after his fall: a rare demonstration of gratitude in a courtier to a disgraced favorite.

As Cranmer and Cromwell set themselves to carry on a reformation, another party was formed who as vigorously opposed it. This was headed by the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner; and almost all the clergy lent their strength to it. They persuaded the king that nothing would give the pope or the emperor so much advantage, as his making any changes in religion; and it would reflect much on him, if he, who had written so learnedly for the faith, should, from spite to the pope, make any changes in it. Nothing would encourage other princes so much to follow his example, or keep his subjects so faithful to him, as his continuing stedfast in the ancient religion.

These reasonings made great impression on him. But, on the other hand, Cranmer represented to him that, if he rejected the pope's authority, it was very absurd to let such opinions or practices continue in the church, as had no other foundation but papal decrees: he exhorted the king to depend on God, and hope for good success if he proceeded in this matter according to the duty of a Christian prince. England, he said, was a complete body within itself; and though in the Roman empire, when united under one prince, general councils were easily assembled, yet now many difficulties were in the way, for it was evident, that though both the emperor and the princes of Germany had for twenty years desired a general council, it could not be obtained of the pope; he had indeed offered one at Mantua, but that was only an illusion. Every prince ought, therefore, to reform the church in his dominions by a national synod.

Upon this, the king desired some of the bishops to give their opinion concerning the emperor's power of calling councils; so Cranmer, Tonstal, Clark, and Goodrick, made answer, that though, anciently, councils were called by the Roman emperors, yet that was done by reason of the extent of their monarchy, which had now ceased, and other princes had an entire monarchy within their own dominions.

THE REFORMERS FAVORED BY THE COURT.

The nobility and gentry were generally well satisfied with the change in ecclesiastical affairs; but the body of the people, being more under the power of the priests, were filled with great fears on the subject. It was said, amongst them, that the king now joined himself to heretics; that the queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell, favored them. It was left free to dispute what were articles of faith, and what were only the decrees of popes; and the most important changes might be made, under the pretence, that they only rejected those opinions which were supported by the papal authority.

The monks and friars saw themselves left at the king's mercy. Their bulls could be no longer useful to them. The trade of new saints, or indulgences, were now at an end; they had also some intimations that Cromwell was forming a project for suppressing them; so they thought it necessary for their

own preservation to embroil the king's affairs as much as was possible: therefore, both in confessions and discourses, they labored to infuse into the people a dislike of his proceedings: but these practices at home, and the intrigues of cardinal Pole abroad, the libels that were published, and the rebellions that were raised in England, wrought so much upon the king's temper, naturally imperious and boisterous, that he became too prone to acts of severity, and his new title of *head of the church* seemed to have increased his former vanity, and made him fancy that all his subjects were bound to regulate their belief by the measures he set them. The bishops and abbots did what they could to free the king of any jealousies he might have of them; and of their own accord, before any law was made about it, swore to maintain his supremacy.

CROMWELL MADE VICAR-GENERAL.

The first act of his new power was the making Cromwell vicar-general, and visitor of all the monasteries and churches of England, with a delegation of the king's supremacy to him; he was also empowered to give commissions subaltern to himself; and all wills, where the estate was in value above £200, were to be proved in his court. This was afterwards enlarged: he was made the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, had the precedence of all persons except the royal family; and his authority was in all points the same as had been formerly exercised by the pope's legates.

Pains were taken to engage all the clergy to declare for the supremacy. At Oxford a public determination was made, to which every member assented, that the pope had no more authority in England than any other foreign bishop. The Franciscans at Richmond made some opposition; they said, by the rule of St. Francis, they were bound to obey the holy see. The bishop of Lichfield told them that all the bishops in England, all the heads of houses, and the most learned divines, had signed that proposition. St. Francis made his rule in Italy, where the bishop of Rome was metropolitan, but that ought not to extend to England: and it was shown that the chapter cited by them, was not written by him, but added since; yet they continued positive in their refusal to sign it.

GENERAL VISITATION OF THE MONASTERIES.

It was well known that the monks and friars, though they complied with the time, yet hated this new power of the king's: the people were also startled at it: so one Dr. Leighton, who had been in Wolsey's service with Cromwell, proposed a general visitation of all the religious houses in England; and thought that nothing would reconcile the nation so much to the king's supremacy, as to see some good effect flow from it. Others deemed this was too bold a step, and feared it would provoke the religious orders too much. Yet it was known that they were guilty of such disorders, as nothing could so effectually check as inquiry. Cranmer led the way to this by a metropolitical visitation, for which he obtained the king's license; he took care to see that the pope's name was struck out of all the offices of the church, and that the king's supremacy was generally acknowledged.

In October the general visitation of the monasteries was begun; and the visitors were instructed to inquire, whether the houses had the full number according to their foundation? if they performed divine worship at the appointed hours? what exemptions they had? what were their statutes? how their superiors were chosen? whether they lived according to the severities of their orders? how their lands and revenues were managed? what hospitality was kept? what care was taken of the novices? what benefices were in their gift, and how they disposed of them? how the inclosures of the nunneries were kept? whether the nuns went abroad, or if men were admitted to come to them? how they employed their time, and what priests they had as their confessors?

The visitors were also ordered to deliver some injunctions in the king's name, as to his supremacy, and the act of succession; and were authorized to absolve every one from any rules or oaths of obedience to the pope.

They were also ordered to take care that the abbots should not have choice dishes, but plain tables for hospitality; and that the scriptures should be read at meals; that they should have daily lectures of divinity; and maintain some of every house at the university, and to require that the abbot of each monastery should instruct the monks in true religion, and show them that it did not consist in outward ceremonies, but in clearness of heart, purity of life, and the worshipping of God in spirit and truth. Rules were given about their revenues, and against admitting any under twenty years of age; and the visitors were empowered to punish offenders, or to bring them to answer before the visitor-general.

The visitors went over England, and found in many places monstrous disorders. The most horrible and disgusting crimes were found to be practised in many of the houses; and vice and cruelty were more frequently the inmates of these pretended *sanctuaries* than religion and piety. The report contained many abominable things, not fit to be mentioned: some of these were printed, but the greatest part was lost.

The first house that was surrendered to the king was Langden, in Kent; the abbot

of which was found in bed with a woman, who went in the habit of a lay brother. To prevent greater evil to himself, he and ten of his monks signed a resignation of their house to the king. Two other monasteries in the same county, Folkstone and Dover, followed their example. And in the following year, four others made the like surrenders.

DEATH OF QUEEN CATHERINE.

On January 8, 1536, queen Catherine died. She had been resolute in maintaining her title and state, saying, that since the pope had judged her marriage was good, she would die rather than do any thing to prejudice it. She desired to be buried among the Observant friars, who had most strongly supported her, and suffered for her cause. She ordered 500 masses to be said for her soul; and that one of her women should go on a pilgrimage to our lady of Walsingham, and give two hundred nobles on her way to the poor. When she found death approaching, she wrote to the emperor, recommending her daughter to his care: also to the king, with this inscription, "My dear lord, king, and husband." She forgave him all the injuries he had done her; and wished him to have regard to his soul. She recommended her daughter to his protection, and desired him to be kind to her three maids, and to pay her servants a year's wages; and concluded with, "Mine eyes desire you above all things." She expired at Kimbolton, in the fiftieth year of her age, having been thirty-three years in England. She was devout and exemplary; patient and charitable. Her virtues and her sufferings created an esteem for her in all ranks of people. The king ordered her to be buried in the abbey of Peterborough, and was somewhat affected at her death; but the natural barbarity of his temper prevented him from feeling much remorse on the reflection that he had embittered the existence of a woman who loved and reverenced him.

The same year the parliament confirmed the act empowering thirty-two persons to revise the ecclesiastical laws; but no time being limited for finishing it, it had no effect. The chief business of this session, was the suppressing of all monasteries whose revenues did not exceed 200*l.* a year. The act sets forth the great disorders of those houses, and the many unsuccessful attempts made to reform them. The religious that were in them, were ordered to be placed in the greater houses, and the revenues given to the king. The king was also empowered to make new foundations of such of the suppressed houses as he pleased, which were, in all, three hundred and seventy. This parliament, after six years' continuance, was now dissolved.

A TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE PROPOSED.

In a convocation which sat at this time, a motion was made for translating the Bible into English, which had been promised when Tindal's translation was condemned, but was afterwards laid aside by the clergy, as neither necessary nor expedient. It was said, that those whose office it was to teach the people the word of God, did all they could to suppress it. Moses, the prophets, and the apostles, wrote in the vulgar tongue: Christ directed the people to search the scriptures; and as soon as any nation was converted to the Christian religion, the Bible was translated into their language; nor was it ever taken out of the hands of the people, till the Christian religion was so corrupted, that it was deemed impolitic to trust them with a book, which would so manifestly discover those errors; and the legends, as agreeing better with those abuses, were read instead of the word of God.

Cranmer thought, that putting the Bible in the people's hands would be the most effectual means for promoting the reformation; and therefore moved, that the king might be prayed to order it. But Gardiner, and all the other party, opposed this vehemently. They said, all the extravagant opinions lately broached in Germany arose from the indiscreet use of the scriptures. Some of those opinions were at this time disseminated in England, both against the divinity and incarnation of Christ, and the usefulness of the sacraments. They therefore argued, that during these distractions the use of the scriptures would prove a great snare, and proposed, that instead of them, there might be some short exposition of the Christian religion put into the people's hands, which might keep them in a certain subjection to the king and the church. But, in spite of their arguments, the question of the translation was carried in the convocation in the affirmative.

The courtiers were much divided on this point; some said, if the king gave way to it, he would never be able after that to govern his people, and that they would break into many divisions. But on the other hand, it was maintained, that nothing would make the difference between the pope's power and the king's supremacy appear more eminently, than for the one to give the people the free use of the word of God; while the other kept them in darkness, and ruled them by a blind obedience. It would do much also in extinguishing the interest that either the pope or the monks had among the people. The Bible would teach them, that they had been long deceived by impostures, which had no foundation in the scriptures. These reasons, strengthened by the queen's representations to the king, prevailed so far with

him, that he gave order for setting about this important affair with all possible haste: and within three years the impression of it was finished.

The popish party saw, with disappointment and concern, that the queen was the great obstacle to their designs. She grew not only in the king's esteem, but in the love of the nation. During the last nine months of her life she bestowed above 14,000*l.* in alms to the poor, and seemed to delight in doing good. Soon after Catherine's death, Anne bore a dead son, which was believed to have made an unfavorable impression on the king's mind. It was also considered, that now queen Catherine was dead, the king might marry another, and regain the friendship of the pope and the emperor, and that the issue by any other marriage would never be questioned. With these reasons of state the king's affections joined; for he was now in love (if so heartless a monster was capable of feeling love) with Jane Seymour, whose disposition was tempered between the gravity of Catherine and the gaiety of Anne. The latter used all possible arts to reinflame his dying affection; but he was weary of her, and therefore determined on her destruction; to effect which he soon found a pretence. Lady Rochford, wife to the brother of Anne, basely accused her husband of a criminal intercourse with his sister; and Norris, Weston, and Brereton, the king's servants, with Smeton, a musician, were accused of the same crime.

She was confined to her chamber, and the five persons before mentioned were sent to the Tower, whither, the next day, she also was carried. On the river some privy-counsellors came to examine her, but she made deep protestations of her innocence; and on landing at the Tower she fell on her knees and prayed God to assist her, protesting her innocence of the crimes laid to her charge. Those who were imprisoned on her account denied every thing, except Smeton, who, from hopes of favor and acquittal, confessed that he had been criminally connected with her; but denied it when he was afterwards brought to execution.

The queen was of a lively temper, and having resided long in the French court, had imbibed somewhat of the levities of that people. She was also free from pride, and hence, in her exterior, she might have condescended too much to her familiar servants.

Every court sycophant was now her enemy; and Cranmer formed the only and honorable exception. An order was therefore procured, forbidding him to come to court; yet he wrote the king a long letter upon this critical juncture, wherein he acknowledged, that "if the things reported of the queen were true, it was the greatest affliction that ever befell the king, and therefore exhorted him to bear it with patience and submission to the will of God; he confessed he never had a better opinion of any woman than of her; and that, next the king, he was more bound to her than to all persons living, and therefore he begged the king's leave to pray that she might be found innocent; he loved her not a little, because of the love which she seemed to bear to God and his gospel; but if she was guilty, all that loved the gospel must hate her, as having been the greatest slander possible to the gospel; but he prayed the king not to entertain any prejudice to the gospel on her account, nor give the world to say, that his love to that was founded on the influence she had with him." But the king was inexorable. The prisoners were put on their trial; when Smeton pleaded guilty, as before; the rest pleaded not guilty; but all were condemned.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE QUEEN.

On the 15th of May the queen and her brother, lord Rochford, were tried before the duke of Norfolk, as high steward, and a court of twenty-seven peers. The crime charged on her was, that she had procured her brother and four others to lie with her; and had often said to them, that the king never had her heart; and this was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her, which was treason by the act that confirmed her marriage, so that the act made for the marriage was now turned to her ruin. They would not now acknowledge her the king's lawful wife, and therefore did not found the treason on the statute 25th Edward III. It does not appear what evidence was brought against her; for Smeton being already condemned, could not be made use of; and his never being brought face to face with her, gave just suspicion that he was persuaded to his confession by base practices. There was no other evidence than a declaration said to have been made by the lady Wingfield, who died before the trial took place; so that whether this declaration were real or a forgery must be very doubtful.

The earl of Northumberland was one of the judges. He had formerly been in love with the queen, and, either from a return of his passion, or from some other cause, he became suddenly so ill, that he could not stay out the trial. It was remembered that this earl had said to cardinal Wolsey, that he had engaged himself so far with her, that he could not go back, which was perhaps done by some promise conceived in words of the future tense; but no promise, unless in the words of the present tense, could annul the subsequent marriage. Perhaps the queen did not understand that difference, or probably the fear of a terrible death wrought so much on her, that she confessed the contract; but the earl denied it positively, and

took the sacrament upon it, wishing that it might turn to his damnation if there was ever either contract or promise of marriage between them. Upon her own confession, however, her marriage with the king was judged null from the beginning, and she was condemned, although nothing could be more contradictory; for if she was never the king's wife, she could not be guilty of adultery, there being no breach of the faith of wedlock, if they were never truly married. But the king was resolved both to be rid of her, and to illegitimatize his daughter by her.

The day before her death, she sent her last message to the king, asserting her innocence, recommended her daughter to his care, and thanking him for his advancing her first to be a marchioness, then a queen, and now, when he could raise her no higher on earth, for sending her to be a saint in heaven. The lieutenant of the Tower wrote to Cromwell, that it was not fit to publish the time of her execution, for the fewer that were present it would be the better, since he believed she would declare her innocence at the hour of her death; for that morning she had made great protestations of it when she received the sacrament, and seemed to long for death with great joy and pleasure. On being told that the executioner, who had been sent for expressly from France, was very skilful, she expressed great happiness; for she said that she had a very short neck, at which she laughed.

A little before noon, she was brought to the place of execution; there were present some of the chief officers and great men of the court. She was, it seems, prevailed on, out of regard to her daughter, to make no reflections on the cruel treatment she met with, nor to say any thing touching the grounds on which sentence passed against her. She only desired that all would judge the best; she highly commended the king, and then took her leave of the world. She remained for some time in her private devotions, and concluded, "To Christ I commend my soul;" upon which the executioner struck off her head: and so little respect was paid to her body, that it was with brutal insolence put in a chest of elm-tree, made to send arrows into Ireland, and then buried in the chapel in the Tower. Norris then had his life promised him if he would accuse her. But this faithful and virtuous servant said he knew she was innocent, and would die a thousand deaths rather than defame her; so he and the three others were beheaded, and all of them continued to the last to vindicate her. The day after queen Anne's death the king married Jane Seymour, who gained more upon him than all his wives ever did; but she was fortunate that she did not outlive his love to her.

THE POPE PROPOSES A RECONCILIATION WITH THE KING.

Pope Clement the Seventh was now dead, and cardinal Farnese succeeded him by the name of Paul the Third, who made an attempt to reconcile himself with the king; but, when that was rejected, thundered out a most terrible sentence of deposition against him. Yet now, since the two queens upon whose account the breach was made were out of the way, he thought it a fit time to attempt the recovery of the papal interest, and ordered Cassali to let the king know that he had been driven, very much against his mind, to pass sentence against him, and that now it would be easy for him to recover the favor of the apostolic see.

But the king, instead of hearkening to the proposition, caused two acts to be passed, by one of which it was made a præmunire for any one to acknowledge the authority of the pope, or to persuade others to it; and by the other, all bulls, and all privileges flowing from them, were declared null and void, only marriages or consecrations made by virtue of them were excepted. All who enjoyed privileges by these bulls were required to bring them into the chancery, upon which the archbishop was to make a new grant of them, which, being confirmed under the great seal, was to be of full force in law.

DEBATES OF THE CONVOCATION.

The convocation sat at the same time, and was much employed. Latimer preached a Latin sermon before them; he was the most celebrated preacher of that time; the simplicity of his matter, and his zeal in expressing it, being preferred to more elaborate compositions. The convocation first confirmed the sentence of divorce between the king and queen Anne. Then the lower house made an address to the upper house, complaining of sixty-seven opinions, which they found were very much spread in the kingdom. These were either the tenets of the old Lollards, or of the new Reformers, or of the Anabaptists; and many of them were only indiscreet expressions, which might have flowed from the heat and folly of some rash zealots, who had endeavored to disgrace both the received doctrines and rites. They also complained of some bishops who were wanting in their duty to suppress such abuses. This was understood as a reflection on Cranmer, Shaxton, and Latimer, the first of whom, it was thought, was now declining, in consequence of the fall of queen Anne.

But all these projects failed, for Cranmer was now fully established in the king's favor; and Cromwell was sent to the convocation, with a message from his majesty, that they should reform the rites and ceremonies of the church according to the rules

set down in scripture, which ought to be preferred to all glosses or decrees of popes.

There was one Alesse, a Scotchman, whom Cromwell entertained in his house, who being appointed to deliver his opinion, showed that there was no sacrament instituted by Christ but baptism and the Lord's supper. Stokesly answered him in a long discourse upon the principles of the school-divinity; upon which Cranmer took occasion to show the vanity of that sort of learning, and the uncertainty of tradition: and that religion had been so corrupted in the latter ages, that there was no finding out the truth but by resting on the authority of the scriptures. Fox, bishop of Hereford, seconded him, and told them that the world was now awake, and would be no longer imposed on by the niceties and dark terms of the schools; for the laity now did not only read the scriptures in the vulgar tongues, but searched the originals themselves; therefore they must not think to govern them as they had been governed in the times of ignorance. Among the bishops, Cranmer, Goodrick, Shaxton, Latimer, Fox, Hilsey, and Barlow, pressed the reformation; but Lee, archbishop of York, Stokesly, Tonstall, Gardiner, Longland, and several others, opposed it as much. The contest would have been much sharper, had not the king sent some articles to be considered of by them, when the following mixture of truth and error was agreed upon.

1. That the bishops and preachers ought to instruct the people according to the scriptures, the three creeds, and the four first general councils.

2. That baptism was necessary to salvation, and that children ought to be baptized for the pardon of original sin, and obtaining the Holy Ghost.

3. That penance was necessary to salvation, and that it consisted in confession, contrition, and amendment of life, with the external works of charity, to which a lively faith ought to be joined; and that confession to a priest was necessary where it might be had.

4. That in the eucharist, under the forms of bread and wine, the very flesh and blood of Christ was received.

5. That justification was the remission of sins, and a perfect renovation in Christ; and that not only outward good works, but inward holiness, were absolutely necessary. As for the outward ceremonies, the people were to be taught, 1. That it was meet to have images in churches, but they ought to avoid all such superstition as had been usual in times past, and not to worship the image, but only God. 2. That they were to honor the saints, but not to expect those things from them which God only gives. 3. That they might pray to them for their intercession, but all superstitious abuses were to cease; and if the king should lessen the number of saints' days, they ought to obey him. 4. That the use of the ceremonies was good, and that they contained many mystical significations that tended to raise the mind towards God; such were vestments in divine worship, holy water, holy bread, the carrying of candles, and palms, and ashes, and creeping to the cross, and hallowing the font, with other exorcisms. 5. That it was good to pray for departed souls, and to have masses and exequies said for them; but the scriptures having neither declared in what place they were, nor what torments they suffered, that was uncertain, and to be left to God; therefore all the abuses of the pope's pardons, or saying masses in such and such places, or before such images, were to be put away.

These articles were signed by Cromwell, the two archbishops, sixteen bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty of the lower house. The king afterwards added a preface, declaring the pains that he and the clergy had been at for the removing the differences in religion which existed in the nation, and that he approved of these articles, and required all his subjects to accept them, and he would be thereby encouraged to take further pains in the like matters for the future.

On the publication of these things, the favorers of the reformation, though they did not approve of every particular, yet were well pleased to see things brought under examination; and since some things were at this time changed, they did not doubt but more changes would follow; they were glad that the scriptures and the ancient creeds were made the standards of the faith, without adding tradition, and that the nature of justification and the gospel-covenant was rightly stated; that the immediate worship of images and saints was condemned, and that purgatory was left uncertain: but the necessity of auricular confession, and the corporeal presence, the doing reverence to images, and praying to saints, were of hard digestion to them; yet they rejoiced to see some grosser abuses removed, and a reformation once set on foot. The popish party, on the other hand, were sorry to see four sacraments passed over in silence, and the trade in masses for the dead put down.

At the same time other things were in consultation, though not finished. Cranmer offered a paper to the king, exhorting him to proceed to further reformation, and that nothing should be determined without clear proofs from scripture, the departing from which had been the occasion of all the errors that had been in the church. Many things were now acknowledged to be erroneous, for which some not long before had suffered death. He *therefore proposed several points* to be discussed, as, Whether there were a purgatory? Whether departed saints ought

to be invocated, or tradition to be believed? Whether images ought to be considered only as representations of history? and, Whether it was lawful for the clergy to marry? He prayed the king not to give judgment in these points till he heard them well examined: but all this was carried no further at that period.

At this time visitors were appointed to survey all the lesser monasteries: they were to examine the state of their revenues and goods, and take inventories of them, and to take their seals into their keeping; they were to try how many of the religious would return to a secular course of life; and these were to be sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, or the lord chancellor, and an allowance was to be given them for their journey; but those who intended to continue in that state were to be removed to some of the great monasteries. A pension was also to be assigned to the abbot or prior during life; and the visitors were particularly to examine what leases had been made during the last year. Ten thousand of the religious were by this means driven to seek for their livings, with forty shillings and a gown a man. Their goods and plates were estimated at 100,000*l.*, and the valued rent of their houses was 32,000*l.*; but they were above ten times as much. The churches and cloisters were in most places pulled down, and the materials sold.

This procedure gave great discontent; and the monks were now as much pitied, as they were formerly hated. The nobility and gentry, who provided for their younger children or friends by putting them in those sanctuaries, were sensible of their loss. The people, who, as they travelled over the country, found abbeys to be places of reception to strangers, saw what they were to lose. But the superstitious, who thought their friends must now lie still in purgatory, without relief from the masses, were out of measure offended. But to remove this discontent, Cromwell advised the king to sell these lands at very easy rates to the nobility and gentry, and to oblige them to keep up the wonted hospitality. This would both be grateful to them, and would engage them to assist the crown in the maintenance of the changes that had been made, since their own interests would be interwoven with those of their sovereign. And, a clause in the act empowering the king to found anew such houses as he should think fit, there were fifteen monasteries and sixteen nunneries newly founded. These were bound to obey such rules as the king should send them, and to pay him tenths and first-fruits. But all this did not pacify the people, for there was still a great outcry. The clergy studied much to inflame the nation, and urged, that an heretical prince, deposed by the pope, was no more to be acknowledged; and that it was a part of the papal power to depose kings, and give away their dominions.

There were some injunctions given out by Cromwell, which increased this discontent. All churchmen were required, every Sunday for a quarter of a year, and twice every quarter after that, to preach against the pope's power, and to explain the six articles of the convocation. They were forbidden to extol images, relics, or pilgrimages; but to exhort to works of charity. They were also required to teach the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments in English, and to explain these carefully, and instruct the children well in them. They were to perform the divine offices reverently, to study the scriptures much, and be exemplary in their lives. Those who did not reside were to give the fortieth part of their income to the poor, and for every hundred pounds a year they were to maintain a scholar at some grammar-school, or the university; and if the parsonage-house was in decay, they were ordered to apply a fifth part of their benefice for repairing it.

REBELLIONS IN LINCOLNSHIRE AND IN YORKSHIRE.

The people continued quiet till they had got in their harvest; but in the beginning of October, 20,000 rose in Lincolnshire, led by a priest in the disguise of a cobbler. They took an oath to be true to God, the king, and the commonwealth, and sent a statement of their grievances to the king. They complained of some acts of parliament, of suppressing of many religious houses, of mean and ill counsellors, and bad bishops; and prayed the king to redress their grievances by the advice of the nobility. The king sent the duke of Suffolk to raise forces against them, and gave an answer to their petition, in which he treated them with his usual haughtiness, saying, that "it belonged not to the rabble to direct princes what counsellors they should choose. The religious houses had been suppressed by law, and the heads of them had under their hands confessed such horrid scandals, that they were a reproach to the nation; and as they wasted their rents in riotous living, it was much better to apply them to the common good of the nation;" finally, he required the insurgents to submit to his mercy, and to deliver up two hundred of their leaders into the hands of his lieutenants.

At the same time there was a more formidable rising in Yorkshire, which being not far from Scotland, it was feared the rebels would draw assistance from that kingdom; this inclined Henry to make more haste to settle matters in Lincolnshire. He sent them secret assurances of mercy, which wrought on the greatest part, so that they dispersed themselves, while the most obstinate went over to those in Yorkshire. The

leader and some others were taken and executed. The distance of those in the North gave them time to rise, and form themselves into some method: one Aske commanded in chief, and performed his part with great dexterity: their march was called "the Pilgrimage of Grace;" they had in their banners and on their sleeves, a representation of the five wounds of Christ; they took an oath that they would restore the church, suppress heretics, preserve the king and his issue, and drive base-born men and ill counsellors from him. They became 40,000 strong in a few days, and forced the archbishop of York and the lord Darcy to swear to their covenant, and to go along with them. They besieged Skipton, but the earl of Cumberland made it good against them: Sir Ralph Evers held out Scarborough castle, though for twenty days he and his men had no provisions but bread and water.

There was also a rising in all the other northern counties, against whom the earl of Shrewsbury made head; and the king sent several of the nobility to his assistance, and within a few days the duke of Norfolk marched with some troops, and joined him. They possessed themselves of Doncaster, and resolved to keep that pass till the rest of the king's forces should join them; for they were not in a condition to engage with such numbers of desperate men; and it was very likely that if they were beaten, the people who had not yet taken part with the rebels, might have been emboldened by their success to do so. The duke of Norfolk resolved, therefore, to keep close at Doncaster, and let the provisions and courage of his adversaries melt away in inaction. They were now reduced to 10,000, but the king's army was not above 5000. The duke of Norfolk proposed a treaty; the insurgents were persuaded to send their petitions to the court, and the king sent them a general pardon, excepting six persons by name, and reserving four to be afterwards named; but this last demand, instead of satisfying them, made them more desperate. However, they, in their turn, made demands, which were, that a general pardon should be granted to them; that a parliament should be held at York, and that courts of justice should be set up there; that the princess Mary might be restored to her right of succession, and the pope to his wonted jurisdiction; that the monasteries might be again set up; that Audley and Cromwell might be removed from the king, and that some of the visitors might be imprisoned for their bribery and extortion.

These demands being rejected, the rebels resolved to fall upon the royal troops, and drive them from Doncaster: but heavy rains made the river impassable. The king, at length, sent a long answer to their demands; he assured them he would live and die in the defence of the Christian faith: but "the rabble ought not to prescribe to him and to the convocation in that matter." He answered that which concerned the monasteries as he had done to the men of Lincolnshire. If they had any just complaints to make of any about him, he was ready to hear them; but he would not suffer them to direct him what counsellors he ought to employ; nor could they judge of the bishops who had been promoted, they not being known to them; he charged them not to believe lies, nor be led away by incendiaries, but to submit to his mercy. On the 9th of December he signed a proclamation of pardon without any restrictions.

As soon as this rebellion was quelled, the king went on more resolutely in his design of suppressing the monasteries; for his success in crushing so formidable a sedition made him less apprehensive of any new commotion.

A new visitation was appointed, and many houses which had not been before dissolved, were now suppressed, and many of the greater abbots were induced to surrender by several motives. Some had been engaged in the late rebellion, and so, to prevent a storm, offered a resignation. Others liked the reformation, and did it on that account; some were found guilty of great disorders in their lives, and to prevent a shameful discovery, offered their houses to the king; while others had made such wastes and dilapidations, that having taken care of themselves, they were less concerned for others.

By these means one hundred and twenty-one houses were this year resigned to the king. In most houses the visitor made the monks sign a confession of their vices and disorders, in which some of them acknowledged their idleness, gluttony, and sensuality; and others, that they were sensible that the manner of their former pretended religion consisted in some dumb ceremonies, by which they were blindly led, having no true knowledge of God's laws. Some resigned in hopes that the king would found them anew; these favored the reformation, and intended to convert their houses to better uses, for preaching, study, and prayer; and Latimer pressed Cromwell earnestly, that two or three houses might be reserved for such purposes in every county. But it was resolved to suppress all; and although it was thought that these resignations could not be valid, since the incumbents had not the property, but only the trust for life of those houses, the parliament afterwards declared them good in law.

But some of the clergy escaped not with the surrender of their houses; the abbots of Whalley, Jervaux, Sawley, and Glastonbury, with the priors of Woburn and Burlington, having been deeply implicated in the late commotions, were executed for treason; and

many of the Carthusians were put to death for denying the king's supremacy; others, suspected of favoring them and of receiving books sent from beyond sea, against the king's proceedings, were imprisoned, and many of them perished in their dungeons.

Great complaints were made of the visitors; and it was said, that they had in many places embezzled much of the plate to their own use; and had been guilty of various enormities under the pretext of discharging their duty. They, on the other hand, published accounts of many of the vile practices which they found in those houses, so that several books were printed upon this occasion. Yet all these accounts had not much weight with the people. They deemed it unreasonable to extinguish noble foundations for the fault of some individuals: therefore another way was taken, which had a better effect.

IMPOSTURES OF IMAGES AND RELICS DISCOVERED.

They disclosed to the world many impostures about pretended relics, and wonderful images, to which pilgrimages had been made. At Reading was preserved the wing of an angel, who, according to the monks, brought over the point of the spear that pierced our Savior's side; and as many pieces of the *real* cross were found, as, when joined together, would have made half a dozen.

The "Rood of Grace" at Boxley in Kent had been much esteemed, and drawn many pilgrims to it, on account of its possessing the wonderful powers of bowing its head, rolling its eyes, smiling, and frowning, to the great astonishment and terror of the credulous multitude, who imputed it to a divine power: but all this was now discovered to be a cheat, and it was brought up to St. Paul's cross; where all the springs were shown by which its motions were governed.

At Hales, in Gloucestershire, some of the blood of Christ was shown in a vial; and it was believed, that none could see it who were in mortal sin. Those who could bestow liberal presents, were, of course, gratified, by being led to believe, that they were in a state of grace. This miracle consisted in the blood of a duck renewed every week, put in a vial very thick on one side, and thin on the other; and either side turned towards the pilgrim, as the priests were satisfied or not with his oblations. Several other similar impostures were discovered, which contributed much to the undeceiving of the people.

The rich shrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury was destroyed, and an immense quantity of gold and precious stones, offered by the deluded victims of superstition in honor of that factious priest, and "saint after the pope's own heart," were confiscated and carried away.

When these proceedings were known at Rome, the pope immediately fulminated against the king all the thunders of his spiritual store-house; absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and his allies from their treaties with him; and exhorted all Christians to make war against and extirpate him from the face of the earth. But the age of crusades was past, and this display of impotent malice produced only contempt in the minds of the king and his advisers, who steadily proceeded in the great work of reformation; and, the translation of the Bible into English being now completed, it was printed, and ordered to be read in all churches, with permission for every person to read it, who might be so disposed.

But, notwithstanding the king's disagreement with the pope on many subjects, there was one point on which they were alike—they were both intolerant, furious bigots; and while the former was excommunicated as a *heretic*, he was himself equally zealous in rooting out *heresy*, and burning all who presumed to depart from the standard of faith which he had established.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, strengthened this disposition of the king, and persuaded him, under the pretext of a zeal for religion, to persecute the Sacramentarists, or those who denied the corporeal presence in the sacrament.

MARTYRDOM OF JOHN LAMBERT.

In consequence of this determination, John Lambert, a teacher of languages in London, who had drawn up ten arguments against the tenets of Dr. Taylor, on the above subject, as delivered in a sermon at St. Peter's church, and presented them to the doctor, was brought before the archbishop's court to defend his writings; and, having appealed to the king, the royal theologian, who was proud of every occasion of displaying his talents and learning, resolved to hear him in person. He therefore issued a commission, ordering all his nobility and bishops to repair to London, to assist him against heretics.

A day was appointed for the disputation, when a great number of persons of all ranks assembled to witness the proceedings, and Lambert was brought from his prison by a guard, and placed directly opposite to the king.

Henry being seated on his throne, and surrounded by the peers, bishops, and judges, regarded the prisoner with a stern countenance, and then commanded Day, bishop of Chichester, to state the occasion of the present assembly.

The bishop made a long oration, stating that, although the king had abolished the papal authority in England, it was not to be supposed that he would allow heretics with impunity to disturb and trouble the church

of which he was the head. He had therefore determined to punish all schismatics; and being willing to have the advice of his bishops and counsellors on so great an occasion, had assembled them to hear the arguments in the present case.

The oration being concluded, the king ordered Lambert to declare his opinion as to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which he did, by denying it to be the body of Christ.

The king then commanded Cranmer to refute his assertion, which the latter attempted: but was interrupted by Gardiner, who vehemently interposed, and, being unable to bring argument to his aid, sought by abuse and virulence to overpower his antagonist, who was not allowed to answer the taunts and insults of the bishop.

Tonstal and Stokesly followed in the same course, and Lambert, beginning to answer them, was silenced by the king. The other bishops then each made a speech in confutation of one of Lambert's arguments, till the whole ten were answered, or rather railed against; for he was not permitted to defend them, however misrepresented.

At last, when the day was passed, and torches began to be lighted, the king desiring to break up this pretended disputation, said to Lambert, "What sayest thou now, after all these great labors which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men? Art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? What sayest thou? Thou hast yet free choice."

Lambert answered, "I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your majesty." "Then," said the king, "commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine."

Lambert replied, "I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your clemency." To which the king answered, "If you do commit yourself unto my judgment, you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics;" and, turning to Cromwell, he said, "Read the sentence of condemnation against him," which he accordingly did.

Upon the day appointed for this holy martyr to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight o'clock in the morning to the house of Cromwell, and carried into his inner chamber, where, it is said, Cromwell desired his forgiveness for what he had done. Lambert being at last admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, and being brought out of the chamber, into the hall, saluted the gentlemen present, and sat down to breakfast with them, showing neither sadness nor fear. When breakfast was ended, he was carried straight to the place of execution at Smithfield.

The manner of his death was dreadful; for after his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and but a small fire was left under him, two of the inhuman monsters who stood on each side of him, pierced him with their halberts, and lifted him up as far as the chain would reach; while he, raising his half-consumed hands, cried unto the people in these words: "None but Christ, none but Christ;" and so being let down again from their halberts, fell into the fire, and there ended his life.

The popish party greatly triumphed at this event, and endeavored to improve it. They persuaded the king of the good effects it would have on his people, who would in this see his zeal for the faith; and they forgot not to magnify all that he had said, as if it had been uttered by an oracle, which proved him to be both "Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church." All this wrought so much on the king, that he resolved to call a parliament for the contradictory purposes of suppressing the still remaining monasteries, and extirpating the "new opinions."

THE ACT OF THE SIX ARTICLES.

The parliament accordingly met on the 28th of April, 1538; and after long debates, passed what was called "a bill of religion," containing six articles, by which it was declared, that the elements in the sacrament were the real body and blood of Christ; that communion was necessary only in one kind; that priests ought not to marry; that vows of chastity ought to be observed; that private masses were lawful and useful; and that auricular confession was necessary.

This act gave great satisfaction to the popish party, and induced them to consent more readily to the act for suppressing the monasteries, which immediately followed; by virtue of which, their total dissolution soon after took place. The king founded six new bishoprics from a small portion of their immense revenues, and lavished the remainder on his profligate courtiers and favorites.

In 1540 a bill was passed for the suppression of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, both in England and Ireland.

FALL OF CROMWELL.

In this year, also, Cromwell, who had so long been a favorite of the king, and had held the highest offices, was suddenly disgraced, and committed to the Tower. He had many enemies; the nobility, from jealousy at beholding a man of obscure birth promoted to the peerage, and enjoying great power and influence; and the popish clergy, from the belief that the suppression of the monasteries and the innovations on their religion were principally produced by his counsels. The fickle tyrant whom he had so long and faithfully served, was also displeased with him as the adviser of his marriage with

Anne of Cleves, whom he was now anxious to get rid of, in order to obtain the hand of Catherine Howard, niece of the duke of Norfolk. He suspected him likewise of secretly encouraging an opposition to the six articles, and hoped, by sacrificing a man who was obnoxious to the Catholics, to regain their affections, forfeited by his sanguinary and rapacious proceedings.

Cromwell experienced the common fate of fallen ministers; his pretended friends forsook him, and his enemies pursued their revenge against him without opposition, except from Cranmer, who, with a rare fidelity, dared to avow an attachment to him, even at this time, and wrote a very earnest letter to the king in his favor. But Henry was not easily turned from his purpose, and being resolved on the ruin of Cromwell, was not to be dissuaded from his design.

In the house of lords a bill of attainder was passed with the most indecent haste; but in the commons it met with opposition, and after a delay of ten days, a new bill was framed, and sent up to the lords, in which Cromwell was designated as "the most corrupt traitor ever known;" his treasons, as afterwards specified, consisting in the countenance and favor he had shown to the reformers. On these grounds he was attainted both for treason and heresy.

The king now proceeded with his divorce; and, although there was no reason to dispute the legality of his marriage with Anne of Cleves, still, as she was disagreeable to his royal taste, his sycophants were too well taught to offer the least opposition to his wishes. The convocation unanimously dissolved the marriage, and gave him liberty to marry again; indeed it is probable that if he had desired to have two or more wives at once, the measure would have been sanctioned, so base and servile were the courtiers and priests by whom this monstrous tyrant was surrounded. The queen continued to reside in England, being declared "the adopted sister" of the king, and having a pension of 4000*l.* per annum.

Cromwell was executed on the 28th of July, and his fall gave a great check to the reformation in England; Cranmer being left almost alone to struggle against a host of enemies.

The bishops now published a new "book of religion," in which they settled the standard of the national faith; and although the reformers were justly dissatisfied with many parts of it, yet with other parts they saw more reason to be content: many superstitious practices were condemned in it, and the gospel covenant was rightly stated; every national church was also declared to be a complete body in itself, with power to reform heresies, and do every thing necessary for the preservation of its purity, and the government of its members.

The clergy now, elated by the victory which they had gained by the death of Cromwell, persuaded the king to new severities against the reformers; and three eminent preachers, Dr. Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome, were picked out for sacrifices on this occasion.

MARTYRDOM OF DR. ROBERT BARNES.

Dr. Barnes was educated in the university of Louvain, in Brabant. On his return to England he went to Cambridge, where he was made prior and master of the house of the Augustines. The darkest ignorance pervaded the university, at the time of his arrival there; but he, zealous to promote knowledge and truth, began to instruct the students in the classical languages, and, with the assistance of Parnel, his scholar, whom he had brought from Louvain, soon caused learning to flourish, and the university to bear a very different aspect.

These foundations being laid, he began to read openly the epistles of St. Paul, and to teach in greater purity the doctrine of Christ. He preached and disputed with great warmth against the luxuries of the higher clergy, particularly against cardinal Wolsey, and the lamentable hypocrisy of the times. But still he remained ignorant of the great cause of these evils, namely, the idolatry and superstition of the church; and while he declaimed against the stream, he himself drank at the spring, and bowed down to idols. At length, happily becoming acquainted with Bilney, he was by that martyr wholly converted unto Christ.

The first sermon he preached of this truth was on the Sunday before Christmas-day, at St. Edward's church, in Cambridge. His theme was the epistle of the same Sunday, "*Gaudete in Domino*," &c. For this sermon he was immediately accused of heresy by two fellows of King's Hall, before the vice-chancellor. Then Dr. Nottoris, a bitter enemy to Christ, moved Barnes to recant; but he refused, as appears in his book which he wrote to king Henry in English, confuting the judgment of cardinal Wolsey, and the residue of the papistical bishops.

After preaching some time, Barnes was arrested openly in the convocation-house; brought to London, and the next morning carried to the palace of cardinal Wolsey, at Westminster, where, after waiting the whole day, he was at night brought before the cardinal in his chamber of state. "Is this," said Wolsey, "Dr. Barnes, who is accused of heresy?"—"Yes, and please your grace," replied the cardinal's secretary, "and I trust you will find him reformable, for he is learned and wise."

"What, Mr. Doctor," said Wolsey, "had you not a sufficient scope in the scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my poll-axes, my pillars, my golden cushions,

my crosses, did so sore offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people, who that day laughed us to scorn? Verily it was a sermon fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit; for at last you said, 'I wear a pair of red gloves, I should say bloody gloves,' quoth you, 'that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies.'"

Dr. Barnes answered, "I spake nothing but the truth, out of the scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors." And then he delivered him six sheets of paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sentiments.

The cardinal received them smiling, saying, "We perceive, then, that you intend to stand to your articles, and to show your learning."

"Yea," said Barnes, "that I do by God's grace, with your lordship's favor."

He answered, "Such as you bear us little favor and the Catholic church. I will ask you a question; whether do you think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's majesty in all the high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellious treasons, traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth, or to be as simple as you would have us, to sell all these things, and to give them to the poor, who shortly will cast them in the dirt; and to pull away this princely dignity, which is a terror to the wicked, and to follow your counsel?'

"I think it necessary," said Barnes, "to be sold and given to the poor. For this is not becoming your calling; nor is the king's majesty maintained by your pomp and poll-axes, but by God, who saith, kings and their majesty reign and stand by me."

Then answered the cardinal, "Lo, master doctors, here is the learned wise man that you told me of." Then they kneeled down and said, "We desire your grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable."

"Then," said he, "stand you up; for your sakes and the university, we will be good unto him.—How say you, master doctor, do you not know that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the pope may?" He said, "I know it to be so."

"Will you then be ruled by us? and we will do all things for your honesty, and for the honesty of the university."

He answered, "I thank your grace for your good will; I will stick to the holy scripture, and to God's book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me."

"Well," said he, "thou shalt have thy learning tried at the uttermost, and thou shalt have the law."

He was then committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms who had brought him to London, and by whom he was the next morning brought before the bishops; who, on examining the articles of his faith, which he had delivered to the cardinal, asked him if he would sign them, which he did, and was thereupon committed to the Fleet.

On the Saturday following, he was again brought before the bishops, who called upon him to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then greatly agitated, and felt inclined rather to burn than abjure; but was persuaded by some persons to abjure, which he at length consented to do, and the abjuration being put into his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed it with his own hand; yet his judges would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church, as they termed it. Then they put him to an oath, and charged him to do all that they commanded him, which he accordingly promised.

He was then again committed to the Fleet, and the next morning was brought to St. Paul's church, with five others who had abjured. Here the cardinal, bishops, and clergy being assembled in great pomp, the bishop of Rochester preached a sermon against the doctrines of Luther and Barnes, during which the latter was commanded to kneel down and ask forgiveness of God, and the Catholic church, and the cardinal's grace; after which he was ordered, at the end of the sermon, to declare that he was used more charitably than he deserved, his heresies being so horrible and so detestable: once more he kneeled, desiring of the people forgiveness, and to pray for him. This farce being ended, the cardinal departed under a canopy, with the bishops and mitred abbots, who accompanied him to the outer gate of the church, when they returned. Then Barnes, and the others who had abjured, were carried thrice about the fire, after which they were brought to the bishops, and kneeled down for absolution. The bishop of Rochester standing up, declared that Dr. Barnes, with the others, were received into the church again. After which they were recommitted to the Fleet during the cardinal's pleasure.

Dr. Barnes having remained in the Fleet half a year, was placed in the custody of the Austin Friars in London; from whence he was removed to the Austin Friars of Northampton, there to be burned; of which intention, however, he was perfectly ignorant. Being informed of the base designs of his enemies, however, he, by a stratagem, escaped, and reached Antwerp, where he dwelt in safety, and was honored with the friendship of the best and most eminent reformers of the time, as Luther, Melancthon, the duke of Saxony, and others. Indeed, so great was his reputation, that the king of Denmark sent him as one of his ambassadors to England, when Sir Thomas More, at that time lord chancellor, wished to have him

apprehended on the former charge. Henry, however, would not allow of this, considering it as a breach of the most sacred laws, to offer violence to the person of an ambassador, under any pretence. Barnes, therefore, remained in England unmolested; and departed again without restraint. He returned to Wittemberg, where he remained to forward his works in print which he had begun, after which he returned again to England, and continued a faithful preacher in London, being well entertained and promoted during the ascendency of Anne Boleyn. He was afterwards sent ambassador by Henry to the duke of Cleves, upon the business of the marriage between Anne of Cleves and the king; and gave great satisfaction in every duty which was intrusted to him.

Not long after the arrival of Gardiner from France, Dr. Barnes and other reformed preachers, were apprehended and carried before the king at Hampton Court, where Barnes was examined. The king being desirous to bring about an agreement between him and Gardiner, granted him leave to go home with the bishop to confer with him. But they not agreeing, Gardiner and his party sought to entangle and entrap Barnes and his friends in further danger, which not long after was brought to pass. For, by certain complaints made to the king of them, they were enjoined to preach three sermons the following Easter at the Spittle; at which sermons, besides other reporters which were sent thither, Stephen Gardiner also was there present, sitting with the mayor, either to bear record of their recantation, or else, as the Pharisees came to Christ, to ensnare them in their talk, if they should speak any thing amiss. Barnes preached first; and at the conclusion of his sermon, requested Gardiner, if he thought he had said nothing contradictory to truth, to hold up his hand in the face of all present; upon which Gardiner immediately held up his finger. Notwithstanding this, they were all three sent for to Hampton Court, whence they were conducted to the Tower, where they remained till they were brought out to death.

STORY OF THOMAS GARRET.

Thomas Garret was a curate of London. About the year 1526, he came to Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, treating of the scriptures, with the first part of *Unio dissidentium*, and Tindal's first translation of the New Testament in English, which books he sold to several scholars in Oxford.

After he had been there awhile, and had disposed of those books, news came from London that he was sought for in that city, to be apprehended as a heretic, and to be imprisoned for selling those heretical publications, as they were termed. For it was not unknown to cardinal Wolsey, the bishop of London, and others, that Mr. Garret had a great number of those books, and that he was gone to Oxford to sell them to such as he knew to be lovers of the gospel. Wherefore they determined to make a privy search through all Oxford, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all his books, and him too if they could. But, happily, one of the proctors gave Mr. Garret secret warning of this privy search, and advised that he should immediately and privately depart from Oxford.

By means of another friend, a curacy was procured for him in Dorsetshire, and he set out for that county, but being waylaid by his enemies, was unable to proceed, and therefore returned to Oxford, where he was, on the same night, apprehended in his bed, and was ordered, by the commissary of the university, to be confined in his own chamber, till further directions were received respecting him. He escaped in disguise, but was retaken, and being convicted as a heretic, carried a fagot in token of his abjuration, at St. Mary's church in Oxford; after which we meet with nothing further respecting him till his apprehension with Dr. Barnes.

STORY OF WILLIAM JEROME.

William Jerome was vicar of Stepney, and being convinced of, and disgusted at, the errors of the church of Rome, he preached with great zeal, and set up the pure and simple doctrines of the gospel against the perversions and traditions of man. Thus proceeding, he soon became known to the enemies of truth, who watched him with malignant jealousy.

At length, in a sermon at St. Paul's, on the fourth Sunday in Lent, wherein he dwelt upon the justification by faith, he so offended the legal preachers of the day, that he was summoned before the king at Westminster, and there accused of heresy.

It was urged against him, that he had insisted, according to St. Paul, in Galatians iv. "That the children of Sara (allegorically used for the children of the promise) were all born free, and, independent of baptism, or of penance, were, through faith, made heirs of God." A Dr. Wilson argued against him, and strongly opposed this doctrine. But Jerome defended it with all the force of truth, and said, "That although good works were the means of salvation, yet that they followed as a consequence of faith, whose fruits they were, and which discovered their root, even as good fruits prove a good tree."

Notwithstanding his arguments, so inveterate were his enemies, and so deluded was the king, that he was committed to the Tower, in company with the other two soldiers of Christ, Barnes and Garret.

BURNING OF BARNES, GARRET, AND JEROME.

Here they remained, while a process ensued against them by the king's council in parliament, by whom, without any hearing, or knowledge of their fate, they were attainted of heresy, and sentenced to be burned. On the 30th of the following June, therefore, they were brought from the Tower to Smithfield, where, before they were committed to the fire, they addressed the people.

"I am come hither," said Dr. Barnes, "to be burned as a heretic, and you shall hear my belief, whereby you may perceive what erroneous opinions I hold. God I take to record, I never (to my knowledge) taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which scripture led me unto; neither in my sermons have I ever maintained or given occasion for any insurrection; but with all diligence evermore did I study to set forth the glory of God, the obedience to our sovereign lord the king, and the true and sincere religion of Christ; and now hearken to my faith.

"I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three persons, and one God, that created and made all the world; and that this blessed Trinity sent down the second person, Jesus Christ, into the womb of the most blessed and purest Virgin Mary. I believe, that he was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and took flesh of her, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our body, sin excepted, according to the saying of St. Peter, 'He was made in all things like to his brethren, except sin.' And I believe that this his death and passion was the sufficient ransom for sin. And I believe that through his death he overcame sin, death, and hell; and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but this his death and passion only; and that no work of man did deserve any thing of God, but his passion only, as touching our justification; for I know the best work that ever I performed is impure and imperfect."

He then, lifting up his hands, prayed God to forgive him his trespasses, saying, "I confess, that my evil thoughts and cogitations are innumerable; wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord, not to enter into judgment with me, for, if thou straightly mark our iniquities, who is able to abide thy judgment? Wherefore, I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the kingdom of heaven. But imagine not, that I speak against good works, for they are to be done, and verily they that do them not, shall never come into the kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to show and set forth our profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is only by the death of Christ.

"I believe that there is a holy church, and a company of all them that do profess Christ; and that all who have suffered and confessed his name, are saints, and that they praise and laud God in heaven, more than I or any man's tongue can express."

A person present asked him his opinion upon praying to saints. "I believe," said he, "they are in heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honor that scripture willeth them to have. But I say, throughout scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that saints ought to be prayed unto; for then should I preach unto you a doctrine of mine own head. Notwithstanding, whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour, Mr. Sheriff, and for every Christian living in the faith of Christ, and dying in the same as a saint. Wherefore, if the dead may for the quick, I will surely pray for you."

Then said he to the sheriff, "Have ye any articles against me for which I am condemned?" The sheriff answered, "No." Then said he, "Is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any error? Let them now speak, and I will make them answer." But no man answered. Then said he, "Well, I am condemned by the law to die, and, as I understand, by an act of parliament, but wherefore I cannot tell; perhaps it is for heresy; for we are like to burn. But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself. And Dr. Stephen, bishop of Winchester, if he have sought or wrought this my death, either by word or deed, I pray God to forgive him as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and as sincerely, as Christ forgave them that put him to death. And if any of the council, or any other, have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes, that they may see and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all to pray for the king's grace, as I have done ever since I was in prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly prince Edward, that he may finish those things which his father hath begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of sedition, and disobedience unto the king; but here I say to you, that you are all bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart, and that not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience sake before God."

He then begged all men to forgive him; to bear witness that he detested and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines against the word of God, and that he died in the

Burning of Thomas Badby, in Smithfield, in the Reign of Henry IV.

Dr Barnes, the Rev. W. Jerome, and the Rev. T. Garret, burnt at Smithfield.

faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. With these words, he desired all the spectators to pray for him, and then he prepared himself to suffer.

Jerome and Garret professed in like manner their belief, reciting all the articles of the Christian faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every article, as the time would suffer, whereby the people might understand that there was no cause nor error in their faith for which they could justly be condemned; protesting, moreover, that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by the king, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongst them, with his son prince Edward.

Jerome then addressed the people as follows: "I say unto you, good brethren, that God hath bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver, or other such things of small value, but with his most precious blood. Be not unthankful, therefore, to him again, but do as much as to Christian men belongeth to fulfil his commandments; that is, love your brethren. Love hurteth no man, love fulfilleth all things. If God hath sent thee plenty, help thy neighbor that hath need. Give him good counsel. If he lack, consider, if thou wert in necessity, thou wouldst gladly be refreshed. And again, bear your cross with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander, and reproach, he suffered of his enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things. Consider, that all that Christ did, was of his mere goodness, and not of our deserving. For if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for Adam's breaking of God's precepts, we had been all lost, if Christ had not redeemed us again. And like as Adam broke the precepts, and was driven out of Paradise, so we, if we break God's commandments, shall have damnation, if we do not repent and ask mercy. Now, therefore, let all Christians put no trust nor confidence in their works, but in the blood of Christ, to whom I commit my soul to guide, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my brethren here present with me, that our souls, leaving these wretched bodies, may constantly depart in the true faith of Christ."

After he had concluded, Garret thus spoke: "I also detest and refuse all heresies and errors, and if, either by negligence or ignorance, I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask God mercy. Or if I have been vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person hath taken any offence, error, or evil opinion, I desire of him, and all other persons whom I have any way offended, forgiveness. Notwithstanding, to my remembrance, I have never preached, wittingly or willingly, any thing against God's holy word, or contrary to the true faith; but have ever endeavored, with my little learning and wit, to set forth the honor of God and the right obedience to his laws, and also the king's: if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord, if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire thy pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God send the king's grace good and godly counsel, to his glory, to the king's honor, and the increase of virtue in this realm. And thus do I now yield my soul up unto Almighty God, trusting and believing, that he, of his infinite mercy, according to his promise made in the blood of his Son, Jesus Christ, will take it, and pardon all my sins, of which I ask him mercy, and desire you all to pray with and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and die in true faith, hope, and charity."

The three martyrs then took each other by the hand, and, after embracing, submitted themselves to the tormenters, who, fastening them to the stake, soon lighted the fagots, and terminated their mortal life and care.

MARTYRDOM OF BERNARD AND MERTON.

About this time also suffered Thomas Bernard and James Merton. The offence of Bernard was the teaching the Lord's Prayer in English; that of Merton, his keeping an English translation of the epistle of St. James. They were taken up at the instigation of Longland, bishop of Lincoln, condemned, and burned.

EXECUTION OF QUEEN CATHERINE HOWARD.

The king was greatly delighted with the charms of Catherine Howard, his fifth wife, and even gave public thanks to God for the excellent choice he had made. But his opinion was soon altered, and not without reason; for she was convicted, on the clearest evidence, and by her own confession, of gross lewdness and debauchery with several persons; and was beheaded, with lady Rochford, her principal accomplice and confidant, February 14th, 1541. The latter, it will be recollected, was the chief instrument in the destruction of Anne Boleyn, and her fate was considered as a divine judgment on her baseness and falsehood to that injured queen.

The king, exasperated by the disappointment of his hopes, procured an attainder against the parents and relatives of Catherine, for not informing him of what they, perhaps, were themselves ignorant of; and it was made treason to conceal any matter of the kind from the king in future, as well on the part of relatives and other persons, as by the lady herself, whom he might intend to honor with his hand. The barbarous severity and injustice of these acts were felt, but durst not be murmured against, so absolute a tyranny had Henry established in his kingdom. After remaining a widower about two years, he contracted a sixth marriage, with Catherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer, who was in secret a friend to the refor-

mation, but, dreading the fate of her predecessors, dissembled her partiality for the true faith.

ATTEMPTS TO SUPPRESS THE BIBLE.

Great pains had been taken by the bishops to suppress the English Bible. The king refused to call it in, and they therefore complained much of the translation, which they wished to have condemned, and a new one promised, which might have been delayed during several years. Cranmer perceiving that the Bible was the great eyesore of the popish party, and that they were resolved to oppose it by all the means they could think of, procured an order from the king, referring the correction of the translation to the two universities. The bishops took this very ill, and all of them, except those of Ely and St. David's, protested against it.

METHOD OF PREACHING.

In former times there had been few or no sermons, except in Lent; for on holy days the sermons were panegyrics on the saints, and on the virtues of their pretended relics. But in Lent there was a more solemn way of preaching; and the friars maintained their credit much by the pathetic sermons they preached in that time, and by which they wrought much on the passions of the people; yet even these for the most part tended to extol fasting, confession, and other austerities, with very little of the true simplicity of Christianity, or the scriptures; and were designed rather to raise a sudden heat, than to work a real change in their auditors. They had also mixed so much out of the legends with their sermons, that the people at length disbelieved all they said, on account of those fabulous things with which their sermons were debased.

The reformers, on the other hand, took great care to instruct their hearers in the fundamentals of religion, of which they had known little formerly; this made the nation follow those teachers with a wonderful zeal; but some of them mixed more sharpness against the friars in their sermons, than was consistent with the mild spirit of Christianity, although the hypocrisy and cheats of their antagonists did in a great measure excuse those heats; and it was observed that our Savior had exposed the Pharisees in so plain a manner, that it justified the treating them with some roughness. This made it seem necessary to suffer none to preach, at least out of their own parishes, without license, and many were licensed to preach as itinerants. There was also a book of homilies on all the epistles and gospels in the year, published, which contained a plain paraphrase of those parts of scripture, together with some practical exhortations founded on them. Many complaints were made of those who were licensed to preach, and that they might be able to justify themselves, they began generally to write and read their sermons; and thus did this custom begin.

AN ACT CONCERNING RELIGION.

In 1543, a bill was proposed by Cranmer, for the advancement of true religion, which was much opposed, and those who at first joined him, afterwards forsook him; so that it was much altered for the worse in its progress. By it Tindal's translation of the Bible was condemned, and also all other books contrary to the doctrine set forth by the bishops. Bibles, of another translation, were still allowed to be kept, but all prefaces or annotations to them, were to be expunged; all the king's injunctions were confirmed; no books of religion were to be printed without license; there was to be no exposition of scripture in plays or interludes;* none of the laity might read the scripture, or explain it in any public assembly; but a proviso was made for public speeches, which then began generally with a text of scripture, and were like sermons. Noblemen, gentlemen and their wives, or merchants, might have Bibles; but no ordinary woman, tradesman, apprentice, or husbandman, was allowed to retain any.† Every person might have the book published by the bishops, the psalter, and other rudiments of religion, in English. All churchmen, who preached contrary to that book, for the first offence, were required to recant; for the second, to abjure and carry a

* It had been, during several centuries, a custom to dramatize certain portions of scripture, which were represented by the monks themselves, as well as by other persons, under the title of *mysteries;* and many of these performances were highly profane and indecorous. But the "plays and interludes" alluded to in the above-mentioned act, appear to have been burlesque representations of the mummeries of the church of Rome, ridiculous enough in themselves, but rendered more palpably so by this method of treating them. As, however, the ridicule which was pointed at the abuses of religion, might, by malice or ignorance, be transferred to what is really sacred, these representations were properly condemned, both by Catholics and Protestants, and the Reformers trusted to the growing intellect of the age for the condemnation of what was blamable, and the preservation of what was praiseworthy, in the ritual of the church.

† By this proviso it would appear that these bigots wished religion to be confined to the "nobility, gentry, and merchants," to the exclusion of the poor and humble mechanic and laborer. Did they imagine that the kingdom of heaven was the exclusive property of those favored beings; and that, because they dwelt in earthly palaces, they must of necessity be received into heavenly mansions? Did they not know that our blessed Savior selected his most eminent apostles and disciples from among those despised classes, whom they considered unworthy even to hear his gracious word? Let us, of the present generation, praise our heavenly Father who has cast our lot in a period when the knowledge of his promises, and the possession of his scriptures, are not confined to the "mighty of this earth," but form the treasure of every cottage, and the solace and support of the lowliest of mankind.

fagot; but, for the third, they were to be burnt. The laity, for the third offence, were to forfeit their goods and chattels, and to be liable to perpetual imprisonment. The parties accused were not allowed witnesses for their purgation. The act of the six articles was confirmed, and it was left free to the king, to change this act, or any proviso in it. There was also a new act passed, giving authority to the king's proclamations, and any nine privy-counsellors were empowered to proceed against offenders. Against this the lord Mountjoy dissented, and it is the only instance of any nobleman having the courage to protest against the innumerable legislative iniquities of this reign.

PERSECUTION OF ROBERT TESTWOOD.

Robert Testwood, a musician, of London, had, by his great skill in that science, attained so great a name, that he was admitted among the choir of the college of Windsor, and was, for some time, much esteemed by the dean and canons; but when they perceived that he leaned to Luther's sect, they began to disike him. He happened one day to be at dinner with Dr. Rawson, one of the canons, at which dinner was a Mr. Ely, an old bachelor of divinity. Mr. Ely began to rail against laymen, who took upon them to meddle with the scriptures, and to be better learned, knowing only the English tongue, than they who had been students in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Testwood, perceiving his allusion, said, "Mr. Ely, by your patience, I think it be no hurt for laymen, as I am, to read and to know the scriptures."

"Which of you," cried Ely, "that be unlearned, knoweth them, or understandeth them? St. Paul saith, 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; and in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head.' Now, sir," continued he, "what meaneth St. Paul by those coals of fire?"—"Marry, sir," replied Testwood, "he meaneth nothing else by them (as I have learned) but burning charity, that by doing good to our enemies we should thereby win them."—"Ah, sirrah," said Ely, "you are an old scholar indeed!"

After this they conversed about the pope, whose supremacy was much spoken of at that time, and Ely demanded of Testwood, whether the pope ought to be the head of their church or no? when the latter, after some argument, said, "That every king, in his own realm and dominion, ought to be the head of the church under Christ." At which words Ely rose from the table in a great passion, calling him heretic; and so left the room.

Testwood was very sorry to see him so much disturbed; and after dinner he went and sought him, and found him walking in the body of the church. Testwood wished to have reasoned the matter coolly with him, but the other shunned him, and would not come nigh him, but spit at him; saying to others that walked by, "Beware of this fellow, for he is the greatest heretic and schismatic that ever came into Windsor."

Ely made his complaint to the other canons, who were all against Testwood, and intended, at the dean's coming home, to have accused him; but in a few days after, the act confirming the king's supremacy, passed in the parliament. Whereupon the dean, Dr. Sampson, returned suddenly in the night, and sent his verger about to all the canons, and ministers of the college, commanding them to be in the chapter-house by eight o'clock in the morning. Then Ely consulted with the canons, and they agreed the next day to accuse Testwood. "But he that layeth a snare for another man," saith Solomon, "shall be taken in it himself." And so it happened in this instance. For when all were assembled in the chapter-house, the dean began, contrary to every man's expectation, to inveigh against the bishop of Rome's supremacy and usurped authority, confounding the same by scripture and reason; and at length declared openly, that, by consent of the parliament, the pope's supremacy was utterly abolished out of England for ever; and so commanded every man there, upon his allegiance, to call him pope no more, but bishop of Rome, and whoever would not do so, or did henceforward maintain or favor his cause in any manner, should not only lose the benefit of that house, but be reputed as an utter enemy to God, and to the king. The canons hearing this, were all thunderstruck. Yet, notwithstanding this, Ely was so incensed against Testwood, that he began to tell his tale; but the dean, interrupting him, called him an old fool, and obliged him to hold his peace. He then caused all the pope's pardons which hung about the church to be brought into the chapter-house, and burnt.

After this, as Testwood was one day walking in the church, he beheld many pilgrims making their offerings to certain images and shrines; upon which he reproved them for their idolatry, and exhorted them to worship the true God; and to show them the utter helplessness of those deities of wood and stone, whom they looked upon as so powerful, he struck off the nose of one of the images, and showing it to the credulous worshippers, "Lo, good people," said he, "you see what it is, nothing but earth and dust, and cannot help itself: and how then will you have it to help you? For God's sake, brethren, be no more deceived."

This action gave great offence to the priests, and not less to the image-dealers, for both foresaw the ruin of their trade, if such conduct went unpunished. They even threatened Testwood's life, who thereupon refused

to quit his house, but wrote an account of the whole matter to Cromwell, then high in favor with the king. The canons, fearing the resentment of Cromwell, used all means to be reconciled with Testwood, and at length prevailed, by the intercession of Mr. Ward, a magistrate, so that no further notice was taken of the affair, and Testwood did his duty in the church as before. He was still, however, looked upon as a heretic, and his resolute manifestation, on various occasions, of his abhorrence of popery and idolatry, and his love for the doctrines of the reformers, kept alive the resentment of his enemies, and at length produced his martyrdom, as will be shown hereafter.

PERSECUTION OF ANTHONY PEARSON, AND OTHERS.

Anthony Pearson was a priest, who, about 1540, preached at Windsor, and the neighborhood, and was much esteemed by the lovers of the gospel, who resorted in great numbers to hear him. This gave offence to the popish priests and their followers; and Dr. London, a violent bigot, one of the prebendaries of Windsor, with Simons, an attorney, who had before accused Testwood, for defacing the image, particularly distinguished themselves by their unceasing efforts to establish a charge of heresy against Pearson, and his friends. With this view, they made notes of some of his sermons against the idolatry of the mass, and other abominations of the church of Rome; they then fixed on several persons to be accused as the principal abettors of what they called his heretical doctrines, among whom were Sir W. Hobby, Sir T. Cardine, Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter, and others; they also employed spies to report the names of those persons who did not kneel at the elevation of the host, &c.; and having collected all these particulars, Dr. London forwarded the account to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, with a complaint of "the great disquietude, brought upon the members of the *true church*, by the evil doctrines and example of these pernicious heretics," and a request, that his lordship would "assist them in purging the town and castle of such wicked persons."

The bishop commended their zeal, and promised his assistance; and, in pursuance of his promise, represented to the king, that the heretics had spread throughout the realm, and were to be found even in his own chapel; he, therefore, besought his majesty that he might have leave to enforce the laws against them; to which the king consented. The bishop immediately procured a commission for searching the houses of those who had been accused by Dr. London, with the view of finding prohibited books and papers. Commissioners were appointed, and commenced their search; in the course of which, finding certain books and writings against the six articles, in the houses of Testwood, Benet, Marbeck, and Filmer, those persons were apprehended, sent to London, (except Testwood, who was confined to his room by illness,) examined before the council, and committed to prison.

Marbeck was five times examined before the council; the bishop of Winchester; one of the bishop's gentlemen; the bishops of Salisbury, Hereford, and Ely; Dr. Knight, and the bishop of Winchester's secretary. Throughout these examinations he defended the cause of truth with a spirit and boldness which confounded his accusers, but could not turn them from their cruel and bigoted purposes.

Marbeck had begun a Concordance of the Bible in English, which was taken with his other papers, and laid before the council. The bishop of Winchester asked him if he understood Latin, and would scarcely believe that he did not; telling the other lords of the council that it was probable his Concordance was a translation from the Latin, and asserting that "if such a book should go forth in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue."

Marbeck was much pressed to disclose "the secrets of his party," and promised great rewards and preferment, if he would betray what he had heard of the opinions of Testwood, Pearson, and Haynes, on the mass, &c. He steadily refused all these offers, declaring that he knew nothing against them.

On his fourth examination, he was told by the bishop of Salisbury that he must answer on oath, faithfully and truly, to such questions as the commissioners should judge it necessary to put to him; which he promised to do, and was accordingly sworn.

Then the bishop laid before him his three books of notes, demanding whose hand they were. He answered that they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other men's works six years ago. "For what cause," said the bishop, "didst thou gather them?"—"For no other cause, my lord, but to come to knowledge. For I being unlearned, and desirous to understand some part of scripture, thought by reading of learned men's works to come the sooner thereby: and where I found any place of scripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted, as ye see, with a letter of his name in the margin, that had set out the work."—"So methinks," said the bishop of Ely, who had one of the books of notes in his hand all the time of their sitting, "thou hast read of all sorts of books, both good and bad, as seemeth by the notes."—"So I have, my lord," said Marbeck. "And to what purpose?" said the bishop of Salisbury. "By my troth," replied Marbeck, "for no other purpose but to see every man's mind." Then the bishop of Salisbury drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the

bishop of Hereford, who looking upon it awhile, lifted up his eyes to Dr. Oking, standing next him, and said, "This man hath been better occupied than a great many of our priests."

Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Whose help hadst thou in setting forth this book?"—"Truly, my lord," replied Marbeck, "no help at all."—"How couldst thou," said the bishop, "invent such a book, or know what a Concordance meant, without an instructor?"—"I will tell you, my lord," said the prisoner, "what instructor I had to begin it. When Thomas Matthew's Bible came out in print, I was much desirous to have one of them; and being a poor man, not able to buy one of them, determined with myself to borrow one amongst my friends, and to write it forth. And when I had written out the five books of Moses in fair great paper, and was entered into the book of Joshua, my friend Mr. Turner chanced to steal upon me unawares, and seeing me writing out the Bible, asked me what I meant thereby. And when I had told him the cause, 'Tush,' quoth he, 'thou goest about a vain and tedious labor. But this were a profitable work for thee, to set out a Concordance in English.'—'A Concordance,' said I, 'what is that?' Then he told me it was a book to find out any word in the Bible by the letter, and that there was such an one in Latin already. Then I told him I had no learning to go about such a thing. 'Enough,' quoth he, 'for that matter, for it requireth not so much learning as diligence. And seeing thou art so industrious a man, and one that cannot be unoccupied, it were a good exercise for thee.' And this, my lord, is all the instruction that ever I had, before or after, of any man."

"And who is that Turner?" asked the bishop of Salisbury. "Marry," said Dr. May, "an honest and learned man, and a bachelor of divinity, and some time a fellow in Magdalen College, in Oxford."—"How couldst thou," said the bishop of Salisbury, "with this instruction, bring it to this order and form, as it is?"—"I borrowed a Latin Concordance," replied he, "and began to practise, and at last, with great labor and diligence, brought it into this order, as your lordship doth see."—"It is a great pity," said the bishop of Ely, "he had not the Latin tongue."—"Yet I cannot believe," said the bishop of Salisbury, "that he hath done any more in this work than written it out after some other that is learned."

"My lords," said Marbeck, "I shall beseech you all to pardon me what I shall say, and grant my request if it shall seem good unto you."—"Say what thou wilt," said the bishop.—"I do marvel greatly whereof I should be so much examined for this book, and whether I have committed any offence in doing of it, or no. If I have, then were I loth for any other to be molested or punished for my fault. Therefore, to clear all men in this matter, this is my request, that ye will try me in the rest of the book that is undone. Ye see that I am yet but at the letter L, beginning now at M, and take out what word ye will of that letter, and so in every letter following, and give me the words in a piece of paper, and set me in a place alone where it shall please you, with ink and paper, the English Bible, and the Latin Concordance; and if I bring you not these words written in the same order and form, that the rest before is, then was it not I that did it, but some other."

"By my truth, Marbeck," cried the bishop of Ely, "that is honestly spoken, and then shalt thou bring many out of suspicion."—This being agreed to by the commissioners, they bade Dr. Oking draw out such words as he thought best in a piece of paper, which he did; and while the bishops were perusing them, Dr. Oking said to Marbeck, in a very friendly manner, "Good Mr. Marbeck, make haste, for the sooner you have done, the sooner you shall be delivered." And as the bishops were going away, the bishop of Hereford (who, as well as the bishop of Ely, had formerly known the prisoner, and was in secret his friend) took Marbeck a little aside, and informed him of a word which Dr. Oking had written false, and also, to comfort him, said, "Fear not, there can no law condemn you for any thing that ye have done; for if you have written a thousand heresies, so long as they be not your sayings nor your opinions, the law cannot hurt you." And so they all went with the bishop of Salisbury to dinner, taking Marbeck with them, who dined in the hall at the steward's board, and had wine and meat sent down from the bishop's table.

When dinner was done, the bishop of Salisbury came down into the hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to Marbeck, and the two books to one of his men to go with him; at whose going he demanded of the bishop, what time his lordship would appoint him to do it in. "Against to-morrow this time," replied the bishop, and so departed.

Marbeck, now being in his prison-chamber, fell to his business, and so applied himself, that by the next day, when the bishop sent for him again, he had written so much, in the same order and form he had done the rest before, as filled three sheets of paper and more, which, when he had delivered to the bishop, Dr. Oking, standing by, he said, "Well, Marbeck, thou hast put me out of all doubt. I assure thee," said he, putting up the paper into his bosom, "the king shall see this ere I be twenty-four hours older." But he dissembled in every word, and did not show it to the king; but afterwards, the king being informed of the Concordance which Marbeck had written, said, that he

was better occupied than those who persecuted him.

Marbeck was again committed to prison, and upon Whit-Sunday following, in the afternoon, was sent for again to St. Mary Overy's, where he found Dr. Oking, with another gentleman in a gown of damask, with a chain of gold about his neck, sitting together in one of the stalls, their backs towards the church door, looking upon an epistle of John Calvin's, which Marbeck had written out; and when they saw the prisoner come, they rose and had him up to a side altar, leaving his keeper in the body of the church alone. As soon as Marbeck saw the face of the gentleman, he saw it was the same person that first examined him in the Marshalsea, but knew not his name till he heard Dr. Oking call him Mr. Knight. This person held the paper to Marbeck, and said, "Look upon this, and tell me whose hand it is."

When Marbeck had taken the paper and seen what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand, saving the first leaf and the notes in the margin. "Then I perceive," said Knight, "thou wilt not go from thine own hand."—"No, Sir," replied he, "I will deny nothing that I have done."—"Thou dost well in that," said Knight; "for if thou shouldst, we have testimonies enough besides to try out thy hand by: but I pray thee tell me whose hand is the first leaf?"—"That I cannot tell you," said Marbeck. "Then how camest thou by it?" asked Knight. "There was a priest," answered he, "dwelling with us five or six years ago, called Marshall, who sent it unto me with the first leaf written, desiring me to write it out with speed, because the copy could not be spared but an hour or two, and so I wrote it out, and sent him both the copy and it again."—"And how came this hand in the margin?" said Knight, "which is a contrary hand to both the others."—"That I will tell you," replied Marbeck. "When I wrote it out at the first, I made so much haste, that I understood not the matter, wherefore I was desirous to see it again, and to read it with more deliberation; and being sent to me the second time, it was thus quoted in the margin as you see. And shortly after this it was his chance to go beyond the seas (where he lived not long,) by reason whereof the epistle remaineth with me: but whether the first leaf or the notes in the margin were his hand, or whose hand else, that I cannot tell."

"Tush!" cried Dr. Oking to Mr. Knight, "he knoweth well enough that the notes be Haynes's own hand."—"If you know so much," said Marbeck, "ye know more than I do; for I tell you truly, I know it not."—"By my faith, Marbeck," said Knight, "if thou wilt not tell by fair means, those fingers of thine shall be made to tell."—"By my truth, Sir," replied Marbeck, "if you do tear the whole body in pieces, I trust in God you shall never make me accuse any man wrongfully."—"If thou be so stubborn," cried Dr. Oking, "thou wilt die for it."—"Die!" cried he; "wherefore should I die? You told me, the last day before the bishops, that as soon as I had made an end of the piece of Concordance they took me, I should be delivered; and shall I now die? This is a sudden mutation. You seemed then to be my friend, but I know the cause; ye have read the ballad I made of Moses' chair, and that hath set you against me; but whensoever you shall put me to death, I doubt not but I shall die God's true man and the king's."—"How so?" inquired Knight. "How canst thou die a true man unto the king, when thou hast offended his laws? Is not this epistle, and most of thy notes thou hast written, directly against the six articles?"—"No, Sir," replied Marbeck; "I have not offended the king's laws therein; for since the first time I began with the Concordance, which is almost six years ago, I have been occupied in nothing else; so that both this epistle, and all the notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the six articles came forth, and are clearly remitted by the king's general pardon."—"Trust not to that," said Knight, "for it will not help thee." And so going down to the body of the church, they committed Marbeck to his keeper, who led him away to prison again.

TRIAL OF PEARSON, TESTWOOD, AND THEIR COMPANIONS.

Some time after this, Anthony Pearson, Henry Filmer, and John Marbeck, were sent to Windsor, and committed to the town jail; and Testwood, who had had kept his bed, was brought out of his house upon crutches, and confined with them: but Benet, who had been apprehended with them, was now sick of the pestilence, and was therefore left behind in the bishop of London's jail, whereby he escaped the cruel death which the others suffered.

These men being brought to Windsor, there was a sessions specially procured to be holden the Thursday following. Against which sessions, by the counsel of Dr. London and Simons, all the farmers belonging to the college of Windsor, were warned to appear, because they could not pick out papists enough in the town to go upon the jury.

When the judges had taken their places, and the prisoners were brought before them, Anthony Pearson was called, and his indictment was read, wherein he was charged with having preached, two years before, in a place called Wingfield, and there having said, that "like as Christ was hanged between two thieves, even so when the priest is at mass, and hath consecrated and lifted him over his head, there he hangeth between

two thieves, except he preach the word of God truly, as he hath taken upon him to do."

Also that he said to the people in the pulpit, "Ye shall not eat the body of Christ, as it did hang upon the cross, gnawing it with your teeth, that the blood may run about your lips; but you shall eat him this day as ye eat him to-morrow, the next day, and every day; for it refresheth not the body, but the soul."

Also, that after he had preached and commended the scripture, calling it the word of God, he said as follows: "This is the word, this is the bread, this is the body of Christ."

Farther, that he said, that "Christ, sitting with his disciples, took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Take and eat, this is my body.' What is this to us, but to take the scripture of God, and to break it to the people?"

To this Pearson answered, "I will be tried by God and his holy word, and by the true church of Christ, whether this be heresy or no, whereof you have indicted me this day. So long as I preached the bishop of Rome, and his filthy traditions, I was never troubled; but since I have taken upon me to preach Christ and his gospel, ye have always sought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you have taken your pleasure of my body, I trust it shall not lay in your powers to hurt my soul." "Thou callest us thieves," said the bishop of Salisbury, who was one of the judges." "I say," said the prisoner, "ye are not only thieves, but murderers, except ye preach and teach the word of God purely and sincerely to the people, which ye do not, nor ever did, but have allured them to all idolatry, superstition and hypocrisy, for your own lucre and glory's sake, through which ye are become rather bite-sheeps than true bishops, biting and devouring the poor sheep of Christ, like ravening wolves, never satisfied with blood; which God will require at your hands one day, doubt it not." Then Simons, his accuser, standing within the bar, said, "It is a pity this fellow had not been burnt long ago, as he deserved." "In faith," said Pearson, "if you had as you deserved, you are more worthy to stand in this place than I: but I trust, in the last day, when we shall both appear before the tribunal seat of Christ, that then it will be known which of us two hath best deserved this place." "Shall I have so long a day?' cried Simons, holding up his finger; "nay, then I care not;" and so this awful matter was turned into a jest by the papists.

Then Testwood was called, and his indictment read, which charged him with having said, in the time the priest was lifting up the sacrament, "What, wilt thou lift up so high? what, higher? take heed, let him not fall."

To this Testwood answered, it was but a thing maliciously forged by his enemies to bring him to his death. "Yes," said the bishop, "thou hast been seen, when the priest should lift up the sacrament over his head, then wouldest thou look down upon thy book, or some other way, because thou wouldest not abide to look upon the blessed sacrament." "I beseech you, my lord," asked Testwood, "whereon did he look that marked me so well?" "Marry," replied the king's attorney, "he could not be better occupied, than to mark such heretics that so despised the blessed sacrament."

Filmer was called, and accused of saying, that the sacrament of the altar is nothing else but a similitude and a ceremony; and also, "if God be in the sacrament of the altar, *I have eaten twenty Gods* in my days."

This accusation was founded on a conversation which had taken place between the prisoner and his brother, which happened as follows:

Henry Filmer coming upon a Sunday from Clewer, his parish church, in the company of one or two of his neighbors, chanced in his way to meet his brother, who was a poor laboring man, and asked him whither he was going. "To the church," said he. "And what to do?" asked Filmer. "To do?" cried the brother, "as other men do." "Nay," said Filmer, "you go to hear mass, and see your God; and if that be God, I have eaten twenty Gods in my days. Turn again, fool, and go home with me, and I will read thee a chapter out of the Bible, that will be better than all that thou shalt see or hear there."

This tale being told to Dr. London, by Simons, the general accuser and spy, he sent for the poor man home to his house, telling him he should never want so long as he lived, if he would swear against his brother, as he should be ordered. To this the ignorant and needy wretch consented, and being taken into Dr. London's service, he was brought forward on the trial against Henry Filmer, who, however, utterly denied the truth of the story, and said, "Wherefore, my lord, I beseech your lordship to weigh the matter indifferently, forasmuch as there is no man, in all this town, that can or will testify with him, that ever he heard any such talk between him and me; and if he can bring forth any that will witness with him, I refuse not to die." But all he could say had no effect.

Then Filmer, seeing that he was to be condemned on his brother's accusation, said, "Ah, brother, what cause hast thou to show me this unkindness? I have always been a natural brother unto thee and thine, and helped you all in my power, from time to time, as thou thyself knowest; and is this a brotherly part, thus to reward me now for my kindness? God forgive thee, my brother, and give thee grace to repent." Then looking over his shoulder, he desired some person to let him see the book of statutes. His wife, being in the hall, and hearing her hus-

band call for the book of statutes, ran down to the keeper, brought up the book, and got it conveyed to her husband.

The bishop seeing the book in his hand, started up from the bench in a great passion, and demanding who had given the prisoner that book, commanded it to be taken from him, and to make search who had brought it, swearing, by the faith of his body, he should go to prison. Some said it was his wife, some said the keeper; "Like enough, my lord," said Simons, "for he is one of the same sort, and as worthy to be here as the others, if he were rightly served."

Then said Filmer, "O my lord, I am this day judged by a law, and why should I not see the law that I am judged by? The law is, I should have two lawful witnesses, and here is but one, which would not do as he doeth, but that he is forced thereunto by the suggestion of mine enemies." "Nay," said the king's attorney, "thine heresy is so heinous, and abhorreth thine own brother so much, that it forceth him to witness against thee, *which is more than two other witnesses.*

Thus was Filmer brought to his death by the malice of Simons and London, who had incited his wretched brother to work his confusion. But God, the avenger of all wrongs, punished this unnatural brother; for he, the next year, being sent as a laborer to Boulogne, had not been there three days, when a cannon bursting, shattered his body all to pieces. And so were the words of Solomon fulfilled, "A false witness shall not remain unpunished."

John Marbeck was now called, and his indictment read; which charged him with saying, that the holy mass, when the priest consecrates the body of our Lord, is polluted, deformed, sinful, and open robbery of the glory of God, which a Christian heart ought both to abhor and flee from. And the elevation of the sacrament is the similitude of setting up of images of the calves in the temple built by Jeroboam: and that it is more abomination than the sacrifices done by the Jews in Jeroboam's temple to those calves. And that certain and sure it is, that Christ himself is made, in the mass, man's laughing-stock.

To this he answered, that these words were not his, but the words of a learned man called John Calvin, drawn out of a certain epistle which the said Calvin had made, which epistle he had only written out, and that long before the six articles were made public; so that he was discharged of that offence by the king's general pardon.

Then the jury was called, who were all farmers belonging to the college of Windsor, and therefore biassed by their interests in favor of the accusers. The prisoners, aware of this, desired to have a jury of the townsmen, or such as knew them, and had seen their daily conversation, instead of the farmers, or equally chosen from both; but that was not allowed.

After the jury had been sworn, Bucklayer, the king's attorney, began to speak; and first he alleged many things against Anthony Pearson to prove him a heretic; which, when Pearson offered to disprove, the bishop said, "Let him alone, sir, he speaketh for the king:" and so Bucklayer went on, making every man's cause as heinous to the hearers as he could.

When he had finished his harangue, Sir Humphrey Foster spake in favor of Marbeck, as follows: "Masters, you see there is no man here that accuseth or layeth any thing to the charge of this poor man, Marbeck; saving that he hath writ certain things of other men's sayings, with his own hand, whereof he is discharged by the king's general pardon; therefore ye ought to have a conscience therein." Then started up Fachel, one of the commissioners, and said, "What, can we tell whether they were written before the pardon, or after? they may as well be written since as before, for any thing we know." These words of Fachel, it was generally thought, were the cause of Marbeck's condemnation.

The jury then retired, and when they had been together about a quarter of an hour, Simons went to them. After that one of the jurymen came down to the bishop, and talked with him and the other commissioners a good while; whereby many conjectured that the jury could not agree. But soon after his going up again, they came down and delivered their verdict: which was, that the prisoners were all guilty.

The commissioners now could not agree who should give judgment. All the others declining, Fachel said, "It must be done, one must do it, and if no other man will, then will I." And so he, the lowest in degree of all the commissioners, gave judgment.

Marbeck, being the last upon whom sentence was passed, cried out to the bishop, "Ah, my lord, you told me otherwise when I was before you and the other two bishops. You said that I was in a better case than any of my fellows; and is your saying come to this! Ah, my lord, you have deceived me!"

The prisoners being condemned and led away, prepared to die on the morrow, comforting one another in the death and passion of their blessed Saviour, who had led the way before them; trusting that the same Lord, which had made them worthy to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but give them faith and power to overcome the fiery torments to which they were to be exposed, and of his free mercy and goodness, for his promise sake, receive their souls.

Thus they lay all the night, calling on God for his aid and assistance, and praying for their persecutors, that He, of his merciful goodness, would forgive them the cruelties which blind zeal and ignorance led them to the commission of, and turn their hearts to the knowledge and love of his blessed and holy word; indeed, such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that the hearers, of whom the sheriff himself was one, with many other gentlemen, were constrained to shed tears, as they themselves confessed.

On the morrow, which was Friday, as the prisoners were all preparing themselves to go to suffer, word was brought them that they should not die that day. The cause was this: the bishop of Sarum had sent a letter to the bishop of Winchester in favor of Marbeck; upon receiving which the bishop went to the king, and obtained his pardon; whereupon he caused a warrant to be made for his discharge, delivering the same to the messenger, who returned with speed, bringing news of Marbeck's pardon, whereat many rejoiced.

EXECUTION OF PEARSON, TESTWOOD, AND FILMER.

On Saturday morning, when the prisoners were to go to execution, Dr. Blithe and Mr. Arch, two of the canons of the college, came to them. Mr. Arch asked them, "If they would be confessed?" to which they answered in the affirmative. Then he demanded, "If they would receive the sacrament?"—"Yea," said they, "with all our hearts." "I am glad," said Arch, "to hear you say so; but the law is, that it may not be administered to any that are condemned of heresy. However, it is enough for you that ye desire it." They were then taken to the hall to confess, because the prison was full of people. Dr. Blithe took Anthony Pearson to him to confess, and Mr. Arch the other two. But Pearson staid not long with the doctor, but came down again, saying, "He would have no more of his doctrine." And soon after the other two came down also.

Then Pearson seeing many people in the prison, began to say the Lord's prayer, wherein he continued till the officers came to fetch him and his fellow-prisoners away; then taking their leave of Marbeck, they praised God for his deliverance, wishing to him an increase of godliness and virtue, beseeching him heartily to help them with his prayers to God, to make them strong in their afflictions; and so they departed.

As the prisoners passed through the street, they desired all the people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the truth of the gospel, and not to be moved at their seeming afflictions, for it was the happiest event that ever happened to them. And as Dr. Blithe and Mr. Arch (who rode on each side the prisoners,) attempted to persuade them to turn to their "holy mother church," "Away," cried Pearson, "away with your Romish doctrine, and all your trumpery, for we will have no more of it."

When Filmer came to his brother's door, he wished to see him, but Dr. London kept him out of sight; so when he had called for him three or four times, and found he came not, he said, "And will he not come? Then God forgive him, and make him a good man."

Being at length arrived at the place of execution, Anthony Pearson, with a cheerful countenance, embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, "Now welcome, mine own sweet wife; for this day shalt thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God."

Being all three bound to the post, a young man of Filmer's acquaintance brought him a pot of drink, asking, "If he would drink?"—"Yea," cried Filmer, "I thank you; and now my brother," continued he, "I desire you, in the name of the living Lord, to stand fast in the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received;" and so taking the pot into his hand, he asked Pearson if he would drink—"Yea, brother Filmer," replied he, "I pledge you in the Lord."

Then all three drank; and Filmer, rejoicing in the Lord, said, "Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hands unto God, for after this sharp breakfast, I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ, our Lord and Redeemer." At which words Testwood, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his spirit, and Anthony Pearson joined in the same prayer. Thus they yielded up their souls to the Father of Heaven, in the faith of his dear Son Jesus Christ, with such humility and stedfastness, that many, who saw their patient suffering, were convinced that nothing but real religion could bestow so much constancy and Christian courage.

HISTORY AND MARTYRDOM OF ADAM DAMLIP.

In 1539, there came to Calais, Adam Damlip, who had formerly been a zealous Papist, and chaplain to Fisher, bishop of Rochester. After the death of the bishop, he travelled through France, Holland, and Italy, and as he went, conferred with learned men concerning matters of controversy in religion, and proceeded at last to Rome, where he thought to have found all godliness and sincere religion; but instead of which he found there such blasphemy of God, contempt of Christ's true religion, looseness of life, and abundance of all abominations and filthiness, that his heart abhorred any longer to remain there, although greatly requested to do so by cardinal Pole, who wished him to read three lectures in the week in his house, for which he offered him considerable remune-

ration. Damlip, however, was determined to return to England; and accordingly proceeded to Calais.

As he was waiting without the gate of that town for a passage to England, Stevens and Lancaster, two of the inhabitants, discovered by his conversation that he was a learned and pious man, who, having seen the errors of popery, now had a perfect knowledge of the true religion; they therefore earnestly entreated him to stay at Calais awhile, and to preach there, with the hope of doing some good, after his painful travel. To this request Adam gladly consented, if he could be licensed by such as were in authority.

Whereupon Stevens brought him to lord Lisle, the king's deputy of the town and marches, unto whom he declared what conversation had been between Damlip and him; upon which the lord deputy desired Damlip to stay there, and to preach three or four days or more at pleasure, saying that he should have both his license, and the commissary's also.

Having preached three or four times, Damlip was so liked, both for his learning, his eloquence, and the truth of his doctrine, that not only the soldiers and towns-people, but the lord deputy and a great part of the council, gave him great praise and thanks for it, and the lord deputy offered him board and lodging in his own house, with a man or two of his to wait upon him, and whatever else he might require; he also offered him his purse to buy books, if he would remain with them, and preach so long as it should seem good to himself.

He refused, with much gratitude, these liberal offers of his lordship, requesting him "only to be so good, as to appoint him some quiet and decent place in the town where he might not be disturbed or molested, but have opportunity for study; and he would daily, once in the forenoon, and again in the afternoon, by the grace of God, preach among them according unto that talent that God hath lent him." With this determination the lord deputy was greatly pleased, and sent for William Stevens, whom he earnestly required to lodge Damlip in his house, promising whatsoever he should demand to see it paid; and moreover that he would send at every meal from his own table, a dish of the best unto them; which he did, although Damlip refused to partake of it, assuring his lordship that thin diet was most proper for students.

This godly man, during about twenty days, every morning at seven o'clock, preached very learnedly and plainly the truth of the blessed sacrament of Christ's body and blood, inveighing against all papistry, and confuting the same, (but especially those two most pernicious errors—transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the Romish Mass,) by the scriptures, and from the ancient doctors; earnestly exhorting the people to return from their delusion, declaring how zealous a papist he himself had been, and how, by the detestable wickedness that he saw universally in Rome, he was returned so far towards the truth, and now become an enemy, through God's grace, to all papistry; showing them that if gain or ambition could have moved him to the contrary, he might have been entertained by cardinal Pole, but for conscience sake he joined the true church, and now utterly abhorred the superstition which he had once ignorantly followed, and entreated them most earnestly to do the same.

Thus he continued awhile reading in the chapter-house of the White Friars; but the place being not big enough, he was desired to read in the pulpit, and so proceeding in his lectures, he came at length to speak against the pageant, or picture of the resurrection in St. Nicholas's church, declaring the same to be mere idolatry, and an illusion of the Frenchmen, before Calais was taken by the English.

After this sermon, there came a commission from the king to the lord deputy, ordering search to be made whether there were three hosts lying upon a marble stone besprinkled with blood; and if they found it not so, that immediately it should be pulled down. In the search, instead of three hosts, they found soldered, in the cross of marble lying under the sepulchre, three plain white counters, painted like hosts, and a bone; all which trumpery Damlip showed to the people the Sunday following, out of the pulpit; after which they were sent by the deputy to the king.

This exposure of their frauds did not, as may easily be supposed, tend to render the priests more favorable to Damlip; on the contrary it increased their malice; and Dove, prior of the White Friars, with Buttell, the lord deputy's chaplain, began to speak against him. Yet, after he had in three or four sermons confuted the friar's erroneous doctrine of transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, the latter seemed to be convinced of his error, ceasing openly to inveigh, but endeavoring to impeach him by letters sent to the clergy in England; so that, within eight or ten days after, Damlip was ordered to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, bishop of Chichester, and others, before whom he steadily affirmed and defended the doctrine which he had taught, answering, confuting, and removing the objections which had been brought against it, so that his adversaries, among the rest the learned and pious Cranmer, marvelled at it, and said plainly that the scriptures knew not that term of "transubstantiation."

Then the other bishops began to threaten him, that they would shortly confute him

with those unanswerable arguments, fire and fagot, if he stood to the defence of what he had spoken. To which he answered, that "he would the next day deliver unto them fully so much in writing as he had said, whereunto also he would stand;" and so he was dismissed.

The next day, at the appointed hour for his appearance, he came not; for he had secret intimation from Cranmer, that if he any more personally appeared, he would be committed to prison, and consigned to a cruel death; whereupon he sent to the bishops four sheets of paper, written in the Latin tongue, containing his faith, with his arguments, drawn from the scriptures, and writings of the doctors; which done, he fled into the west country; here he continued teaching a school about a year or two, after which he was again apprehended, and brought to London; where, by Gardiner, he was committed to the Marshalsea, where he was confined about two years.

During his imprisonment in the Marshalsea, John Marbeck also was committed to the same prison; they met at confession, and Marbeck, who had never seen him before, entering into conference with him, became acquainted with his story, from Damlip himself, who concluded by saying, "And now, because I think they have forgotten me, I am fully minded to make my humble suit to the bishop of Winchester, in an epistle, declaring therein mine obedience, humble submission, and earnest desire to come to examination. I know the worst; I can but lose my life, which I had rather do, than remain here and not be suffered to use my talent to God's glory: wherefore, God willing, I will surely put it to the proof."

Damlip was beloved by every person in the prison; but especially by the keeper himself, whose name was Massy; and being suffered to go at liberty within the walls, he did much good among the common and dissolute sort of prisoners, in rebuking vice and sin, and kept them in such good order and awe, that the keeper thought him a great treasure.

When he had drawn out his epistle, he delivered it to the keeper, desiring him to deliver it to the bishop of Winchester. The keeper said he would. He accordingly waited upon the bishop, and came home at night very late; and when the prisoners saw him so sad and heavy, they concluded something was amiss. At last, casting his eyes upon Damlip, he said, "O George,* I can tell thee tidings."—"What is that, master?" said Damlip.—"Upon Monday next, thou and I must go to Calais."—"To Calais, what to do?" "I know not," replied the keeper, and pulled out of his purse a piece of wax, with a little label of parchment attached to it, which seemed to be a precept. And when Damlip saw it, he said, "Well, well, master, now I know what the matter is."—"What?" asked the keeper.—"Truly, master, I shall die in Calais."—"Nay," said the keeper, "I trust it will not be so."—"Yes, yes, master, it is most true: and I praise God for his goodness therein." And so the keeper and they went together to supper, much afflicted on account of Damlip, who, notwithstanding, was merry himself, and supped as heartily as ever; whereupon some at the board told him, that they marvelled how he could eat his meat so well, knowing he was so near his death. "Ah, masters," replied he, "do you think that I have been God's prisoner so long in the Marshalsea, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein."

On the following Monday, early in the morning, the keeper, with three others of the knight-marshal's servants, conveyed Adam Damlip to Calais, and there committed him to the mayor's prison. Upon which day John Butler, the commissary, and the curate of St. Peter's, were also committed to the same prison, and orders given, that no man should speak with Butler.

The following Saturday was the day appointed for the execution of Damlip. The offence which his persecutors laid to his charge was heresy; but, because by an act of parliament all such offences, done before a certain day, were pardoned, yet, for receiving a trifling sum of cardinal Pole, which he gave him merely to assist him in his travelling expenses, he was condemned of treason.

The day before his execution, came unto him one Mr. Mote, a priest, saying, "Your four quarters shall be hanged at four parts of the town." "And where shall my head be?" asked Damlip. "Upon the Lantern gate," said Mote. "Then," answered Damlip, "shall I not need to provide for my burial."

At the place of execution Sir R. Ellerker, then knight-marshal there, would not suffer the innocent and godly man to declare either his faith, or the cause he died for, but said to the executioner, "Dispatch the knave, have done." And Mote, appointed to preach there, declared to the people, that he had been a sower of seditious doctrine; and although he was for that pardoned by the general pardon, yet he was condemned for being a traitor against the king. To which, when Adam Damlip would have replied, Sir R. Ellerker would not suffer him to speak a word, but commanded him to be had away, declaring he would not leave the place till he had seen the traitor's heart out. And so most meekly, patiently, and joyfully, the

* He was called indifferently, for some reason not now known, either *George Bucker* or *Adam Damlip*.

blessed and innocent martyr submitted to his death, being hanged, drawn, and quartered.

The providence of God, shortly after, overtook the sanguinary monster, Sir R. Ellerker, with a just punishment; for, in a skirmish with the French at Boulogne, he was slain; and, after the enemy had stripped him naked, they cut the heart out of his body, and so left him a terrible example to all bloody and merciless men.

Some time after this, a certain scholar, said to be a Scotchman, named Dod, coming out of Germany, was taken at Calais, with certain German books about him, and being examined thereupon, and remaining stedfastly in the truth that he had learned, was condemned to death, and burned in the town.

ATTEMPTS TO RUIN CRANMER.

The chief thing now aimed at, by the whole popish party, was Cranmer's ruin. Gardiner employed many to infuse the belief into the king, that he gave the chief encouragement to heresy in England, and that it was in vain to lop off the branches, and leave the root still growing. The king, before this, would never hear the complaints that were made of him: but now, to be informed of the depth of this design, he was willing to make himself acquainted with all that was to be said against him.

Gardiner reckoned that this point being gained, all the rest would follow, and judging that the king was now alienated from him, more instruments and artifices than ever were made use of. A long paper, containing many particulars against both Cranmer and his chaplains, was put into the king's hands. Upon this the king sent for him; and after he had complained much of the heresy in England, he said, he resolved to find out the chief promoter of it, and to make him an example.

Cranmer advised him first to consider well what heresy was, that so he might not condemn those as heretics, who maintained the true word of God against human inventions. Then the king told him frankly, that he was the man complained of, as most guilty; and showed him all the informations that he had received against him.

Cranmer avowed that he was still of the same mind as when he opposed the six articles, and submitted himself to a trial; he confessed many things to the king; in particular, that he had a wife; but he said he had sent her out of England, when the act of the six articles was passed; and expressed so great a sincerity, and put so entire a confidence in the king, that, instead of being ruined, he was now better established with him than ever.

The king commanded him to appoint some persons to examine the contrivance that had been laid to destroy him; he answered, that it was not decent for him to nominate any to judge in a cause, in which himself was concerned; but the king being positive, he named some to go about it, and the whole secret was discovered. It appeared that Gardiner and Dr. London had been the chief instruments, and had encouraged informers to appear against him. Cranmer did not press the king for any reparation; for he was so noted for his readiness to forgive injuries, and to return good for evil, that it was commonly said, the best way to obtain his favor, was to do him an injury; of this he gave signal instances at this time, both in relation to the clergy and laity; by which it appeared that he was actuated by that meek and lowly spirit, which becomes all the followers of Christ, but more particularly one, who was so great an instrument in reforming the Christian religion; and did, by such eminent acts of charity, show that he himself practised that which he taught others to do.

A parliament was now called, in which an act providing for the succession of the crown was passed. By it prince Edward and his heirs, or the heirs by the king's present marriage, were to succeed on the decease of the king; after them, the lady Mary, and lady Elizabeth; and in case they had no issue, or did not observe such limitations or conditions as the king should appoint, then it was to *fall to any other whom the king should name*, either by his letters patent, or by his last will signed with his hand. An oath was appointed both against the pope's supremacy, and for the maintaining the succession according to this act, which all were required to take, under the pains of treason. It was made treason to say or write any thing contrary to this act, or to the slander of any of the king's heirs named in it.

Another bill was passed, qualifying the severity of the six articles; by which it was enacted that none should be imprisoned but upon a legal presentment, except upon the king's warrant. None was to be challenged for words spoken, except the accusation were brought within a year after the commission of the offence; nor for a sermon, but within forty days. This was made to prevent such conspiracies as had been discovered during the former year.

Another act was passed, renewing the authority given to thirty-two commissioners to reform the ecclesiastical law, which Cranmer promoted much; and to advance so good a purpose, he drew out of the canon law, a collection of many things against the regal, and for the papal authority, with several other very extravagant propositions, to show how improper it was, to let a book, in which such things were, continue still in any credit in England: but he could not bring this to any good issue. A general pardon also was granted, out of which heresy was excepted.

Audley, the chancellor, dying at this time,

Wriothesly, who was of the popish party, was put in his place: and Dr. Petre, Cranmer's friend, was made secretary of state: so equally did the king keep the balance between both parties. He gave orders also to translate the prayers, and litanies, into the English tongue, which gave the reformers some hopes that he had not quite cast off his design of reforming such abuses as had crept into the worship of God. And they hoped that the reasons which prevailed with the king to order this, would also induce him to order a translation of all the other offices into the English tongue.

Lee, archbishop of York, died about this time; and was succeeded by Holgate, bishop of Landaff, who, in his heart, favored the reformation. Kitchin, who turned with every change, was made bishop of Landaff; Heath was removed from Rochester to Worcester; Holbeck was promoted to the see of Rochester; and Day to that of Chichester. All these were moderate men, and well disposed to a reformation, or at least to comply with it.

MARTYRDOM OF KERBY AND CLARKE.

The next English martyrs who stand upon record, are Kerby and Clarke. These men were apprehended at Ipswich, and committed to the care of the jailor there, named Bird, a very humane man. While they were in custody, Kerby was visited by Mr. Robert Wingfield, and a Mr. Bruess. Wingfield said to him, "Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterprise, that thou take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were betime to stick to mercy, while there is hope of life, than rashly to begin, and then to shrink."

Kerby answered, "Ah, Mr. Wingfield, be at my burning, and you shall say, there standeth a Christian soldier in the fire: for I know that fire and water, sword, and all other things, are in the hands of God, and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give strength to bear."—"Ah, Kerby," replied Mr. Wingfield, "if thou be at that point, I will bid thee farewell; for I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burn." And so both the gentlemen saying that they would pray for him, shook hands with him and departed.

When Kerby and Clarke were brought up for examination, before lord Wentworth and the other commissioners, they lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven, with great devotion, making their prayers secretly to God.

The articles of accusation were then read to them, and it was demanded of them, "Whether they believed, that after the words spoken by a priest, as Christ spake them to his apostles, the bread and wine were not the very body and blood of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and no bread after."

To which they answered, "No, they did not so believe, but that they believed the sacrament which Christ Jesus instituted at his last supper to his disciples, was only to put men in remembrance of his precious death, and blood-shedding for the remission of sins; and that there was neither flesh nor blood to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine, and yet more than bread and wine, for that it is consecrated to a holy use."

Then many persuasions and threats were used to induce them to abjure; but they both continued faithful and constant, choosing rather to die than to live, if life were to be purchased by professing what they could not believe to be true.

Sentence was then passed upon them; Kerby to be burnt in Ipswich on the next Saturday, and Clarke to be burned at Bury on the Monday after. Kerby, when his judgment was given by lord Wentworth, with most humble reverence holding up his hands and bowing himself devoutly, said, "Praised be Almighty God."

Then lord Wentworth spoke secretly to another commissioner who sat near him. Clarke, perceiving this, said with a loud voice, "Speak out, my lord, and if you have any thing contrary to your conscience, ask God mercy, and we for our parts forgive you: and speak not in secret, for ye shall come before a judge, and then make answer openly, even before Him that shall judge all men."

Lord Wentworth changing color, perhaps from remorse, answered, "I spoke nothing of you, nor have I done any thing unto you, but as the law is."

The prisoners were then led to their destinations; Kerby to prison at Ipswich, and Clarke to Bury, St. Edmund's.—On quitting the court, the latter exclaimed aloud, "Fight for your God, for he hath not long to continue."

On the following Saturday, about ten o'clock, Kerby was brought to the market-place, where a stake was ready, with wood, straw, &c. He was then fastened to the stake with irons, lord Wentworth, with many other noblemen and gentlemen of the neighborhood, being in the gallery, where they might see his execution, and hear what he might say; there was also a great number of people. In the gallery also, by lord Wentworth, stood Dr. Rugham, formerly a monk of Bury, having on a surplice, and a stole about his neck.

Silence being proclaimed, the doctor began to speak to the assembly, and in his discourse, as often as he quoted the scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he was right, and bade them believe him. But when he did otherwise, he

told him again, "You say not true; believe him not, good people." When the doctor had ended, he said to Kerby, "Thou, good man, dost not thou believe that the blessed sacrament of the altar is the very flesh and blood of Christ, and no bread, even as he was born of the Virgin Mary?" Kerby answering boldly, said, "I do not so believe." "How dost thou believe?" asked the Doctor. Kerby answered, "I believe that in the sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper to his disciples (which ought of us likewise to be done) is his death and passion, and his bloodshedding for the redemption of the world, to be remembered; and, as I said before, yet bread, and more than bread, for that it is consecrated to a holy use." After this the doctor said no more to Kerby.

Then the under-sheriff demanded of Kerby whether he had any thing more to say? "Yes, sir," said he, "if you will give me leave." "Say on then," said the sheriff.

Then Kerby, taking his cap from his head, cast it from him, and lifting up his hands, repeated the hymn, *Te Deum*, and the Apostles' creed, with other prayers in the English tongue. Lord Wentworth, while Kerby was thus doing, concealed himself behind one of the posts of the gallery, and wept, and so did many others. "Now," said Kerby, "I have done: you may execute your office, good sheriff." On this, fire was set to the wood, and with a loud voice the holy martyr commended his soul to his heavenly Father; striking his breast, and holding up his hands as long as his senses remained; and so ended his life, the people being filled with great admiration of so much constancy, in one so simple and unlettered.

On the following Monday, about ten o'clock, Roger Clarke was brought out of prison, and led on foot to the gate, called Southgate, in Bury. By the way he met the procession of the host, but he went on, and would not bow, or kneel, but vehemently rebuked that idolatry and superstition.

On arriving at the place of execution, the stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he kneeled down, and said the *Magnificat* in the English tongue, making a paraphrase upon it, wherein he declared that the blessed Virgin Mary, who might rejoice in her pureness, with as much reason as any other, yet humbled herself to our Saviour. "And what says John Baptist," continued he, "the greatest of all the children? 'Behold the lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.'" And thus with a loud voice he cried unto the people, while they were fastening him to the stake, and then fire was set to him. His sufferings were dreadful, for the wood was green, and would not burn, so that he was choked with smoke: and moreover, being set in a pitch-barrel, with some pitch sticking still by the sides, he was thereby much pained, till he got his feet out of the barrel. At length a person standing by took a fagot, and striking at the ring of iron about his neck, and then upon his head, he fell down on one side into the fire, and so was destroyed.

This year it was ordained by proclamation, in the name of the king and his council, that the English form of prayer, as ordained by the said council, should be used throughout all England, and none other.

In the month of November, the king summoned his parliament. Early in the session they granted to him, besides subsidies of money, "all colleges, chantries, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds, and perpetuities of stipendiary priests, to be disposed of at his will and pleasure." Whereupon, shortly after, he came to the parliament-house to give his assent to such acts as were there passed: where, after an eloquent oration made to him by the speaker, he answered, not by the lord chancellor, as the usual manner was, but by himself.

He first declared his gratitude to his subjects for their grants and subsidies to him; and then, with much apparent earnestness, exhorted them to concord, peace, and unity. But while he recommended charity by his speeches, his conduct showed that he was incapable of exercising it towards those who differed from him; and the case of Anne Askew will prove, that his own disposition was not altered, whatever his professions might be.

STORY AND MARTYRDOM OF ANNE ASKEW.

This lady was descended from a good family, and had received an accomplished education: she had embraced the doctrines of the reformers with zeal, and was taken into custody for her opinions, in March, 1545. She underwent several examinations touching the points of difference between the papists and the Protestants; in which she answered the insidious questions of her examiners with boldness and discretion. After remaining some time in prison, application was made by her relatives for her enlargement. The bishop of London, on this, ordered that she should be brought before him, at three o'clock the next day, attended by her friends. Her own account of this matter is so interesting that we cannot do better than present it to our readers. After narrating what we have already mentioned, she proceeds:

"Next day in the forenoon, the bishop of London sent for me, and as I came before him, he said he was sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me in any wise boldly to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any points, for whatever I said in his house, no man should hurt me for it. I an-

swered, 'As your lordship appointed three o'clock, my friends will not come till that hour; I desire you to pardon my giving answers till they arrive.' Then he said that he thought it meet to send for those who were before named and appointed.* I desired him not to put them to the trouble, because the two gentlemen who were my friends, were able enough to testify what I should say.

"Afterwards he went into his gallery with Mr. Spilman, and told him in any wise that he should exhort me to utter all I thought. In the mean while he commanded his archdeacon to commune with me, who said, 'Mistress, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the bishop?' I answered, 'Sir, ask my accusers, for I know not as yet.' Then he took my hand, and said, 'Such books as this have brought you to the trouble you are in. Beware,' said he, 'beware, for he that made this book, and was the author thereof, was a heretic, and burned in Smithfield.

"I asked him if he was certain and sure that it was true what he had spoken. He said he knew well the book was of John Frith's making. Then I asked him if he were not ashamed to judge of the book before he saw it within, or yet knew the truth thereof. I said also, that such unadvised hasty judgment is an apparent token of a very slender wit. Then I opened the book and showed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein. Then I desired him no more to be so unadvisedly rash and swift in judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth, and so he departed from me.

"Immediately after came my cousin Britain, with divers others, among whom was Mr. Hall of Gray's-inn. Then my lord of London persuaded my cousin, as he had done often before, that I should utter the bottom of my heart in any wise. My lord said after that unto me, that he would I should credit the counsel of such as were my friends and well-wishers in this behalf, which was, that I should utter all things that burthened my conscience; for he assured me, that I should not need to stand in doubt. For as he promised them (he said) he promised me, and would perform it; namely, that neither he, nor any man for him, should take me at advantage of any word, and therefore he bade me say my mind without fear. I answered him, that I had naught to say, for my conscience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

"Then brought he forth this unsavory similitude:—'that if a man had a wound, no wise surgeon would minister help unto it before he had seen it uncovered. In like case,' saith he, 'can I give you no good counsel, unless I know wherewith your conscience is burdened.'—'My conscience,' said I, 'is clean in all things, and to lay a plaster unto the whole skin would appear much folly.'

"'Then you drive me,' saith he, 'to lay to your charge your own report, which is this—You did say, he that doth receive the sacrament by the hands of an ill priest, or a sinner, receiveth the devil, and not God.' I answered, 'That I never spake such words: but, as I said before, that the wickedness of the priest did not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less than the body and blood of Christ.'—'What saying is this in spirit?' demanded he, 'I will not take you at the advantage.' Then answered I, 'My lord, without faith and spirit, I cannot receive him worthily.'

"Then he said that I had affirmed, 'That the sacrament remaining in the pix was but bread.' I answered, 'That I never said so. But indeed the quest had asked a question, whereunto I would not reply till they had answered my question, 'Wherefore Stephen was stoned to death?'

"Then my lord said, 'That I had alleged a certain text of the scripture.' I answered, 'That I alleged none other but St. Paul's own saying to the Athenians, in the 18th chapter of the Acts, That God dwelleth not in temples made with hands.' Then he asked me, 'What my faith and belief was in that matter?' I answered him, 'I believe as the scripture doth teach me.'

"Then inquired he of me, 'What if the scripture doth say, that it is the body of Christ?'—'I believe,' said I, 'as the scripture doth teach.' Then he asked again, 'What if the scripture doth say that it is not the body of Christ?' My answer was still, 'I believe as the scripture informeth me.' And upon this argument he tarried a great while, to have driven me to make him an answer to his mind. Howbeit I would not, but concluded this with him, 'That I believe therein, and in all other things, as Christ and his apostles did leave them.'

"Then he asked me, 'Why I had so few words?' and I answered, 'God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance; and Solomon saith, A woman of few words is the gift of God.'

"He next laid to my charge, that I had said that the mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than idolatry.' I answered him, 'that I had said not so. Howbeit the quest asked me, Whether private mass did relieve departed souls? Unto whom I had answered, O Lord, what idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in private masses, than in the death of the dear Son of God!' Then said my lord again, 'What an answer is that!'—'Though it be but mean,' said I, 'yet is it good enough for the question; and there is a priest,' said I, 'who was present before the mayor.'

* Dr. Crome, Sir Guillam Whitehead, and Mr. Huntington, reformers, and friends of Mrs. Askew.

"The chancellor then asked the priest, who said, 'She spake it in very deed, before my lord mayor and myself.'

"Then were there certain priests, as Dr. Standish and others, which tempted me much to know my mind. I answered them always thus:—'What I said to my lord of London, I have said.' Then Dr. Standish desired my lord to bid me speak my mind concerning the text of St. Paul's learning, that I being a woman should interpret the scriptures, especially where so many wise and learned men were.

"My lord of London then said, 'He was informed that one had asked me if I would receive the sacrament at Easter, and I made a mock of it.'

"I desired that my accuser might come forth, which he would not allow. But he said again unto me, 'I sent one to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him Papist.'—That I denied not, for I perceived he was no less, yet I made him no answer to it.

"Then he rebuked me, and said that 'I had reported that there were sent against me threescore priests at Lincoln.'—'Indeed,' quoth I, 'I said so; for my friends told me, if I did come to Lincoln, the priests would assault me, and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast; and when I heard it I went thither, indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said to me; and as I was in the Minster, reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and two, by five and by six, minding to have spoken unto me; yet went they their ways again without once speaking.'

"He next asked me, 'If there were not one who had spoke to me?' I told him, 'Yes, that there was one of them at the last which did speak indeed, but that his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them.' Then said my lord, 'there are many that read and know the scripture, and yet follow it not, nor live thereafter.' I said again, 'My lord, I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure myself this hour that there are none able to prove any dishonesty against me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth.' Then my lord went away, and said he would entitle some of my meaning in writing; but what it was I have not in my memory, for he would not suffer me to have the copy thereof, only I remember this small portion of it.

"'Be it known of all men, that I, Anne Askew, do confess this to be my faith and belief, notwithstanding many reports made afore to the contrary. I believe that they which are houseled at the hands of a priest, whether his conversation be good or not, do receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also I do believe, that after the consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no less than the very body and blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I do believe in this and in all other sacraments of holy church in all points, according to the Catholic faith of the same. In witness whereof I the said Anne have subscribed my name.'

"There was somewhat more in it, which because I had not the copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked me 'if I did agree to it.' And I said again, 'I believe so much thereof, as the holy scripture doth agree unto; wherefore I desire you, that you will add that thereunto.' Then he answered, 'That I should not teach him what he should write.' With that he went forth into his great chamber, and read the same bill before the audience, which inveigled and wilied me to set to my hand, saying also, 'that I had favor showed me.' Then the bishop said, 'I might thank others, and not myself, for the favor I found at his hand; for he considered,' he said, 'that I had good friends, and that I came of a good family.'

"Christopher, a servant to Mr. Denny, said to his lordship, 'Rather ought you, my lord, to have done it in such a case, for God's sake, than for man's.' Then my lord sat down, and took me the writing to set thereto my hand, and I wrote after this manner:—'I Anne Askew do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the Catholic church.'

"Then because I did add unto it 'the Catholic church,' he flung into his chamber in a great fury. With that my cousin Britain followed, desiring him for God's sake to be a good lord unto me. He answered, that 'I was a woman, and that he was nothing deceived in me.' Then my cousin Britain desired him to take me as a woman, and not to set my weak woman's wit to his lordship's great wisdom.

"Then went in unto him Dr. Weston, and said, 'That the cause why I did write there *the Catholic church*, was, that I understood not the church written afore.' So, with much ado, they persuaded my lord to come out again, and to take my name, with the names of my sureties, which were my cousin Britain and master Spilman, of Gray's-inn.

"This being done, we thought that I should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the law. Howbeit he would not suffer it, but committed me from thence to prison again until the morrow, and then he willed me to appear in the Guildhall, and so I did. Notwithstanding they would not put me to bail there neither, but read the bishop's writing unto me, as before, and commanded me again to prison. Then were my sureties appointed to come before them on the next morrow in Paul's

church, who did so indeed. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another woman at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge. Notwithstanding at the last, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond of them of recognizance for my forthcoming: and thus I was at the last delivered.

"Written by me, Anne Askew."

Thus ended her first persecution, from which, for a time, she escaped, but not conforming to their erroneous doctrine of the sacrament, she was, in 1546, again apprehended; of which, before her martyrdom, she wrote the following account to some of her friends.

"THE SUM OF MY EXAMINATION BEFORE THE KING'S COUNCIL AT GREENWICH.

"YOUR request as concerning my prisonfellows I am not able to satisfy, because I heard not their examinations. But the effect of mine was this. I being before the council, was asked of Mr. Kyme. I answered, that my lord chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They with that answer were not contented, but said it was the king's pleasure that I should open the matter unto them. I answered them plainly, I would not do so; but if it were the king's pleasure to hear me, I would show him the truth. Then they said it was not meet for the king to be troubled with me. I answered, that 'Solomon was reckoned the wisest king that ever lived, yet misliked he not to hear two poor common women, much more his grace a simple woman and his faithful subject.' So in conclusion, I made them none other answer in that matter.

"Then my lord chancellor asked of me my opinion in the sacrament. My answer was this, 'I believe that so oft as I in a Christian congregation do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits also of his most glorious passion.' The bishop of Winchester bade me make a direct answer: I said 'I would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange land.' Then the bishop said 'I spake in parables.' I answered, 'It was best for him; for if I show the open truth,' quoth I, 'ye will not accept it.' Then he said I was a parrot. I told him again, 'I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow besides, yea, and all that gladly.'

"Then had I divers rebukes of the council, because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me. But they were not in the mean time unanswered for all that, which now to rehearse were too much, for I was with them about five hours. Then the clerk of the council conveyed me from thence to my lady Garnish.

"The next day I was brought again before the council, which would needs know what I said to the sacrament. I answered, 'That I had already said what I could say.' Then after many words they bid me go aside; then came lord Lisle, lord Essex, and the bishop of Winchester, requiring me earnestly 'that I should confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone.' I told these noblemen that it was a great shame for them to counsel contrary to their knowledge; whereunto in few words they said, 'That they would gladly all things were well.'

"The bishop said, 'He would speak with me familiarly;' I said, 'So did Judas, when he betrayed Christ.' Then he desired to speak with me alone; but that I refused. He asked me why; I said, 'That in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand after Christ's and Paul's doctrine.' Matth. xviii. 2 Cor. xiii.

"Then my lord chancellor began to examine me again on the sacrament. I asked him, 'How long he would halt on both.' He asked where I found that; I said, 'In the scripture. 1 Kings, xviii. 21.' Then he went his way. The bishop said, 'I should be burnt.' I answered, 'That I had searched all the scriptures, yet could I never find that either Christ or his apostles put any creature to death. Well, well,' said I, 'God will laugh your threatenings to scorn.' Then was I commanded to stand aside; after which came Dr. Cox and Dr. Robinson. In conclusion we could not agree.

"They then drew out a confession respecting the sacrament, urging me to set my hand thereunto; but this I refused. On the following Sunday I was so extremely ill, that I thought death was upon me, upon which I desired to see Mr. Latimer, but this was not granted. In the height of my illness I was conveyed to Newgate, where the Lord was pleased to renew my strength.

"THE SUM OF MY CONDEMNATION AT GUILDHALL.

"They said to me there, 'that I was a heretic, and condemned by the law, if I would stand in mine opinion.' I answered, 'That I was no heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. But as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not deny it, because I knew it true.' Then would they needs know if I would deny the sacrament to be Christ's body and blood. I said, 'Yea; for the same Son of God, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day like as he went up—Acts i. And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of bread. For a more proof thereof, mark it when you

list, let it but lie in the box three months, and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded that it cannot be God.

"After that they willed me to have a priest; at this I smiled. Then they asked me if it were not good; I said, 'I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure he would hear me with favor.' And so we were condemned.

"My belief, which I wrote to the council, was this, that the sacramental bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christ's death, the only remedy of our souls' recovery; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion. Then would they know whether the bread in the box were God or no: I said, 'God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth. John iv.' Then they demanded, 'Will you plainly deny Christ to be in the Sacrament?' I answered, 'that I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there;' in witness whereof I recited the 10th chapter of Daniel, the 7th and 17th of the Acts, and the 24th of Matthew, concluding thus,—'I neither wish death, nor yet fear his might; God have the praise thereof with thanks.'

"MY FAITH BRIEFLY WRITTEN TO THE KING'S GRACE, AND SENT BY THE HANDS OF THE CHANCELLOR.

"I, ANNE ASKEW, of good memory, although God hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known unto your grace, that *forasmuch* as I am by the law condemned for an evil doer, here I take heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocency; and according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And as concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood; I believe so much as he willed me to follow; and believe so much as the Catholic church of him doth teach. For I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look what God hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end, for lack of learning.

ANNE ASKEW.

"MY EXAMINATION AND TREATMENT AFTER MY DEPARTURE FROM NEWGATE.

"On Tuesday I was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where Mr. Rich, and the bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words, went about to persuade me from God; but I did not esteem their glossing pretences.

"Then came to me Nicholas Shaxton, and counselled me to recant, as he had done. I said to him, 'That it had been good for him never to have been born;' with many other like words.

"Then Mr. Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three o'clock, when Rich came, and one of the council, charging me upon my obedience to show unto them if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was, 'That I knew none.' Then they asked me of lady Suffolk, lady Sussex, lady Hertford, lady Denny, and lady Fitzwilliams. To whom I answered, 'If I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it.' Then said they unto me, 'That the king was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my sect.' I answered, 'That the king was as well deceived in that behalf, as he was dissembled with by them in other matters.'

"Then they commanded me to show how I was maintained in the Compter, and who willed me to stick to my opinion. I said, 'that there was no creature that therein did strengthen me. And as for the help that I had in the Compter, it was by the means of my maid. For as she went abroad in the streets, she told my case to the apprentices,* and they by her did send me money; but who they were I never knew.'

"Then they said, 'That there were several ladies that had sent me money.' I answered, 'That there was a man in a blue coat who delivered me ten shillings, and said that my lady of Hertford sent it me: and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my lady Denny sent it me. Whether it were true or no I cannot tell; for I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did say.' *Then they said*, 'There were some of the council who maintained me.' I said, 'No.'

"Then did they put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time, and because I lay still and did not cry, my lord chancellor and Mr. Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was nigh dead.

"The lieutenant then caused me to be loosed from the rack, when I immediately swooned, and they recovered me again. After that I sat two hours reasoning with my lord chancellor upon the bare floor, where he with many flattering words persuaded me to leave my opinion; but my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

* How gratifying is it to find these young men assisting this afflicted saint in prison! How worthy of imitation is their conduct! For although, happily, there is not now the *same* occasion for the exercise of their charity, there are innumerable ways in which they may administer comfort to the distressed among God's people; and they should always remember that they are exhorted by the apostle to "do good unto all men, but especially unto them who are of the household of faith." Gal. vi. 10.

"Then was I brought to a house and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job, I thank my Lord God therefor. Then my lord chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinion I should want for nothing; if I would not, I should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him again word, that I would rather die than break my faith.

"Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell, dear friend, and pray, pray, pray."

Her racking in the Tower, mentioned above, is thus described. She was led down into a dungeon, where Sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant, commanded his jailor to pinch her with the rack; which being done, as much as he thought sufficient, he was about to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wriothesley, the chancellor, not contented that she should be loosed so soon, having confessed nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again, which because he denied to do, he was threatened by the chancellor, "That he would signify his disobedience to the king;" but remaining unmoved by their threats, Wriothesley and Rich, throwing off their gowns, would needs play the tormenters themselves, first asking her "If she were with child?" to which she answered, "Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your wills upon me;" and so quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, she sustained their cruelty till her bones and joints were almost torn asunder, so that she was obliged to be carried away in a chair. When the racking was past, the chancellor and Mr. Rich rode off to the court.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good lieutenant, taking boat, hastened to the court to speak with the king before the others, which he did; and desiring his pardon, told him the whole matter respecting the racking of Mrs. Askew, and the threats of the lord chancellor, "because at his commandment, not knowing his highness's pleasure, he refused to rack her, which he for compassion could not find in his heart to do, and therefore desired his highness's pardon," which when the king had heard, he seemed not much to approve their severity; and granted the lieutenant his pardon.

While Mrs. Askew was confined in Newgate, she made the following confession of her faith. "I Anne Askew, of good memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, do confess myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And for so much as I am by the law unrighteously condemned for an evil doer, concerning opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, which hath made both heaven and earth, to record that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy word; and I trust in my merciful Lord, which is the giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions which are contrary to his blessed verity; for I take him to witness that I have done, and will, unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

"But this is the heresy which they report me to hold, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary article of faith, that after these words be once spoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on Good Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of their's say I, Nay. For then were our common creed false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Lo, this is the heresy that I hold, and for it must suffer the death. But as touching the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ would I should believe.

"Finally, I believe all those scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most precious blood; yea, and as St. Paul saith, those scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us; so that, I believe, we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with.

Therefore look what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his holy gospel, that I have with God's grace closed up in my heart, and my full trust is (as David saith) that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps, Psalm xxviii.

"There be some that say I deny the eucharist, or sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people untruly report of me; for I both say and believe it, that if it were ordered as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning the mass as it is now used in our days, I say and believe it to be the most abominable idol that is in the world. For my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again; and upon these words that I have now spoken, will I suffer death.

"O Lord! I have more enemies now than there be hairs on my head; yet, Lord! let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight thou, Lord! in my stead, for on thee cast I my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord! let me not set by them which are against me, for in thee is my whole delight; and, Lord! I heartily

desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy most merciful goodness forgive them that violence which they do, and have done unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy verity aright, without all vain fantasy of sinful men. So be it, O Lord! so be it. ANNE ASKEW."

We have thought it advisable to give so much of this lady's own writings, as they afford very strong evidence of her faith, and zeal for the cause of truth. To this sacred cause she was now about to give the last and highest proof of her attachment, by yielding up her life at the stake, as a token of her devotion to the pure religion of Jesus, and her abhorrence of the devices and inventions of the papists.

On the day appointed for her execution, she was brought to Smithfield in a chair, being unable to walk, from the effects of the tortures which she had undergone. When she arrived at the stake, she was fastened to it by a chain round her body. Three other persons were brought to suffer with her, for the same offence. These were, Nicholas Belenian, a priest of Shropshire; John Adams, a tailor; and John Lacels, a gentleman of the king's household.

The martyrs being all chained to the stake, Dr. Shaxton, who was appointed to preach, began his sermon; and as he proceeded, Anne Askew, with undiminished spirit, either confirmed or contradicted him, according to the truth or falsehood of his quotations and inferences.

The sermon being concluded, the martyrs began their prayers. The concourse of spectators was immense, and on a bench near the stake sat the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, and other persons of consideration. The chancellor sent to Anne Askew letters, offering to her the king's pardon if she would recant; but she, refusing even to look upon them, made this answer, "That she came not thither to deny her lord and master." Then the letters were likewise offered to the others, who imitating the constancy of the woman, refused not only to receive them, but also to look upon them, and continued to cheer and exhort each other to be firm to the end of their sufferings, and so to deserve the glory they were about to enter; whereupon the lord mayor, commanding fire to be put to them, cried, with a loud voice, "*fiat justitia.*"

And thus these blessed martyrs were compassed in with flames of fire, and offered up as sacrifices unto God.

DESIGNS AGAINST CRANMER.

These events were so many triumphs to the popish party, who, stimulated by fresh hopes, sought to complete their victory by effecting the ruin of Cranmer and the queen, whom they considered the greatest obstacles to their success. They persuaded the king that Cranmer was the source of all the heresies in England; but Henry's esteem for him was such, that no one would appear to give evidence against him; they therefore desired that he might be committed to the Tower, and then it would appear how many would inform against him.

The king seemed to approve this plan, and they resolved to execute it the next day: but in the night Henry sent for Cranmer, and told him what was resolved concerning him. Cranmer thanked the king for giving him notice of it, and submitted to it, only desiring that he might be heard in answer for himself; and that he might have impartial judges, competent to decide. Henry was surprised to see him so little concerned in his own preservation: but told him since he took so little care of himself, that he must take care of him. He therefore gave him instructions to appear before the council, and to desire to see his accusers before he should be sent to the Tower; and that he might be used by them, as they would desire to be used in a similar case; and, if he could not prevail by the force of reason, then he was to appeal to the king in person, and was to show the royal seal ring, which he took from his finger, and gave him, which they would know so well, that they would do nothing after they once saw it.

Accordingly, on being summoned next morning, he came over to Whitehall; there he was detained, with great insolence, in the lobby of the council-chamber, before he was called in; but when that was done, and he had acted as the king had ordered him, and at last showed the ring, his enemies rose in great confusion, and went to the king. He upbraided them severely for what they had done, and expressed his esteem and kindness for Cranmer, in such terms, that they were glad to get off, by pretending that they had no other design but that of having his innocence declared by a public trial. From this vain attempt they were so convinced of the king's unalterable favor to him, that they forbore any further designs against him.

But what they could not effect against Cranmer, they thought might be more safely tried against the queen, who was known to love the "new learning," as the reformation was then called. She used to have sermons in her privy-chamber, which could not be so secretly carried, but that it came to the knowledge of her royal spouse; yet her conduct in all other things was so exact, and she expressed such a tender care of the king's person, that it was observed she had gained much upon him; but his peevishness growing with his distempers, made him sometimes impatient even to her.

He used often to talk with her of matters of religion, and sometimes she sustained the argument for the reformers so strenuously, that he was offended at it; yet as soon as that appeared, she let it fall. But once the debate continuing long, the king expressed his displeasure at it to Gardiner, when she went away. The crafty bishop took hold of this opportunity to persuade the king that she was a great cherisher of heretics. Wriothesley joined with him in the same artifice; and filled the angry king's head with suspicions, insomuch that he signed the articles upon which she was to be impeached. But the chancellor carelessly dropping the paper, it happened to be taken up by one of the queen's friends, who carried it to her.

The next night, after supper, she went into the king's bed-chamber, where she found him sitting and talking with certain gentlemen. He very courteously welcomed her, and breaking off his talk with the gentlemen, began of himself, contrary to his usual manner, to enter into talk of religion, seeming, as it were, desirous to hear the queen's opinion on certain matters which he mentioned.

The queen, perceiving to what this tended, mildly, and with much apparent deference, answered him as follows:

"Your majesty," says she, "doth right well know, neither am I myself ignorant, what great imperfection and weakness by our first creation is allotted unto us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferior, and subject unto man as our head, from which head all our direction ought to proceed; and that as God made man to his own shape and likeness, whereby he, being endued with more special gifts of perfection, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavor to obey his commandments; even so also made he woman of man, of whom, and by whom, she is to be governed, commanded, and directed; whose womanly weaknesses and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided, and borne withal, so that by his wisdom such things as be lacking in her ought to be supplied.

"Since thence, therefore, that God hath appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I a silly poor woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature unto you, how then cometh it now to pass that your majesty, in such diffuse causes of religion, will seem to require my judgment? which, when I have uttered and said what I can, yet must I, and will I, refer my judgment in this, and in all other cases, to your majesty's wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head and governor here on earth, next unto God to lean unto."

"Not so, by Saint Mary," replied the king; "you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us (as we take it) and not to be instructed or directed by us."

"If your majesty take it so," said the queen, "then hath your majesty very much mistaken, who have ever been of the opinion, to think it very unseemly and preposterous for the woman to take upon her the office of an instructor, or teacher to her lord and husband, but rather to learn of her husband, and to be taught by him; and where I have, with your majesty's leave, heretofore been bold to hold talk with your majesty, wherein sometimes in opinions there hath seemed some difference, I have not done it so much to maintain opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end your majesty might with less grief pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being intentive to our talk, and hoping that your majesty should reap some ease thereby; but also that I, hearing your majesty's learned discourse, might receive to myself some profit thereby; wherein, I assure your majesty, I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring myself in all such matters unto your majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do."

"And is it even so, sweetheart?" cried the king; "and tended your arguments to no worse end? Then perfect friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore." And as he sat in his chair, embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, he added, that "it did him more good at that time to hear those words of her own mouth, than if he had heard present news of a hundred thousand pounds in money fallen unto him;" and with tokens of great joy, and promises and assurances never again to mistake her, he entered into very pleasant discourse with the queen, and the lords and gentlemen standing by; and at last (the night being far advanced) he gave her leave to depart. And after she was gone, he greatly commended and praised her.

The time formerly appointed for her being taken into custody, being come, the king, waited upon by two gentlemen only of his bed-chamber, went into the garden, whither the queen also came, (being sent for by the king himself,) with three ladies attending her. Henry immediately entered into pleasant conversation with the queen and attendants; when suddenly, in the midst of their mirth, the lord chancellor came into the garden with forty of the king's guards, intending to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies, to the Tower. The king, sternly beholding them, broke off his mirth with the queen, and stepping a little aside, called the chancellor to him, who upon his knees spake to the king, but what he said is not well known; it is, however, certain, that the king's reply to him was, "Knave! yea, arrant knave, beast, and fool!" and then he

commanded him presently to begone out of his presence; which words, being vehemently spoken by the king, the queen and her ladies overheard them.

The king, after the departure of the chancellor and his guards, immediately returned to the queen; when she, perceiving him to be very much irritated, endeavored to pacify him with kind words, in behalf of the lord chancellor, with whom he seemed to be offended, saying, "That albeit she knew not what just cause his majesty had at that time to be offended with him; yet she thought that ignorance, not wilfulness, was the cause of his error."

"Ah, poor soul," replied the king, "thou little knowest how ill he deserveth this grace at thy hands. On my word, sweetheart, he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let him go." Thus the design against her was frustrated, and Gardiner, who had promoted it, lost the king's favor entirely.

THE KING'S SICKNESS, AND DEATH.

The king's distemper had been long growing upon him. He was become so corpulent, that he could not go up and down stairs, but was let down and drawn up by an engine, when he intended to walk in his garden. He had an ulceration in his leg, which gave him much pain, the humors of his body discharging themselves that way, till at last a dropsy came on. He had grown so fierce and cruel, that those about him were afraid to let him know that his death seemed near, lest they might have been adjudged guilty of treason, in foretelling his death!

His will was made ready, and signed by him on the 30th of December. He ordered Gardiner's name to be struck out from the list of his executors. When Sir Anthony Brown endeavored to persuade him not to put that disgrace on an old servant, he continued positive in it; for he said, "*he* knew his temper, and could govern him; but it would not be in the power of others to do it, if he were put in so high a trust." The most material thing in the will, was, the preferring the children of his second sister, by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, to the children of his eldest sister the queen of Scotland, in the succession to the crown. On his death-bed he finished the foundation of Trinity college in Cambridge, and of Christ's hospital, near Newgate; yet this last was not fully settled, till his son completed what he had begun.

On the 27th of January, 1547, his spirits sunk, and it was evident that he had not long to live. Sir Anthony Denny took the courage to tell him that death was approaching, and desired him to call on God for his mercy. He expressed in general his sorrow for his past sins, and his trust in the mercies of God in Christ Jesus. He ordered Cranmer to be sent for, but was speechless before he arrived; yet he gave a sign that he understood what he said to him, and soon after died, in the 56th year of his age, after he had reigned thirty-seven years and nine months. His death was concealed three days; and the parliament continued to sit till the 31st of January, when his decease was made public. It is probable the Seymours, uncles to the young king, concealed it so long, till they made a party for securing the government in their own hands.

The severities Henry used against many of his subjects, in matters of religion, made both sides write with great sharpness against him; his temper was imperious and cruel; he was sudden and violent in his passions, and hesitated at nothing by which he could gratify either his lust or his revenge. This was much provoked by the sentence of the pope against him, by the virulent books cardinal Pole and others published, by the rebellions that were raised in England by the popish clergy, and the apprehensions he was in of the emperor's greatness, together with his knowledge of the fate of those princes, against whom the popes had thundered in former times; all which made him think it necessary to keep his people under the terror of a severe government; and by some public examples to secure the peace of the nation, and thereby to prevent a more profuse effusion of blood, which might have otherwise followed, if he had been more gentle; and it was no wonder, if after the pope deposed him, he proceeded to great severities against all who supported the papal authority.

Almost the last act of his life was one of barbarous ingratitude and monstrous tyranny. This was the execution of the earl of Surrey, a brave and accomplished nobleman, who had served him with zeal and fidelity, but was now sacrificed to the groundless suspicions of this gloomy tyrant, on the pretence of his having assumed the arms of Edward the Confessor, which, from his being related to the royal family, he had a right to do, and which he had done, during many years, without offence. Not satisfied with the death of this nobleman, the bloodthirsty despot, now tottering on the brink of the grave, determined to complete his worse than savage barbarity, by bringing to the block the aged duke of Norfolk, father of his former victim, who had spent a long life, and expended a princely fortune, in his service. There being no charge on which to found an impeachment against him, a parliament was summoned to attaint him; and so well did these servile wretches fulfil their inhuman master's expectations, that the bill of attainder was passed in both houses in the short space of seven days; and the royal assent being given by commission, January 27, the duke was ordered for execution on the next morning; but in the course of the night,

the king was himself summoned before the tribunal of the eternal Judge.

Beside the martyrdoms which we have already recorded, there are some others which have not been placed in their chronological order. We therefore insert them here, which will complete this important period of church history.

BURNING OF BENT AND TRAPNEL.

John Bent and —— Trapnel suffered shortly after the martyrdom of Thomas Bilney, of which we have already given an account. The particulars of their examinations and trials are not extant; but, having sealed their profession by their death, their names ought to be held in remembrance among those of their brethren. Bent was a tailor in the village of Urchevant, and was burned in the town of Devizes, in the county of Wiltshire. Trapnel suffered the same fate at Bradford in the same county. Their offence consisted in having denied the doctrine of transubstantiation.

THREE MEN HANGED FOR BURNING THE ROOD OF DOVER-COURT.

In the year 1532, there was an idol called the Rood of Dover-court, to which great numbers of people constantly resorted. For at that time there was a firm belief amongst the ignorant multitude, that the power of this idol was so great, that no man could shut the door of the church where it stood, and therefore the priests let it continually stand open, to obtain the more credit to their false report.

This belief being conceived in the heads of the rabble, seemed a great miracle unto many; but by others, whom God had blessed with his spirit, was greatly suspected, especially by these, whose names here follow: Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marsh of Dedham, and Robert Gardiner of Dedham, who were much grieved to see the honor and power of the Almighty God so blasphemed. Wherefore they were moved by the spirit of God, to travel out of Dedham in a night suitable for their purpose, it being a hard frost, and moonlight. It was from the town of Dedham, to the place where the Rood stood, ten miles. Notwithstanding, they were so earnest in their enterprise, that they went these ten miles cheerfully, and found the church-door open, according to custom. This happened well for their purpose; for it gave them an opportunity of easily approaching the idol; which had as much power to keep the door shut as to keep it open. They took this helpless god from his shrine, and carried him a quarter of a mile from the place where he stood; then they struck fire with a flint-stone, and suddenly setting him in a blaze, walked home by the light of it.

A great clamor was immediately raised by the priests of this injured wooden deity, and three of the destroyers of the idol were indicted of felony, and hanged in chains in a short time after. Robert King was hanged in Dedham; Debnam at Cataway-causeway; Nicholas Marsh at Dover-court. They all, through the spirit of God, at their death, said more to edify the people in godly learning, than all the friars and monks who had preached there during centuries before.

Robert Gardiner escaped by flight, and although great search was made after him, the living Lord preserved him.

About the same time there were many images cast down and destroyed in various places: as the image of the crucifix in the highway by Coggeshall, the image of St. Petronil in the church of Great Horksleigh, the image of St. Christopher near Sudbury, and another image of St. Petronil in a chapel at Ipswich.

Also John Seward, of Dedham, overthrew the cross in Stoke-park, and took two images out of a chapel there, and cast them into the water.

PERSECUTION AND MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS BENET.

Thomas Benet was born in Cambridge; became M. A. there; and (as some think) was also a priest; he was a very learned man, and of a godly disposition, being intimately acquainted with Thomas Bilney, the glorious martyr of Christ. The more he grew and increased in the knowledge of God and his holy work, the more he disliked the corrupt state of religion then prevalent; and therefore being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he quitted the university, and went into Devonshire, in the year 1524, and resided in Torrington, a market-town, where, for the maintenance of himself and his wife, he kept a school. But that town not answering his expectation, after remaining there one year, he went to Exeter, and resumed his teaching. He was of a quiet behavior, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and giving offence to none. His greatest delight was to attend sermons and preachings, whereof he was a diligent and attentive hearer, and he devoted all his leisure to the study of the scriptures, and the company of such as he found to be favorers of the gospel. Therefore understanding that Mr. Strowd, of Newnham, was committed to the bishop's prison in Exeter upon suspicion of heresy, although unacquainted with him, yet he sent him letters of consolation; wherein, speaking of himself, he said, "Because I would not be a whoremonger, or an unclean person, I married a wife, with whom I have hidden myself in Devonshire from the tyranny of the antichristians, these six years."

But although he had hitherto avoided any public expression of his sentiments, yet now,

daily seeing the glory of God blasphemed, idolatrous religion embraced and maintained, and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome extolled, he was so grieved in conscience, and troubled in spirit, that he could not rest till he gave utterance to his thoughts on these subjects. Wherefore, speaking privately with his friends, he plainly told them how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonored, his word contemned, and the people, by blind guides, carried headlong to everlasting damnation: and therefore, he said, "he could no longer endure, but must needs, and would utter their abominations; and for his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and for the defence of God's true religion, would yield himself most patiently (as near as God would give him grace) to die and to shed his blood therein; alleging that his death should be more profitable to the church of God, and for the edifying of his people, than his life should be."

To these persuasions his friends at length yielded, and promised to pray to God for him, that he might be made strong in the cause, and continue a faithful soldier to the end. He then gave directions for the distribution of such books as he had; and shortly after, in the month of October, he wrote his mind on some scrolls of paper, which in the night he affixed upon the doors of the cathedral church of the city: on these papers was written; "The pope is antichrist, and we ought to worship God only, and no saints."

These bills being found, the clergy were all in alarm, and great search was made for the "heretic" who had set them up. Orders were given that sermons should be preached every day to confute this heresy. Nevertheless, Benet, keeping his own secret, went the Sunday following to the cathedral, and by chance sate down by two men who had been the busiest in all the city in seeking and searching for heretics; and they beholding Benet, said one to the other, "Surely this fellow is the heretic that hath set up the bills, and it were good to examine him." Nevertheless, when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behavior of the man, his attentiveness to the preacher, his godliness in the church, being always occupied in his book, which was a Testament in the Latin tongue, they were astonished, and had no power to speak to him, but departed, and left him reading his book.

The priests being unable to discover the perpetrator of this *horrible deed*, at length determined, to make his damnation sure, to curse him, whoever he might be; which was accordingly performed, with much mummery; and as the whole proceeding affords a just view of the *piety*, *charity*, and *mercy* of the Romish church, we give it here, for the edification of our readers.

One of the priests, apparelled all in white, ascended into the pulpit. The rabble, with some of the two orders of friars and monks, standing round about, and the cross being holden up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, he began his sermon with this text from the book of Joshua; *Est blasphemia in castris:* "there is blasphemy in the camp:" and after making a long, tedious, and superstitious preachment, concluded, that "that foul and abominable heretic which had put up such blasphemous bills, was for that his blasphemy damnably cursed; and besought God, our lady, St. Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up such blasphemous bills." Then followed the curse, uttered by the priest in these words:

"By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Peter and Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she be, that have, in spite of God and of St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, God's vicar here on earth, and in spite of the reverend Father in God, John our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests, and clerks, which serve God daily in this cathedral church, fixed up with wax such cursed and heretical bills full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city. Excommunicate plainly be he or she plenally, or they, and delivered over to the devil, as perpetual malefactors and schismatics. Accursed might they be, and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate them, him or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers of the church, from the participation of the holy mass, from all sacraments, chapels, and altars, from holy bread, and holy water, from all the merits of God's priests, and religious men, and from all their cloisters, from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them: and we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend; and let us quench their souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out"—(and with that he put out one of the candles:)—"and let us pray to God (if they be alive) that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is"—(he then put out the other candle:) "and let us pray to God, and to our lady, and to St. Peter and Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the

light of this candle is gone"—(he put out the third candle)—"except they, he or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance (as in them shall lie) make satisfaction unto God, our lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church; and as this holy cross staff now falleth down, so might they, except they repent, and show themselves." Then, the cross being first taken away, the staff fell down. And the ignorant people were almost petrified with fear, at hearing this terrible denunciation.

Now this foolish fantasy and mockery being ended, which was to a Christian heart utterly ridiculous, Benet could no longer restrain his laughter; upon which, those who were next to him, in great surprise, asked him, "For what cause he should so laugh?"—"My friends," said he, "who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes?" Immediately there was a cry, "Here is the heretic, here is the heretic! hold him fast, hold him fast, hold him fast!" He was accordingly seized; but his enemies, being uncertain of him, released him, and left him to go home to his house.

However, being still more disgusted by the scene he had just witnessed, he renewed his former bills, and caused his boy, early in the following morning, to replace them upon the gates of the church-yard. As the boy was doing this, he was seen by a person going to early mass, who, asking him, "whose boy he was," charged him as the heretic who had set up the bills upon the gates; wherefore, pulling down the bill, he brought it, together with the boy, before the mayor; and thereupon Benet, being known and taken, was committed to prison.

The next day, the canons of the cathedral, and magistrates of the city jointly examined him. To them he confessed what he had done, saying, "It was even I that put up those bills, and if it were to do, I would do it again; for in them I have written nothing but what is very truth."—"Couldest not thou," asked they, "as well have declared thy mind by word of mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy?"—"No," said he; "I put up the bills, that many should read and hear what abominable blasphemers ye are, and that they might know your antichrist, the pope, to be that boar out of the wood, which destroyeth and throweth down the hedges of God's church; for if I had been heard to speak but one word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light; for God will so have it, and no longer will suffer you."

The next day he was sent to the bishop, who committed him to prison, where he was kept in stocks and strong irons. Then the bishop, with Dr. Brewer, his chancellor, and others of his clergy and friars, began to examine him, and charge him, that, contrary to the Catholic faith, he denied praying to saints, and the supremacy of the pope. To whom he answered in so correct a manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he not only confounded and put to silence his adversaries, but also filled them with great admiration of his abilities, and pity and compassion for his situation. The friars took great pains with him to persuade him to recant and acknowledge his fault, concerning the bills; but it was in vain, for God had appointed him to be a witness of his holy name.

His house was then searched for books and papers; and his wife much ill-treated by the officers employed: but she being, like her husband, a member of Christ's true church, bore all their insults patiently, and "when they reviled her, answered them not again."

Benet was now, during eight days, constantly beset by priests and friars, who tried all arts to induce him to be "reconciled" with the church of Rome; but all their efforts were vain; he remained firm in the faith, and would not relinquish the cross which he had taken up.

The principal point between him and his opponents was touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom in his bills he had named "Antichrist, the thief, the mercenary, and murderer of Christ's flock." They who had some learning, persuaded him to believe the church, and showed by what tokens she is known. The unlearned railed, and said, "That the devil tempted him," and spit upon him, calling him heretic. He prayed God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them: "For," said he, "I will rather die, than worship such a beast, the very whore of Babylon, and a false usurper, as manifestly doth appear by his doings." They asked, "What he did, that he had no power and authority to do, being God's vicar?"—"He doth," replied he, "sell the sacraments for money, he selleth remission of sins daily for money, and so do you likewise: for there is no day but ye say divers masses for souls in purgatory: yea, and ye spare not to make lying sermons to the people, to maintain your false traditions, and foul gains. The whole world begins now to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame."—"The shame," cried they, "shall be to thee, and such as thou, foul heretic. Wilt thou allow nothing done in holy church?"—"I am," said he, "no heretic; but a Christian, I thank Christ; and with all my heart will allow all things done and used in the church to the glory of God, and edifying of my soul: but I see nothing in your church, but that maintaineth the devil."—"What is our church?" asked they. "It is not my church," replied Benet. "God give me grace to be of a bet-

ter church; for verily your church is the church of antichrist, the malignant church, the second church, a den of thieves, and as far wide from the true universal and apostolic church as heaven is distant from the earth."

"Dost thou not think," said they, "that we pertain to the universal church?" "Yes," answered he, "but as dead members, unto whom the church is not beneficial: for your works are the devices of man, and your church a weak foundation; for ye say and preach, that the pope's word is equal with God's in every degree."—"Why," asked they, "did Christ say to Peter, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven?"—"He said that," replied he, "to all as well as to Peter, and Peter had no more authority given him than they, or else the churches planted in every kingdom by their preaching are no churches. Doth not St. Paul say, 'Upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets?' Therefore, I say plainly, that the church that is built upon a man, is the devil's church, or congregation, and not God's. And as every church this day is appointed to be ruled by a bishop or pastor, ordained by the word of God in preaching and administration of the sacraments under the prince, the supreme governor under God: so to say, that all the churches, with their princes and governors, be subject to one bishop, is detestable heresy; and the pope, your God, challenging this power to himself, is the greatest schismatic that ever was."

"O thou blind and unlearned fool!" cried they, "is not the confession and consent of all the world as we confess and consent: that the pope's holiness is the supreme head and vicar of Christ?" "That is," said Benet, "because they are blinded, and know not the scriptures; but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his false supremacy would soon decay."—"We think," said they, "thou art so malicious, that thou wilt confess no church."—"Look," said he, "where they are that confess the true name of Jesus Christ, where only Christ is the head, and under him the prince of the realm, to order bishops, ministers, and preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the glory of God by preaching his word; and where it is preached, that Christ is our only advocate, mediator, and patron before his Father, making intercession for us; and where the true faith and confidence in Christ's death and passion, and his only merits and deservings are extolled, and our own depressed; where the sacrament is duly, without superstition or idolatry, administered in remembrance of his blessed passion, and only sacrifice upon the cross once for all, and where no superstition reigneth; of that church will I be."

"Doth not the pope," asked they, "confess the true gospel? do not we all the same?" "Yes," said he, "but ye deny the fruits thereof in every point. Ye build upon the sands, not upon the rock."—"And wilt thou not believe indeed," said they, "that the pope is God's vicar?"—"No," said he, "indeed!"—"And why?"—"Because he usurpeth a power not given him of Christ, no more than to other apostles; also, because, by force of that usurped supremacy, he blinds the whole world, and doth contrary to all that ever Christ ordained or commanded."—"What," said they, "if he do all things after God's ordinance and commandment, should he then be his vicar?"—"Then," said he, "would I believe him to be a good bishop at Rome over his own diocese, and to have no further power. And if it pleased God, I would every bishop did this in their diocese: then should we live a peaceable life in the church of Christ, and there should be no seditions therein. If every bishop would seek no further power, it were a goodly thing. But now, because all are subject to one, all must do and consent to all wickedness as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cause of great superstition in every kingdom; and what bishop soever he be that preacheth the gospel, and maintained the truth, is a true bishop of the church."—"And doth not," said they, "our holy father the pope maintain the gospel?"—"Yea," said he, "I think he doth read it, and peradventure believe it, and so do you also: but neither he nor you do fix the anchor of your salvation therein. Besides that, ye bear such a good will to it, that ye keep it close, that no man may read it but yourselves. And when you preach, God knows how you handle it: insomuch, that the people of Christ know no gospel but the pope's; and so the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the pit."

Then said a black friar to him, "Thou blockhead! do we not preach the gospel daily?"—"Yes," replied Benet, "but what preaching of the gospel is that, when you extol superstitious things, and make us believe that we have redemption through pardons and bulls from Rome, *á pœna et culpa*, as ye term it? and by the merits of your orders ye make many brethren and sisters, ye take yearly money of them, ye bury them in your coats, and in shrift ye beguile them: yea, and do a thousand superstitious things more; a man may be weary to speak of them."—"I see," cried the *liberal* friar, "thou art a damned wretch! I will have no more talk with thee."

After this, another of the same order addressed him, and endeavored to shake his faith by representing to him the great dangers to which he exposed himself. "I take God to record," said Benet, "my life is not dear to me; I am content to depart from it; for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of God's flock; and, for my part, I can no longer for-

bear; I had rather, by death, which I know is not far off, depart this life, that I may no longer be partaker of your idolatries, or be subject to antichrist, your pope."—"Our pope," said the friar, "is the vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God."—"I pray you," cried Benet, "depart from me, and tell not me of your ways. He is only my way which saith, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.' In this way will I walk, his doings shall be my example, not your's, nor your pope's. His truth will I embrace, not your falsehood. His everlasting life will I seek, the true reward of all faithful people. Vex my soul no longer; ye will not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. Ye are more vain than vanity itself. If I should hear and follow you, everlasting death would hang over me, a just reward for all that love the life of this world."

His enemies, at length, finding both their threats and their persuasions equally useless, proceeded to judgment, and condemned him to the flames; which being done, and the writ which they had procured being brought from London, they delivered him, on the 15th of January, 1531, to Sir Thomas Dennis, knight, then sheriff of Devonshire, to be burned.

The holy martyr, rejoicing that his end approached so near, yielded himself, with all humbleness, to abide and suffer the cross of persecution. And being brought to the place of execution, near Exeter, he made his humble confession and prayer unto Almighty God, and requested all the people present to pray for him; exhorting them, at the same time, with such gravity and sobriety, and with such force of language, to seek the true knowledge and honor of God, and to leave the vain imaginations of man's invention, that all the hearers were astonished, and in great admiration; and most of them confessed that he was God's servant, and a good man.

Nevertheless, two gentlemen, named Thomas Carew and John Barnehouse, standing at the stake by him, first with promises and fair words, but at length with threatenings, urged him to revoke his errors, to call to our lady and the saints, and to say, "*Precor sanctam Mariam, et omnes sanctos Dei*," &c. To whom he, with all meekness, answered, saying, "No, no; it is God only upon whose name we must call, and we have no other advocate to him but Jesus Christ, who died for us, and now sitteth at the right hand of the Father to be an advocate for us, and by him must we offer and make our prayers to God, if we will have them to take place and be heard." With which answer Barnehouse was so enraged, that he took a furze-bush upon a pike, and setting it on fire, thrust it into his face, saying, "Heretic! pray to our lady, and say, *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, or by God's wounds I will make thee do it."

To whom the martyr meekly and patiently answered, "Alas, Sir, trouble me not;" and holding up his hands, he said, "*Pater ignosce illis.*" Whereupon the persecutors caused the wood and furze to be set on fire, and Benet, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, cried out, "*O Domine, recipe spiritum meum.*" And so continued in his prayers, until his life was ended.

MARTYRDOM OF LAUNCELOT, JOHN, A PAINTER, AND GILES GERMAN.

About the year 1539, John, a painter, and Giles German, were accused of heresy; and whilst they were in examination at London before the bishop and other judges, by chance there came in one of the king's servants, named Launcelot, a very tall man, and of a godly mind and disposition.

This man standing by, seemed, by his countenance and gestures, to favor both the cause and the poor prisoners, who were his friends. Whereupon, he being apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them; and the next day, at five o'clock in the morning, all three were carried together to St. Giles's in the Fields, and there burned; there being but a small number of people present at their death.

MARTYRDOM OF STILE.

Among other blessed saints and martyrs of Christ, who innocently suffered, and were burned in Smithfield about the latter end of Cuthbert Tonstall's time, (bishop of London) was one called Stile. With him there was burned also a book of the Apocalypse, which he was known frequently to read. When he saw this book fastened to the stake to be burned with him, lifting up his voice, "O blessed Apocalypse," he cried, "how happy am I that I shall be burned with thee!" And so this good man and the blessed Apocalypse were both together consumed in the fire.

MARTYRDOM OF JOHN BROWN.

Even so early as the second year of Henry VIII.'s reign, one John Brown was burned at Ashford, in Kent, by order of archbishop Warham, on the following grounds. Passing down to Gravesend in the common barge, a priest was amongst other passengers, who, disdaining that Brown should sit so near him in the barge, asked him, with a loud voice and disdainful countenance, "Dost thou know who I am? Thou sittest too near me, and sittest on my clothes."—"No, Sir," said Brown, "I know not what you are."—"I tell thee," quoth he, "I am a priest."—"What, Sir, are you a parson, or vicar, or some lady's chaplain?"—"No, I am a soul priest, I sing for a soul."—"Do you so,

Sir?" cried Brown, "that is well done; I pray you, Sir, where find you the soul when you go to mass?"—"I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "I pray you, where do you leave it, Sir, when the mass is done?"—"I cannot tell thee," replied the priest.—"You cannot tell where to find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done?—how can you then save the soul?" asked Brown.—"Go thy ways," said the priest, unable to answer him; "I perceive thou art a heretic, and I will be even with thee."

On landing, the priest rode straight to archbishop Warham; and John Brown, within three days after, was sent for by the archbishop. The messengers who were sent for him, came suddenly into his house; and laying hands upon him they set him upon his own horse, and binding his feet under the belly of the beast, carried him away to Canterbury, (neither he, nor his wife, nor any of his friends, knowing whither he was going) and there confined him for forty days. The archbishop finding him, on examination, to be a friend to the doctrines of those who preached pure Christianity, in opposition to popery and priestcraft, caused his bare feet to be set upon hot burning coals, to make him deny his faith; which however he would not do, but patiently abiding the pain, continued unshaken in his profession. At length, after this cruelty, he was, on the Friday before Whit-sunday, sent to Ashford, (where his wife still dwelt,) with orders that he should be burned the next day.

His wife, who was hitherto ignorant of all that had happened to him, being now informed of his coming, hastened to him, and finding him in the stocks, and appointed to be burned the next morning, sat by him all night long. To her he then declared how he had been treated, and how his feet were burned to the bones by the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of Rochester, "and all to make me," said he, "to deny my Lord, which I will never do; for should I deny him in this world, he would deny me hereafter. And, therefore, I pray thee, good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously in the fear of God."

On the next day, being Whitsun-eve, this godly martyr was burned, according to his sentence; and, standing at the stake he uttered this prayer, holding up his hands:

I yield, O Lord, unto thy grace,
O, let thy mercy crown my race.
Let not the fiend my soul pursue;
When death is near and just in view;
But while by envious foes I'm driven,
Save me from hell, and give me Heaven.

We shall conclude our account of the persecutions under Henry VIII. with the story and martyrdom of William Tindall, who, although he did not suffer in England, ought to be ranked with the martyrs of our country, of which, from his great zeal and perseverance in the dispersion of truth, he may properly be esteemed the apostle.

LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF WILLIAM TINDALL.

William Tindall was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up, from a child, in the university of Oxford, where, by long continuance, he grew up, and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, as in the knowledge of the scriptures, to the study of which he was much addicted; insomuch, that being then in Magdalen-hall, he read privately to some of the students and fellows of Magdalen college, in divinity; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the scriptures; and all that knew him reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of unspotted life.

Having remained some time at Oxford, he removed to the university of Cambridge, where having made great progress in his studies, he quitted that place, and going to Gloucestershire, engaged himself to a knight named Welch, as tutor to his children. To this gentleman's hospitable table used to resort several abbots, deans, and other beneficed clergymen, with whom Tindall used to converse on the subjects which at that time principally occupied the attention of all persons—viz. divinity, and the scriptures.

Tindall, being learned and well acquainted with the sacred writings, would at first simply avow his opinions, and if those with whom he discoursed objected to his reasonings, he would show them the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest language of the scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus they continued for a time, reasoning and contending together, till at length his opponents became envious, and bore a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that some of these doctors invited Mr. Welch and his wife to a banquet, where they spoke to them without the fear of contradiction, uttering their blindness and ignorance. Then Welch and his wife coming home, and calling for Mr. Tindall, began to reason with him about those matters; when Tindall, as usual, answered by scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the lady Welch, a worldly-wise woman, "Well, there was such a doctor, which may spend a hundred, another two hundred, and another three hundred pounds: and were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?" Tindall gave no answer to this display of purse-proud ignorance at that time, and after that, as he saw it would not much avail, he talked but little of those matters. At that time he was about the translation of a book called *Enchiridion mili-*

tis Christiani, which being finished, he delivered to Mr. Welch and his lady: and after they had well perused the same, they were awakened, in some measure; and the prelates and abbots were not so often invited to their house, neither were they so heartily welcomed when they came, as before; which they perceiving, and concluding that it came by the means of Tindall, at last entirely absented themselves from the house.

Upon this, the priests of the country conferting together, began to rail against Tindall, in ale-houses and other places. Tindall himself, in his prologue before the first book of Moses, thus mentions their ill treatment of him. "I suffered much," says he, "in that country by a sort of unlearned priests, being rude and ignorant, God knoweth; which have seen no more Latin than that only which they read in their portesses and missals; which yet many of them can scarcely read, except it be *Albertus de secretis mulierum*, in which yet, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they say; and also another called Lindwood, a book of constitutions to gather tithes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but God's part, the duty of holy-church, to discharge their consciences withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to holy-church."

But these blind priests did not only revile him; but, by perverting what he really said, and adding many false and malicious lies of their own, made out a charge of heresy against him, on which he was accused, and summoned before the bishop's chancellor.

When he appeared before the chancellor, that officer "threatened him grievously, reviling and rating at him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no accuser yet could be brought forth, notwithstanding that the priests of the country were there present." As they were unable to substantiate their charges, Tindall returned home again.

Not long after, Tindall happened to be in company with a certain divine, who was accounted a learned man, and, in disputing with him, the doctor, overcome by passion, burst out with these blasphemous words, "We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's." Mr. Tindall hearing this, full of godly zeal, and shocked by that blasphemous saying, replied, "I defy the pope, and all his laws;" and added, "If God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that driveth the plow to know more of the scripture than you do."

After this, the grudge of the priests increasing more and more against Tindall, they never ceased railing at him, and laid many things to his charge, saying, "That he was a heretic in sophistry, in logic, and in divinity;" and, "That, although he conducted himself boldly to the gentlemen in that county, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal." To whom Tindall replied, "That he was contented they should bring him into any county in England, giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more, but to teach children, and to preach."

In short, being constantly molested and vexed by the priests, he was constrained to leave that part of the country, and to seek another residence: and so coming to Mr. Welch, he requested his permission to depart, saying, "Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spiritualty; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth, for the which I should be sorry." He accordingly departed, and came up to London, and there preached awhile. At length, recollecting the great commendations bestowed by Erasmus on Tonstall, then bishop of London, he thought that it might be very advantageous for him, if he could obtain a situation in his service. He accordingly waited on Sir Henry Gilford, the king's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speak to the bishop for him; which he did; and desired Tindall to write to Tonstall, who accordingly did so, and delivered his epistle to a servant. But God, who secretly disposes all things, saw that was not the best for Tindall's purpose, nor for the profit of his church, and therefore allowed him not to find favor in the bishop's sight, who said, "That his house was full; he had more than he could well maintain; and advised him to seek elsewhere in London; "where," he said, "he could lack no service."

Tindall, therefore, remained in London almost a year, during which time he remarked the demeanor of the preachers, how they boasted of themselves, and set up their authority and kingdom; also the pomp of the prelates, with many other things which greatly vexed him, and plainly convinced him, that England was no place for him to translate the New Testament. Having, therefore, obtained some assistance from his friend Humfry Munmouth, and other good men, he departed to Germany; where, being inflamed with zeal for his country, he studied, by all possible means, to bring his countrymen to the same understanding of God's holy word and verity, as he himself, by God's blessing, enjoyed.

He perceived, that the principal cause of the people's blindness, and of the gross errors

of the church, with all their evils, was the scriptures being concealed in an unknown tongue, by which the truth was kept out of sight, and the corruptions of the priests remained undetected; and therefore all the labor of these men was to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations, worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom, and by wresting the scripture to their own purpose, contrary to the meaning of the text, would so delude and amaze the unlearned people, that though they were sure that all were false, yet could they not solve those subtle riddles.

By these and such other considerations, this good man was moved and stirred up of God, to translate the scripture into his mother tongue, for the utility and profit of the simple people of the country. He began with the New Testament, which he translated about the year 1527. After that he took in hand the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with learned and godly prefaces to every book, as he had also done upon the New Testament.

He also wrote various other works, amongst which was, "The Obedience of a Christian Man," wherein, with singular dexterity, he instructed all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; another treatise was entitled, "The wicked Mammon, the practice of Prelates;" with expositions upon certain parts of scripture, and other books, in answer to Sir Thomas More, and other adversaries of the truth.

His books being published, and sent over to England, it cannot be imagined what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole nation, which before had been during several centuries shut up in darkness.

At his first departure, he had journeyed into Saxony, where he had a conference with Luther, and other learned men; and after making a short stay there, he went into the Netherlands, and resided mostly in the town of Antwerp.

An unfortunate accident occasioned a considerable delay in the publication of his Old Testament. Having finished the five books of Moses, he set sail to Hamburgh, with the intention of printing them there. But, on his voyage, he was shipwrecked, and lost all his manuscripts, with almost all he possessed. He, however, in another vessel, pursued his voyage, and arriving at Hamburgh, Mr. Coverdale helped him in the retranslating what had been lost, which occupied them from Easter till December, 1529, in the house of a Miss Margaret Van Emmerson. Having dispatched his business, he returned to Antwerp.

When the New Testament was ready for publication, Tindall added at the end, a letter, wherein he desired the learned to amend whatever they found in it amiss. But the bishops and other clergy, not willing to have that book to prosper, cried out against it, asserting that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly suppressed. Some said it was not possible to translate the Scripture into English; others, that it was not lawful for the laity to have it in their mother tongue, as it would make them all heretics. And to induce the temporal rulers to assist them in their purpose, they said that it would make the people rebel, and rise against the king.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus incensed and inflamed in their minds, and conspiring together, how to suppress the cause of their alarm, never rested, till they had brought the king at last to issue a proclamation ordaining that the Testament of Tindall's translation, with his other works, and those of other reformed writers, should be suppressed and burnt. This was about the year 1527. But, not contented with this, the bloodthirsty crew proceeded further, and strove to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life.

Whenever the bishops, or Sir Thomas More had any poor man under examination before them, who had been at Antwerp, they most studiously would search and examine into every thing relating to Tindall; as, where and with whom he lodged; what was his stature; in what apparel he went; what company he kept, &c.; and when they had made themselves acquainted with all these things, they then began their work of darkness.

Tindall being in the town of Antwerp, had lodged, about a year, in the house of Thomas Pointz, an Englishman, who kept there a house for English merchants, when Henry Philips, in appearance a gentleman, and having a servant with him, arrived there; but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

Tindall was frequently invited to dinner and supper amongst merchants, by which means, this Henry Philips became acquainted with him; so that in a short time Tindall conceived a great friendship and confidence for him, brought him to his lodgings in the house of Pointz, and had him also once or twice to dinner and supper, and further entered into such friendship with him, that he brought him to lodge in the house of Pointz. He also showed him his books and papers; so little did he then mistrust this traitor.

But Pointz having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Tindall how he came acquainted with him. Tindall answered, that he was an honest man, tolerably learned, and very agreeable. Then Pointz, perceiving that he was so partial to him, said no more,

thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his.

Philips being in the town three or four days, desired Pointz to walk out with him; and in walking together without the town, they conversed on various subjects, and on some of the king's affairs; by which talk Pointz as yet suspected nothing; but, by the sequel, he perceived what had been intended. In the mean time he learned, that he bore no great good-will to the reformation, or to the proceedings of the king of England, and perceived about him a deal of mystery and a sort of courting him to make him subservient to his designs, by the hopes of reward, he always appearing very full of money. But Pointz kept at a distance.

Philips, finding that he could not bring him over to his designs, went from Antwerp to the court at Brussels; and, although the king had then no ambassador there, being at variance with the emperor, this traitor contrived to bring from thence with him to Antwerp, the procurator-general (the emperor's attorney) with other officers; which was done at great expense.

A short time after, Pointz sitting at his door, Philip's servant came to him, and asking whether Mr. Tindall were there, said, his master would come to him, and so departed. But whether Philips were then in the town or not, was not known; for at that time Pointz saw no more either of the master or of the man.

Within three or four days after, Pointz went on business to the town of Barrow, eighteen English miles from Antwerp, and in the time of his absence, Philips came again to the house of Pointz, and coming in, asked Mrs. Pointz for Mr. Tindall, and whether he would dine there with him, saying, "What good meat shall we have?" She answered, "Such as the market will give." Then he went out again, and set the officers which he brought with him from Brussels, in the street, and about the door. About noon he returned, and went to Mr. Tindall, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; "for," said he, "I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage between this and Mechlin." So Tindall gave him forty shillings, being very easily imposed upon, and entirely unskilled in the wiles and subtleties of this world.

Philips then said, "Mr. Tindall, you shall be my guest here to-day." "No," said Tindall, "I am engaged this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner time, they went.

At the going out of Pointz's house, was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in front. Tindall would have put Philips before him, but Philips would not go, but insisted on Tindall's going before. So Tindall, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips, a tall, comely person, followed him: and having set officers on each side of the door on coming through, Philips pointed with his finger over Tindall's head down to him, that the officers might see that it was he whom they should take, as they afterwards told Pointz, and said, that when they had laid him in prison, "they pitied his simplicity when they took him." They accordingly seized him, and brought him to the emperor's procurator-general, where he dined. Then came the procurator-general to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Mr. Tindall's, as well his books as other things, and from thence Tindall was conveyed to the castle of Filford, eighteen miles from Antwerp, where he remained until he was put to death.

Some English merchants hearing of his apprehension, sent letters in his favor to the court of Brussels. Also, not long after, letters were sent from England to the council at Brussels, and to the merchant adventurers at Antwerp, commanding them to see that those for the council were instantly delivered. Then such of the chief of the merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required Pointz to deliver those letters, with letters also from them in favor of Tindall, to the lord of Barrow and others.

The lord of Barrow at that time had departed from Brussels, as the chief conductor of the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, to be married to the palsgrave, whose mother was sister to the emperor. Pointz, when he heard of his departure, rode after and overtook him at Achon, where he delivered to him his letters; to which he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting, said, "There were some of his countrymen who had been burned in England not long before;" as indeed there were Anabaptists burned in Smithfield, which Pointz acknowledged. "Howbeit," said he, "whatsoever the crime was, if your lordship or any other nobleman had written, requiring to have had them, I think they should not have been denied."—"Well," said he, "I have no leisure to write, for the princess is ready to ride."

Then said Pointz, "If it please your lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting place," which was at Maestricht. "If you will," replied he, "I will advise myself by the way what to write." Upon this, Pointz followed him from Achen to Maestricht, fifteen English miles, and there he received letters of him, one to the council at Brussels, another to the company of the merchant adventurers, and a third to the lord Cromwell in England.

Pointz then rode to Brussels, and there delivered to the council the letters from England, with the lord of Barrow's letters also, and received answers for England, which he brought to Antwerp to the English mer-

chants, who required him to carry them into England. He, very desirous to have Mr. Tindall out of prison, forbore no pains, nor regarded the loss of time in his own business, but immediately sailed with the letters, which he delivered to the council, and was commanded by them to wait until he had answers, which was not till a month after. At length receiving them, he returned again, and delivered them to the emperor's council at Brussels, and there waited for their answer.

When he had remained there three or four days, he was told by a person who belonged to the chancery, that Tindall should have been delivered to him according to the tenor of the letters; but Philips being there, followed the suit against Tindall, and hearing that he was to be delivered to Pointz, and doubting lest he should thus lose his victim, determined to accuse Pointz also, saying, "That he was a dweller in the town of Antwerp, and there had been a succorer of Tindall, and was one of the same opinion; and that all this was only his own labor and suit, to have Tindall at liberty, and no man else."

Thus, upon his information and accusation, Pointz was attached by the procurator-general, delivered to the custody of two serjeants at arms; and the same evening was examined by a person belonging to the chancery, with the procurator-general, who put him to his oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him. The next day likewise they came again, and further examined him; and so five or six days one after another, upon more than a hundred articles, as well of the king's affairs, as of the messages concerning Tindall, of his aiders, and of his religion. Out of which examinations, the procurator-general drew up twenty-three or twenty-four articles against Pointz, the copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer to, and permitted him to have an advocate and proctor: and it was ordered that eight days after he should deliver to them his answer; also that he should send no messenger to Antwerp, nor to any other place, but by the post of the town of Brussels; nor send any letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but such as were written in Dutch, and the procurator-general, who was party against him, was to peruse and examine them thoroughly, contrary to all right and equity, before they were sent or delivered: neither was any person suffered to speak or talk with him in any other tongue or language, except the Dutch, so that his keepers, who were Dutchmen, might understand what was said. After this, Pointz delivered his answer to the procurator-general, and afterwards, at intervals of eight days each, replications and answers were made by both parties.

When the commissioners came to Pointz, the traitor Philips* accompanied them to the door, as following the process against him as he also did against Tindall.

Thus Pointz was exposed to much trouble and suffering, on account of his generous exertions in favor of Tindall. He was long kept in prison; but at length, when he saw no other remedy, by night he made his escape. But the pious Tindall could not so escape, but remained during a year and a half in prison; and then being brought to his trial, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor. But he refused the offer, saying, "That he would answer for himself;" and so he did.

At last, after much reasoning, where all reason was disregarded, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburgh, and brought to the place of execution, where he was tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterwards consumed with fire in the town of Filford, A. D. 1536; crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes."

Such was the power of the doctrine, and sincerity of the life of this amiable man, and glorious martyr, that during his imprisonment, he converted the keeper, his daughter, and others of his household. Also all that were conversant with him in the castle, acknowledged, that "if he were not a good Christian, they could not tell whom to trust."

Even the procurator-general left this testimony of him, that "he was a learned, an excellent, and a godly man."

To enumerate the virtues and actions of this blessed martyr, would require much time, and many pages. Suffice it to say, that he was one of those who by his works shone as a sun of light amidst a dark world, and gave evidence that he was a faithful servant of his master and Savior, Jesus Christ.

* It is said that Philips, who betrayed Tindall and Pointz, died of a lothesome disease, being consumed by vermin, who preyed upon his living carcass.

SECTION IV.

Persecutions in Scotland, during the Fifteenth and part of the Sixteenth Century.

HAVING brought our account of the sufferings and martyrdoms of the English reformers down to the death of Henry the Eighth, we shall now proceed to relate the cruel persecutions of God's faithful servants in Scotland, to the same period; but it will previously be necessary to give a short sketch of the progress of the reformation in that country.

The long alliance between Scotland and France, had rendered the two nations extremely attached to each other; and Paris was the place where the learned of Scotland had their education. Yet early in the fifteenth century, learning was more encouraged in Scotland, and universities were founded in several Episcopal sees. About the same time some of Wickliffe's followers began to show themselves in Scotland; and an Englishman, named Resby, was burnt in 1407 for teaching some opinions contrary to the pope's authority.

Some years after that, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, who had been converted by Huss, was burnt for infusing the opinions of that martyr into some persons at St. Andrew's.

About the end of the fifteenth century, Lollardy, as it was then called, spread itself into many parts of the diocese of Glasgow, for which several persons of quality were accused; but they answered the archbishop of that see with so much boldness and truth, that he dismissed them, having admonished them to content themselves with the faith of the church, and to beware of new doctrines.

The same spirit of ignorance, immorality, and superstition, had overrun the church of Scotland, that was so much complained of in other parts of Europe. The total neglect of the pastoral care, and the scandalous lives of the clergy, filled the people with such prejudices against them, that they were easily disposed to hearken to new preachers, among the most conspicuous of whom was Patrick Hamilton.

STORY AND MARTYRDOM OF PATRICK HAMILTON.

This noble martyr was nephew, by his father, to the earl of Arran, and by his mother, to the duke of Albany. He was educated for the church, and would have been highly preferred, having an abbey given him for prosecuting his studies. But, going over to Germany, and studying at the university of Marpurg, he soon distinguished himself by his zeal, assiduity, and great progress, particularly in the scriptures, which were his grand object, and to which he made every thing else subservient. He also became acquainted with Luther and Melancthon; and being convinced, from his own researches, of the truth of their doctrines, he burned to impart the light of the gospel to his own countrymen, and to show them the errors and corruptions of their church. For this great purpose he returned to Scotland.

After preaching some time, and holding up the truth to his deluded countrymen, he was at length invited to St. Andrews, to confer upon the points in question. But his enemies could not stand the light, and finding they could not defend themselves by argument, resolved upon revenge. Hamilton was accordingly imprisoned. Articles were exhibited against him, in which he was charged with having denied free-will; advocated justification by faith alone; and declared that faith, hope, and charity, are so linked together, that one cannot exist in the breast without the other.

Upon his refusing to abjure these doctrines, Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, with the archbishop of Glasgow, three bishops, and five abbots, condemned him as an obstinate heretic, delivered him to the secular power, and ordered his execution to take place that very afternoon; for the king had gone in pilgrimage to Ross, and they were afraid, lest, upon his return, Hamilton's friends might have interceded effectually for him. When he was tied to the stake, he expressed great joy in his sufferings, since by these he was to enter into everlasting life.

A train of powder being fired, it did not kindle the fuel, but only burnt his face, which occasioned a delay till more powder was brought; and in that time the friars continually urged him to recant, and pray to the Virgin, saying the *Salve Regina*. Among the rest, a friar named Campbel, who had been often with him in prison, was very officious. Hamilton answered him, that he knew he was not a heretic, and had confessed it to him in private, and charged him to answer for that at the throne of Almighty God.* By this time the gunpowder was brought, and the fire being kindled, he died, repeating these words, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! How long, oh Lord! how long shall darkness overwhelm this kingdom? and how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these men?" He suffered death in the year 1527.

* A short time after this, Campbel became mad, and died within a year.

:ws and doctrines of this glorious martyr were such as could not fail to excite the highest admiration of every real believer; and they were expressed with such brevity, such clearness, and such peculiar vigor and beauty (forming in themselves a complete summary of the gospel) that they afforded instruction to all who sought to know more of God.

The force of the truths preached by Hamilton, the firmness of his death, and the singular catastrophe of friar Campbel, made strong impressions on the people; and many received the new opinions. Seaton, a Dominican, the king's confessor, preaching in Lent, set out the nature and method of true repentance, without mixing the directions which the friars commonly gave on that subject; and when another friar attempted to show the defectiveness of what he had taught, Seaton defended himself in another sermon, and reflected on those bishops who did not preach, calling them dumb dogs. But the clergy dared not meddle with him, till they had by secret insinuations ruined his credit with the king; and the freedom he used in reproving him for his vices, quickly alienated James from him; upon which he withdrew into England, and wrote to the king, taxing the clergy for their cruelty, and praying him to restrain it.

MARTYRDOM OF HENRY FOREST.

Within a few years after the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, Henry Forest, a young friar of Lithgow, said, that Hamilton died a martyr, and that the doctrines, for preaching which he suffered, were true. For this he was apprehended and committed to prison by James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's; who, shortly after, caused a friar, named Walter Laing, to hear his confession.

Henry Forest, in secret confession, declared on his conscience, that he thought Hamilton to be a good man, and wrongfully put to death, and that his doctrines were true, and not heretical; upon which the friar came and related to the bishop the confession which he had received.

This was taken as sufficient evidence against him; and he was accordingly declared to be "a heretic, equal in iniquity with Patrick Hamilton," and sentenced to suffer death.

When the day for his execution arrived, he was brought before the clergy, in a place between the castle of St. Andrew's and Monymaill. As soon as he entered, and saw the faces of the clergy, he cried with a loud voice, "Fy on falsehood, fy on false friars, revealers of confession: after this day let no man ever trust any false friars, contemners of God's word, and deceivers of men."

They then proceeded to degrade him of his friar's orders, and he said, with a loud voice, "Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism;" meaning thereby whatever had been added by papistry to that which Christ himself instituted. Then, after his degradation, they condemned him "as a heretic equal with Patrick Hamilton:" and so he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and his gospel, near the abbey church of St. Andrew.

Several others were brought into the bishops' courts, of whom the greatest part abjured; but two suffered in the year 1534. These were

NORMAN GOURLAY AND DAVID STRATTON.

Gourlay had said, that there was no such place as purgatory, and that the pope was not a bishop, but Antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland.—David Stratton was a fisherman; he also said there was no purgatory; that the passion of Christ was the only expiation for sin, and that the tribulations of this world were the only sufferings that the saints underwent. When the vicar asked him for his tithe-fish, Stratton cast them to him out of the boat, so that some fell into the sea; on which the other accused him as having said, that no tithes should be paid.

These two, although greatly solicited by the archbishop and others of the clergy, refused to recant, and were, accordingly condemned as obstinate heretics, and sentenced to be burned upon the green-side between Leith and Edinburgh, with a view to strike terror into the surrounding country. In the afternoon of the same day, they were taken to the place of execution; and, kneeling down, they prayed with great fervency for some time. Then Stratton, addressing himself to the spectators, exhorted them to lay aside their superstitions and idolatrous notions, and employ themselves in seeking the true light of the gospel. He wished to have said more, but was prevented by the officers.

The sentence was then put into execution, and the martyrs cheerfully yielded up their bodies to the flames, commending their souls to the mercy of their heavenly Father, and hoping for immortality, through the merits of their blessed Redeemer.

Several others were accused, of whom some fled to England, and others to Germany.

The changes made in England, raised in all the people a wish to search into matters of religion, which was always fatal to superstition; and pope Clement the Seventh, well aware that the *papal religion* would not bear investigation, wrote earnestly to the king of Scotland, to continue firm to the Catholic faith, resisting all attempts at innovation. Upon this, the king called a parliament, in which new laws were made for maintaining the pope's authority, and proceeding against heretics. King Henry sen

Barlow, bishop of St. David's, to James, with some books that were written in defence of his proceedings, and desired him to examine them impartially. He also proposed an interview at York, and a marriage between king James and lady Mary, his eldest daughter. James was not unwilling to listen to these proposals, but the clergy persuaded him to go in person to France, and court Magdalene, daughter of the French king. He accordingly gratified their wishes, and married her in January 1537; but she died in the following May. Upon her death, the king married Mary of Guise; she was a branch of the family that was most zealously addicted to the old superstition of any in all Europe; and her interest joined with that of the clergy, engaged the king to become a violent persecutor of all who were of another mind.

The king was very expensive, both in his pleasures and buildings; so that he was always in want of money. The nobility proposed to him the seizing on the abbey-lands, as his uncle, king Henry, had done. The clergy, on the other hand, advised him to proceed severely against all suspected of heresy; by which means, according to the lists they showed him, he might raise 100,000 crowns a year: they also advised him to provide his illegitimate children with abbeys and priories; and represented to him, that if he continued stedfast in the "old religion," he would have a great party in England, and might be made the head of a league, which was then projected against king Henry.

This so far prevailed with him, that he made four of his sons abbots and priors, and he gave way to the persecuting spirit of the clergy; upon which, many were cited to answer for heresy; some of whom abjured, and some were banished.

Among those who were in trouble was George Buchanan, who, at the king's instigation, had written a very satirical poem against the Franciscans, but was now abandoned by his royal friend. He made his escape, and after living twenty years in foreign countries, returned to do his country honor; and by his poems, and his history of Scotland, showed how great a master he was of the Latin language, and how well skilled in the knowledge of human affairs.

Not long after the burning of Stratton and Gourlay, dean Thomas Forret was accused to the bishop of Dunkeld, as "a heretic, and one that showed the mysteries of the scriptures to the vulgar people, in their own language, to make the clergy detestable in their sight."

The bishop of Dunkeld said to him, "I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel, how you shall rule and guide yourself.

"My dear dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, from your parishioners, which is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and, therefore, I would you took your cow, and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday; for, in so doing, you may make the people think that *we* should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest be."

Forret answered, "My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain, that I take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have; and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have; and so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us. And whereas your lordship saith, 'it is too much to preach every Sunday,' indeed I think it is too little; and also would wish that your lordship did the like."

"Nay, nay, dean Thomas," cried the bishop, "let that be, for we are not ordained to preach."

Then said Forret, "Where your lordship biddeth me preach, when I find any good epistle, or a good gospel; truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil gospel; but if your lordship will show me the good epistle, and the good gospel, and the evil epistle, and evil gospel, then I shall preach the good and omit the evil."

The bishop replied, "*I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was;* therefore, dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuise and pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent when you may not mend it."

Forret said, "I trust my cause is just in the presence of God; and, therefore, I heed not much what may follow thereupon;" and so he departed.

A short time afterwards, he was summoned to appear before cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's; and, after a short examination, he was condemned to be burnt as a heretic. A similar sentence was pronounced, at the same time, on four other persons, named Killor, Beverage, Simson, and Foster; and they were all burnt together on the castle-hill, at Edinburgh, February 28, 1538.

MARTYRDOM OF RUSSEL AND KENNEDY.

The year following the martyrdoms of the before-mentioned persons, viz. 1539, two others were apprehended on a suspicion of

heresy; namely, Jerom Russel, and Alexander Kennedy, a youth about eighteen years of age.

These two persons, after being 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, as it were, a new creature, his mind was changed, and falling on his knees, he with a cheerful countenance, thus expressed himself:

"O eternal God! how wonderful is that love and mercy thou bearest unto mankind, and to me, a miserable wretch, above all others! for even now, when I would have denied thee, and thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Savior, and so have cast myself into everlasting damnation, thou, by thine own hand, hast pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and made me to feel that heavenly comfort which has taken from me that ungodly fear wherewith I was before oppressed. Now I defy death." Then rising, he cried to his persecutors, "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, "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 declared heretics, the archbishop pronounced the dreadful sentence of death, and they were immediately delivered over to the secular power for execution.

The next day they were led to the place appointed for them to suffer; in their way to which Russel, observing that his fellow-sufferer had 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 Savior'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 mansions.

MARTYRDOM OF SIX PERSONS.

In 1543, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, making a visitation into various parts of his diocese, several persons were accused at Perth of heresy. Among these the six following were condemned to die: William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Finlayson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, and Helen Stark.

The accusations laid against them were to the following effect:

The four first were accused of having hung up the image of St. Francis, nailing ram's horns on his head, and fastening a cow's tail to his rump; but the principal matter on which they were condemned was, having regaled themselves with a goose on Allhallows eve, a fast day, according to the Romish superstition.

James Raveleson was accused of having ornamented his house with the three-crowned diadem of Peter, carved in wood, which the archbishop conceived to be done in mockery to his cardinal's hat.

Helen Stark was accused of not having accustomed herself to pray to the Virgin Mary, more especially during the time she was in child-bed.

On these accusations they were all found guilty, and immediately received sentence of death; the four men for eating the goose, to be hanged; James Raveleson to be burnt; and the woman, with her sucking infant, to be put into a sack, and drowned.

The four men, with the woman and child, suffered at the same time; but James Raveleson was not executed till some days after.

On the day appointed for the execution of the former, they were all conducted, under a proper guard, to the place where they were to suffer, and were attended by a prodigious number of spectators.

As soon as they arrived at the place of execution, they all fervently prayed for some time; after which Robert Lamb addressed himself to the spectators, exhorting them to fear God, and to quit the practice of papistical abominations.

The four men were all hanged on the same gibbet; and the woman, with her sucking child, were conducted to a river adjoining, when, being fastened in a large sack, they were thrown into it, and drowned.

They all suffered their fate with becoming fortitude and resignation, committing their departing spirits to that Redeemer who was to be their final judge, and who, they had reason to hope, would usher them into the realms of everlasting bliss.

When we reflect on the sufferings of these unhappy persons, we are naturally induced, both as men and Christians, to lament their fate, and to express our feelings by dropping the tear of commiseration. The putting to death four men, for little other

cason than that of satisfying nature with an article sent by Providence for that very purpose, merely because it was on a day prohibited by ridiculous bigotry and superstition, is shocking indeed; but the fate of the innocent woman, and her still more harmless infant, makes human nature tremble at the contemplation of what mankind may become, when incited by bigotry to the gratification of the most diabolical cruelty.

Besides the above-mentioned persons, many others were cruelly persecuted during the archbishop's stay at Perth, some being banished, and others confined in lothesome dungeons. In particular, John Rogers, a pious and learned man, was, by the archbishop's orders, murdered in prison, and his body thrown over the walls into the street; after which the archbishop caused a report to be spread, that he had met with his death in an attempt to make his escape.

LIFE, SUFFERINGS, AND MARTYRDOM OF GEORGE WISHART.

Mr. George Wishart was born in Scotland, and after receiving a grammatical education at a private school, he left that place, and finished his studies at the university of Cambridge.

The following character of him, during his residence in that university, was written by one of his scholars, and contains so just a picture of this excellent man, that we give it at length.

"About the year of our Lord 1543, there was, in the university of Cambridge, one Mr. George Wishart, commonly called Mr. George of Bennet's college, who was a man of tall stature, bald-headed, and on the same wore a round French cap; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled: having on him for his habit or clothing, never but a mantle or frieze gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and plain black hose, coarse new canvas for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at his hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.

"He was a man, modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbare one meal in three, one day in four, for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw, and coarse new canvas sheets, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I being very young, being assured, often heard him, and in one light night discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poor boy, that he might have finished, that he had begun! for in his religion he was as you see here in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to king Henry the Eighth. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always pressed and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors.

"If I should declare his love to me, and all men, his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.

"All this I testify with my whole heart and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

"EMERY TYLNEY."

In order to improve himself as much as possible in the knowledge of literature, he travelled into various foreign countries, where he distinguished himself for his great learning and abilities, both in philosophy and divinity. His desire to promote true knowledge and science among men, accompanied the profession of it himself. He was very ready to communicate what he knew to others, and frequently read various authors, both in his own chamber, and in the public schools.

After being some time abroad, he returned to England, and took up his residence at Cambridge, where he was admitted a member of Bennet college. Having taken his degrees, he entered into holy orders, and expounded the gospel in so clear and intelligible a manner, as highly to delight his numerous auditors.

Being desirous of propagating the true gospel in his own country, he left Cambridge in 1544, and in his way to Scotland preached in most of the principal towns, to the great satisfaction of his hearers.

On his arrival in his native land, he first preached at Montrose, and afterwards at Dundee. In this last place he made a public exposition of the epistle to the Romans,

which he went through with so much grace, eloquence, and freedom, as delighted the reformers, and alarmed the papists.

In consequence of this exposition, one Robert Miln, a principal man of Dundee, went, by command of cardinal Beaton, to the church, where Wishart preached, and in the midst of his discourse publicly told him "not to trouble the town any more, for he was determined not to suffer it."

This treatment greatly surprised Wishart, who, after a short pause, looking sorrowfully on the speaker and the audience, said, "God is my witness, that I never intended your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more grievous to me, than it is to yourselves; but I am assured, to refuse God's word, and to chase from you his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but bring you into it; for God shall send you ministers that shall neither fear burning nor banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation. With the hazard of my life I have remained among you: now ye yourselves refuse me; and I must leave my innocence to be declared by my God. If it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the spirit of truth; but if unlooked-for trouble come upon you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, who is gracious and merciful. But if you turn not at the first warning, he will visit you with fire and sword." At the close of this speech he left the pulpit, and retired.

After this, he went into the west of Scotland, where he preached God's word, which was gladly received by many; till the archbishop of Glasgow, at the instigation of cardinal Beaton, came, with his train, to the town of Ayre, to suppress Wishart, and insisted on having the church to preach in himself. Some opposed this; but Wishart said, "Let him alone, his sermon will not do much hurt; let us go to the market-cross." This was agreed to, and Wishart preached a sermon that gave universal satisfaction to his hearers, and at the same time confounded his enemies.

He continued to propagate the gospel with the greatest alacrity, preaching sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another; but coming to Mackleine, 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 the fields, where he preached to the people for above three hours; and such an impression did his sermon make on the minds of his hearers, that many of the most wicked men in the country became converts to the truth of the gospel.

A short time after this, Mr. Wishart received intelligence, that the plague was broke out in Dundee. It began four days after he was prohibited from preaching there, and raged so extremely, that incredible numbers died in the space of twenty-four hours. This being related to him, he, notwithstanding the persuasions of his friends, determined to go thither, saying, "They are now in troubles, and need comfort. Perhaps this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence the word of God, which before they lightly esteemed."

Here he was with joy received by the godly. He chose the East-gate for the place of his preaching; so that the healthy were within, and the sick without the gate. He took his text from these words, "He sent his word and healed them," &c. In this sermon he chiefly dwelt upon the advantage and comfort of God's word, the judgments that ensue upon the contempt or rejection of it, the freedom of God's grace to all his people, and the happiness of those of his elect, whom he takes to himself out of this miserable world. The hearts of his hearers were so raised by the divine force of this discourse, as not to regard death, but to judge them the more happy who should then be called, not knowing whether they might have such a comforter again with them.

After this the plague abated; though, in the midst of it, Wishart constantly visited those that lay in the greatest extremity, and comforted them by his exhortations.

When he took his leave of the people of Dundee, he said, "That God had almost put an end to that plague, and that he was now called to another place."

He went from thence to Montrose, where he sometimes preached, but spent most of his time in private meditation and prayer.

It is said, that before he left Dundee, and while he was engaged in the labors of love to the bodies, as well as to the souls, of those poor afflicted people, cardinal Beaton engaged a desperate popish priest, called John Weighton, to kill him; the attempt to execute which was as follows: one day, after Wishart had finished his sermon, and the people departed, the priest stood waiting at the bottom of the stairs, with a naked dagger in his hand under his gown. But Mr. Wishart, having a sharp, piercing eye, and seeing the priest as he came from the pulpit, said to him, "My friend, what would you have?" And immediately clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him. The priest, being terrified, fell on his knees, confessed his intention, and craved pardon. A noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the ears of those who were sick, they cried, "Deliver the traitor to us, we will take him by force;" and they burst in at the gate. But Wishart, taking the priest in his arms, said, "Whosoever hurts him, shall

hurt me; for he hath done me no mischief, but much good, by teaching me more heedfulness for the time to come." By this conduct he appeased the people, and saved the life of the wicked priest.

Soon after his return to Montrose, the cardinal again conspired his death, causing a letter to be sent to him as if it had been from his familiar friend, the laird of Kinnier, in which he was desired, with all possible speed, to come to him, because he was taken with a sudden sickness. In the mean time the cardinal had provided sixty armed men, to lie in wait within a mile and a half of Montrose, in order to murder him as he passed that way.

The letter coming to Wishart's hand by a boy, who also brought him a horse for the journey, Wishart, accompanied by some of his friends, set forward; but something particular striking his mind by the way, he returned back, which they wondering at, asked him the cause; to whom he said, "I will not go; I am forbidden of God; I am assured there is treason. Let some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you find." They accordingly went, discovered the assassins, and hastily returning, they told Mr. Wishart: whereupon he said, "I know I shall end my life by that bloodthirsty man's hands, but it will not be in this manner."

A short time after this he left Montrose, and proceeded to Edinburgh, in order to propagate the gospel in that city. By the way he lodged with a faithful brother, called James Watson, of Inner-Goury. In the middle of the night he got up, and went into the yard, which two men hearing, they privately followed him.

While in the yard he fell on his knees, and prayed for some time with the greatest fervency; after which he arose, and returned to his bed. Those who attended him, appearing as though they were ignorant of all, came and asked him where he had been? But he would not answer them. The next day they importuned him to tell them, saying, "Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and saw your gestures."

On this he, with a dejected countenance, said, "I had rather you had been in your beds." But they still pressing upon him to know something, he said, "I will tell you; I am assured that my warfare is near at an end, and therefore pray to God with me, that I shrink not when the battle waxeth most hot."

When they heard this they wept, saying, "This is small comfort to us."—"Then," said he, "God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be built in it; yea, it shall not lack, in despite of all enemies, the topstone; neither will it be long before this be accomplished. Many shall not suffer after me, before the Glory of God shall appear, and triumph in despite of Satan. But, alas, if the people afterwards shall prove unthankful, then fearful and terrible will be the plague 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 labors for the instruction of others, and to the disclosing of darkness; and now I lurk as a man ashamed to show his face." His friends perceived that his desire was to preach, whereupon they said to him, "It is most comfortable for us to hear you, but because we know the danger wherein you stand, we dare not desire it." He replied, "If you dare hear, let God provide for me as best pleaseth him;" after which it was concluded, that the next day he should preach in Leith. His text was from the parable of the sower, Matt. xiii. The sermon ended, the gentlemen of Lothian, who were earnest professors of Jesus Christ, would not suffer him to stay at Leith, because the governor and cardinal were shortly to come to Edinburgh; but took him along with them; and he preached at Branstone, Longniddry, and Ormistone. He also preached at Inveresk, near Muselburg: he had a great concourse of people, and amongst them Sir George Douglas, who after sermon said publicly, "I know that the governor and cardinal will hear that I have been at this sermon; but let them know that I will avow it, and will maintain both the doctrine, and the preacher, to the uttermost of my power."

Among others that came to hear him preach, there were two gray-friars, who, standing at the church door, whispered to such as came in; which Wishart observing, said to the people, "I pray you make room for these two men, it may be they come to learn;" and turning to them, he said, "Come near, for I assure you you shall hear the word of truth, which this day shall seal up to you either your salvation or damnation:" after which he proceeded in his sermon, supposing that they would be quiet; but when he perceived that they still continued to disturb the people that stood near them, he said to them the second time, with an angry countenance, "O ministers of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men, will ye neither hear God's truth yourselves, nor suffer others to hear it? Depart, and take this for your portion; God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within this kingdom; ye shall be abominable to men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate." He spoke this with much vehemency; then turning to the people, said, "These men

have provoked the spirit of God to anger:" after which he proceeded in his sermon, highly to the satisfaction of his hearers.

From hence he went and preached at Branstone, Languedine, Ormistone, and Inveresk, where he was followed by a great concourse of people. He preached also in many other places, the people flocking after him; and in all his sermons he foretold the shortness of the time he had to travel, and the near approach of his death. When he came to Haddington, his auditory began much to decrease, which was thought to happen through the influence of the earl of Bothwell, who was moved to oppose him at the instigation of the cardinal. Soon after this, as he was going to church, he received a letter from the west country gentlemen, which having read, he called John Knox, who had diligently waited upon him since his arrival at Lothian; to whom he said, "He was weary of the world, because he saw that men began to be weary of God: for," said he, "the gentlemen of the west have sent me word, that they cannot keep their meeting at Edinburgh."

Knox, wondering he should enter into conference about these things, immediately before his sermon, contrary to his usual custom, said to him, "Sir, sermon-time approaches; I will leave you for the present to your meditations."

Wishart's sad countenance declared the grief of his mind. At length he went into the pulpit, and his auditory being very small, he introduced his sermon with the following exclamation: "O Lord! how long shall it be, that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation? I have heard of thee, O Haddington, that in thee there used to be two or three thousand persons at a vain and wicked play: and now, to hear the messenger of the eternal God, of all the parish can scarce be numbered one hundred present. Sore and fearful shall be the plagues that shall ensue upon this thy contempt. With fire and sword shalt thou be plagued; yea, thou Haddington in special, strangers shall possess thee; and ye, the present inhabitants, shall either in bondage serve your enemies, or else ye shall be chased from your own habitations; and that because you have not known, nor will know, the time of your visitation."

This prediction was, in a great measure, accomplished not long after, when the English took Haddington, made it a garrison, and forced many of the inhabitants to flee. Soon after this, a dreadful plague broke out in the town, of which such numbers died, that the place became almost depopulated.

Cardinal Beaton, being informed that Wishart was at the house of Mr. Cockburn, of Ormistone, in East-Lothian, applied to the regent to cause him to be apprehended; with which, after great persuasion, and much against his will, he complied.

The earl accordingly went, with proper attendants, to the house of Mr. Cockburn, which he beset about midnight. The master of the house being greatly alarmed, put himself in a posture of defence, when the earl told him that it was in vain to resist, for the governor and cardinal were within a mile, with a great power; but if he would deliver Wishart to him, he would promise upon his honor, 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 honorable a man as you, my lord, receive me this night, for I am persuaded that for your honor'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 or law; but I also promise, in the presence of these gentlemen, that neither the governor nor cardinal shall have their will of you; but I will keep you in my own house, till I either set you free, or restore you to the same place where I receive you." Then said Mr. Cockburn, "My lord, if you make good your promise, which we presume you will, we ourselves will not only serve you, but we will procure all the professors in Lothian to do the same."

This agreement being made, Mr. Wishart was delivered into the hands of the earl, who immediately conducted him to Edinburgh.

As soon as the earl arrived at that place, he was sent for by the queen, who being an inveterate enemy to Wishart, prevailed on the earl (notwithstanding the promises he had made) to commit him a prisoner to the castle.

The cardinal being informed of Wishart's situation, went to Edinburgh, and immediately caused him to be removed from thence to the castle of St. Andrew's.

The inveterate and persecuting prelate, having now got our martyr fully at his own disposal, resolved to proceed immediately to try him as a heretic: for which purpose he assembled the prelates at St. Andrew's church, on the 27th of February, 1546.

At this meeting the archbishop of Glasgow gave it as his opinion, that application should be made to the regent, to grant a commission to some 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 heretics might have a show of public consent; which, since he could not this way obtain, he would proceed in that way which to him appeared the most proper."

In consequence of this, the cardinal immediately proceeded to the trial of Wishart, against whom no less than eighteen articles were exhibited, which were, in substance, as follows:

That he had despised the "holy mother-church;" had deceived the people; had ridiculed the mass; had preached against the sacraments, saying that there were not seven, but two only, viz. baptism and the supper of the Lord; had preached against confession to a priest; had denied transubstantiation and the necessity of extreme unction; would not admit the authority of the pope or the councils; allowed the eating of flesh on Friday; condemned prayers to saints; spoke against the vows of monks, &c. saying that "whoever was bound to such vows, had vowed themselves to the state of damnation, and that it was lawful for priests to marry;" that he had said, "it was in vain to build costly churches to the honor of God, seeing that he remained not in churches made with men's hands; nor yet could God be in so small a space as between the priest's hands;" and, finally, that he had avowed his disbelief of purgatory, and had said, "the soul of man should sleep till the last day, and should not obtain immortal life till that time."

Mr. Wishart answered these respective articles with great composure of mind, and in so learned and clear a manner, as greatly surprised most of those who were present.

A bigoted priest, named Lauder, at the instigation of the archbishop, not only heaped a load of curses on him, but treated him with the most barbarous contempt, calling him "runagate, false heretic, traitor, and thief;" and, not satisfied with that, spit in his face, and otherwise maltreated him.

On this Mr. Wishart fell on his knees, and after making a prayer to God, thus addressed his judges:

"Many and horrible sayings, unto me a Christian man, many words abominable to hear, have ye spoken here this day; which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever thought a great abomination."

After the examination was finished, the archbishop endeavored 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 this cruel and melancholy ceremony was finished, our martyr fell on his knees, and thus exclaimed:

"O immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the rage, and great cruelty of the ungodly, to exercise their fury upon thy servants, which do further thy word in this world? Whereas they, on the contrary, seek to destroy the truth, whereby thou hast revealed thyself to the world. O Lord, we know certainly that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name's sake, persecutions, afflictions, and troubles, in this present world; yet we desire, that thou wouldest preserve and defend thy church, which thou hast chosen before the foundation of the world, and give thy people grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

Having said this, he arose, and was immediately conducted by the officers to the prison from whence he had been brought, in the castle.

In the evening he was visited by two friars, who told him he must make his confession to them; to whom he replied, "I will not make any confession to you;" on which they immediately departed.

Soon after this came the sub-prior, with whom Wishart conversed in so feeling a manner on religious matters, as to make him weep. When this man left Wishart, he went to the cardinal, and told him, he came not to intercede for the prisoner's life, but to make known his innocence to all men. At these words, the cardinal expressed great dissatisfaction, and forbid the sub-prior from again visiting Wishart.

Towards the close of the evening, our martyr was visited by the captain of the castle, with several of his friends; who bringing with them some bread and wine, asked him if he would eat and drink with them. "Yes," said Wishart, "very willingly, for I know you are honest men." In the mean time he desired them to hear him a little, when he discoursed with them on the Lord's Supper, his sufferings and death for us, exhorting them to love one another, and to lay aside all rancor and malice, as became the members of Jesus Christ, who continually interceded for them with his Father. After this he gave thanks to God, and blessing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, giving some to each, saying, at the same time, "Eat this, remember that Christ died

for us, and feed on it spiritually." Then taking the cup, he drank, and bade them "remember that Christ's blood was shed for them." After this he gave thanks, prayed for some time, took leave of his visitors, and retired to his chamber.

On the morning of his execution, there came to him two friars from the cardinal; one of whom put on him a black linen coat, and the other brought several bags of gunpowder, which they tied about different parts of his body.

In this dress he was conducted from the room in which he had been confined, to the outer chamber of the governor's apartments, there to stay till the necessary preparations were made for his execution.

The windows and balconies of the castle, opposite the place where he was to suffer, were all hung with tapestry and silk hangings, with cushions for the cardinal and his train, who were from thence to feast their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. There was also a large guard of soldiers, not so much to secure the execution, as to show a vain ostentation of power; besides which, cannon were placed on different parts of the castle.

All the preparations being completed, Wishart, after having his hands tied behind him, was conducted to the fatal spot. In his way thither he was accosted by two friars, who desired him to pray to the Virgin Mary to intercede for him. To whom he meekly said, "Cease; tempt me not, I entreat you."

As soon as he arrived at the stake, the executioner put a rope round his neck, and a chain about his middle; upon which he fell on his knees, and thus exclaimed:

"O thou Savior of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands."

After repeating these words three times, he arose, and turning himself to the spectators, addressed them as follows:

"Christian brethren and sisters, I beseech you, be not offended at the word of God for the torments which you see prepared for me; but I exhort you, that ye love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort. I pray you also, show my brethren and sisters, who have often heard me, that they cease not to learn the word of God, which I taught them according to the measure of grace given me, but to hold fast to it with the strictest attention; and show them, that the doctrine was no old wives' fables, but the truth of God; for if I had taught men's doctrine, I should have had greater thanks from men: but for the word of God's sake I now suffer, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake; behold my face, you shall not see me change my countenance; I fear not the fire; and if persecution come to you for the word's sake, I pray you fear not them that can kill the body, and have no power to hurt the soul."

After this he prayed for his accusers, saying, "I beseech thee, Father of heaven, forgive them that have, from ignorance, or an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them, that have ignorantly condemned me."

Then, again turning himself to the spectators, he said, "I beseech you, brethren, exhort your prelates to learn the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; or there will come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew."

As soon as he had finished this speech, the executioner fell on his knees before him, and said, "Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not the cause of your death."

In return to this, Wishart cordially took the man by the hand, and kissed him, saying, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee; my heart, do thine office."

He was then fastened to the stake, and the fagots being lighted, immediately set fire to the powder that was tied about him, and which blew into a flame and smoke.

The governor of the castle, who stood so near that he was singed with the flame, exhorted our martyr, in a few words, to be of good cheer, and to ask pardon of God for his offences. To which he replied, "This flame occasions trouble to my body, indeed, but it hath in nowise broken my spirit. But he who now so proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place," pointing to the cardinal, "shall, ere long, be as ignominiously thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his ease."

When he had said this, the executioner pulled the rope which was tied about his neck with great violence, so that he was soon strangled; and the fire getting strength, burnt with such rapidity, that in less than an hour his body was totally consumed.

Thus died, in confirmation of the gospel of Christ, a sincere believer, whose fortitude and constancy, during his sufferings, can only be imputed to the support of divine aid, in order to fulfil that memorable promise, "As is thy day, so shall thy strength be also."

CARDINAL BEATON PUT TO DEATH.

The prediction of Mr. Wishart, concerning cardinal Beaton, is related by Buchanan, and others; but it has been doubted, by some later writers, whether he really made such prediction or not. Be that as it may, however, it is certain that the death of Wishart

did, in a short time after, prove fatal to the cardinal himself; the particulars of which we subjoin.

Soon after the death of Mr. Wishart, the cardinal went to Finhaven, the seat of the earl of Crawford, to solemnize a marriage between the eldest son of that nobleman and his own natural daughter, Margaret. Whilst he was thus employed, he received intelligence that an English squadron was upon the coast, and that consequently an invasion was to be feared. Upon this he immediately returned to St. Andrew's, and appointed a day for the nobility and gentry to meet, and consult what was proper to be done on this occasion. But as no farther news was heard of the English fleet, their apprehensions of an invasion soon subsided.

In the mean time Norman Lesley, eldest son of the earl of Rothes, who had been treated by the cardinal with injustice and contempt, formed a design, in conjunction with his uncle John Lesley, who hated Beaton, and others who were inflamed against him on account of his persecution of the Protestants, the death of Wishart, and other causes, to assassinate the prelate, though he now resided in the castle of St. Andrew's, which he was fortifying at great expense, and had, in the opinion of that age, already rendered it almost impregnable.

The cardinal's retinue was numerous, the town was at his devotion, and the neighboring country full of his dependants. However, the conspirators, who were in number only sixteen, having concerted their plan, met together early in the morning, on Saturday the 29th of May. The first thing they did, was to seize the porter of the castle, from whom they took the keys, and secured the gate. They then sent four of their party to watch the cardinal's chamber, that he might have no notice given him of what was doing; after which they went and called up the servants and attendants, to whom they were well known, and turned them out of the gate, to the number of fifty, as they did also upwards of a hundred workmen, who were employed in the fortifications and buildings of the castle; but the eldest son of the regent, (whom the cardinal kept with him, under pretence of superintending his education, but in reality as a hostage,) they kept for their own security.

All this was done with so little noise, that the cardinal was not waked till they knocked at his chamber door; upon which he cried out, "Who is there?" John Lesley answered, "My name is Lesley." "Which Lesley?" inquired the cardinal; "is it Norman?" It was answered, that he must open the door to those who were there; but instead of this, he barricadoed it in the best manner he could. However, finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and they having, as it is said by some, made him a promise of his life, he opened the door. They immediately entered with their swords drawn, and John Lesley smote him twice or thrice, as did also Peter Carmichael; but James Melvil, (as Mr. Knox relates the affair,) perceiving them to be in choler, said, "This work, and judgment of God, although it be secret, ought to be done with greater gravity:" and presenting the point of his sword to the cardinal, said to him, "Repent thee of thy wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr. George Wishart, which albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee; and we from God are sent to revenge it. For here, before my God, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done to me in particular, moved or moveth me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and remainest, an obstinate enemy of Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel." Having said this, he with his sword run the cardinal twice or thrice through the body; who only said, "I am a priest! Fy! fy! all is gone!" and then expired, being about fifty-two years of age.

Thus fell cardinal Beaton, who had been as great a persecutor against the Protestants in Scotland, as Bonner was in England; and whose death was as little regretted by all true professors of Christ's gospel.

The character of this distinguished tyrant is thus given by a celebrated writer:

"Cardinal Beaton had not used his power with moderation equal to the prudence by which he obtained it. Notwithstanding his great abilities, he had too many of the passions and prejudices of an angry leader of a faction, to govern a divided people with temper. His resentment against one part of the nobility, his insolence towards the rest, his severity to the reformers, and, above all, the barbarous and illegal execution of the famous George Wishart, a man of honorable birth, and of primitive sanctity, wore out the patience of a fierce age; and nothing but a bold hand was wanting, to gratify the public wish by his destruction."

The death of cardinal Beaton, for a short time, gave new spirits to the reformed in all parts of Scotland; but their pleasing expectations were damped, when they discovered the disposition of his successor, John Hamilton, who was no less a rigid papist, and violent persecutor of the Protestants, than his predecessor.

No sooner did he assume the archiepiscopal dignity, than he dedicated the principal part of his time to the oppression of those who favored the reformed doctrine; many of whom he caused to be imprisoned till they recanted; and others, who would not, were banished the kingdom.

MARTYRDOM OF ADAM WALLACE.

The first person who fell a martyr to the rancorous passions of this bigoted tyrant, was one 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 endeavoring to propagate it among his fellow-creatures.

His conduct being noticed by some bigoted papists, an 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, assembled at the church of the Black-friars in Edinburgh, in order to be examined relative to his religious opinions, when three separate articles were exhibited against him:

1st. "That he had said and taught, that the bread and wine on 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 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 all the world."

"Why," said the earl, "hast thou not a good judge here? And thinkest thou that we know not God and his word? Answer to the accusation laid against thee."

"I never taught," replied Wallace, "more than the writ saith; nor yet more than I have before said. I know well what St. Paul meaneth, when he saith, 'Whosoever eateth this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation.' Therefore, when I taught (which was but seldom, and to those only who required it of me) I said, that if the sacrament of the altar were truly ministered and used, as the Son of the living God instituted it; where that was done, there was God himself, by his Divine Power."

The bishop of Orkney then asked Wallace, "If he believed that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, was the very body of God, flesh and blood?"

To this he replied, "I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; that he had a natural body, with hands, feet, and other members, and that he walked about in the world preaching to the people: that he suffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried; and that, by his godly power, he raised that same body again the third day: that he afterwards ascended into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, who shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead."

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 further questions relative to the first article; and therefore proceeded to state the second, which was, "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.

The third accusation was, "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 heretic; 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 endeavored to prevail on him to recant; but he stood so stedfastly in the faith he professed, and used such forcible arguments in vin-

dication of the true gospel, that they left him with some wrath, saying, "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 fagots 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, instructed them in the principles of the reformed religion.

MARTYRDOM OF WALTER MILLE.

The next, and last person who suffered martyrdom in Scotland, for the cause of Christ, was one Walter Mille, who was burnt at Edinburgh in the year 1558.

This person, in his younger years, had travelled into Germany, and on his return was installed a priest of the church of Lunan in Angus; but, on an information of heresy against him, in the time of cardinal Beaton, he was forced to abandon his charge, and abscond.

After the death of that prelate he returned, not knowing the persecuting spirit of his successor. Being well known by several bigoted papists in the neighborhood, they accused him of heresy; in consequence of which he was apprehended, and committed to prison.

A few days after, he was brought before the archbishop and his suffragans, in order to be examined relative to his religious opinions; when Sir Andrew Oliphant, by order of the archbishop, interrogated him as follows:

Oliphant.—What think you of priests' marriage?

Mille.—I hold it a blessed band: for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men; but you think it not free to you, ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other men's wives and daughters, and will not keep the band God hath made. Ye vow chastity, and break the same. St. Paul had rather marry than burn; the which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, what state or degree soever he were.

Oliphant.—Thou sayest there be not seven sacraments.

Mille.—Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and given yourself to whoredom?

Oliphant.—Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayest that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry.

Mille.—A lord or a king sendeth and calleth many to a dinner, and when the dinner is in readiness, he causeth to ring a bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner, but the lord, turning his back unto them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them; so do ye.

Oliphant.—Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood.

Mille.—The scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually, and standeth in faith only; and as for the mass it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifices.

Oliphant.—Thou deniest the office of a bishop.

Mille.—I affirm that they, whom ye call bishops, do no bishops' works; nor use the office of bishops, as Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy, but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock; nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honored and called my lords.

Oliphant.—Thou spakest against pilgrimage, and calledst it a pilgrimage to whoredom.

Mille.—I affirm and say, that it is not commanded in the scripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, than at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels.

Oliphant.—Thou preachedst secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields.

Mille.—Yea, man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship.

Oliphant.—Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous opinions? and if thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee.

Mille.—I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, *quod facis fac citius.* Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both.

In consequence of this, sentence of condemnation was immediately passed on him, and he was conducted to prison in order for execution the following day.

This stedfast believer in Christ was eighty-two years of age, and very infirm; from whence, it was supposed, that he could scarcely be heard. However, when he was led to the place of execution, he expressed his religious sentiments with such courage, and, at the same time, composure of mind, as astonished even his enemies. As soon as he was fastened to the stake, and the fagots lighted, he addressed the spectators as follows:

"The cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime, (though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner,) but only for the defence of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ;

and I praise God who hath called me, by his mercy, to seal the truth with my life; which, as I received it from him, so I willingly offer it up to his glory. Therefore, as you would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies of the seat of antichrist; but depend solely on Jesus Christ, and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation." He then added, "That he trusted he should be the last who would suffer death in Scotland, upon a religious account."

Thus did this pious Christian cheerfully give up his life, in defence of the truth of Christ's gospel, not doubting but he should be made a partaker of his heavenly kingdom.

The people were so grieved at the death of this good man, that, as a monument of it to future ages, they raised a pile of stones on the spot where he suffered. This, however, was removed by order of the popish clergy, but replaced again by the people several times, till at length a guard was appointed to apprehend all persons who should carry stones to that place.

It is remarkable that from the universal esteem in which this man was held by the people, a cord could not be found to tie him with after his condemnation; and on that very account his execution was postponed till the next morning, when they were reduced to the necessity of using the cords belonging to the archbishop's pavilion.

The death of Walter Mille proved the overthrow of popery in 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 this year, 1558, some persons who had been impeached of heresy were only condemned, upon their non-appearance, to make a public recantation at the market-cross of that city, on the 1st of September following, being St. Giles's Day, the tutelar saint of that place.

It was usual, at the feast of this saint, which now nearly approached, to carry his image in procession through the town, and the queen-regent was to honor the solemnity with her presence. But when the time was come, the image was missing: it having been stolen from its station, by some who were too wise to pray to it.

This caused a halt to be made, till another image was borrowed from the Gray-friars, with which they set forward: and after the queen had accompanied them a considerable way, she withdrew into the castle, where she was to dine. But no sooner was she gone, than some persons, who had been purposely appointed, tore the picture from off the shoulders of those who carried it, threw it into the dirt, and totally destroyed it.

This gave such universal satisfaction to the people, that a general shout ensued, and a riot continued in the street during some hours; which was at length suppressed by the vigilance of the magistrates.

About the same time a great disturbance happened at Perth, the circumstances attending which were as follow: a celebrated reformist minister having preached to a numerous congregation, after sermon was over, some godly persons remained in the church, when a priest was so imprudent as to open a case, in which were curiously engraved the figures of many saints; after which he made preparations for saying mass. A young man observing this, said aloud, "This is intolerable! As God plainly condemns, in scripture, idolatry, shall we stand and see such an insult?" The priest was so offended at this, that he struck the youth a violent blow on the head, on which he broke one of the figures in the case, when immediately all the people fell on the priest, and destroyed every thing in the church that tended to idolatry. This being soon known abroad, the people assembled in large bodies, and proceeded to the monasteries of the Gray and Black Friars, both of which they stripped; and then pulled down the house of the Carthusians; so that in the space of two days, nothing remained of those noble buildings but the bare walls. The like kind of outrages were committed in many other towns in the kingdom.

At this time there were many persons who made it their business to solicit subscriptions in order to carry on the work of reformation, and to abolish popery. Among these were several of the nobility, particularly the earl of Argyle, the lord James Stewart, the earl of Glencairn, &c.

The endeavors of these noble reformists were attended with such success that they at length effected a complete reformation in the kingdom; though they met with many obstacles from their inveterate enemies, the Papists.

BOOK X.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

EDWARD was the only son of king Henry, by his beloved wife Jane Seymour, who died the day after his birth, which took place on the twelfth of October, 1537, so that, when he came to the throne in 1547, he was but ten years old.

At six years of age, he was put into the hands of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheke; the one was to form his mind, and teach him philosophy and divinity; the other to teach him languages and mathematics: other masters were also appointed for the various parts of his education. He discovered very early a good disposition to religion and virtue, and a particular reverence for the scriptures; and was once greatly offended with a person, who, in order to reach something hastily, laid a great Bible on the floor, and stood upon it. He made great progress in learning, and at the age of eight years, wrote Latin letters frequently both to the king, to queen Catherine Parre, to the archbishop of Canterbury, and his uncle the earl of Hertford.

Upon his father's decease, the earl of Hertford and Sir Anthony Brown were sent to bring him to the Tower of London: and when Henry's death was published, he was proclaimed king.

At his coming to the Tower, his father's will was opened, by which it was found that he had named sixteen noblemen and gentlemen to be the governors of the kingdom, and of his son's person till he should be eighteen years of age. These were, the archbishop of Canterbury; lords Wriothesley, St. John, Russel, Hertford, and Lisle; Tonstall, bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, Sir William Paget, Sir Edward North, Sir Edward Montague, lord chief justice of the common pleas; judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert, Sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York. They were also to give the king's sisters in marriage; who, if they married without their consent, were to forfeit their right of succession. A privy council was also named to be their assistants in the government.

As might have been expected, dissensions soon arose among so numerous a party; and, on its being proposed that one should be chosen out of the sixteen to whom ambassadors should address themselves, and who should have the chief direction of affairs; lord Wriothesley, the chancellor, who thought the precedence fell to him by his office, since the archbishop did not meddle much in secular affairs, opposed this much, and said, "It was a change of the king's will; who had made them all equal in power and dignity; and if any were raised above the rest in title, it would not be possible to keep him within due bounds, since great titles make way for high power." Notwithstanding this, the earl of Hertford was declared governor of the king's person, and protector of the kingdom; with this restriction, that he should do nothing but by the advice and consent of the rest. Upon this advancement, and the opposition made to it, two parties were formed, the one headed by the protector, and the other by the chancellor: the favorers of the reformation were of the former, and those that opposed it of the latter.

The chancellor was ordered to renew the commissions of the judges and justices of peace, and king Henry's great seal was to be made use of, till a new one should be made. The day after this, all the executors took oaths to execute their trust faithfully: the privy counsellors were also brought into the king's presence, who all expressed their satisfaction in the choice of the protector: and it was ordered that all dispatches to foreign princes should be signed only by him. All that held offices were required to come and renew their commissions, and to swear allegiance to the king; among the rest came the bishops, and took out such commissions as were granted in the former reign, by which they were to hold their bishoprics only during the king's pleasure. Cranmer set an example to the rest in taking out one of these. This check upon the bishops was judged expedient in case they should oppose the reformation; but the ill consequences of such an unlimited power being foreseen, the bishops, who were afterwards promoted, were not so fettered, but were to hold their bishoprics during life.

An accident soon occurred, which made way for great changes in the church. The curate and church-wardens of St. Martin's, in London, were brought before the council for removing the crucifix, and other images, and putting some texts of scripture on the walls of their church, in the places where they stood; they answered, that in repairing their church, they had removed the images

which being rotten they did not renew them, but put the words of scripture in their room: they had also removed others, which they found had been abused to idolatry. Great pains were taken by the popish party to punish them severely, in order to strike a terror into others; but Cranmer was for the removing of all images set up in churches, as being expressly contrary both to the second commandment, and the practice of the purest Christians for many ages: and though, in compliance with the gross abuses of paganism, much of the pomp of their worship was very early brought into the Christian church, yet it was long before images were introduced. At first all images were condemned by the fathers; then they allowed the use, but condemned the worshipping of them; and afterwards, in the eighth and ninth centuries, the worshipping of them was, after a long contest, both in the East and West, at last generally received. Some, in particular, were believed to be more wonderfully endowed, and this was much improved by the cheats of the monks, who had enriched themselves by such means. And this abuse had now grown to such a height, that heathenism itself had not been guilty of greater absurdities towards its idols. Since all these abuses had risen out of the use of them, and the setting them up being contrary to the command of God, and the nature of the Christian religion, which is simple and spiritual; it seemed most reasonable to cure the disease in its root, and to clear the churches of images, that the people might be preserved from idolatry.

These reasons prevailed so far, that the curate and church-wardens were dismissed with a reprimand; they were ordered to beware of such rashness for the future, and to provide a crucifix, and, till that could be had, were ordered to cause one to be painted on the wall. Upon this, Dr. Ridley, in a sermon preached before the king, inveighed against the superstition towards images and holy-water, and spread over the whole nation a general disposition to pull them down; which soon after commenced in Portsmouth.

Upon this, Gardiner made great complaints; he said, the Lutherans themselves went not so far, for he had seen images in their churches. He distinguished between image and idol, as if the one, which, he said, only was condemned, was the representation of a false God, and the other of the true; and he thought, that as words conveyed by the ear begat devotion, so images, by the conveyance of the eye, might have the same effect on the mind. He also thought a virtue might be both in them and in holy-water, as well as there was in Christ's garments, Peter's shadow, or Elisha's staff: and there might be a virtue in holy water, as well as in the water of baptism.

To these arguments, which Gardiner wrote in several letters, the protector answered, that the bishops had formerly argued much in another strain, namely, that because the scriptures were abused by the vulgar readers, therefore they were not to be trusted to them; and so made a pretended abuse the ground of taking away that which, by God's special appointment, was to be delivered to all Christians. This held much stronger against images forbidden by God. The brazen serpent set up by Moses, by God's own direction, was broken when abused to idolatry; for that was the greatest corruption of religion possible: but yet the protector acknowledged there was reason to complain of the forwardness of the people, who broke down images without authority: to prevent which, in future, orders were sent to the justices of peace to look well to the peace and government of the nation.

The funeral of the deceased king was performed, with the usual ceremonies, at Windsor. He had left six hundred pounds a year to the church of Windsor, for priests to say mass for his soul every day, and for four obits* a year, and sermons, and distribution of alms at every one of them, and for a sermon every Sunday, and a maintenance for thirteen poor knights, which was settled upon that church by his executors in due form of law.

The pomp of this endowment led people to examine into the *usefulness* of *soul-masses* and *obits*. Christ appointed the sacrament for a commemoration of his death among the living, but it was not easy to conceive how that was to be applied to departed souls; and it was evidently a project for drawing the wealth of the world into their hands. In the primitive church there was a commemoration of the dead, or an honorable remembrance of them made in the daily offices. But even this custom grew into abuse, and some inferred from it, that departed souls, unless they were signally pure, passed through a purgation in the next life, before they were admitted to heaven; of which St. Austin, in whose time the opinion began to be received, says, that it was taken up without any sure ground in scripture. But what was wanting in scripture-proof was supplied by visions, dreams, and tales, till it was generally received. King Henry had acted like one who did not much believe it, for he had deprived innumerable souls of the masses that were said for them in monasteries, by destroying those foundations. Yet he seems to have intended, that if masses could avail the departed souls, he would himself be secure; and as he gratified the priests by this part of his endowment, so he pleased the people by appointing sermons and alms

* *Obit* was the anniversary of a person's death, and to observe such a day with prayers, alms, or other commemoration, was termed *keeping of the obit*.

to be given on such days. Thus he died as he had lived, wavering between both persuasions.

But now the ceremony of the coronation took off the attention of the multitude from more serious thoughts. The protector was made duke of Somerset; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; the lords Lisle and Wriothesley, earls of Warwick and Southampton; Seymour, Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, were made barons. In order to the king's coronation, the office for that ceremony was reviewed, and much shortened; one remarkable alteration was, that formerly the king used to be presented to the people at the corners of the scaffold, and they were asked if they would have him to be their king? Which looked like an election, rather than a ceremony of investing one that was already king. This was now changed, and the people were desired only to give their assent and good-will to his coronation, as by the duty of allegiance they were bound to do. On the twentieth of February, 1547, he was crowned, and a general pardon was proclaimed, out of which the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, and some others, were excepted.

The chancellor, who was looked on as the head of the popish party, now lost his place, by granting a commission to the master of the rolls, and three masters of chancery, of whom two were civilians, to execute his office in the court of chancery, as if he were present, only their decrees were to be brought to him to be signed before they should be enrolled.

The first business of consequence that required great consideration was the Smalcaldic war, then begun between the emperor and the princes of the Protestant league: the effects of which, if the emperor prevailed, were like to be, not only the extirpating of Lutheranism, but his becoming the absolute master of Germany: which he chiefly wished, as the first step to a universal monarchy, but disguised it to other princes: to the pope he pretended that his design was only to extirpate heresy; to other sovereigns he pretended it was to repress a rebellion, and denied all design of suppressing the new doctrines; which he managed so artfully, that he divided Germany against itself, and got some Lutheran princes to declare for him, and others to be neutrals; and having obtained a very liberal supply for his wars with France and the Turks, for which he granted an edict for liberty of conscience, he made peace with both these princes, and resolved to employ that treasure which the Germans had given him, against themselves. That he might deprive them of their chief allies, he used means to engage king Henry and Francis the First in a war; but that was, chiefly by their interposition, composed. And now, when the war was likely to be carried on with great vigor, both those princes died; Henry in January, and Francis in March following. Many of their confederates began to capitulate and forsake them; and the divisions among their own commanders very much hindered their success.

The pope wished to engage the emperor in a war in Germany, that so Italy might be at peace: and in order to accomplish this object, he published the treaty which had been made between them, that so it might appear that the design of the war was to extirpate heresy, though the emperor was making great protestations to the contrary in Germany. He also opened the council of Trent, which Charles had long desired in vain; but it was now brought upon him when he least wished for it; for the Protestants all declared, that they could not look upon it as a free general council, since it was so entirely at the pope's devotion, that not so much as a reformation of the grossest abuses was likely to be obtained. Nor could the emperor prevail with the council not to condemn the "new doctrines" as heresy; but the more he attempted to obstruct its proceedings, the more did the pope urge it on, to open the eyes of the Germans, and engage them all vigorously against the emperor; who, on his part, gave them such secret assurances of tolerating the Augsburgh confession, that the marquis of Brandenburgh declared for him, and his example was followed by several other princes. This was the state of affairs in Germany; which rendered it very difficult to determine what answer the protector should give the duke of Saxony's chancellor, whom he had sent over to obtain money for carrying on the war. It was, on the one hand, of great importance to the safety of England to preserve the German princes, and yet it was very dangerous to begin a war of such consequence under an infant king. At present the government only promised, within three months, to send 50,000 crowns to Hamburgh, and would do no more till new emergencies should lead them to new councils.

The nation was in an ill condition for a war with such a mighty prince;—laboring under great distractions at home; the people generally crying out for a reformation, despising the clergy, and loving the new preachers. The priests were, for the most part, very ignorant, and scandalous in their lives: many of them had been monks, and those who were to pay them the pensions which were reserved to them at the destruction of the monasteries, till they should be provided, took care to get them into some small benefice. The greatest part of the parsonages were impropriated, for they belonged to the monasteries, and the abbots had only granted the incumbents, either the vicarage, or some small donative, and left them the perquisites

raised by masses and other offices. At the suppression of those houses there was no care taken to make provision for the incumbents; so that they were in some measure compelled to continue in their idolatrous practices for subsistence.

Now these persons saw that a reformation of those abuses would deprive them of their means of existence; and, therefore, they were at first zealous against all changes; but the same principle made them comply with every change which was made, rather than lose their benefices. The clergy were encouraged in their opposition to the reformation by the protection they expected from Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstall, men of great reputation, and in power; and, above all, the lady Mary, the next heir to the crown, openly declared against all changes till the king should be of age.

On the other hand, Cranmer resolved to proceed more vigorously: the protector was firmly united to him, as were the young king's tutors, and Edward himself was as much engaged as could be expected from so young a person; for both his knowledge and zeal for true religion were above his age. Several of the bishops also declared for a reformation, but Ridley, bishop of Rochester, was the person on whom Cranmer most depended. Latimer remained with him at Lambeth, and did great service by his sermons, which were very popular; but he would not return to his bishopric, choosing rather to serve the church in a more disengaged manner. Assisted by these persons, Cranmer resolved to proceed by degrees, and to give the reasons of every advance so fully, that he hoped, by the blessing of God, to convince the nation of the fitness of whatsoever should be done, and thereby prevent the dangerous opposition that might otherwise be apprehended.

A VISITATION OF ALL THE CHURCHES.

The power of the privy council had been much exalted in the last reign, by act of parliament; and one proviso made was, that the king's council should have the same authority when he was under age that he himself had at full age: it was, therefore, resolved to begin with a general visitation of all England, which was divided into six precincts: and two gentlemen, a civilian, a divine, and a register, were appointed for each of these. But before they were sent out, a letter was written to all the bishops, giving them notice of it, suspending their jurisdiction while it lasted, and requiring them to preach nowhere but in their cathedrals, and that the other clergy should not preach but in their own churches, without license; by which it was intended to restrain such as were not acceptable, to their own parishes, and to grant the others licenses to preach in any church of England. The greatest difficulty the reformers found, was in the want of able and prudent men; most of the reformed preachers being too hot and indiscreet, and the few who were otherwise, were required in London and the universities.

The only thing by which the people could be universally instructed, was a book of homilies: therefore, the twelve first homilies, in the book still known by that name, were compiled; in framing which, the chief design was to acquaint the people rightly with the nature of the gospel-covenant. Orders were also given, that a Bible should be in every church, which, though it had been commanded by Henry, yet had not been generally obeyed; and for understanding the New Testament, Erasmus's paraphrase was translated into English, and appointed to be placed with it. His great reputation and learning, and his dying in the communion of the Roman church, made this book preferable to any other of the kind.

The injunctions made by Cromwell in the former reign, for instructing the people, for removing images, and putting down all other customs abused to superstition; for reading the scriptures, saying the litany in English, for frequent sermons and catechising, for the exemplary lives of the clergy, their labors in visiting the sick, reconciling differences, and exhorting the people to charity, &c. were now renewed; and all who gave livings by simoniacal bargains, were declared to have forfeited their right of patronage to the king. A great charge was also given for the strict observation of the Lord's day, which was appointed to be spent wholly in the service of God, it not being enough to hear mass or matins in the morning, and spend the rest of the day in drunkenness and quarrelling, as was commonly practised; but it ought to be all employed, either in the duties of religion, or in acts of charity. Direction was also given for the saying of prayers, in which the king, as supreme head, the queen, and the king's sisters, the protector and council, and all orders of persons in the kingdom, were to be mentioned. Injunctions were also given for the bishops to preach four times a year in all their dioceses, once in their cathedral, and thrice in any other church, unless they had a good excuse to the contrary: that their chaplains should preach often: and that they should give orders to none, but to such as were duly qualified.

The visitors at length ended the visitation, and in London and every part of England, the images, for refusing to bow down to which many a saint had been burnt, were now committed to the flames. Bonner at first protested that he would obey the injunctions, if they were not contrary to the laws of God and the ordinances of the church; but being called before the council, he re-

tracted, and asked pardon; yet, for an example to others, he was for some time confined. Gardiner wrote to one of the visitors, before they came to Winchester, that he could not receive the homilies; and if he must either quit his bishopric, or sin against his conscience, he resolved to choose the former. Upon this he was called before the council, and required to receive the book of homilies: but he objected to one of them, which taught that charity did not justify, contrary to the book published by the late king, and confirmed in parliament. He also complained of many things in Erasmus's paraphrase: and being pressed to declare whether he would obey the injunctions, or not, he refused to promise it, and was, in consequence, sent to the Fleet. Cranmer treated in private with him, and they argued much about justification. Gardiner thought the sacraments justified, and that charity justified as well as faith. Cranmer urged, that nothing but the merits of Christ justified, as they were applied by faith, which could not exist without charity.*

Gardiner lay in prison till the act of general pardon set him at liberty. Many blamed the severity of these proceedings, as contrary both to law and equity, and said, that all people, even those who complained most of arbitrary power, were apt to usurp it when in authority. Lady Mary was so much alarmed, that she wrote to the protector, that such changes were contrary to the honor due to her father's memory, and it was against their duty to the king to enter upon such points, and endanger the public peace before he was of age. To which he answered, "That her father had died before he could finish the good things he had intended concerning religion; and had expressed his regret, both before himself and many others, that he left things in so unsettled a state; and assured her, "that nothing should be done but what would turn to the glory of God, and the king's honor."

NEW ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

The parliament was opened the fourth of November, and the protector was by patent authorized to sit under the cloth of state, on the right hand of the throne; and to have all the honors and privileges that so near a relative of the sovereign had ever had. Rich was lord chancellor. The first act that was passed, five bishops only dissenting, was, a repeal of all statutes in the late reign, that had made any thing treason or felony which was not so before, and of the six articles, and the authority given to the king's proclamations, as also of the acts against Lollards. By this act, all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the pope's, for the first offence were to forfeit their goods; for the second, were to be in a præmunire; and were to be attainted of treason for the third. If any one attempted to deprive the king of his estate or title, he was adjudged guilty of treason; but none were to be accused of words, but within a month after they were spoken. The king's power of annulling all laws made before he was twenty-four years of age, was also repealed, and restricted to the annulling them for the time to come.

Another act passed, with the same dissent, for the laity receiving the sacrament in both kinds, and that the people should always communicate with the priest; and by it irreverence to the sacrament was condemned under severe penalties.

Another act was passed, without any dissent, ordaining that the *congé d'elire*, and the election pursuant to it, should cease for the future, and that bishops should be named by the king's letters patent, and thereupon be consecrated; and should hold their courts in the king's name, and not in their own, excepting only the archbishop of Canterbury's court; and they were to use the king's seal in all their writings, except in presentations, collations, and letters of orders, in which they might use their own seals.

Another act was made against rogues and vagabonds, decreeing that they should be *made slaves for two years*, by any who should seize on them: this was chiefly intended to operate against some vagrant monks, who went about the country infusing into the people a dislike of the government. But a state of slavery is so contrary to the feelings of every English heart, that no person could be found to act upon it; and the odious statute was virtually repealed. An act was next proposed, for giving the king all those chantries which his father had not seized on. Cranmer much opposed this; "for," he said, "the poverty of the clergy was such that the state of learning and religion was like to suffer greatly, if it should not be relieved; and yet he saw no probable fund for that, but the preserving these till the king should come to age, and allow the selling them, for buying in of at least such a share of the impropriations as might afford them some more comfortable subsistence:" yet, notwithstanding the dissent of himself and seven other bishops, it was passed. The last act was for granting a general pardon, but clogged with some exceptions.

The convocation sat at the same time; and moved that the commission begun in the late reign for reforming the ecclesiastical laws, might be revived, and that the inferior clergy might be admitted to sit in the house of commons, for which they alleged a clause in the bishop's writ, and ancient custom, and since some prelates had, under the for

* Nothing can be more correct than this: for what was faith but *the love of God shed abroad in the heart*, filling the believer with benevolence, and the desire of imparting the happiness he feels to all around him.

mer reign, begun to alter the service of the church, they desired it might be brought to perfection; and that some care might be taken for supplying the poor clergy, and relieving them from the taxes that lay so heavily on them. The claim of the inferior clergy to sit in the house of commons occasioned some debate, but to no effect.

It was resolved that some bishops and divines should be sent to Windsor, to finish some reformations in the public offices; for the whole lower house of convocation, without a contradictory vote, agreed to the bill about the sacrament. A proposition being also set on foot concerning the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy, thirty-five subscribed to the affirmative, and only fourteen dissented.

Gardiner, being included in the act of pardon, was set at liberty: he promised to receive and obey the injunctions, objecting only to the homily of justification; yet he complied in that likewise: but it was visible that in his heart he abhorred all these proceedings, though he outwardly conformed.

CEREMONIES ABOLISHED.

Candlemas and Lent were now approaching, and the clergy and people were much divided with respect to the ceremonies usual at those times. By some injunctions in Henry's reign, it had been declared that fasting in Lent was only binding by a positive law. Wakes and Plow-Mondays were also suppressed, and hints were given that other customs, which were much abused, should be shortly done away. The rabble loved these things, as matters of diversion, and thought divine worship without them would be but a dull business. But others looked on them as relics of heathenism, and thought they did not become the gravity and simplicity of the Christian religion.

Cranmer procured an order of council against the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and palms on Palm-Sunday; which was directed to Bonner to be intimated to the bishops of the province of Canterbury, and was executed by him. But a proclamation followed against all who should make changes without authority. The creeping to the cross, and taking holy bread and water, were put down, and power was given to the archbishop of Canterbury to certify, in the king's name, what ceremonies should be afterwards laid aside; and none were to preach out of their own parishes without license from the king or the visitors, the archbishop, or the bishop of the diocese. Soon after this, a general order followed for a removal of all images out of churches, which occasioned great contests whether the images had been abused to superstition or not. Some thought the consecration of them was an abuse. Those also which represented the Trinity as a man with three faces in one head; or as an old man with a young man before him, and a dove over his head; and some where the blessed Virgin was represented as admitted into it, gave so great scandal, that it was no wonder, if men, as they grew more enlightened, could no longer endure them. The only occasion given to censure in this order, was, that all shrines, and the plate belonging to them, were appointed to be brought in for the king's use.

A NEW OFFICE FOR THE COMMUNION.

Eighteen bishops, and some other divines, were now employed to examine and amend the offices of the church. They began with the Eucharist, and proceeded in the same manner as in the former reign. It was clearly found that the plain institution of the sacrament was much vitiated, with a mixture of many heathenish rites and pomps, to raise the credit of the priests, in whose hands that great performance was lodged. This was at first done to draw over the heathens by those splendid rites to Christianity; but superstition, once begun, has no bounds; and ignorance and barbarity increasing in the middle ages, there was no regard had to any thing in religion, but as it was set off with pageantry; and the belief of the corporeal presence raised this to a still greater height. The office was in an unknown tongue; all the vessels and garments belonging to it were consecrated with much devotion; a great part of the service was secret, to make it look like a wonderful charm; the consecration itself was to be said very softly, for words that were not to be heard agreed best with a change that was not to be seen: the many gesticulations, and the magnificent processions, all tended to raise this pageantry higher. Masses were also said for all the affairs of human life. Trentals, a custom of having thirty masses a year on the chief festivals for redeeming souls out of purgatory, was that which brought the priests most money, for these were thought to be God's *best days*, in which access was easier to him! On saint's days, in the mass it was prayed, that by the saint's intercession the sacrifice might become the more acceptable, and procure a more ample indulgence; which could not be easily explained, if the sacrifice was the death of Christ. Besides the before-mentioned, a numberless variety of other rites and ceremonies, borrowed from the heathens, were made use of for corrupting the holiest institutions of the Christian religion.

The first step that was now taken was to make a new office for the communion, that is, the distribution of the sacrament; for the office of consecration was not at this time touched. In the exhortation, auricular confession to a priest is left free to be done or omitted, and all were required not to judge

one another in that matter. There was also a denunciation made, requiring impenitent sinners to withdraw. The bread was to be still of the same form as that formerly used. In the distribution it was said, "The body of our Lord, &c. preserve thy body; and the blood of our Lord, &c. preserve thy soul." This was printed, with a proclamation, requiring all to receive it with such reverence and uniformity as might encourage the king to proceed further, and not to run to other things before the king gave direction, assuring the people of his earnest zeal to set forth godly orders; and therefore it was hoped they would wait for it; the books were sent all over England, and the clergy were appointed to administer the communion at the following Easter according to them.

AURICULAR CONFESSION EXAMINED.

Confession was next examined; and it was found that the practice had commenced in the early ages of the church; and penances had been imposed by the priests. Afterwards, pilgrimages, and crusades against heretics, or princes deposed by the pope, were commanded instead of all other penances: the priests also managed confession and absolution, so as to enter into all men's secrets, and to govern their consciences by them; many reserved cases were made, in which the pope only gave absolution; this occasioned the trade of *indulgences* to be put in their hands, which they managed with as much confidence as mountebanks use in selling their medicines, with this superior advantage over other quacks, that the inefficacy of their devices was not so easily discovered.

Gardiner was now again brought into trouble: many complaints were made of him, that he disparaged the preachers sent with the king's license into his diocese, and that he secretly opposed all reformation. On being brought before the council, he denied most of the things objected to him, and offered to explain himself openly in a sermon before the king. This being granted, he justified many of the changes that had been made; but when he came to the sacrament, he contended so strongly for the corporeal presence, that a great disturbance took place in the church. This conduct being deemed seditious, he was sent to the Tower.

A NEW LITURGY COMPOSED.

But now a more general reformation of the whole liturgy was under consideration, that all the nation might have an uniformity in the worship of God. Anciently the liturgies were short, and had few ceremonies in them: every bishop had one for his diocese; but the African churches they began first to put them into a more regular form. Gregory the Great labored much in this: yet he left Augustine, when he sent him into Britain, to his choice, either to use the Roman or French forms in England, as he found they were like to tend most to edification. Great additions had been made to the liturgy in every age; for the private devotions of some who were reputed saints, were added to the public offices: and mysterious significations were invented for every new rite, which swelled them to a vast bulk. It was now resolved to have a liturgy, which should bring the worship to a proper mean between the pomp of superstition, and naked simplicity. It was resolved to change nothing, merely in opposition to received practices, but rather (in imitation of what Christ did in the institution of the two sacraments of the gospel, that consisted of rites used among the Jews, but sanctified by him to higher purposes) to comply with what had been formerly in use, as much as was possible, thereby to gain the people.

All the consecrations of water, salt, &c. in the church of Rome, being relics of heathenism, were laid aside. The absolutions on account of the merits of the blessed virgin and the saints, the sprinklings of water, fastings, and pilgrimages, with many other things; and the absolution given to dead bodies, were looked upon as gross impostures, tending to make the world think, that the priests had the keys of Heaven in their hands, and could carry people thither on easier terms than the gospel prescribes. This induced the people to purchase their favor, especially when they were dying; so that, as their fears were then heightened, there was no other way left them, in the conclusion of an ill life, to die with any hopes of eternal happiness, but as they bargained with their priests; all this was now rejected.

It was resolved to have the whole worship in the vulgar tongue; as enabling all persons to join in "praising God with understanding." As white had been the color of the priests' vestments, under the Mosaical law, had early been brought into the Christian churches, and was a proper expression of innocence, and it being fit that the worship of God should be performed in a decent habit, it was continued.

The morning and evening prayers were put almost in the same form as that in which they now stand, only there was neither confession nor absolution. In the office for the communion, there was a commemoration of thanksgiving for the blessed virgin and all departed saints, and they were commended to God's mercy and peace. In the consecration, the use of crossing the elements was retained; but there was no elevation, which was at first used as an historical rite, to show Christ's being lifted up on the cross; but it was afterwards done, to excite the people to adore it. No stamp was to be on the bread, and it was to be thicker than ordinary. It

was to be put in the people's mouths by the priests, though it had been anciently put in their hands; but after the corporeal presence was acknowledged, the people were not suffered to touch it, and the priest's thumbs and fingers were peculiarly anointed, to qualify them for that contact. In baptism the child's head and breast were to be crossed; and adjuration was to be made of the devil to depart from him: children were to be thrice dipped, or, in case of weakness, water was to be sprinkled on their faces, and then they were to be anointed. The sick might also be anointed if they desired it. At funerals, the departed soul was recommended to God's mercy.

The sacraments were formerly believed of such virtue, that they conferred grace by the very receiving them. Acting on this belief, the early Christians used to send portions of the eucharist to the sick, but without any pomp: which was a corruption of later times. But instead of the procession with the host, it was now appointed that the sacraments should be ministered to the sick, being consecrated by their bedsides; and, in case of weakness, children were allowed to be baptized in houses; though it was more suitable to the design of baptism, which was the admission of a new member to the church, to do it before the whole congregation.

The liturgy thus compiled was published, with a preface concerning ceremonies.

When the book came before the public, several things were censured; as particularly the frequent use of the cross, and anointing. The former was at first used as a badge of a crucified Savior, but was much corrupted by the priests in after-ages, so that it was at length believed to have a virtue for driving away evil spirits, and preserving one from dangers; and acquired a kind of sacramental character, entirely unfounded in scripture or reason; but the using it as a ceremony, expressing the believing in a crucified Savior, could imply no superstition.

The Protestant religion now appeared almost ruined in Germany, and this made the reformers turn their eyes to England. Calvin wrote to the protector, and pressed him to go on to a more complete reformation, and that prayers for the dead, the chrism, and extreme unction, might be laid aside. He desired him to trust in God, and go on, and wished there were more preaching, and in a more lively way than he heard was then in England: but above all things, he prayed him to suppress that impiety and profanity that, as he heard, abounded in the nation.

In February 1549, an act passed, allowing the clergy to marry. It was declared, "that it were better for priests to live unmarried, free of all worldly cares; yet, since the laws compelling it had occasioned great debauchery, they were all repealed." The pretence of chastity in the Romish priests had possessed the world with a high opinion of them, and had been a great reflection on the reformers, if the world had not clearly seen through it, and been made very sensible of the ill effects of it, by the defilement it brought into their own families. Nor was there any point in which the reformers had searched the scriptures more, to remove the prejudice that lay against them. In the Old Testament all the priests were not only married, but the office descended by inheritance. In the New Testament, marriage was declared honorable in all: among the qualifications of bishops and deacons, their being the husbands of one wife, are reckoned up. Many of the apostles were married, and carried their wives about with them, as also Aquila did Priscilla.

Another act was passed, confirming the liturgy, which was now finished; eight bishops and three temporal lords only protesting against it. There was a long preamble, setting forth the inconvenience of the former offices, and the pains that had been taken to reform them; and that divers bishops and divines had, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with a uniform agreement concluded on the new book: therefore they enacted that by Whitsunday next, all divine offices should be performed according to it; and if any persons used other offices, for the first offence they should be imprisoned six months, lose their benefices for the second, and be imprisoned during life for the third.

Another act was also passed respecting fasting, declaring, "That though all days and meats were in themselves alike, yet fasting, being a great help to virtue, and to the subduing the body to the mind, it was enacted, that Lent, and all Fridays and Saturdays, and ember-days, should be fish-days, under several penalties, excepting the weak, or those that had the king's license." Christ had told his disciples, that when he was taken from them, they should fast: so in the primitive church they fasted before Easter; but the same number of days was not observed in all places; afterwards, other rules and days were established: but St. Austin complained, that many in his time placed all their religion in observing them. Fast-days are turned to a mockery in the church of Rome, in which they dine on fish exquisitely dressed, and drink wine.

A NEW VISITATION.

Both the laity and clergy gave the king subsidies, upon which the parliament was prorogued. The first thing attended to was the enforcing the act of uniformity. Some complaints were made of the priests' manner of officiating; who did it with such a tone of voice that the people could not understand what was said, any more than when the prayers were said in Latin. Prayers were, therefore, ordered to be said in parish churches

in a plain voice, but in cathedrals the old way was still kept up, as agreeing better with the music used in them; though this seemed not very decent in the confession of sins, nor in the litany, where a simple voice, gravely uttered, agreed better with those devotions than cadences and musical notes. Others continued to use all the gesticulations, crossings, and kneelings, to which they had formerly been accustomed. The people also continued the use of their beads, which had been brought in by Peter the Hermit, in the eleventh century, by which the repeating the angel's salutation to the Virgin was made a great part of their devotion, and was ten times said for one *Paternoster*. Instructions were given to the visitors to put all these down, and to inquire if any priests continued their trentals or masses for departed souls. Orders were also given, that there should be no private masses at altars in the corners of churches; also that there should be but one communion in a day, unless in great churches, and at high festivals, in which they were allowed to have two, one in the morning, and another at noon.

The visitors made their report, that they found the book of common-prayer received universally over the kingdom, except that the lady Mary continued to have mass said according to the abrogated forms. Upon this, the council wrote to her to conform to the laws; "for, the nearer she was to the king in blood, she was so much the more obliged to give example to the rest of the subjects." She refused to comply with their desires, and sent to the emperor for his protection; upon which he pressed the English ambassadors, who promised, that she should be dispensed with, at least for the present. The emperor pretended afterwards that they had made him an absolute promise that she should never more be troubled about it, but they said it was only a temporary one. She refused to acknowledge the laws made when the king was under age, and carried herself very haughtily;* for she well knew that the protector was then fearful of a war with France, which made the emperor's alliance more necessary to England: yet the council sent for the officers of her household, and required them to let her know, that the king's authority was the same while he was a child, as if he were at full age; and that it was now lodged in them, and though, as single persons, they were all inferior to her, yet, as they were the king's council, she was bound to obey them, especially when they executed the law; which all subjects, of what rank soever, were bound to obey. At present, however, they durst go no further, for fear of the emperor's displeasure.

* She obstinately refused to hear any of the bishops speak before her in favor of the reformation. Upon this the council returned an answer to her, "that her objections were more the result of will, than of reason; and therefore her grace must be admonished neither to trust her own opinion without ground, nor to mislike all others having ground. If hers be good, it is no hurt if she hear the worse. If it be ill, she shall do well to hear the better. She shall not alter by hearing, but by hearing the better."

DISPUTES CONCERNING CHRIST'S PRESENCE IN THE SACRAMENTS.

The reformation of the greatest errors in divine worship being thus established, Cranmer proceeded next to establish a form of doctrine. The chief point hitherto untouched, was the presence of Christ in the sacrament, which the priests magnified as the greatest mystery of the Christian religion, and the chief privilege of Christians; with which the simple and credulous vulgar were much affected. The Lutherans received that which had been for some ages the doctrine of the Greek church, that in the sacraments there were both bread and wine, and also the substance of the body and blood of Christ. The Helvetians looked on it only as a commemoration of the death of Christ. The princes of Germany were at great pains to have these reconciled, in which Bucer had labored with great industry. Some took a middle way, and asserted a real presence; but it was not easy to understand what was meant by that expression, unless it was a real application of Christ's death; so that the meaning of *really* was *effectually*. But though Bucer followed this method, Peter Martyr, in his lectures, declared plainly for the Helvetians. Dr. Smith, and some others, intended publicly to oppose him; and challenged him to a dispute about it, which he readily accepted, on these conditions, that the king's council should first approve of it, and that it should be managed in scripture terms: for the strength of those doctrines lay in a nimble managing of those barbarous and unintelligible terms of the schools, which, though they sounded high, yet really had no meaning: so that all the Protestants resolved to dispute in scripture terms, which was certainly more proper in matters of divinity than the metaphysical language of schoolmen.

The council having appointed Dr. Cox, and some others, to preside in the dispute, Dr. Smith went out of the way, and a little after fled out of England: but before he went he wrote a very mean submission to Cranmer. Other doctors disputed with Peter Martyr concerning transubstantiation, but that had the common fate of all public disputes, for both sides contended that they had the better. At the same time there were also disputes at Cambridge, which were moderated by Ridley, who had been sent down by the council. He had fallen on Bertram's book of the Sacrament, and wondered much to find so celebrated a writer, in the ninth century, engage so plainly against the

corporeal presence. This disposed him to think that at that time it was not the received belief of the church: he communicated this to Cranmer, and they together made great collections out of the fathers on this head, and both of them wrote concerning it.

The substance of their arguments was, that as Christ called the cup "the fruit of the vine," so St. Paul called the other element "bread," after the consecration; which shows that their natures were not changed. Christ, speaking to the Jews, and substituting the eucharist for the paschal lamb, used such expressions as had been customary among the Jews on that occasion; who called the lamb "the Lord's passover;" which could not be meant literally, since the passover was the angel's passing by their houses, when the first-born of the Egyptians were killed. It, therefore, being a commemoration of that, was called "the Lord's passover:" and in the same sense did Christ call the bread "his body:" figurative expressions being ordinary in scripture, and not improper in sacraments, which may be called figurative actions. It was also appointed for a remembrance of Christ, and that supposes absence. The elements were also called by Christ his body broken, and his blood shed; so it is plain they were his body, not as it is glorified in heaven, but as it suffered on the cross; and since the scriptures speak of Christ's continuance in heaven till the last day, from thence they inferred, that he was not corporeally present. And it was showed, that the eating Christ's flesh, mentioned by St. John, was not to be understood of the sacrament, since, of every one who eat, it is said, that he has eternal life in him. It was, therefore, to be understood only of receiving Christ's doctrine, as he himself explained, when he said, "that the flesh profiteth nothing, but his words were spirit and life."

ANABAPTISTS IN ENGLAND.

There were some Anabaptists at this time in England, who came from Germany. Of these there were two sorts; the first only objected to the baptizing of children, and to the manner of it, by sprinkling instead of dipping. The other held many opinions, anciently condemned as heresies: they had raised a war in Germany, and had set up a new king at Munster; but all these were called Anabaptists, from their opposition to infant baptism, though it was one of the mildest opinions they held. When they came to England, a commission was granted to some bishops, and others, to search them out, and to proceed against them. Several of these persons, on being taken up and brought before them, abjured their errors, some of which were, "That there was not a trinity of persons; that Christ was not God, and took not flesh of the Virgin; and that a regenerate man could not sin."

Joan Bocher, called Joan of Kent, one of their proselytes, persisted in her error, and denied that Christ took flesh of the substance of his mother; she was intolerably vain of her notions, and rejected with scorn all the instruction offered her: she was, therefore, condemned as an obstinate heretic, and delivered to the secular power. But it was with the most extreme reluctance that the king signed the warrant for her execution; he thought it was an instance of the same spirit of cruelty for which the reformers condemned the papists; and notwithstanding all the arguments that were used with him, he was rather silenced than satisfied, and signed the warrant with tears in his eyes, saying to Cranmer, that since he resigned up himself to his judgment, if he sinned in it, it should lie at his door. This struck the archbishop; and both he and Ridley took great pains with her, and tried what reason, joined with gentleness, could do. But she growing still more and more insolent, at last was burnt, and ended her life very indecently, breaking out often in jeers and reproaches.

Some time after this, George Van Parre, a Dutchman, was also condemned and burnt for denying the divinity of Christ, and saying, that the Father only was God. He had led a very exemplary life, both for fasting, devotion, and a good conversation, and suffered with extraordinary composure of mind. Against the other sort of Anabaptists no severities were used; but several books were written to justify infant baptism; and the practice of the church, so clearly begun, and so universally spread, was thought a good plea, especially being grounded on such arguments in scripture as demonstrated at least its lawfulness.

REBELLION IN DEVONSHIRE AND OTHER PARTS.

About this time a rebellion broke out in many parts of England, partly arising from a jealousy in the commons against the nobility and gentry, who finding more advantage by the trade of wool than by that of corn, generally inclosed their grounds, and turned them to pasture, by which a great number of persons were thrown out of employment, and a general consternation was spread throughout the country. The other cause was the unquenched enmity of the popish priests to the reformation, and their endeavors to revive in the minds of the blinded multitude their former errors.

In Devonshire, the insurrection was very formidable; and the rebels became quickly ten thousand strong. Lord Russel was sent against them with a small force, and orders to endeavor to prevail on them to disperse without shedding blood: but Arundel, a man of quality, being at their head, they were

not a mere rabble, easily scattered, but had more of the discipline and consequent strength of a regular army. They, however, consented to treat with lord Russel, and by him forwarded the following demands to the court: "That the old service and ceremonies might be set up again; that the act of the six articles, and the decrees of general councils, might be again in force; that the Bible in English should be called in; that preachers should pray for the souls in purgatory; that cardinal Pole should be recalled; that the half of the abbey lands should be restored, to found two abbeys in every county; and that gentlemen of 100 marks a year might have but one servant:" and they desired a safe-conduct for their chief leaders, in order to the redress of their particular grievances; they afterwards reduced their demands to those only which related to religion.

Cranmer wrote an answer to these, showing "the novelty and superstition of those rites and ceremonies, and of all that method of worship of which they were so fond: and that the amendments and changes had been made according to the scriptures, and the customs of the primitive church: that their being partial to a worship which they understood not, and being desirous to be kept still in ignorance, without the scriptures, proved, that their priests had greater power over them than the common reason of all mankind had: as for the six articles, that act had never passed, if the late king had not *gone in person to the parliament, and argued* for it: yet he soon saw his error, and was slack in executing it."

After this, a threatening letter was sent to them, in the king's name, upbraiding them for their rebellion and blind obedience to their priests. In it the authority of the king, although under age, was shown at large; for by the pretence of the king's minority, the people generally were taught to believe that their rising in arms was not rebellion. In conclusion, they were earnestly invited to submit to the royal mercy, as others had done, whom the king had not only pardoned, but had redressed their just grievances.

A fast was proclaimed at court, where Cranmer preached with great freedom and vehemence; he reproved the assembly for their vicious lives, particularly those who pretended a love to the gospel: and set before them the judgments of God, which they might expect would overtake their misdeeds, if they did not repent and amend their lives.

The rebels still continuing in arms, troops were sent against them, and, after some resistance in Oxfordshire, Devonshire, and Norfolk, they were at length everywhere routed, their leaders punished, and tranquility restored.

VISITATION OF CAMBRIDGE.

A visitation of Cambridge followed soon after this. Ridley was the chief of the visitors; but when he found that a design was laid to suppress some colleges, under pretence of uniting them to others, and to convert some fellowships, that were provided for divines, to the study of the civil law, he refused his assent. He said "the church was already too much robbed, and yet some men's ravenousness was not yet satisfied. It seemed a design was laid to drive both religion and learning out of the land; therefore he desired leave to begone." The other visitors complained of him to the protector, who wrote him a reproving letter: but he answered it with the freedom that became a bishop, who was resolved to suffer all things rather than sin against his conscience: and the protector was so well satisfied with him, that, for his sake, the college of Clare-hall, the suppression of which he had strongly objected to, was preserved.

BONNER PROSECUTED.

Bonner was now brought into trouble. It was not easy to know how to deal with him, for he obeyed every order that was sent him, and yet it was known that he secretly hated and condemned all that was done; and as often as he could declare that safely, he did so, and by such means preserved his interest with the papists: and though he obeyed the orders of the council, yet he did it in so *remiss a manner, that it was visibly against* his inclination. He was, therefore, called before the council, and charged with several particulars, that "whereas he used to officiate himself on the great festivals, he had not done it since the new service was set out; that he took no care to repress adultery, and that he never preached." On examination, proving very refractory and violent, he was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to prison during the king's pleasure.

FALL OF THE PROTECTOR.

The English affairs upon the continent this year were extremely unsuccessful, and the fault being laid on the protector, heavy complaints were made against him; and his enemies, who were very numerous and powerful, openly declared their hostility. The earls of Southampton and of Warwick were the chief; the one hated him for dismissing him from the chancellorship, and the other because he was his rival in power and dignity.

The privy counsellors complained, that he was become so arbitrary in his proceedings, that he little regarded the opposition that was made by the majority of the council, to any of his designs. All these things con-

curred to create him many enemies; and, except Cranmer, Paget, and Smith, all turned against him.

The protector conducted the king to Hampton-court, and put many of his own people about him, which increased the jealousies of the opposite party; upon which, nine of the privy council met at Ely-house, and assumed to themselves the authority of the council; and secretary Petre being sent by the king, to ask an account of their meeting, instead of returning, joined himself to them. They made a full declaration of the protector's ill government; and stated that "therefore they resolved, themselves, to see the safety of the king and kingdom." Both the city of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, declared for them: they also sent letters all over England, desiring the assistance of the nobility and gentry, and seven more of the privy council joined them.

The protector had removed the king from Hampton-court to Windsor-castle, which was capable of some defence; and had armed some of his own servants; yet, seeing himself abandoned by nearly all his friends, and finding the party against him growing to such a strength, that it would be in vain to struggle any longer, he offered to submit himself to the council. A proposition for a treaty was accordingly set on foot; and the lords at London were desired to send two of their number with their proposals. Cranmer, and the other two, wrote to the council, to persuade them to an agreement, and not to follow cruel suggestions.

Many false reports of the protector were spread abroad, as, that he had threatened, if they intended to put him to death, the king should die first; which served to increase the prejudices against him. The council wrote to Cranmer and Paget, charging them "to look well to the king's person, that he should not be removed from Windsor; and that the duke of Somerset's dependants might be put from him, and his own sworn servants admitted to wait:" they also protested that they would proceed with all the moderation and favor that was possible towards the duke. The council understanding that all things were prepared as they had desired, sent three of their number, to see that the duke and five of his followers, should be confined to their apartments; and on the 12th of October, the whole council went to Windsor, and made great protestations of their duty to the king, which he received favorably, and assured them he took all that they had done in good part.

Accordingly, the duke of Somerset, with four of those who had been confined, were sent to the Tower, and many articles were objected to the duke, "that he being made protector, with this condition, that he should do nothing but by the consent of the other executors, had treated with ambassadors apart; had made bishops and lord-lieutenants without their knowledge; had held a court of requests in his house; embased the coin; neglected the places the king had in France; encouraged the commons in their late insurrections; and had given out commissions, and proclaimed a pardon without their consent: that he had animated the king against the rest of the council, and had proclaimed them traitors, and had put his own servants armed about the king's person."

By these charges, it appears, that the crimes alleged against him were the effects of his sudden exaltation, which had made him forget that he was a subject. He, however, had carried his greatness with much innocence, since, in all the studied charges brought against him by his numerous enemies, no acts of cruelty, rapine, or bribery, were objected to him. His faults were rather errors and weaknesses, than crimes. His "embasing the coin" was done upon a common mistake of weak governments, who fly to that as their last refuge in the necessity of their affairs. In his imprisonment, he set himself to the study of moral philosophy and divinity, and wrote a preface to a book on patience, which had made a great impression on his mind. His fall was a great affliction to all who loved the reformation, and this was much increased, by their fears of two of his greatest enemies; of whom Southampton was a known Papist, and Warwick was looked on as a man of no religion.

But this event, while it depressed the reformers, raised the spirits of the papists: the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner hoped to be discharged. Bonner expected to be re-established in his bishopric: and the new service was neglected in many places: but the earl of Warwick, finding the king zealously attached to the reformation, had affected to be a great promoter of that cause. A court of civilians was appointed to examine Bonner's appeal, and upon their report the council rejected it, and confirmed his sentence.

In November, the parliament met: in which a kind of riot-act was passed, declaring it treason in any persons to assemble to the number of twelve, if, on being required, they did not disperse. The bishops made a heavy complaint of the growth of vice and impiety, and that their power was so much abridged, that they could not repress it. Accordingly, a bill was read, enlarging their authority, which was passed by the lords; but the commons rejected it, and instead of it, sent up a bill that empowered thirty-two persons, who were to be named by the king, "the one-half of the temporalty, and the other of the spiritualty, to compile a body of ecclesiastical laws within three years; and that these, not being contrary to the com-

mon or statute law, and approved of by the king, should have the force of ecclesiastical laws."

Six bishops, and six other clergymen, were empowered to prepare a new form of ordination; which being confirmed under the great seal, should take place after April next. Articles were also presented against the duke of Somerset, with a confession signed by him, in which he protested that his errors had flowed rather from indiscretion than malice, and denied all treasonable designs against the king, or the realm. He was fined in £2000 a-year in land, and was deprived of all his goods and offices. He complained of the heaviness of this sentence, and "desired earnestly to be restored to the king's favor, trusting that he should make amends for his past follies." He was discharged in the beginning of February, soon after which, he was pardoned, and was again brought both to the court and council in April.

The reformation now, after this confusion, recommenced with fresh vigor. The council sent orders throughout England, to require all to conform themselves to the new service, and to call in all the books of the old offices. An act was passed in parliament to the same effect. All the old books and images were appointed to be defaced, and all prayers to saints were to be struck out of the books of devotion published by the late king.

The committee appointed to prepare the book of ordinations, finished their work with unanimity. They found, that in the ancient church, there was nothing used in ordinations, but prayer and imposition of hands; the anointing and giving consecrated vestments being additions of later ages. In the council of Florence it was declared, that the rite of ordaining a priest, was the delivering the vessels for the eucharist, with a power to offer sacrifices to God for the dead and living, which was a novelty invented to support the belief of transubstantiation. All these additions were now cut off, ordination was restored to a greater simplicity; and the form was almost the same as that still in use in the church of England; only then, in ordaining a priest, the bishop was to lay one hand on his head, and with the other to give him a Bible, and a chalice, and bread in it. In the consecration of a bishop, the form was the same that we still employ, only then they retained the custom of giving the bishop a staff, saying these words, "Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd."

At this time pope Paul the third died. In the conclave that followed, cardinal Farnese promoted the interest of cardinal Pole, whose wise behavior at Trent had greatly raised him in the opinion of his contemporaries. It also appeared, that though he was of the emperor's faction, yet he did not serve him blindly. Some loaded him with the imputations of Lutheranism, and of incontinence. the last would not have hindered his advancement much, though true, yet he fully cleared himself from it: but the former lay heavier; for in his retirement at Viterbo, where he was legate, he had given himself much to the study of controversies: and Tranellius, Flaminio, and others suspected of Lutheranism, had lived in his house; and in the discussions at the council of Trent he seemed favorable to some of their opinions. But the great sufferings both of himself and family in England, seemed to set him above all suspicions.

When his friends had almost gained a sufficient number of suffrages, he seemed little concerned at it, and rather declined than aspired to the dignity. When a full number of the cardinals had agreed, and came to adore him, according to the ordinary ceremony, he received it with his usual coldness; and as they came in the night, he said, "God loved light," and therefore advised them to delay the adoration till day. The Italians, among whom ambition is thought to be the characteristic of a great mind, looked on this as an insufferable piece of dullness; so that the cardinals deserted him before day, and chose de Monte pope, who assumed the papal crown by the name of Julius the Third. His first promotion was very extraordinary, for he gave his own cardinal's hat to a servant who kept his monkey; and being asked the reason of it, he said, "he saw as much in his servant to recommend him to be a cardinal, as the conclave saw in him to induce them to choose him pope."

In February, Ridley was made bishop of London and Westminster, with license to hold two prebends; and his patent was not during pleasure, but during life.

About this time, there was a rumor of a marriage between the king and a French princess, which grieved the reformers, who rather wished him to marry the daughter of the emperor Maximilian, who was believed to favor the reformation, and was esteemed one of the best men of the age. Dr. Latimer preached at court, and warned the king of the ill effects of bad marriages, which were made up only as bargains, without affection between the parties; and that they occasioned so much iniquity, and so many divorces: he also complained of the luxury and vanity of the age, and pressed the setting up a primitive discipline in the church. He preached this as his last sermon, and therefore used great freedom.

The see of Gloucester now became vacant, and Hooper was named to it. He had some scruples about the episcopal vestments and thought all those garments, having been consecrated with much superstition, were to be reckoned among the elements condemned by St. Paul: but Ridley justified the use of them, and said, "the elements condemned

by St. Paul, were only the Jewish ceremonies; which he condemned, when they were imposed as essential; as that imported that the Mosaical law was not abrogated, and that the Messiah was not come."

Cranmer desired Bucer's opinion concerning the lawfulness of those habits, and the obligation, lying on subjects to obey the laws about them. His opinion was, that "Every creature of God was good, and that no former abuse could make a thing, indifferent in itself, become unlawful. Yet, since those garments had been abused to superstition, and were like to become a subject of contention, he wished they might be taken away by law; and that ecclesiastical discipline, and a more complete reformation, might be pursued, and a stop put to the robbing of churches; otherwise they might see, in the present state of Germany, a dreadful prospect of that which England ought to look for. He wished that all good men would unite against the greater corruptions, and then lesser abuses would easily be redressed." Peter Martyr also delivered his opinion to the same purpose.

Hooper was suspended from preaching; but the earl of Warwick wrote to Cranmer to dispense with him in that matter; who answered, that while the law continued in force, he could not do it without incurring a *præmunire*. Upon which the king wrote to the archbishop, allowing him to do it, and dispensing with the law.

THE COMMON PRAYER BOOK REVISED.

A design was now set on foot for a revision of the common prayer book: in order to which the opinion of that eminent reformer Bucer was asked. He replied that "he approved the main parts of the former book, and wished there might be not only a denunciation against scandalous persons who came to the sacrament, but a discipline to exclude them; that the habits might be laid aside; that no part of the communion office might be used, except when there was a sacrament; that communions might be more frequent; that the prayers might be said in a plain voice; the sacrament put in the people's hands; and that there might be no prayers for the dead." He also advised "a change of several phrases in the office of the communion, that favored transubstantiation too much; and that baptism might be performed only in churches;" he thought "the hallowing the water, the chrism, and the white garment, were too scenical; nor did he approve of abjuring the devil, nor of the god-father's answering in the child's name: he thought confirmation should be delayed till the person was of age, and came sincerely to renew the baptismal covenant; and catechising should take place every holy day, both of children and adults. He disliked private marriages, extreme unction, and making offerings at the churching of women: and thought there ought to be greater strictness used in the examination of those persons who came to receive orders."

At the same time he understood that the king expected a new-year's gift from him, of a book written particularly for his own use: he, therefore, prepared a book concerning the kingdom of Christ; in which he pressed much the setting up a strict discipline, the sanctification of the Lord's day, the appointing days of fasting, and that pluralities and nonresidence of the clergy might be condemned; that children might be catechised; that the reverence due to churches might be preserved; that the pastoral function might be restored to what it ought to be; that bishops might throw off secular affairs, take care of their dioceses, and govern them by the advice of their presbyters; that there might be rural bishops over twenty or thirty parishes, and that provincial councils might meet twice a year; that church-lands should be restored, and that a fourth part should be assigned to the poor; that marriage, without consent of parents, should be annulled; that a second marriage might be declared lawful, after a divorce for adultery, and for some other reasons; that care should be taken of the education of youth, and for repressing luxury; that the law might be reformed; that no office might be sold, but given to the most deserving; that none should be put in prison for slight offences; and that the severity of some laws, as that which made theft capital, might be mitigated.

Edward was much pleased with these counsels; and upon them began to form a scheme for amending many things that were amiss in the government. This he wrote out with his own hand, and in a style and manner which was rather childish, though the thoughts were manly. He also wrote a journal of every thing that passed at home, and of the news from beyond sea. It has clear marks of being his own composition. He also wrote another book in French, being a collection of all the places of scripture against idolatry, with a preface, and a dedication to the protector.

At this time Ridley made his first visitation of his diocese; the articles upon which he proceeded were chiefly relating to the service and ceremonies that were abolished. He also carried with him injunctions against some remainders of the former superstition, and exhortations to the people to be charitable, and to come frequently to the sacrament; and he expressed a wish that altars in the churches should be removed, and tables put in their room, in the most convenient place of the chancel. In the ancient church their tables were of wood; but the sacrament being afterwards called a sacrifice, they came to be called *altars*. This gave rise to the opinion of an expiatory sacrifice in the mass, and therefore it was

now thought fit to take away both the name and form of altars. Ridley only advised the curates to do this; but upon some contests arising concerning it, the council interposed, and ordered it to be done; sending with their order six reasons in justification of it, in which they showed that a table was more proper than an altar; especially since the opinion of an expiatory sacrifice was supported by the latter.

The government was now free of all disturbance: the coinage was reformed, and trade was encouraged. The factions in the court seemed also to be extinguished by a marriage between the earl of Warwick's son and the duke of Somerset's daughter.

The popish clergy now complied with every change that was made. Oglethorpe, afterwards bishop of Carlisle, being informed against as a favorer of the old superstition, made a declaration, that "he thought the order of religion then settled, was nearer the use of the primitive church than that which was formerly received; and that he condemned transubstantiation as a late invention, and approved the communion in both kinds; also the people's receiving it always with the priest."

Smith, who had written against the marriage of the clergy, and had been imprisoned, but was discharged by Cranmer's intercession, wrote a submission to him, acknowledging the mistakes he had committed in his book, and the archbishop's kindness towards him: concluding with a wish that "he might perish, if he was not sincere," and calling on "God, as a witness against his soul if he lied."

Day, the bishop of Chichester, preached at court against transubstantiation, and all opposition to the reformation seemed to have melted away; but the calm was deceitful; the papists still abhorred the changes which had been made, and although they thought it prudent at present to comply with them, they resolved to seize the earliest opportunity of throwing off the mask.

Martin Bucer died in the beginning of this year. He had entertained great apprehensions of a fatal revolution in England, on account of the bad lives of the people, the want of ecclesiastical discipline, and the neglect of the pastoral charge. Orders were sent from the court to Cambridge, to bury him with all the public honor to his memory that could be devised. Speeches and sermons were made by Haddon, the university orator, and by Parker and Redmayn. The last of these was one of the most extraordinary men both for learning and judgment in his time: he had differed in some points from Bucer, and yet he acknowledged, that there was none alive of whom he hoped to learn so much as he had done by his conversation with him. Bucer was inferior to none of all the reformers in learning, and had a great zeal for the interests of the church; but he had not that fluency in disputing for which Peter Martyr was admired, and the popish doctors took advantage from that to treat him with more insolence.

Soon after this, the process against Gardiner was brought to a conclusion: a commission was issued out to Cranmer, three bishops, and some civilians, to proceed against him, on the following charges: that "he had refused to set out in his sermon the king's power, when he was under age, and had affronted the preachers, whom the king had sent to his diocese; that he had been negligent in executing the king's injunctions, and refused to confess his fault, or ask the king's pardon; and that the rebellions raised in England might have been prevented, if he had in time set forth the king's authority."

To this he answered, that "he was not required to do it by any order of council, but only in a private discourse:" but witnesses being examined upon these particulars, the delegates proceeded to sentence of deprivation against him, notwithstanding his appeal to the king in person; and he was remanded to the Tower, where he continued till queen Mary discharged him.

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES PUBLISHED.

By this time the greater number of the bishops were sincere friends to the reformation: it was, therefore, resolved to proceed to a settlement of the doctrine of the church. Many persons thought that should have been done in the first place; but Cranmer judged it better to proceed slowly in that matter: he thought the corruptions in the worship were to be first abolished; "since, while they remained, the addresses to God were so defiled that all people were involved in unlawful compliances." He thought speculative opinions might be reformed last, since errors in them were not of such ill consequence: and he judged it necessary to explain these in many treatises and disputes, before alterations were made, in order that every one might be acquainted with what was intended to be done. Accordingly the bishops and clergy framed a body of articles, which contained the doctrine of the church of England: they divided them into forty-two, and afterwards, some few alterations being made in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, they were reduced to their present number, thirty-nine.

THE COMMON PRAYER BOOK REVISED.

When this was settled, they commenced the review of the common prayer book. In the daily service they added the confession and absolution, "that so the worship of God might begin with a grave and humble confession; after which a solemn declaration of the mercy of God, according to the terms of

the gospel," was to be pronounced by the priest. This was thought much better than the giving absolution in such formal words as, "I absolve thee;" which raised, in superficial worshippers, an opinion, that the priest had authority to pardon sin, and made them think of nothing so much as how to purchase it at his hands. In the communion service they ordered a recital of the commandments, with a short devotion between every one of them. The chrism, the use of the cross in consecrating the eucharist, prayers for the dead, and some expressions that favored transubstantiation, were rejected, and the book was put in the same order and method as that in which it continues to this day, with the exception of some inconsiderable variations. A rubric was added to the office of the communion, explaining the reason of kneeling in it, that it was only as an expression of reverence and gratitude, upon the receiving so particular a mark of the favor of God: but that no adoration was intended by it, and that they did not think Christ was corporeally present in it. In queen Elizabeth's time this was omitted, that such as conformed in other things, but still retained the belief of the corporeal presence, might not be offended at such a declaration: it was again inserted on the restoration of Charles II., for removing the scruples of those who excepted to that posture.

At this time six of the most eminent preachers were appointed to reside at court by turns, two at a time, and the other four were sent as itinerant preachers, into all the counties of England, for supplying the defects of the clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty.

The mass, which was still continued in lady Mary's chapel, was now again complained of. The court was less afraid of the emperor's displeasure than formerly, and therefore would no longer bear with so public a breach of law: and the promise they had made being but temporary, they thought they were not bound by it. But the emperor asserted that he had an absolute promise for that privilege being continued to her; and this encouraged her so much, that when the council wrote to her, she answered, "she would follow the Catholic church, and adhere to her father's religion." A letter was then written in the king's name, requiring her "to obey the law, and not to pretend that the king was under age, since the late rebels *had justified themselves by that.*" The way of worship then established, was also vindicated, as most consonant to the word of God. But she refused to engage in any disputes, and said she would continue in her former courses.

She then intended to leave England, and the emperor ordered a ship to lie near the coast for her transportation, and threatened to make war, if she should be severely used. Dr. Wotton was sent to him, to convince him that no absolute promise was ever made. But Charles replied, that he had promised to her mother at her death, to protect her, and was therefore bound in honor to do so.

However, the council not much fearing the emperor's displeasure, sent to seize on two of her chaplains, who had said mass in her house, when she was absent; but the priests concealed themselves, kept out of the way, and Mary wrote to the council to stop the prosecution, still urging the promise made to the emperor. A long answer was returned to her by the council, in which, after the promise was explained, they represented "the absurdity of prayers in an unknown tongue, offering the sacrament for the dead, and worshipping images; all the ancients appealed upon all occasions to the scriptures; by these she might easily discover the errors and cheats of the old superstition, that were supported only by false miracles and lying stories." They concluded by saying, that "they, being trusted with the execution of the laws, were obliged to proceed equally." Mallet, one of the chaplains, was taken, and although she earnestly desired that he might be set at liberty, it was denied her. The council sent for the chief officers of her household, and required them to let her know the king's pleasure, that she must have the new service in her family.

This grieved her much; she said, she would obey the king in every thing in which her conscience was not touched; but could not comply on the points in question. Upon that, the lord chancellor, Petre and Wingfield, were sent with the same orders to her; and carried to her a letter from the king, which she received on her knees; but when she read it, she cast the blame of it on Cecil, then secretary of state. The chancellor told her, the whole council were of one mind, that they could not suffer her to use a form of worship against law; and had ordered them to intimate this both to herself and her family. She made great protestations of duty to the king; but said, "she would die rather than use any form of worship but that which was left by her father, only she was afraid she was not worthy to suffer on so good an account. If her chaplains refused to say mass, she could have none; but for the new service, she was resolved against it, and if it were forced on her, she would *leave her house.*" She insisted on the promise made to the emperor, "who," she said, "wrote of it to her, and she believed him more than them all." She gave them a token, to be carried to the king, and so dismissed them. As she manifested so much resolution, the council went no further; but, after this, her mass was said so secretly, that no public offence was given by it. She re-

moved from Copthall, and lived at Hunsden, where Ridley went to see her. There is something so curious in the account of this visit, and dialogue between the bishop and Mary, that we give it *verbatim*.

"About the eighth of September, Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, lying at his house at Hadham, in Hertfordshire, went to visit the lady Mary then lying at Hunsden, two miles off; and was gently entertained of Sir Thomas Wharton, and other her officers, till it was almost eleven o'clock, about which time the said lady Mary came forth into her chamber of presence, and then the said bishop there saluted her grace, and said, 'That he was come to do his duty to her grace.' Then she thanked him for his pains, and for a quarter of an hour talked with him very pleasantly, and said, 'That she knew him in the court when he was chaplain to her father, and could well remember a sermon that he made before king Henry her father, at the marriage of my lady Clinton, that now is, to Sir Anthony Brown, &c.' and so dismissed him to dine with her officers.

"After dinner was done, the bishop being called for by the said lady Mary, resorted again to her grace, between whom this communication was; first the bishop beginneth in manner as followeth:

"*Bishop.* Madam, I came not only to do my duty to see your grace, but also to offer myself to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to hear me. At this her countenance changed, and, after silence for a space, she answered thus:

"*Mary.* My lord, as for this last matter, I pray you make the answer to it yourself.

"*Bishop.* Madam, considering mine office and calling, I am bound in duty to make to your grace this offer, to preach before you.

"*Mary.* Well, I pray you make the answer (as I have said) to this matter yourself: for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you answer, this shall be your answer; the door of the parish-church adjoining shall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you list; but neither I nor any of mine shall hear you.

"*Bishop.* Madam, I trust you will not refuse God's word.

"*Mary.* I cannot tell what ye call God's word; that is not God's word now, that was God's word in my father's days.

"*Bishop.* God's word is all one in all times, but hath been better understood and practised in some ages than in other.

"*Mary.* You durst not for your ears have avouched that for God's word in my father's days, that now you do. And as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them; I never did, nor ever will do.

"And after many bitter words against the form of religion then established, and against the government of the realm, and the laws made in the young years of her brother, which she said she was not bound to obey till her brother came to perfect age, and then she affirmed she would obey them; she asked the bishop 'whether he were one of the council?' he answered, 'No.'—'You might well enough,' said she, 'as the council goeth now-a-days.'

"And so she concluded with these words: 'My lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit.'

"Then the said bishop was brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and was desired to drink. And after he had drunk, he paused awhile, looking very sadly, and suddenly brake out into these words: 'Surely, I have done amiss.'—'Why so?' quoth Sir Thomas Wharton. 'For I have drunk,' said he, 'in that place where God's word offered hath been refused; whereas, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes for a testimony against this house.' These words were by the said bishop spoken with such vehemency, that some of the hearers afterwards confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads. This done, the said bishop departed, and so returned to his house."

FALL AND DEATH OF THE DUKE OF SOMERSET.

About this time, the earl of Warwick, to strengthen his party against Somerset, prevailed on the king to confer new titles on several noblemen, and to raise some commoners to the peerage. He was himself created duke of Northumberland; the marquis of Dorset was made duke of Suffolk; Paulet, marquis of Winchester; Herbert, earl of Pembroke; Russel, earl of Bedford; and Darcy, lord Darcy. An apparent reconciliation had taken place between Somerset and Northumberland; but each distrusted the other, and was prepared to seize the first opportunity of crushing his rival. Northumberland's superior skill gave him the advantage; and upon information of a pretended plot to assassinate him and some of his friends, the duke and duchess of Somerset, with several other persons, were committed to the Tower. On the first of December, 1551, the duke was brought to his trial: the marquis of Winchester presided, and twenty-seven peers sat as judges, among whom were the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, and the earl of Pembroke. He was charged with a design to seize on the king's person, to assassinate Northumberland, to take possession of the Tower and city of London, and to destroy the king's guard. It seemed a gross dereliction of justice for Northumberland to sit as a judge, when the crime objected was a design against his life: but

hatred of his rival carried him beyond the bounds of decency. Somerset, in his defence, denied all designs to raise the people, or to kill Northumberland; "or, if he had talked of it, it was in passion, without any intention of doing so: and it was ridiculous to think, that he with a small troop could destroy the guards, who were 900 strong. The few armed men he had about him, were only for his own defence; he had done no mischief to his enemies, though it was once in his power to have done it; and he had surrendered himself without any resistance." He desired the witnesses might be brought face to face with him; but this common act of justice was denied, and their depositions were only read. During the trial, he behaved with great temper, and all the abuse which the king's counsel made use of in pleading against him, did not provoke him to any indecent passion.

When sentence was given, his courage sunk a little, and he begged pardon of the three lords, who were his enemies, and entreated them to solicit the king in his favor, or at least to protect his wife and children. But instead of interceding for him, Northumberland determined to free himself from all further fear, by the sacrifice of his ancient rival, and accordingly employed his emissaries to prejudice the king against his uncle, by pretending that, while in the Tower, he had confessed a design to employ some persons to assassinate Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke. This being believed by the king, he gave him up to his enemies.

Stanhope, Partridge, Arundel, and Vane, the duke's friends and pretended accomplices, were next tried: the two first were not much pitied, for they had made an ill use of their interest with the duke while in power: the last two were much lamented. They were all condemned; Partridge and Vane were hanged, the other two were beheaded.

Six weeks after his trial, the unfortunate duke was brought to the scaffold, and as Mr. Fox, the author of this work, was present at his execution, we shall give his account of it in his own words.

"In the year of our Lord 1552, the two and twentieth of January, the duke of Somerset, uncle to king Edward, was brought out of the Tower of London, and according to the manner delivered to the sheriffs of the city, and compassed about with a great number of armed men both of the guard and others. He was brought unto the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he, nothing changing either voice or countenance, but in a manner with the same gesture which he commonly used at home, kneeling upon both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended himself unto God.

"After he had ended a few short prayers, standing up again, and turning himself toward the east side of the scaffold, nothing at all abashed (as it seemed to me, standing about the midst of the scaffold, and diligently marking all things) either with the sight of the ax, or yet of the executioner, or of present death; but with the same alacrity and cheerfulness of mind and countenance as he was accustomed to show when he heard the causes and supplications of others, and especially the poor (towards whom, as it were with a certain fatherly love to his children, he always showed himself most attentive) he uttered these words to the people:

"'Dearly beloved friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the king, neither by word nor deed, and have been always as faithful and true unto this realm as any man. But forasmuch as I am by a law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself, as well as others, to be subject thereunto. Wherefore, to testify my obedience which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death; whereunto I willingly offer myself, with most hearty thanks unto God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might through sudden death have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him nor myself.

"'Moreover, dearly beloved friends, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching Christian religion; which, so long as I was in authority, I always diligently set forth and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoice therein, sith that now the state of Christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church. Which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God both unto you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this, which is most purely set forth unto you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living. Which thing, if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.'

"When he had spoken these words, there was suddenly a terrible noise heard; whereupon there came a great fear upon all men. This noise was as it had been the noise of some great storm or tempest, which to some seemed to be from above; as if a great deal of gunpowder being inclosed in an armory, and having caught fire, had violently broken out. But unto some it seemed as though it had been a great multitude of horsemen running together, or coming upon them. Such a noise then was in the ears of all, although they saw nothing. Whereby it happened that all the people being amazed without any evident cause, they ran away, some into the ditches and puddles, and some into the houses thereabouts; others fell down grovelling unto the ground, with their poll-axes and halberds; and most of them

cried out, 'Jesus save us! Jesus save us!' Those who remained in their places, for fear knew not where they were; and I myself, who was there among the rest, being also afraid in this hurlyburly, stood still amazed. It happened here, as the evangelist wrote of Christ, when, as the officers of the high priests and pharisees, coming with weapons to take him, being astonished, ran backwards and fell to the ground.

"In the mean time, whilst these things were thus in doing, the people by chance espied one Sir Anthony Brown riding under the scaffold; which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him coming, they conjectured that which was not true, but which they all sincerely wished for, that the king, by that messenger, had sent his uncle pardon; and therefore with great rejoicing and casting up their caps, they cried out, 'Pardon, pardon is come! God save the king.' Thus this good duke, although he was destitute of all men's help, yet he saw, before his departure, in how great love and favor he was with all men. And truly I do not think that in so great slaughter of dukes as hath been in England within these few years, there were so many weeping eyes at one time; and not without cause. For all men saw in his fall the public ruin of England, except such as indeed did perceive nothing.

"But to return from whence we have strayed; the duke, in the mean time, standing still in the same place, modestly and with a grave countenance made a sign to the people with his hand, that they would keep themselves quiet. Which done, and silence obtained, he spake unto them in this manner.

"'Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient unto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer; and let us now join in prayer unto the Lord for the preservation of the king's majesty, unto whom, hitherto, I have always showed myself a most faithful and true subject. I have always been most diligent about his majesty, in his affairs both at home and abroad, and no less diligent in seeking the common good of the whole realm.' At which words all the people cried out, 'It is most true.'

"Then the duke proceeding, said, 'Unto whose majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity, and all prosperous success.' Whereunto the people again cried out, 'Amen.'

"'Moreover, I do wish unto all his counsellors the grace and favor of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice. Unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord to show yourselves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king's majesty.

"'Moreover, as heretofore I have had oftentimes affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore, if there be any who hath been offended and injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness; but especially Almighty God, whom, throughout all my life, I have most grievously offended: and all other, whatsoever they be, that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them. Now I once again require you, dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep yourselves quiet and still, lest through your tumult you might trouble me. For albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering, and through your quietness I shall be much more composed. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ; desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constantly in the same unto my end.'

"After this, turning himself again, he kneeled down. Then Dr. Cox, who was present to counsel and advise him, delivered a certain scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confession unto God. Which being read, he stood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of mind (as it appeared) and first bade the sheriffs farewell, then the lieutenant of the Tower, and others, taking them all by the hands which were upon the scaffold with him. Then he gave money to the executioner; which done, he put off his gown, and kneeling down again in the straw, untied his shirt-strings. After that, the executioner coming to him turned down his collar about his neck, and all other things which hindered him. Then lifting up his eyes to heaven, and covering his face with his own handkerchief, he laid himself down along, showing no trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change.

"Thus this meek and gentle duke lying along, and looking for the stroke, because his doublet covered his neck, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying himself down again upon the block, and calling thrice upon the name of Jesus, saying, 'Lord Jesus, save me,' as he was the third time repeating the same, even as the name of Jesus was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life, and slept in the Lord; being taken away from all dangers and evils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God; in the preferment of whose truth and gospel he always showed himself an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath received the reward of his labors."

Somerset was a man of extraordinary virtues, great candor, and eminent piety: he was always a promoter of justice, and a patron of the oppressed. He was a better soldier than a statesman, being too easy and open-hearted for his situation. The people saw, that the conspiracy for which he and the other four suffered, was merely a pretence for their murder: the other accomplices were soon discharged, and Palmer, the chief witness, became Northumberland's particular confidant. The whole affair was looked on as a contrivance of the latter, by which he entirely lost the affections of the people. The chief objection to Somerset was, his having raised much of his estate out of the spoils of church-lands, and his palace of Somerset-house in the Strand, out of the ruins of some churches and bishops' palaces.

The day after the duke of Somerset's execution, parliament assembled. The first act they passed was the established common prayer book, as it was then amended. Another law was passed, by which it was enacted that "No days were to be esteemed holy in their own nature, but by reason of those holy duties which ought to be done in them, for which they were dedicated to the service of God. Days were esteemed to be dedicated only to the honor of God, even those in which the saints were commemorated; Sundays, and the other holy days, were to be religiously observed, and the bishops were to proceed to censures against offenders. The eves before them were to be fasts, and abstinence from flesh was ordered both in Lent, and on every Friday and Saturday." An act likewise passed for the marriage of the clergy, in which it was stated, "That whereas the former act about it was thought only a permission of it, as some other unlawful things were connived at; upon which the wives and children of the clergy were reproachfully used, and the word of God was not heard with due reverence; therefore their marriages were declared good and valid." The bishopric of Westminster was reunited to London, only the collegiate church was still continued.

The convocation now confirmed the articles of religion which had been prepared the former year, and thus was the reformation of worship and doctrine brought to such a degree of perfection, that since that time there has been very little alteration made. Another branch of it was still unfinished, but was now under consultation, touching the government of the church and the ecclesiastical courts. This matter had been attempted several times during the last and present reigns; but the changes in the government had caused it to be laid aside. It was now revived, and eight eminent bishops, and others, were appointed to draw up a plan, which was afterwards to be submitted to thirty-two commissioners. It was generally believed that Cranmer drew it entirely by himself, while the others only corrected what he designed. Haddon and Cheek translated it into Latin; which they did with great ability. The work was divided into fifty-one titles; and being laid before the commissioners, was by them to have been presented to the king for his confirmation; but he died before it was quite finished, nor was it ever afterwards resumed.

About this time the dilapidated state of the church revenues engaged the attention of the council, but so many persons of power and influence were interested to prevent a remedy being afforded, that the affair was dropped. In every see, as it became vacant, the best manors were laid hold of by such hungry courtiers as could procure the grant of them. They seemed to think, that the bishops' sees were so rich that they could never be made poor enough: but they were soon reduced to so low a condition that it was hardly possible for a bishop to subsist in them. If what had been thus taken from them had been converted to good uses, such as the maintenance of the poor and inferior clergy, it would have been some excuse for the violence, but the lands were laid hold of by laymen, who made no compensation for the spoils thus gained by them.

REFORMATION IN IRELAND.

This year the reformation had gained more ground in Ireland than formerly. Henry VIII. had assumed to himself, by consent of the parliament of that kingdom, the title of king of it: the former kings of England having only been called Lords of Ireland; and though they were obeyed within the English pale, yet the native Irish continued barbarous and uncivilized, were governed entirely by the heads of their names or tribes, and were obedient or rebellious, as they directed them.

The reformation was set on foot in the English pale, but made small progress among the Irish. At length Bale was sent over to labor among them. He was an eager writer, and a learned zealous man. Goodacre was made primate of Armagh, and Bale was to be bishop of Ossory. Two Irishmen were also promoted with them; who undertook to advance the reformation there. The archbishop of Dublin intended to have ordained them by the old pontifical, and all, except Bale, were willing it should be so, but he prevailed that it should be done according to the new book of ordinations: he then went into his diocese, but found all there in dark popery, and before he could make any progress the king's death put an end to his designs.

The world had long been anxiously looking for the result of the council of Trent, trusting that it might lead to the establish-

ment of order throughout the European countries, and it appeared no less to have been desired both by princes and bishops, in hopes that differences of religion would have been composed, and the corruptions of the court of Rome reformed by it. This had made the pope very apprehensive of it: but such was the cunning of the legates, the number of Italian bishops, and the dissensions of the princes, that it had effects quite contrary to what all parties expected. The breach in religion was made past reconciling, by the positive decisions of the council: the abuses of the court of Rome were confirmed by the provisoes made in favor of the privileges of the apostolic see: and all men were at length so cured of their longings for a general council, that none has been since that time desired. The history of that council was written with great exactness and judgment by Father Paul of Venice, while it was yet fresh in all men's memories; and though it discovered the whole secret of the transactions there, yet no one ventured to contradict it for forty years: till Pallavicini at last undertook it, and, upon the credit of memorials, he, in many things, contradicts Father Paul: but in the principal events of the history, they both agree so far, that it is manifest things were not fairly conducted, and that all matters were managed by intrigues and secret practices.

LIBERATION OF GERMANY.

Prince Maurice declared for the liberty of Germany, and took Augsburgh, and several other towns. The king of France also entered the empire with a large army, and by surprise made himself master of Metz, Toul, and Verdun.

Maurice demanded that the landgrave should be set at liberty, and that freedom of religious worship should be secured throughout the empire. The emperor being slow in making answer, the prince marched on to Inspruck, where he surprised a post, and was within two miles of Charles before he was aware of his approach; so that he was obliged to escape by torchlight, and went to Italy. Thus the very army and prince that had been chiefly instrumental in the ruin of the empire, now asserted its freedom; and all the emperor's great designs were frustrated, he was forced to discharge his prisoners, to recall his proscriptions, and, after some treaty, to grant the edict of Passaw, by which the free exercise of the Protestant religion was granted to the princes and towns: and thus that storm which had almost overwhelmed the princes of the Protestant religion, subsided, without any considerable effect, except the transference of the electoral dignity from John to Maurice.

The emperor's misfortunes increased; for, against all reason, he besieged Metz in December, but after he had lost almost the whole of his army in the siege, he was forced to raise it. Upon that he retired into Flanders in such discontent, that for some time he would not admit any to approach him. Here it was believed he first formed that design, which some years after he put in execution, of forsaking the world, and exchanging the pomp of a court for the retirement of a monastery. This strange and unlooked-for turn in his affairs gave a great demonstration of an overruling Providence that governs all human affairs, and of that particular care that God had of the reformation, in recovering it, when it seemed to be lost beyond all hope, in Germany.

In the year 1553, another visitation took place in England. The visitors were sent to examine what plate was in every church, with orders to leave only one or two chalices of silver, with linen for the communion-table and for surplices, and to bring in all other things of value to the treasurer of the king's household.

THE KING'S SICKNESS.

We now draw to the conclusion of the reign of this youthful king; who while he was a child in age was a man in wisdom.

He had contracted great colds by violent exercises, which, in January, settled into so obstinate a cough that all the skill of physicians, and the aid of medicine proved ineffectual. There was a suspicion over all Europe, that he was poisoned; but no certain grounds appear for justifying it.

During his sickness, Ridley preached before him, and among other things spoke much on works of charity, and the duty of men of high condition, to be eminent in good works. The king was much touched with this; and after the sermon, he sent for the bishop, and treated him with such respect, that he made him sit down and be covered; he then told him what impression his exhortation had made on him, and therefore he desired to be directed by him, how to do his duty in that matter.

Ridley took a little time to consider of it, and after some consultation with the lord mayor and aldermen of London, he brought the king a scheme of several foundations; one for the sick and wounded, another for such as were wilfully idle, or were mad; and a third for orphans. Edward, acting on this suggestion, endowed St. Bartholomew's hospital for the first, Bridewell for the second, and Christ's hospital, near Newgate, for the third; and he enlarged the grant which he had made the year before, for St. Thomas's hospital, in Southwark. The statutes and warrants relating to these were not finished till the 26th of June, though he gave orders to make all the haste that was possible: and when he set his hand to them, he blessed God for having prolonged his life till he had finished his designs concerning them. These

the gospel," was to be pronounced by the priest. This was thought much better than the giving absolution in such formal words as, "I absolve thee;" which raised, in superficial worshippers, an opinion, that the priest had authority to pardon sin, and made them think of nothing so much as how to purchase it at his hands. In the communion service they ordered a recital of the commandments, with a short devotion between every one of them. The chrism, the use of the cross in consecrating the eucharist, prayers for the dead, and some expressions that favored transubstantiation, were rejected, and the book was put in the same order and method as that in which it continues to this day, with the exception of some inconsiderable variations. A rubric was added to the office of the communion, explaining the reason of kneeling in it, that it was only as an expression of reverence and gratitude, upon the receiving so particular a mark of the favor of God: but that no adoration was intended by it, and that they did not think Christ was corporeally present in it. In queen Elizabeth's time this was omitted, that such as conformed in other things, but still retained the belief of the corporeal presence, might not be offended at such a declaration: it was again inserted on the restoration of Charles II., for removing the scruples of those who excepted to that posture.

At this time six of the most eminent preachers were appointed to reside at court by turns, two at a time, and the other four were sent as itinerant preachers, into all the counties of England, for supplying the defects of the clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty.

The mass, which was still continued in lady Mary's chapel, was now again complained of. The court was less afraid of the emperor's displeasure than formerly, and therefore would no longer bear with so public a breach of law: and the promise they had made being but temporary, they thought they were not bound by it. But the emperor asserted that he had an absolute promise for that privilege being continued to her; and this encouraged her so much, that when the council wrote to her, she answered, "she would follow the Catholic church, and adhere to her father's religion." A letter was then written in the king's name, requiring her "to obey the law, and not to pretend that the king was under age, since the late rebels had justified themselves by that." The way of worship then established, was also vindicated, as most consonant to the word of God. But she refused to engage in any disputes, and said she would continue in her former courses.

She then intended to leave England, and the emperor ordered a ship to lie near the coast for her transportation, and threatened to make war, if she should be severely used. Dr. Wotton was sent to him, to convince him that no absolute promise was ever made. But Charles replied, that he had promised to her mother at her death, to protect her, and was therefore bound in honor to do so.

However, the council not much fearing the emperor's displeasure, sent to seize on two of her chaplains, who had said mass in her house, when she was absent; but the priests concealed themselves, kept out of the way, and Mary wrote to the council to stop the prosecution, still urging the promise made to the emperor. A long answer was returned to her by the council, in which, after the promise was explained, they represented "the absurdity of prayers in an unknown tongue, offering the sacrament for the dead, and worshipping images; all the ancients appealed upon all occasions to the scriptures; by these she might easily discover the errors and cheats of the old superstition, that were supported only by false miracles and lying stories." They concluded by saying, that "they, being trusted with the execution of the laws, were obliged to proceed equally." Mallet, one of the chaplains, was taken, and although she earnestly desired that he might be set at liberty, it was denied her. The council sent for the chief officers of her household, and required them to let her know the king's pleasure, that she must have the new service in her family.

This grieved her much; she said, she would obey the king in every thing in which her conscience was not touched; but could not comply on the points in question. Upon that, the lord chancellor, Petre and Wingfield, were sent with the same orders to her; and carried to her a letter from the king, which she received on her knees; but when she read it, she cast the blame of it on Cecil, then secretary of state. The chancellor told her, the whole council were of one mind, that they could not suffer her to use a form of worship against law; and had ordered them to intimate this both to herself and her family. She made great protestations of duty to the king; but said, "she would die rather than use any form of worship but that which was left by her father, only she was afraid she was not worthy to suffer on so good an account. If her chaplains refused to say mass, she could have none; but for the new service, she was resolved against it, and if it were forced on her, she would leave her house." She insisted on the promise made to the emperor, "who," she said, "wrote of it to her, and she believed him more than them all." She gave them a token, to be carried to the king, and so dismissed them. As she manifested so much resolution, the council went no further; but, after this, her mass was said so secretly, that no public offence was given by it. She re-

moved from Copthall, and lived at Hunsden, where Ridley went to see her. There is something so curious in the account of this visit and dialogue between the bishop and Mary, that we give it *verbatim*.

"About the eighth of September, Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, lying at his house at Hadham, in Hertfordshire, went to visit the lady Mary then lying at Hunsden, two miles off; and was gently entertained of Sir Thomas Wharton, and other her officers, till it was almost eleven o'clock, about which time the said lady Mary came forth into her chamber of presence, and then the said bishop there saluted her grace, and said, 'That he was come to do his duty to her grace.' Then she thanked him for his pains, and for a quarter of an hour talked with him very pleasantly, and said, 'That she knew him in the court when he was chaplain to her father, and could well remember a sermon that he made before king Henry her father, at the marriage of my lady Clinton, that now is, to Sir Anthony Brown, &c.' and so dismissed him to dine with her officers.

"After dinner was done, the bishop being called for by the said lady Mary, resorted again to her grace, between whom this communication was; first the bishop beginneth in manner as followeth:

"*Bishop.* Madam, I came not only to do my duty to see your grace, but also to offer myself to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to hear me. At this her countenance changed, and, after silence for a space, she answered thus:

"*Mary.* My lord, as for this last matter, I pray you make the answer to it yourself.

"*Bishop.* Madam, considering mine office and calling, I am bound in duty to make to your grace this offer, to preach before you.

"*Mary.* Well, I pray you make the answer (as I have said) to this matter yourself: for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you answer, this shall be your answer; the door of the parish-church adjoining shall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you list; but neither I nor any of mine shall hear you.

"*Bishop.* Madam, I trust you will not refuse God's word.

"*Mary.* I cannot tell what ye call God's word; that is not God's word now, that was God's word in my father's days.

"*Bishop.* God's word is all one in all times, but hath been better understood and practised in some ages than in other.

"*Mary.* You durst not for your ears have avouched that for God's word in my father's days, that now you do. And as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them; I never did, nor ever will do.

"And after many bitter words against the form of religion then established, and against the government of the realm, and the laws made in the young years of her brother, which she said she was not bound to obey till her brother came to perfect age, and then she affirmed she would obey them; she asked the bishop 'whether he were one of the council?' he answered, 'No.'—'You might well enough,' said she, 'as the council goeth now-a-days.'

"And so she concluded with these words: 'My lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit.'

"Then the said bishop was brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and was desired to drink. And after he had drunk, he paused awhile, looking very sadly, and suddenly brake out into these words: 'Surely, I have done amiss.'—'Why so?' quoth Sir Thomas Wharton. 'For I have drunk,' said he, 'in that place where God's word offered hath been refused; whereas, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes for a testimony against this house.' These words were by the said bishop spoken with such vehemency, that some of the hearers afterwards confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads. This done, the said bishop departed, and so returned to his house."

FALL AND DEATH OF THE DUKE OF SOMERSET.

About this time, the earl of Warwick, to strengthen his party against Somerset, prevailed on the king to confer new titles on several noblemen, and to raise some commoners to the peerage. He was himself created duke of Northumberland; the marquis of Dorset was made duke of Suffolk; Paulet, marquis of Winchester; Herbert, earl of Pembroke; Russel, earl of Bedford; and Darcy, lord Darcy. An apparent reconciliation had taken place between Somerset and Northumberland; but each distrusted the other, and was prepared to seize the first opportunity of crushing his rival. Northumberland's superior skill gave him the advantage; and upon information of a pretended plot to assassinate him and some of his friends, the duke and duchess of Somerset, with several other persons, were committed to the Tower. On the first of December, 1551, the duke was brought to his trial: the marquis of Winchester presided, and twenty-seven peers sat as judges, among whom were the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, and the earl of Pembroke. He was charged with a design to seize on the king's person, to assassinate Northumberland, to take possession of the Tower and city of London, and to destroy the king's guard. It seemed a gross dereliction of justice for Northumberland to sit as a judge, when the crime objected was a design against his life: but

hatred of his rival carried him beyond the bounds of decency. Somerset, in his defence, denied all designs to raise the people, or to kill Northumberland; "or, if he had talked of it, it was in passion, without any intention of doing so: and it was ridiculous to think, that he with a small troop could destroy the guards, who were 900 strong. The few armed men he had about him, were only for his own defence; he had done no mischief to his enemies, though it was once in his power to have done it; and he had surrendered himself without any resistance." He desired the witnesses might be brought face to face with him; but this common act of justice was denied, and their depositions were only read. During the trial, he behaved with great temper, and all the abuse which the king's counsel made use of in pleading against him, did not provoke him to any indecent passion.

When sentence was given, his courage sunk a little, and he begged pardon of the three lords, who were his enemies, and entreated them to solicit the king in his favor, or at least to protect his wife and children. But instead of interceding for him, Northumberland determined to free himself from all further fear, by the sacrifice of his ancient rival, and accordingly employed his emissaries to prejudice the king against his uncle, by pretending that, while in the Tower, he had confessed a design to employ some persons to assassinate Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke. This being believed by the king, he gave him up to his enemies.

Stanhope, Partridge, Arundel, and Vane, the duke's friends and pretended accomplices, were next tried: the two first were not much pitied, for they had made an ill use of their interest with the duke while in power: the last two were much lamented. They were all condemned; Partridge and Vane were hanged, the other two were beheaded.

Six weeks after his trial, the unfortunate duke was brought to the scaffold, and as Mr. Fox, the author of this work, was present at his execution, we shall give his account of it in his own words.

"In the year of our Lord 1552, the two and twentieth of January, the duke of Somerset, uncle to king Edward, was brought out of the Tower of London, and according to the manner delivered to the sheriffs of the city, and compassed about with a great number of armed men both of the guard and others. He was brought unto the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he, nothing changing either voice or countenance, but in a manner with the same gesture which he commonly used at home, kneeling upon both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended himself unto God.

"*After he had ended a few short prayers,* standing up again, and turning himself toward the east side of the scaffold, nothing at all abashed (as it seemed to me, standing about the midst of the scaffold, and diligently marking all things) either with the sight of the ax, or yet of the executioner, or of present death; but with the same alacrity and cheerfulness of mind and countenance as he was accustomed to show when he heard the causes and supplications of others, and especially the poor (towards whom, as it were with a certain fatherly love to his children, he always showed himself most attentive) he uttered these words to the people:

"'Dearly beloved friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the king, neither by word nor deed, and have been always as faithful and true unto this realm as any man. But forasmuch as I am by a law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself, as well as others, to be subject thereunto. Wherefore, to testify my obedience which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death; whereunto I willingly offer myself, with most hearty thanks unto God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might through sudden death have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him nor myself.

"'Moreover, dearly beloved friends, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching Christian religion; which, so long as I was in authority, I always diligently set forth and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoice therein, sith that now the state of Christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church. Which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God both unto you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this, which is most purely set forth unto you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living. Which thing, if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.'

"When he had spoken these words, there was suddenly a terrible noise heard; whereupon there came a great fear upon all men. This noise was as it had been the noise of some great storm or tempest, which to some seemed to be from above; as if a great deal of gunpowder being inclosed in an armory, and having caught fire, had violently broken out. But unto some it seemed as though it had been a great multitude of horsemen running together, or coming upon them. Such a noise then was in the ears of all, although they saw nothing. Whereby it happened that all the people being amazed without any evident cause, they ran away, some into the ditches and puddles, and some into the houses thereabouts; others fell down grovelling unto the ground, with their poll-axes and halberds; and most of them

cried out, 'Jesus save us! Jesus save us!' Those who remained in their places, for fear knew not where they were; and I myself, who was there among the rest, being also afraid in this hurlyburly, stood still amazed. It happened here, as the evangelist wrote of Christ, when, as the officers of the high priests and pharisees, coming with weapons to take him, being astonished, ran backwards and fell to the ground.

"In the mean time, whilst these things were thus in doing, the people by chance espied one Sir Anthony Brown riding under the scaffold; which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him coming, they conjectured that which was not true, but which they all sincerely wished for, that the king, by that messenger, had sent his uncle pardon: and therefore with great rejoicing and casting up their caps, they cried out, 'Pardon, pardon is come! God save the king.' Thus this good duke, although he was destitute of all men's help, yet he saw, before his departure, in how great love and favor he was with all men. And truly I do not think that in so great slaughter of dukes as hath been in England within these few years, there were so many weeping eyes at one time; and not without cause. For all men saw in his fall the public ruin of England, except such as indeed did perceive nothing.

"But to return from whence we have strayed; the duke, in the mean time, standing still in the same place, modestly and with a grave countenance made a sign to the people with his hand, that they would keep themselves quiet. Which done, and silence obtained, he spake unto them in this manner.

"'Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient unto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer; and let us now join in prayer unto the Lord for the preservation of the king's majesty, unto whom, hitherto, I have always showed myself a most faithful and true subject. I have always been most diligent about his majesty, in his affairs both at home and abroad, and no less diligent in seeking the common good of the whole realm.' At which words all the people cried out, 'It is most true.'

"Then the duke proceeding, said, 'Unto whose majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity, and all prosperous success.' Whereunto the people again cried out, 'Amen.'

"'Moreover, I do wish unto all his counsellors the grace and favor of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice. Unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord to show yourselves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king's majesty.

"'Moreover, as heretofore I have had oftentimes affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore, if there be any who hath been offended and injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness; but especially Almighty God, whom, throughout all my life, I have most grievously offended: and all other, whatsoever they be, that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them. Now I once again require you, dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep yourselves quiet and still, lest through your tumult you might trouble me. For albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering, and through your quietness I shall be much more composed. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ; desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constantly in the same unto my end.'

"After this, turning himself again, he kneeled down. Then Dr. Cox, who was present to counsel and advise him, delivered a certain scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confession unto God. Which being read, he stood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of mind (as it appeared) and first bade the sheriffs farewell, then the lieutenant of the Tower, and others, taking them all by the hands which were upon the scaffold with him. Then he gave money to the executioner; which done, he put off his gown, and kneeling down again in the straw, untied his shirt-strings. After that, the executioner coming to him turned down his collar about his neck, and all other things which hindered him. Then lifting up his eyes to heaven, and covering his face with his own handkerchief, he laid himself down along, showing no trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change.

"Thus this meek and gentle duke lying along, and looking for the stroke, because his doublet covered his neck, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying himself down again upon the block, and calling thrice upon the name of Jesus, saying, 'Lord Jesus, save me,' as he was the third time repeating the same, even as the name of Jesus was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life, and slept in the Lord; being taken away from all dangers and evils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God; in the preferment of whose truth and gospel he always showed himself an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath received the reward of his labors."

Somerset was a man of extraordinary virtues, great candor, and eminent piety: he was always a promoter of justice, and a patron of the oppressed. He was a better soldier than a statesman, being too easy and open-hearted for his situation. The people saw, that the conspiracy for which he and the other four suffered, was merely a pretence for their murder: the other accomplices were soon discharged, and Palmer, the chief witness, became Northumberland's particular confidant. The whole affair was looked on as a contrivance of the latter, by which he entirely lost the affections of the people. The chief objection to Somerset was, his having raised much of his estate out of the spoils of church-lands, and his palace of Somerset-house in the Strand, out of the ruins of some churches and bishops' palaces.

The day after the duke of Somerset's execution, parliament assembled. The first act they passed was the established common prayer book, as it was then amended. Another law was passed, by which it was enacted that "No days were to be esteemed holy in their own nature, but by reason of those holy duties which ought to be done in them, for which they were dedicated to the service of God. Days were esteemed to be dedicated only to the honor of God, even those in which the saints were commemorated; Sundays, and the other holy days, were to be religiously observed, and the bishops were to proceed to censures against offenders. The eves before them were to be fasts, and abstinence from flesh was ordered both in Lent, and on every Friday and Saturday." An act likewise passed for the marriage of the clergy, in which it was stated, "That whereas the former act about it was thought only a permission of it, as some other unlawful things were connived at; upon which the wives and children of the clergy were reproachfully used, and the word of God was not heard with due reverence; therefore their marriages were declared good and valid." The bishopric of Westminster was reunited to London, only the collegiate church was still continued.

The convocation now confirmed the articles of religion which had been prepared the former year, and thus was the reformation of worship and doctrine brought to such a degree of perfection, that since that time there has been very little alteration made. Another branch of it was still unfinished, but was now under consultation, touching the government of the church and the ecclesiastical courts. This matter had been attempted several times during the last and present reigns; but the changes in the government had caused it to be laid aside. It was now revived, and eight eminent bishops, and others, were appointed to draw up a plan, which was afterwards to be submitted to thirty-two commissioners. It was generally believed that Cranmer drew it entirely by himself, while the others only corrected what he designed. Haddon and Cheek translated it into Latin; which they did with great ability. The work was divided into fifty-one titles; and being laid before the commissioners, was by them to have been presented to the king for his confirmation; but he died before it was quite finished, nor was it ever afterwards resumed.

About this time the dilapidated state of the church revenues engaged the attention of the council, but so many persons of power and influence were interested to prevent a remedy being afforded, that the affair was dropped. In every see, as it became vacant, the best manors were laid hold of by such hungry courtiers as could procure the grant of them. They seemed to think, that the bishops' sees were so rich that they could never be made poor enough: but they were soon reduced to so low a condition that it was hardly possible for a bishop to subsist in them. If what had been thus taken from them had been converted to good uses, such as the maintenance of the poor and inferior clergy, it would have been some excuse for the violence, but the lands were laid hold of by laymen, who made no compensation for the spoils thus gained by them.

REFORMATION IN IRELAND.

This year the reformation had gained more ground in Ireland than formerly. Henry VIII. had assumed to himself, by consent of the parliament of that kingdom, the title of king of it: the former kings of England having only been called Lords of Ireland; and though they were obeyed within the English pale, yet the native Irish continued barbarous and uncivilized, were governed entirely by the heads of their names or tribes, and were obedient or rebellious, as they directed them.

The reformation was set on foot in the English pale, but made small progress among the Irish. At length Bale was sent over to labor among them. He was an eager writer, and a learned zealous man. Goodacre was made primate of Armagh, and Bale was to be bishop of Ossory. Two Irishmen were also promoted with them; who undertook to advance the reformation there. The archbishop of Dublin intended to have ordained them by the old pontifical, and all, except Bale, were willing it should be so, but he prevailed that it should be done according to the new book of ordinations: he then went into his diocese, but found all there in dark popery, and before he could make any progress the king's death put an end to his designs.

The world had long been anxiously looking for the result of the council of Trent, trusting that it might lead to the establish-

ment of order throughout the European countries, and it appeared no less to have been desired both by princes and bishops, in hopes that differences of religion would have been composed, and the corruptions of the court of Rome reformed by it. This had made the pope very apprehensive of it: but such was the cunning of the legates, the number of Italian bishops, and the dissensions of the princes, that it had effects quite contrary to what all parties expected. The breach in religion was made past reconciling, by the positive decisions of the council: the abuses of the court of Rome were confirmed by the provisoes made in favor of the privileges of the apostolic see: and all men were at length so cured of their longings for a general council, that none has been since that time desired. The history of that council was written with great exactness and judgment by Father Paul of Venice, while it was yet fresh in all men's memories; and though it discovered the whole secret of the transactions there, yet no one ventured to contradict it for forty years: till Pallavicini at last undertook it, and, upon the credit of memorials, he, in many things, contradicts Father Paul: but in the principal events of the history, they both agree so far, that it is manifest things were not fairly conducted, and that all matters were managed by intrigues and secret practices.

LIBERATION OF GERMANY.

Prince Maurice declared for the liberty of Germany, and took Augsburgh, and several other towns. The king of France also entered the empire with a large army, and by surprise made himself master of Metz, Toul, and Verdun.

Maurice demanded that the landgrave should be set at liberty, and that freedom of religious worship should be secured throughout the empire. The emperor being slow in making answer, the prince marched on to Inspruck, where he surprised a post, and was within two miles of Charles before he was aware of his approach; so that he was obliged to escape by torchlight, and went to Italy. Thus the very army and prince that had been chiefly instrumental in the ruin of the empire, now asserted its freedom; and all the emperor's great designs were frustrated, he was forced to discharge his prisoners, to recall his proscriptions, and, after some treaty, to grant the edict of Passaw, by which the free exercise of the Protestant religion was granted to the princes and towns: and thus that storm which had almost overwhelmed the princes of the Protestant religion, subsided, without any considerable effect, except the transference of the electoral dignity from John to Maurice.

The emperor's misfortunes increased; for, against all reason, he besieged Metz in December, but after he had lost almost the whole of his army in the siege, he was forced to raise it. Upon that he retired into Flanders in such discontent, that for some time he would not admit any to approach him. Here it was believed he first formed that design, which some years after he put in execution, of forsaking the world, and exchanging the pomp of a court for the retirement of a monastery. This strange and unlooked-for turn in his affairs gave a great demonstration of an overruling Providence that governs all human affairs, and of that particular care that God had of the reformation, in recovering it, when it seemed to be lost beyond all hope, in Germany.

In the year 1553, another visitation took place in England. The visitors were sent to examine what plate was in every church, with orders to leave only one or two chalices of silver, with linen for the communion-table and for surplices, and to bring in all other things of value to the treasurer of the king's household.

THE KING'S SICKNESS.

We now draw to the conclusion of the reign of this youthful king; who while he was a child in age was a man in wisdom.

He had contracted great colds by violent exercises, which, in January, settled into so obstinate a cough that all the skill of physicians, and the aid of medicine proved ineffectual. There was a suspicion over all Europe, that he was poisoned; but no certain grounds appear for justifying it.

During his sickness, Ridley preached before him, and among other things spoke much on works of charity, and the duty of men of high condition, to be eminent in good works. The king was much touched with this; and after the sermon, he sent for the bishop, and treated him with such respect, that he made him sit down and be covered; he then told him what impression his exhortation had made on him, and therefore he desired to be directed by him, how to do his duty in that matter.

Ridley took a little time to consider of it, and after some consultation with the lord mayor and aldermen of London, he brought the king a scheme of several foundations; one for the sick and wounded, another for such as were wilfully idle, or were mad; and a third for orphans. Edward, acting on this suggestion, endowed St. Bartholomew's hospital for the first, Bridewell for the second, and Christ's hospital, near Newgate, for the third; and he enlarged the grant which he had made the year before, for St. Thomas's hospital, in Southwark. The statutes and warrants relating to these were not finished till the 26th of June, though he gave orders to make all the haste that was possible: and when he set his hand to them, he blessed God for having prolonged his life till he had finished his designs concerning them. These

houses have, by the good government and the great charities of the city of London, continued to be so useful, and grown to be so well endowed, that now they may be reckoned among the noblest in Europe.

The king bore his sickness with great submission to the will of God; and seemed concerned in nothing so much as the state that religion and the church would be in after his death. The duke of Northumberland, who was at the head of affairs, resolved to improve the fears the king was in concerning religion, to the advantage of lady Jane Grey, who was married to his son, lord Guilford Dudley. Edward was easily persuaded by him to order the judges to put some articles, which he had signed, for the succession of the crown, in the common form of law. They answered, that the succession being settled by act of parliament, could not be taken away, except by parliament: yet the king persisted in his orders.

The judges then declared, before the council, that it had been made treason, by an act passed in this reign, to change the succession; so that they could not meddle with it. Montague was chief justice, and spake in the name of the rest.

On this, Northumberland fell into a violent passion, calling him traitor, for refusing to obey the king's commands. But the judges were not moved by his threats; and they were again brought before the king, who sharply rebuked them for their delays. They replied that all they could do would be of no force without a parliament: yet they were required to perform it in the best manner they could.

At last Montague desired they might first have a pardon for what they were to do, which being granted, all the judges, except Cosnald and Hales, agreed to the patent, and delivered their opinions, that the lord chancellor might put the seal to the articles, drawn up by the king, and that then they would be good in law. Cosnald was at last prevailed on to join in the same opinion, so that Hales, who was a zealous Protestant, was the only man who stood out to the last.

The privy counsellors were next required to sign the paper. Cecil, in a relation he wrote of this transaction, says that "hearing some of the judges declare so positively that it was against law, he refused to set his hand to it as a privy counsellor, but signed it only as a witness to the king's subscription."

Cranmer came not to the council when it was passed there, and refused to consent to it, when he was pressed to it; saying, "he would never have a hand in disinheriting his late master's daughters." The dying king at last by his importunity prevailed with him to do it; upon which the great seal was put to the patents.

The king's distemper continued to increase, so that the physicians despaired of his recovery. A confident woman undertook his cure, and he was put into her hands, but she left him worse than she found him; and this heightened the jealousy against the duke of Northumberland, who had introduced her, and dismissed the physicians. At last, to crown his designs, he got the king to write to his sisters to come and divert him in his sickness: and the exclusion had been conducted so secretly, that they, apprehending no danger, began their journey.

On the 6th of July the king felt the approach of death, and prepared himself for it in a most devout manner. He was often heard offering up prayers and ejaculations to God: particularly a few moments before he died he prayed earnestly that the Lord would take him out of this wretched life, and committed his spirit to him; he interceded very fervently for his subjects, that God would preserve England from popery, and maintain his true religion among them. The last words he uttered were these, "I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit." Soon after that he breathed out his innocent soul in Sir Henry Sydney's arms.

Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, gives the following character of this excellent young prince.

"Thus died Edward the Sixth in the sixteenth year of his age. He was counted the wonder of that time; he was not only learned in the tongues, and the liberal sciences, but knew well the state of his kingdom. He kept a table-book, in which he had written the characters of all the eminent men of the nation; he studied fortification, and understood the mint well: he knew the harbors in all his dominions, with the depth of water, and way of coming into them. He understood foreign affairs so well, that the ambassadors who were sent into England published very extraordinary things of him, in all the courts of Europe. He had great quickness of apprehension, but being distrustful of his memory, he took notes of every thing he heard, that was considerable, in Greek characters, that those about him might not understand what he wrote, which he afterwards copied out fair in the journal that he kept. His virtues were wonderful; when he was made to believe, that his uncle was guilty of conspiring the death of the other counsellors, he upon that abandoned him.

"Barnaby Fitzpatrick was his favorite, and when he sent him to travel, he often wrote to him, to keep good company, to avoid excess and luxury, and to improve himself in those things that might render him capable of employment at his return. He was afterwards made lord of Upper Ossory in Ireland, by queen Elizabeth, and answered the hopes which this excellent prince had of him. Edward was very merciful in his nature, which appeared in his unwillingness

to sign the warrant for burning the Maid of Kent. He took great care to have his debts well paid, reckoning that a prince who breaks his faith, and loses his credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himself liable to perpetual distrust, and extreme contempt. He took special care of the petitions that were given him by poor and oppressed people. But his great zeal for religion crowned all the rest. It was not a temporary heat about it that actuated him, but it was a true tenderness of conscience, founded on the love of God and his neighbors.

"These extraordinary qualities, set off with great sweetness and affability, made him universally beloved by all his people. Some called him their Josias, others Edward the Saint, and others called him the Phœnix that rose out of his mother's ashes; and all people concluded, that the sins of England must have been very great, since they provoked God to deprive the nation of so signal a blessing, as the rest of his reign would, in all appearance, have proved. Bishop Ridley, and the other good men of that time, made great lamentations of the vices which were grown then so common, that men had past all shame in them. Luxury, oppression, and a hatred of religion had overrun the higher rank of people, who gave a countenance to the reformation merely to rob the church; but by that, and their other practices, were become a great scandal to so good a work. The inferior sort were so much in the power of the priests, who were still, notwithstanding their outward compliance, papists, and were so much offended at the spoil they saw made of all good endowments, without putting other and more useful ones in their room, that they who understood little of religion, labored under great prejudices against every thing that was advanced by such tools. And these things, as they provoked God highly; so they disposed the people much to that sad catastrophe, which was experienced in the following reign."

In 1552, Cardan, the great philosopher of that age, passed through England on his return from Scotland to the Continent. He waited on Edward, and was so charmed with his great knowledge and rare qualities, that he always spake of him as the most wonderful person he had ever seen; and after the death of the king, he wrote the following character of him:

"All the graces were in him: he understood many tongues, when he was yet but a child; together with the English, his natural language, he knew both Latin and French; nor was he ignorant of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish, and perhaps some more; but for the English, French, and Latin, he was exact in them; and was apt to learn every thing. Nor was he ignorant of logic, of the principles of natural philosophy, nor of music; the sweetness of his temper was such as became a mortal, his gravity becoming the majesty of a king, and his disposition was suitable to his high degree: in sum, that child was so bred, had such parts, and was of such expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man. These things are not spoken rhetorically, and beyond the truth, but are indeed short of it.

"When I was with him, he was in the fifteenth year of his age, in which he spake Latin as politely and as promptly as I did: he asked me what was the subject of my book, *De rerum varietate*, which I dedicated to him? I answered, that, in the first chapter, I gave the true cause of comets, which had been long inquired into, but was never found out before.'—'What is it?' said he. I said, 'It was the concourse of the light of wandering stars.' He answered, 'How can that be, since the stars move in different motions? How comes it that the comets are not soon dissipated, or do not move after them, according to their motions?' To this I answered, 'They do move after them, but much quicker than they, by reason of the different aspect; as we see in crystal, or when a rainbow rebounds from a wall: for a little change makes a great difference of place.' But the king said, 'How can that be, where there is no subject to receive that light, as the wall is the subject for the rainbow?' To this I answered, 'That this was as in the milky-way, or where many candles were lighted, the middle-place, where their shining met, was white and clear.'

"From this little taste, it may be imagined what he was. And indeed the ingenuity and sweetness of his disposition, had raised in all good and learned men, the greatest expectation of him possible. He began to love the liberal arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them: and in him there was such an attempt of nature, that not only England, but the world, hath reason to lament his being so early snatched away. How truly was it said of such extraordinary persons, that their lives are short, and seldom do they come to be old! He gave us an essay of virtue, though he did not live to give a pattern of it. When the gravity of a king was needful, he carried himself like an old man, and yet he was always affable and gentle, as became his age. He played on the lute: he meddled in affairs of state: and for bounty, he did in that emulate his father: though he, even when he endeavored to be too good, might appear to have been bad: but there was no ground of suspecting any such thing in the son."

These extraordinary blossoms gave but too good reason to fear, that a fruit which ripened so fast, could not last long.

BOOK XI.

ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY, SUBVERSION OF RELIGION, AND PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, DURING HER REIGN.

We now call the attention of the British Protestants to a period of their church history, that cannot fail to awaken in their hearts that love for their ancestors, which, at present, we fear, lies dormant in too many. A long career of ease appears to have obliterated from their minds the troubles of their generous forefathers, who, for them, bled in every vein—for them, were consigned to the devouring flames in every part of their country; preparing and establishing for their descendants, by the sacrifice of themselves, political and religious liberty. And, while we behold, with gratitude and admiration, the effects of their noble self-devotion, let us thence learn to appreciate those blessings which, by the continued providence of God, we have so long enjoyed; and let us be confirmed more and more in our determination to resist every attempt, whether by open force or secret fraud, to deprive us and our descendants of the privileges so dearly purchased.

It has been asserted by the Roman Catholics, "That all those who suffered death, during the reign of queen Mary, had been adjudged guilty of high treason, in consequence of their rising in defence of lady Jane Grey's title to the crown." To disprove this, however, is no difficult matter, since every one conversant in English history must know, that those who are found guilty of high treason are to be hanged and quartered. But how can even a papist affirm, that ever a man in England was *burned* for high treason? We admit, that some few suffered death in the ordinary way of process at common law, for their adherence to lady Jane; but none of those were burned. Why, if traitors, were they taken before the bishops, who have no power to judge in criminal cases? Even allowing the bishops to have had power to judge, yet their own bloody statute did not empower them to execute. The proceedings against the martyrs are still extant, and they are carried on directly according to the forms prescribed by their own statute. Not one of those who were burned in England, was ever accused of high treason, much less were they tried at common law. And this should teach the reader to value a history of transactions in his own country, particularly as it relates to the sufferings of the blessed martyrs in defence of the religion he professes, in order that he may be able to remove the veil which falsehood has cast over the face of truth. Having said thus much, by way of introduction, we shall proceed with the Acts and Monuments of the British Martyrs.

By the death of king Edward, the crown devolved, according to law, on his eldest sister Mary, who was within half a day's journey to the court, when she had notice given her by the earl of Arundel, of her brother's death, and of the patent for lady Jane's succession. Upon this she retired to Framlingham, in Suffolk, to be near the sea, that she might escape to Flanders, in case of necessity. Before she arrived there, she wrote, on the 9th of July, to the council, telling them, that "she understood that her brother was dead, by which she succeeded to the crown, but wondered that she heard not from them; she well understood what consultations they had engaged in, but she would pardon all such as would return to their duty, and proclaim her title to the crown."

It was now found, that the king's death could be no longer kept a secret; accordingly some of the privy council went to lady Jane, and acknowledged her as their queen.* The news of the king's death afflicted her much, and her being raised to the throne, rather increased than lessened her trouble. She was a person of extraordinary abilities, acquirements, and virtues. She was mistress both of the Greek and Latin tongues, and delighted much in study. As she was not tainted with the levities which usually accompany her age and station, so she seemed to have attained to the practice of the highest fortitude; for in those sudden turns of her condition, as she was not exalted with the prospect of a crown, so she was little cast down, when her palace was made her prison. The only passion she showed, was that of the noblest kind, in the concern she expressed for her father and husband, who fell with her, and seemingly on her account; though, in reality, Northumberland's ambition, and her father's weakness, ruined her.

* The lady Jane was daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and granddaughter to Mary, sister to Henry VIII., who, on the death of her first husband, the king of France, married Charles Brandon, afterwards created duke of Suffolk.

She rejected the crown, when it was first offered her; she said, she knew that of right it belonged to the late king's sisters, and therefore could not, with a good conscience, assume it; but she was told, that both the judges and privy counsellors had declared, that it fell to her according to law. This, joined with the importunities of her husband, her father, and father-in-law, made her submit. Upon this, twenty-one privy counsellors set their hands to a letter to Mary, telling her that queen Jane was now their sovereign, and that as the marriage between her father and mother had been declared null, so she could not succeed to the crown; they therefore required her to lay down her pretensions, and to submit to the settlement now made; and if she gave a ready obedience, promised her much favor. The day after this, they proclaimed Jane.

Northumberland's known enmity to the late duke of Somerset, and the suspicions of his being the author of Edward's untimely death, begot a great aversion in the people to him and his family, and disposed them to favor Mary; who, in the mean time, was very active in raising forces to support her claim. To attach the Protestants to her cause, she promised not to make any change in the reformed worship, as established under her brother; and on this assurance a large body of the men of Suffolk joined her standard.

Northumberland was now perplexed between his wish to assume the command of an army raised to oppose Mary, and his fear of leaving London to the government of the council, of whose fidelity he entertained great doubts. He was, however, at length obliged to adopt the latter course, and before his departure from the metropolis he adjured the members of the council, and all persons in authority, to be stedfast in their attachment to the cause of queen Jane, on whose success, he assured them, depended the continuance of the Protestant religion in England. They promised all he required, and he departed, encouraged by their protestations and apparent zeal.

Mary's party in the mean time continued daily to augment. Hastings went over to her with 4000 men out of Buckinghamshire, and she was proclaimed queen in many places. At length the privy council began to see their danger, and to think how to avoid it; and besides fears for their personal safety, other motives operated with many of the members. To make their escape from the Tower, where they were detained, ostensibly to give dignity to the court of queen Jane, but really as prisoners, they pretended it was necessary to give an audience to the foreign ambassadors, who would not meet them in the Tower; and the earl of Pembroke's house was appointed for the audience. When they met there they resolved to declare for queen Mary, and rid themselves of Northumberland's yoke, which they knew they must bear, if he were victorious. They sent for the lord mayor and aldermen, and easily gained their concurrence; and Mary was proclaimed queen on the 19th of July They then sent to the Tower, requiring the duke of Suffolk to quit the government of that place, and the lady Jane to lay down the title of queen. To this she submitted with much greatness of mind, and her father with abjectness.

The council next sent orders to Northumberland to dismiss his forces, and to obey the queen. When Northumberland heard this, he disbanded his forces, went to the market-place at Cambridge, where he then was, and proclaimed Mary as queen. The earl of Arundel was sent to apprehend him, and when Northumberland was brought before him, he, in the most servile manner, fell at his feet to beg his favor. He, with three of his sons and Sir Thomas Palmer, (his wicked tool in the destruction of the duke of Somerset) were all sent to the Tower.

Every one now flocked to implore the queen's favor, and Ridley among the rest, but he was committed to the Tower; the queen being resolved to put Bonner again in the see of London. Some of the judges, and several noblemen, were also sent thither, among the rest the duke of Suffolk; who was, however, three days after, set at liberty. He was a weak man, could do little harm, and was consequently selected as the first person towards whom the queen should exert her clemency.

Mary came to London on the 3d of August, and on the way was met by her sister, lady Elizabeth, with a thousand horse, whom she had raised to assist the queen. On arriving at the Tower, she liberated the duke of Norfolk, the duchess of Somerset, and Gardiner; also the lord Courtney, son to the marquis of Exeter, who had been kept there ever since his father's attainder, and whom she now made earl of Devonshire.

Thus was seated on the throne of England the lady Mary, who, to a disagreeable person and weak mind, united bigotry, superstition, and cruelty. She seems to have inherited more of her mother's than her father's qualities. Henry was impatient, rough, and ungovernable; but Catherine, while she assumed the character of a saint, harbored inexorable rancor and hatred against the Protestants. It was the same with her daughter Mary, as appears from a letter in her own handwriting, now in the British Museum. In this letter, which is addressed to bishop Gardiner, she declares her fixed intention of burning every Protestant; and there is an insinuation, that as soon as circumstances would permit, she would restore

back to the church the lands that had been taken from the convents. This was the greatest instance of her weakness that she could show: for in the first place the convents had been all demolished, except a few of their churches; and the rents were in the hands of the first nobility, who, rather than part with them, would have overturned the government both in church and state.

Mary was crowned at Westminster in the usual form; but dreadful were the consequences that followed. The narrowness of spirit which always distinguishes a weak mind from one that has been enlarged by education, pervaded all the actions of this princess. Unacquainted with the constitution of the country, and a slave to superstition, she thought to domineer over the rights of private judgment, and trample on the privileges of mankind.

The first exertion of her regal power was, to wreak her vengeance upon all those who had supported the title of lady Jane Grey.

The first of these was the duke of Northumberland, who was beheaded on Tower-hill, and who, in consequence of his crimes, arising from ambition, died unpitied: nay, he was even taunted on the scaffold by the spectators, who knew in what manner he had acted to the good duke of Somerset.

The other executions that followed were numerous indeed, but as they were all upon the statute of high treason, they cannot, with any degree of propriety, be applied to Protestants, or, as they were then called, *heretics*. The parliament was pliant enough to comply with all the queen's requests, and an act passed to establish the popish religion. This was what the queen waited for, and power being now put into her hands, she was determined to exercise it in the most arbitrary manner. She was destitute of human compassion, and without the least reluctance could tyrannize over the consciences of men.

This leads us to the conclusion of the first year of her reign; and we consider it the more necessary to take notice of these transactions, although not, strictly speaking, *martyrdoms*, that our readers might be convinced of the great difference there is between dying for religion, and for high treason. It is history alone that can teach them such things, and it is reflection only that can make history useful. We frequently read without reflection, and study without consideration; but the following portions of our history, in particular, will furnish ample materials for serious thought to our readers, and we entreat their attention to them.

SECTION I.

Martyrdoms in the Second Year of Queen Mary's Reign.

The queen having satiated her malice upon those persons who had adhered to lady Jane Grey, she had next recourse to those old auxiliaries of popery, fire, fagot, and the stake, in order to convert her heretical subjects to the *true* Catholic faith.

MARTYRDOM OF THE REV. JOHN ROGERS.

Mr. John Rogers, the aged minister of St. Sepulchre's church, Snow Hill, London, was the protomartyr: he was the first sacrifice, strictly speaking, offered up in this reign to popery, and led the way for those sufferers, whose blood has been the foundation, honor, and glory of the church of England.

This Mr. Rogers had been some time chaplain to the English factory at Antwerp. There he became acquainted with Mr. Tindal, and assisted him in his translation of the New Testament. There were several other worthy Protestants there at that time, most of whom had been driven out of England, on account of the persecutions for the six articles in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. Mr. Rogers, knowing that marriage was lawful, and even enjoined in scripture, entered into that state with a virtuous woman, and soon after set out for Saxony, in consequence of an invitation to that effect.

When Edward ascended the throne of England, Mr. Rogers returned to his native country, and was promoted by bishop Ridley to a prebendary of St. Paul's. He was also appointed reader of the divinity lecture in that cathedral, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's.

In this situation he continued some years: and as queen Mary was returning from the Tower, where she had been imbibing Gardiner's pernicious counsels, Mr. Rogers was preaching at St. Paul's Cross. He inveighed much against popery, expatiated on the many virtues of the late king Edward, and exhorted the people to abide in the Protestant religion.

For this sermon he was summoned before the council; but he vindicated himself so well, that he was dismissed.

This lenity shown by the council was rather displeasing to the queen; and Mr. Rogers'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 it was, that he was summoned a second time before the council; and although there were many papists among the members, yet such was the respect almost universally felt for Mr. Rogers, that he was again dismissed, but was commanded

Plate XXXVIII

Book IX.—Sect. 4.

A Woman and her Infant, tied together in a bag, and thrown into a river in Scotland; and four men hung for eating Goose on a Fast Day.

Plate XXXIX.

Book XI.—Sect. 1.

The Burning of the Rev. John Rogers, Vicar of St Sepulchre's at Smithfield, A.D. 1555.

not to go out of his own house. This order he complied with, although he might have made his escape if he would. He knew he could have had a living in Germany, and he had a wife and ten children: but all these things did not move him; he did not court death, but met it with fortitude when it came.

He remained confined in his own house several weeks, till Bonner, bishop of London, procured an order to have him committed to Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers.

He was afterwards brought a third time before the council, where Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, presided. It was not with any view of showing lenity to the prisoner; it was not with a view of convincing him of error, supposing him to be guilty of any; it was not to recall him to the Romish church that he was brought there: no, his destruction was designed, and he was singled out to be an example to all those who should refuse to comply with Romish idolatry.

The questions asked him were of a very frivolous nature, but still they were such, that answers to them served to criminate the man. It is a maxim in common law, that no man is to be his own accuser; by which is meant, that he is not to answer any questions which may bring the guilt home to him, unless he chooses to answer, leaving his enemies to prove the assertions.

On the other hand, it is laid down as a maxim by divines, and certainly it is a good one, that no man should tell a falsehood. Christ said, "*He that denies me before men, him will I also deny before my Father, who is in heaven.*" We know the weakness of human nature, but we ought to be much upon our guard against speaking any thing that is false. This shows us to be cowards: let us, like Christ Jesus, witness a true confession; let us not shrink back at the thought of suffering for the truth, as it is in Jesus; but let us remember that the pleasures of sin are momentary; the punishment of them, eternal.

Such sentiments as these took place in the mind of Mr. Rogers, when he was brought before the chancellor and council. He freely acknowledged, that he had been fully convinced, in his own mind, that the pope was Antichrist, and that his religion was contrary to the gospel.

He made a most elaborate defence, which, however, did not avail him in the minds of his persecutors. He showed them, that the statute upon which he was prosecuted, had never legally passed, and even if it had, it was in all respects contrary to the word of God: for whatever emoluments might have been bestowed upon the clergy from time to time, they had no right to persecute those who differed from them in sentiment.

After he had been examined several times before the council, which was a mere mockery of justice, he was turned over to Bonner, bishop of London, who caused him to go through a second mock examination; and, at last, declared him to be an obstinate heretic. A certificate of this was, in the ordinary course, sent into chancery, and a writ was issued for the burning of Mr. Rogers in Smithfield. This sentence did not in the least frighten our martyr, who, by faith in the blood of Christ, was ready to go through with his attachment to the truth, without paying any regard to the malice of his enemies.

On the 4th of February, 1555, Mr. Rogers was taken out of Newgate, to be led to the place of execution, when the sheriff asked him, if he would recant his opinions? To this he answered, "That what he had preached, he would seal with his blood." "Then," said the sheriff, "thou art a heretic." To which Mr. Rogers answered, "That will be known when we meet at the judgment-seat of Christ."

As they were taking him to Smithfield, his wife and eleven children went to take their last farewell of a tender husband, and an indulgent parent. The sheriffs, however, would not permit them to speak to him; so unfeeling is bigotry, so merciless is superstition! When he was chained to the stake, he declared that God would in his own good time vindicate the truth of what he had taught, and appear in favor of the Protestant religion. Fire was then set to the pile, and he was consumed to ashes.

He was a very pious and humane man, and his being singled out as the first victim of superstitious cruelty, can only entitle him to a higher crown of glory in heaven.

MARTYRDOM OF LAURENCE SAUNDERS.

The next person who suffered in this reign, was the reverend Mr. Laurence Saunders, of whose former life we have collected the following particulars: his father had a considerable estate in Oxfordshire, but dying young, left a large family of children. Laurence was sent to Eton school as one of the king's scholars.

From Eton he was, according to the rules of the foundation, sent to King's college in Cambridge, where he studied three years, and made great progress in the different sorts of learning then taught in the schools. At the end of the three years he left the university, and returning to his mother, prevailed upon her to place him with a merchant.

He was accordingly articled to Sir William Chester, a rich merchant in London, who was afterwards sheriff of that city. He had not been long in this employment, when he became weary of a life of trade. He

sunk into a deep melancholy, and afterwards went into a retired chamber, to mourn for his imprudence, and to beg of God that he would, in some manner or other, deliver him from a life so disgustful.

His master, who was a worthy man, took notice of this, and asked Saunders his reasons for being in that desponding condition? The young gentleman candidly told him: upon which he immediately gave him up his indentures, and sent him home to his relations.

This Saunders considered as a happy event, and that no time might be lost, he returned to his studies at Cambridge; and, what was very uncommon in that age, he learned the Greek and Hebrew languages. After this he devoted himself wholly to the study of the sacred scriptures, in order to qualify himself for preaching the gospel.

In study he was diligent, and practical in holiness of life; in doing good few equalled him, and he seemed to have nothing in view but the happiness of immortal souls.

In the beginning of king Edward's reign, when the true religion began to be countenanced, he entered into orders, and preached with great success. His first appointment was at Fotheringham, where he read a divinity lecture; but that college having been dissolved, he was appointed a preacher in Lichfield. In that new station his conduct entitled him to great respect; for such was his sweetness of temper, his knowledge in his profession, his eloquent manner of addressing his hearers, the purity of his manners, and his affectionate addresses to the heart, that he was universally respected, and his ministry was very useful.

After being some months in Lichfield, he removed to the living of Church-Langton, in Leicestershire: there he resided with his people, and instructed many who before were ignorant of the true principles of the Christian religion. He was the same to men's bodies as to their souls. All that he received, besides the small pittance that supported his person, was given away to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked. Here was the Christian minister indeed! for no instructions will make a lasting impression on the mind, while the example is contrary.

His next removal was to Alhallows, in Bread-street, London; and when he had taken possession of it, he went down to the country, to part, in an affectionate manner, with his friends.

While he was in the country king Edward died, and Mary succeeding, published a proclamation, commanding all her subjects to attend mass. Many pious ministers refused to obey the royal proclamation, and none was more forward in doing so than Mr. Saunders. He continued to preach whenever he had an opportunity, and read the prayer-book, with the scriptures, to the people, till he was apprehended in the following manner:

Mr. Saunders was advised to leave the nation, as pious Dr. Jewel and many others did; but he would not, declaring to his friends, that he was willing to die for the name of the Lord Jesus. Accordingly, he left his people in Leicestershire and travelled towards London, on his arrival near which, he was met by Sir John Mordant, a privy counsellor to queen Mary, who asked him where he was going? Mr. Saunders said, to his living in Bread-street, to instruct his people. Mordant desired him not 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 endeavored to dissuade him from doing so any more. Saunders, however, was resolute, and told him he would continue to preach as long as he lived, and invited the other to come and hear him the next day; adding, that he would confirm him in the truth of those sentiments which he taught. Upon this they parted, and Mordant went and gave information to bishop Bonner, that Saunders would preach in his church the next Sunday.

In the mean time Saunders went to his lodgings, with a mind resolved to do his duty; when a person came to visit him, and took notice to him that he seemed to be in trouble. He said he was; adding, "I am, as it were, in prison, till I speak to my people." So earnest was his desire to discharge his duty, and so little did he regard the malice of his enemies.

The next Sunday he preached in his church, and made a most elaborate discourse against the errors of popery; he exhorted the people to remain stedfast 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; accordingly, he went with the officer, and Sir John Mordant appeared to give evidence against him. It was certainly unbecoming the character of a gentleman of rank, thus to become a common informer; but bigotry so infatuates the minds of its votaries, that they forget every other consideration in order to gratify their hatred against those who differ from them in opinion. Perhaps, however, Sir John might be actuated by worldly motives;

and, by thus ingratiating himself with the bishop, who then enjoyed great power, he might hope to obtain the favor of the queen.

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 charge he wished to punish him on.

After much conversation on different points of religion, the bishop desired him to write his sentiments concerning transubstantiation. To this request Mr. Saunders 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 bishop, on this, sent 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 wait for him four hours in the servants' hall. During the whole of this time, Mr. Saunders stood bareheaded, while Mordant kept walking backwards and forwards across the room.

At length 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; and that he must 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 heretic, notwithstanding all his pretensions to a tender conscience. He accused him, farther, of having called the queen a bastard, or rather worse, namely, that she had been born in a state of incest.

It was well known that Henry's marriage with Catherine had been declared inconsistent with the canons of the church; and, therefore, had Mr. Saunders called her by such names, he might, according to law, have sheltered himself under an act of parliament. But the truth is, he never traduced her character; but in speaking to Gardiner he made use of a most severe sarcasm, by telling him that "there need not to be much dispute concerning this matter with his lordship, who had actually signed the declaration concerning the illegitimacy of Mary's birth." This was bringing the argument home to him; but the severity of the satire augmented Gardiner's desire of revenge.

Saunders told the chancellor, "he had no objection to suffer 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 would not, by any means, 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 sense or reason.

Saunders continued in prison a 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 being released from prison, he drew up a paper which he sent to the chancellor, in which he stated, "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 heretics, 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."

His next observations were of a very striking nature. He declared, that no man could be a faithful servant of Christ, who acknowledged the papal supremacy. He observed that traditions were not commanded by the word of God, nor did they make any part of religion. Such sentiments as these did honor to the man who employed them, but they availed him nothing; Gardiner had been stung to the quick by the sarcasm of Saunders, and meditated a severe revenge.

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 honor to one of the primitive martyrs.

He told her, there could be no confidence in the Divine Being, where a fixed faith was not placed in the righteousness of the 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 means contrived by Infinite Wisdom in order to bring us to a state of happiness.

In one of his letters to Cranmer, who was then a prisoner as well as himself, he expresses a firm belief of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead, according to the gospel dispensation. At the same time, he laments that darkness which the corruption of human nature has thrown over our understandings: that "as we see here but through a glass darkly, so our faith should increase in strength, in consequence of a longing desire for immortality." He added much concerning the vast importance of the ministerial office, and "the necessity for ministers to keep themselves from giving offence, lest the gospel should be blamed."

In another letter, to his wife, he said much 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 Christ Jesus. He gave her the utmost encouragement to trust in the merits and mercies of the Redeemer; to make him her only friend, and then he would never leave her nor forsake her.

In a second letter to his wife, he reminds her of those consolations which God gives to such as suffer for his name's sake. He tells her that the whole of human life is one continual trial of our patience and faith; and therefore, when we are just going to take possession of a glorious and eternal inheritance, we should not repine at a few torments; and what are these torments, inflicted by wicked men, when compared with the dreadful punishments which God will inflict on apostates hereafter?

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.

Mr. Saunders seeing the child, rejoiced greatly, saying, it was a peculiar happiness for him to have such a boy. And to the standers-by, who admired the beauty of the child, he said, "What man, fearing God, would not lose his life, sooner than have it said that the mother of this child was a harlot?"

He said these words, in order to point out the woful effects of popish celibacy; for the priests being denied the privilege of marriage, seduced the wives and daughters of many of the laity, and filled the nation with bastards, who were left exposed to all sorts of hardships.

After all these afflictions and sufferings, Mr. Saunders was brought before the council, where the chancellor sat as president; and there he was asked a great number of questions concerning his opinions. These questions were proposed in so artful and ensnaring a manner, that the prisoner, by telling the truth, must criminate himself; and to have stood mute would have subjected him to the torture.

Under such circumstances, God gave him fortitude to assert the truth, by declaring his abhorrence of all the doctrines of popery.

The examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and then waited till some other prisoners were examined. While Mr. Saunders was standing among the officers, seeing a great number of people assembled, as is common on such occasions, he exhorted them to beware of falling off from Christ to Antichrist, as many were then returning to popery, because they had not fortitude to suffer.

The chancellor ordered him to be excommunicated, and committed him to the Compter. This was a great comfort to him, because he was visited by many of his people, whom he exhorted to constancy; and when they were denied admittance, he spoke to them through the grate.

On the 4th of February the sheriff of London delivered him to the bishop, who degraded him; and Mr. Saunders said, "Thank God, I am now out of your church."

The day following, he was given up to some of the queen's officers, who were appointed to convey him down to Coventry, there to be burned. The first night they lay at St. Alban's, where Mr. Saunders took an opportunity of rebuking a person who had ridiculed the Christian faith.

After they arrived at Coventry, a poor shoemaker, who had formerly worked for Mr. Saunders, came to him, and said, "O, my good master, may God strengthen you." "Good shoemaker," answered Mr. Saunders, I beg you will pray for me, for I am at present in a very weak condition; but I hope my gracious God, who hath appointed me to it, will give me strength."

The same night he spent in the common prison, praying for, and exhorting all those who went to hear him.

The next day, which was the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution, in the Park without the gate of that city, going in an old gown and a shirt, barefooted, and often fell on the ground and prayed. When he approached the place of execution, the under-sheriff told him he was a heretic,

and that he had led the people away from the true religion; but yet, if he would recant, the queen would pardon him. To this Mr. Saunders answered, "That he had not filled the realm with heresy, for he had taught the people the pure truths of the gospel; and in all his sermons, while he exhorted the people firmly, desired his hearers to be obedient to the queen."

When brought to the stake he embraced it, and after being fastened to it, and the fagots lighted, he said, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life;" soon after which he resigned his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

Well might the apostle say, that if we only in this life have hope, we are, of all men, the most miserable. This martyr was naturally of a timid disposition; and yet here we see with what constancy he died. This is a strong proof that there must be an almighty power, working through faith in the hearts of those who are punished for the truth.

Mr. Saunders often told his friends, that many would suffer if ever Mary ascended the throne. He knew the temper of that princess, and had reason to expect persecution under her influence. It is for the benefit of succeeding ages, that God gives strength to the heart of man to suffer. It is to promote many valuable purposes, by teaching us to set a proper value on the many national blessings we enjoy in the present age; and in return for so many mercies, we ought to live in the practice of every virtuous and religious duty; and to bless the Almighty for having delivered us from a worse than Egyptian darkness; for popery, both in its spirit and tendency, can be properly considered as no other. But, alas! instead of this, how opposite is our conduct! How justly may God be provoked by the wickedness of this generation, to suffer the enemy to sow tares among our wheat!

To what other cause can we ascribe the increase of popery, of late years, which has not been confined to the capital, but has even extended to the remotest parts of the kingdom. In Scotland, where, fifty years ago, there was scarcely a papist, there are now many thousands.

We must impute much of this to our own remissness in our duty. The popish priests use all the means they can devise to seduce our people; why should not we be as vigilant in preserving our flocks from these wolves in sheep's clothing? Let us take an example from the pious martyr whose sufferings we have just related, whose life was a comment on his doctrine, and who lived as he preached. This will do more towards suppressing popery and infidelity, than the best arguments that can be framed.

SECTION II.

Sufferings and Martyrdom of Bishop Hooper.

We have seen, in our account of the pious Mr. Saunders, that a man by nature weak and timorous, could bear, with an undaunted boldness, all those torments which were prepared for him by his enemies, and by the enemies of Christ Jesus; and we have seen that gracious Being, for whose name's sake he suffered, supporting him under all his afflictions.

We shall now bring forth another martyr, whose name will ever be esteemed for his sincere attachment to the Protestant religion, and for the little regard he paid to ceremonies, about which there has been much unnecessary, and indeed angry contention.

The person to whom we allude was Dr. John Hooper, a man of eminence in his profession. He was educated in Oxford, but in what college does not appear; probably it was in Queen's college, because he was a north countryman, that seminary of learning being appropriated for those of the northern counties.

He made a great progress in his studies, and was remarkable for early piety. He studied the sacred scriptures with the most unremitting assiduity, and was, for some time, an ornament to the university.

His spirit was fervent, and he hated every thing in religion that was not of an essential nature. When the six articles were published, Hooper did all he could to oppose them, as maintaining every thing in the popish system, except the supremacy. He preached frequently against them, which created him many enemies in Oxford; but Henry VIII. had such an opinion of him, that he would not suffer him to be molested. Soon after this he was obliged to leave the university, and assuming a lay character, became steward to Sir Thomas Arundel, who, at first, treated him with great kindness, till, having discovered his sentiments as to religion, he became his most implacable enemy.

Mr. Hooper having received intelligence that some mischief was intended against him, left the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and borrowing a horse from a friend, whose life he had saved, rode off towards the seaside, intending to go to France, sending back the horse by a servant. He resided some time at Paris, in as private a manner as possible. Returning again to England he was informed against, and obliged to leave his native country a second time.

He went over again to France, but not being safe there, he travelled into Germany; from thence he went to Basil, where he married a pious woman, and afterwards settled some time at Zurich, in Switzerland: there he applied closely to his studies, and made himself master of the Hebrew language.

At length, when the true religion was set up after the death of king Henry VIII. amongst other 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 great friend to all those who were persecuted for the gospel. When he took an affectionate leave of Bullinger, he told him that he would write to him as often as he could find an opportunity, but added, "probably I shall be burned to ashes, and then some friend will give you information." Another circumstance should not be omitted in this place, and that is, that when he was appointed bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, the herald, who emblazoned his arms, put the figure of a lamb in a fiery-bush, with the rays of glory descending from heaven on the lamb, which had such an effect on Dr. Hooper, that he said he knew he should die for the truth; and this consideration inspired him with courage. But to return to our narrative.

When Dr. Hooper arrived in London, he was so much filled with zeal to promote the gospel, that he preached every day to crowded congregations. In his sermons he reproved sinners in general, but particularly directed his discourse against the peculiar vices of the times.

The abuses he complained of were owing to a variety of causes: the nobility had got the church-lands, and the clergy were not only seditious in their conduct, but ignorant even to a proverb. This occasioned a scene of general immorality among all ranks and degrees of people, which furnished pious men with sufficient matter for reproof.

In his doctrine, Hooper was clear, plain, eloquent, and persuasive, and so much followed by all ranks of people, that the churches could not contain them.

Although no man could labor more indefatigably in the Lord's vineyard, yet Hooper had a most excellent constitution, which he supported by temperance, and was therefore enabled to do much good. In the whole of his conversation with those who waited on him in private, he spoke of the purity of the gospel, and of the great things of God, cautioning the people against returning to popery, if any change in the government should take place. This was the more necessary, as the people in general were but ill grounded, though Cranmer, Ridley, and many other pious men were using every means in their power to make them acquainted with the principles of the Christian religion. In this pious undertaking, no one was more forward than Dr. Hooper; at all times, "in season, and out of season," he was ready to discharge his duty as a faithful minister of the gospel.

After he had preached some time, with great success, in the city, he was sent for by Edward VI., who appointed him one of his chaplains, and soon after made him bishop of Gloucester, by letters-patent under the great seal; having at the same time the care of the bishopric of Worcester committed to him.

As Dr. Hooper had been some time abroad, he had contracted an aversion to the popish ceremonies, and before he went to his bishopric, he requested of the king that he might not be obliged to give countenance to them, which request the monarch complied with, though much against the inclinations of the other bishops. Dr. Hooper, and his brethren of the reformed church, had many disputes about the Romish tenets, which shows that there are some remains of corruption in the best of men. Some persons seek honors with unwearied zeal, and seem to take more pleasure in titles, than in considering that an elevated rank only increases the necessity of being more observant of our duty.

Dr. Hooper differed from these men, for, instead of seeking preferments, he would never have accepted of any, had they not been pressed on him. Having the care of two dioceses, he held and guided them both together, as if they had been but one. His leisure time, which was but little, he spent in hearing causes, in private prayer, and reading the scriptures. He likewise visited the schools, and encouraged youth in the pursuit of learning. He had children of his own, whom he likewise instructed, and treated them with all the tenderness of a good parent, but without the indulgence of a weak one.

He kept open house, with provisions for the poor, which was a very pious and necessary action in those times, because many persons who had been driven out of the convents roved up and down the country starving. He relieved a certain number of these every day, and when they had satisfied their hunger he delivered a discourse to them on the principles of the Christian religion.

After this manner, bishop Hooper continued to discharge his duty as a faithful pastor, during the whole of king Edward's reign. But no sooner was Mary proclaimed, than a serjeant-at-arms was sent to arrest our bishop, in order to answer to two charges:

First, to Dr. Heath, who had been deprived of the diocese of Gloucester for his adherence to popery, but was now restored by the

queen: secondly, to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, for having given evidence to king Edward against that persecuting prelate.

Bishop Hooper was desired, by some of his friends, to make his escape, but his answer was, "I once fled for my life, but I am now determined, through the strength and grace of God, to witness the truth to the last."

Being brought before the queen and council, Gardiner, sitting as president, accused bishop Hooper of heresy, calling him by the most opprobrious names. This was in September, 1553, and although he satisfactorily answered the charges brought against him, he was committed to prison on the pretence of being indebted to the queen in several sums of money. On the 19th of March, 1554, when he was called again to appear before Gardiner, the chancellor, and several other bishops, would not suffer him to plead his cause, but deprived him of his bishopric.

Being asked whether he was a married man, he answered in the affirmative, and declared that he would not be unmarried, till death occasioned the separation: because he looked upon the marriage of the clergy as necessary, and legal.

The more they attempted to browbeat him, the more resolute he became, and the more pertinent in his answers. He produced the decrees of the council of Nice, which first ascertained the canon of scripture, where it was ordained to be lawful, as well as expedient, for the clergy to marry. These arguments were to little purpose with men who had their instructions from the queen, and were previously determined to punish him; the good bishop was therefore committed to the Tower, but afterwards removed to the Fleet.

As the determination for burning him was not agreed on, he was only considered as a debtor to the queen, for the rents of his bishopric, which was the reason of his being sent to the Fleet. This, however, was a most unjust charge; for the Protestant religion had been established in the first year of the reign of her brother Edward, by act of parliament; so that Dr. Hooper's acceptance of a bishopric was in all respects legal and constitutional.

As a debtor, he was to have the rules of the Fleet, which the warden granted him for five pounds sterling; but went immediately and informed Gardiner, who, notwithstanding he had paid the money, ordered him to be closely confined.

The following account of his cruel treatment while confined here, was written by himself, and affords a picture of popish barbarity, which cannot fail to make a due impression on our readers.

"The first of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet, from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and within six days after I paid five pounds sterling to the warden for fees, for my liberty; who immediately, upon payment thereof, complained unto the bishop of Winchester, upon which I was committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the Tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used extremely ill. Then, by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but as soon as dinner and supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

"After one quarter of a year, Babington the warden, and his wife, fell out with me, respecting the wicked mass: and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until, by God's means, good people sent me bedding to lie on. On one side of the prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.

"During which time I have been sick, and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help: but the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, 'Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him.'

"I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishoprics, and, since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely, than the veriest slave that ever came to the common side of the prison.

"The warden hath also imprisoned my man, William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but a little remembrance of good people's names who had given me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

"I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, livings, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me, by just account, fourscore pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to keep me, neither is there suffered

any one to come at me, whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (saving God's help,) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death."

After he had been eighteen months in prison, on the 22d of January, 1555, the warden of the Fleet was ordered to bring him before the chancellor Gardiner, who, with other bishops, were appointed to examine him a second time, at Gardiner's palace in Southwark.

When brought before these merciless persecutors, the chancellor made a long speech to him, desiring him to forsake the opinions he had embraced, and return to the bosom of the church; adding, that as the pope was the head of the church, so it was breaking through her unity to separate from her. He promised to procure him the pope's absolution if he would recant his opinions; but this was merely an ostentatious pretence to mercy; for Gardiner knew, that Hooper was too well grounded in his religious opinions, to comply with his request.

To this Dr. Hooper answered, that as the pope's doctrine was contrary to the sacred scriptures, and as he could not be the head of the church, because there was no head of it but Christ, so he would live and die asserting the doctrines he had taught.

Gardiner replied, that the queen would never show any mercy to the enemies of the pope; whereupon Babington, the warden, was commanded to take him back to the Fleet. It was likewise 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, and was again asked whether or not he would recant; but nothing could shake his constancy.

On Monday morning, February 4, the bishop of London went to the prison to degrade him, which thing was done in the usual form, by putting the different robes upon him worn by priests, and then taking them off. They did not put on him the bishop's robes, because they did not admit of the validity of his ordination. While they were stripping him of these Romish rags, he told them he was glad to part with them, because his mind had been always against them, and considered them as no better than heathenish relics; as in fact they were, for the same kind of robes were worn by the priests before the time of Constantine the Great.

A few hours after he was degraded, the keeper came to him and told him, he was to be sent down to Gloucester to suffer death. Upon this he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, praising God that he was to die among his people, as it would be the means of confirming them in the truth of what he had taught them. He immediately sent to his servant for his boots and cloak, that he might be in readiness to attend the officers whenever they should come for him.

About four in the morning he was taken out of prison by the sheriff, and conducted to the sign of the Angel, near St. Dunstan's church, Fleet-street. There he was received by the queen's officers, who had the warrant for his execution; after which they permitted him to take some refreshment.

About break of day he cheerfully mounted on horseback without help, having a hood on his head under his hat, that he should not be known; and thus equipped, with a serene and cheerful countenance, proceeded on the road 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, a town in his own diocese, and about eleven miles from Gloucester, where they dined at the house of a woman who had always hated the Protestants, and traduced bishop Hooper's character as much as possible. This woman, seeing his constancy, was so affected, that she lamented his case with tears, and begged his pardon for the manner in which she had spoken of him.

Dinner being over, they proceeded to Gloucester, where they arrived about five in the afternoon. A great crowd of people were assembled about a mile without the town; so that one of the guard, fearing a rescue, rode up to the mayor's house, to demand aid and assistance. This being granted, the people dispersed.

Hooper was that night lodged in the house of one Ingram, where he ate his supper with a good appetite, and slept very quietly, as the guard declared, for they continued in the chamber with him all the night. In the morning he got up, and having prayed most fervently, was visited by Sir Anthony Kingston, who was one of the persons appointed to see him executed. When Sir Anthony came into the chamber he found him at his prayers, and waiting till he had done, asked if he did not know him. To this bishop Hooper answered, that he did know him, and was glad to see him in good health. He added, that he was come there to end his life, and blessed God that it was to be in the midst of his own diocese. He said he loved life as well as it ought to be loved, but he was not to enjoy it at the expense of his future welfare. He was not to blaspheme his Savior by denying his name, through which alone he looked for salvation; but trusted that he

should be endowed with fortitude sufficient to bear all the torments his enemies could inflict upon him.

Sir Anthony Kingston had profited much from the preaching of bishop Hooper, and taking his leave, told him, with tears, that he was extremely sorry to lose so worthy a person. Dr. Hooper answered, that it was his duty to persevere in the truth, and not to be ashamed of the gospel, lest Christ should refuse to acknowledge him before his Father in heaven.

The same day, in the afternoon, a poor blind boy came to visit bishop Hooper, and falling on his knees before him, said, "Ah, my lord, I am blind in my eyes, but your pious instructions have removed a spiritual blindness from my heart. May God support you under all your sufferings, and bring you, even through flames, to heaven!"

Several other persons visited the bishop, amongst whom was a very wicked man, a bigoted papist, who had known him formerly. This man upbraided him with what he called his heresy; but Hooper bore all his insults with patience and meekness.

The time appointed for the execution of this pious bishop drawing nigh, he was delivered to the sheriffs of Gloucester, who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to his lodgings, and at the first meeting, having saluted him, took him by the hand. The resigned martyr thanked the mayor, with the rest of the officers, for taking a condemned man by the hand, and for all the friendship that had formerly subsisted between them, for he had long been acquainted with them. He begged of the sheriffs that they would make the fire as violent as possible, that his pains might be of the shorter duration; adding, that he might have had his life if he chose it, but could not, consistently with that duty he owed to God, and his own conscience. He said, he knew the bishop of Rome was Antichrist, and therefore he could not be obedient to him. He desired they would not deny his request, but let him suffer as soon as possible, without exercising any unnecessary cruelty, which was unbecoming the dignity of men of honor.

A consultation was held by the sheriffs, whether or not they should lodge him, the evening before his execution, in the common gaol over the north gate of the city; but the guard who had brought him from London, interceded so earnestly in his favor, that he was permitted to remain in his former lodgings; and he spent the evening in prayer, together with as much of the night as he could spare from his ordinary rest. The believer, who is to rest in Christ Jesus throughout the endless ages of eternity, may well enjoy an hour's sleep, before the commencement of even the most excruciating tortures.

When bishop Hooper arose in the morning, he desired that no person whatever should disturb him in his 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; and at nine, Dr. Hooper was ready. Being brought down from his chamber, when he saw the guards, he told the sheriffs he was no traitor, but one who was willing to die for the truth; and that if they would have permitted him, he would have willingly gone unguarded to the stake, without troubling any officers. Afterwards, looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, above seven thousand in number, he said, "Alas! why are so many people assembled? I dare not speak to them as formerly."

He was led forward between the two sheriffs, as a lamb to the slaughter, having on a gown which the man of the house, where he was confined, had lent him; and being much afflicted with an illness he had contracted in prison, he was obliged to walk with a staff in his hand. The sheriffs having commanded him not to speak one word, he was not seen to open his mouth, but beholding the people, who mourned bitterly, he sometimes lifted 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 before.

When he was brought to the stake, he embraced it, and looked smilingly 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 a faithful account of what he said, after his death, as he was not permitted to speak aloud. When he had been some time at prayer, a pardon was brought, and offered to him, on condition that he would recant; but neither promises of pardon, nor threatenings of punishment, had any effect on him; so immovable was he in the faith, and so well established in the principles of the gospel.

Prayers being ended, he prepared himself for the stake, by taking off his landlord's gown, which he delivered to the sheriffs, requesting them to see it restored to the owner. He then took off the rest of his clothes, except his doublet and hose, in which he intended to be burned; but the sheriffs not permitting that, he patiently submitted.—After this, a pound of gunpowder was placed between his legs, and the same quantity under each arm; three chains were then fixed round him, one to his neck, another to his middle, and a third to his legs; and with these he was fastened to the stake.

This being done, fire was put to the fagots; but they being green, he suffered inexpressible torment. Soon after this, a load of dry fagots was brought, but still the wind

blew away the flames; so that he begged for more, that he might be put out of his misery.

At length the fire took effect, and the martyr triumphantly ascended into heaven, after such a fiery trial as almost exceeds any thing we meet with in the primitive ages. His last words were, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me; enable me to bear my sufferings for thy name's sake, and receive my spirit."

Such was the end of one of the most eminent fathers of the church of England; and surely that religion which could support him under such dreadful tortures, must be of God. Fanaticism and superstition may give resolution; but it is only the divine influence of pure religion which can bestow calmness in the hour of death.

SECTION III.

Sufferings and Martyrdom of Dr. Rowland Taylor.

Dr. Rowland Taylor was born in the town of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, which was one of the first places in England that received the gospel; and here he preached constantly during the reign of king Edward. Archbishop Cranmer, who was a good judge of merit, and loved to reward it in learned men, took him into his family, and presented him to the living of Hadleigh. Here he proved himself a most excellent preacher, and a faithful pastor. He made himself acquainted with every individual in his parish; he taught them like the apostles and primitive Christians, who went from house to house. The love of Christ wrought so strongly on his mind, that every Sunday and holiday, he preached in the most fervent manner to his people.

Nor did he restrict himself to preaching: his life was one continued comment on his doctrine: it was a life of holiness: he studied nothing so much as to do good; was a stranger to pride; and was clothed with humility. He was particularly attentive to the poor, and his charity was bounded only by his ability. While he rebuked sinners for their enormities, he was ready to relieve their wants. This was a godlike disposition, and the characteristic of a true Christian.

In the course of his ministerial labors, he often met with opposition, and even with abuse; but he attended to the maxim laid down by the apostle, that we must go through evil, as well as through good report. He was a married man, but never sat down to dinner with his family, without first inquiring whether the poor wanted any thing. To those who were distressed, he gave relief before he ate any thing himself. He familiarized himself with all ranks of men, in order that he might win them to the knowledge and practice of the truth. He was an indulgent, tender, affectionate husband, and brought up his children in the fear of God, well knowing, that to lay a good foundation is the only way to secure a beautiful superstructure.

In this excellent manner, Dr. Taylor continued to discharge his duty at Hadleigh as long as king Edward lived; but no sooner was that pious monarch dead, than affairs took a different turn.

And here we may observe, that if a man be ever so pious; if he be ever so faithful in the discharge of his duty, yet he will meet with many enemies: this was the case with Dr. Taylor. In his parish, notwithstanding all his endeavors to suppress popery, yet some papists remained; and their hatred of his doctrine was extended to the preacher, and rendered them blind to his excellencies.

Two of these persons, named Clarke and Foster, hired a Romish priest to come to Hadleigh to say mass. For this purpose, they ordered an altar to be built with all convenient speed, and appointed that mass should be said on Palm Sunday. But the reformers met together in the evening, and pulled down the altar; it was, however, built up again, and a watch was appointed lest it should be demolished a second time.

The day following, Clarke and Foster came, bringing along with them their popish priest, who was to perform the service of mass. The priest was dressed in his robes for the occasion, and had a guard with him, lest he should be interrupted by the populace.

When Dr. Taylor heard the bells ring, he went into the church to know the reason, but found the doors of the chancel barred against him. However, getting within the chancel, he saw the popish priest at the altar, attended by a great number of people, with their swords drawn. The doctor accused the priest of idolatry, but the priest retorted upon him, and called him traitor, for disobeying the queen's proclamation. Dr. Taylor said he was no traitor, but a minister of the gospel, commanded to teach the people; and then ordered the popish priest to retire, as one who came in there to poison the flock of Christ with his most abominable doctrines. Foster, who was principally concerned in this affair, called Dr. Taylor a traitor, and violently dragged him out of the

church; while his wife, on her knees, begged that God would vindicate his innocence, and avenge the injuries so wrongfully inflicted on him.

Foster and Clarke next exhibited a charge of heresy against Dr. Taylor, to the chancellor Gardiner, who sent a messenger, commanding Dr. Taylor to appear before him, in order to answer to the charge.

When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this, they were much grieved, and fearing what would be the result, as justice was not to be expected from the furious bigots then in power, advised him to go abroad to save his life. But this he would by no means comply with; saying that it was more honorable to suffer for the cause of God, than to flee from the wrath of wicked men. "God," said he, "will either protect me from sufferings, or he will enable me to bear them." He added; "That he knew his dying for the truth would be of more service to the cause of Christ, than his flying away from the malice of his persecutors."

When his friends saw that nothing could prevail upon him, they took leave of him with tears; after which he set out for London, accompanied by a servant, named John Hull, who had been a considerable time in his family. This faithful servant advised him to make his escape, but to no purpose; for Taylor said, that the good shepherd should never leave his sheep, till he was torn from them by force. In the same heavenly manner he exhorted John to be constant in the profession of Christianity, and not to return to popery. He said, that worldly wisdom was apt to take too deep a root in our hearts, and that it was, therefore, our duty to do all we could to triumph over the world, the flesh, and the devil; to be consistent in our attachment to the truth; to keep in view the glorious eternity provided for the faithful; to despise earthly enjoyments, while we strive to render ourselves worthy of heaven; to fear God more than men; to believe that he will sweeten all our sufferings, by the influences of his holy spirit; to think nothing too hard to endure, in order to obtain a blessed immortality; and, with a Christian courage, to trample on death, and triumph over the grave.

When Dr. Taylor was brought before the chancellor Gardiner, that prelate reviled him in the most shocking manner, calling him a traitor and a heretic; all which our pious martyr patiently submitted to. In the opinion of Gardiner he might have been a heretic, but, according to law, he could not have been a traitor; for the statute of high treason, and the statute of heresy, enforced different punishments; for treason the offending party was to be hanged and quartered; for heresy he was to be burned alive. Had queen Mary proceeded against this man, and many others, on the statute of high treason, they must have been acquitted, as the trial would have been conducted according to the principles of common law. But this she had no intention to do; her design was to gratify the clergy, by causing all those who opposed their sentiments, to be put to death in the most barbarous manner.

Dr. Taylor answered the chancellor with a becoming firmness: he told him, that he was the persecutor of God's people, and that he, himself, had adhered to our Savior and his word: he put bishop Gardiner in mind of the oath he had taken in the beginning of king Edward's reign, to maintain the Protestant religion, and oppose the papal supremacy; but Gardiner answered that the oath had been extorted, so that he was not obliged to abide by it.

It is certain, that every oath extorted by the threatening of punishment, can have no moral force; and the man who has been weak enough to swear, may recede from the obligatory part as soon as he has an opportunity. But this was not the case with Gardiner; had he refused the oath, all the punishment inflicted upon him would have been the loss of his bishopric. And surely he who pays the least regard to the sacred Name invoked to witness his sincerity, will not choose to enjoy a temporal subsistence at the expense of a guilty conscience.

Dr. Taylor explained to the bishop the nature of an oath, and told him, that as he had not been forced to take one contrary to the dictates of conscience, so he was either prejudiced in what he did, or, what was still worse, he trifled with a sacred obligation; that no man whatever could dispense with an oath, unless he knew it was his duty to do so, in consequence of its having been imposed on him by violence.

Gardiner, who was self-convicted, turned the subject to the disputed points concerning the real presence, and some other things in popery.

With respect to the real presence in the sacrament, Dr. Taylor told him, that it had no foundation in scripture, but had been first taught about the tenth century. He quoted the book of Bertram, which was written about that time, wherein the real presence was denied, and transubstantiation considered as no better than a novel doctrine. He made it appear, that Christ only commanded his followers to keep the feast of the eucharist, in remembrance of his last supper with them. That as Christ broke bread, and drank wine with his disciples in a friendly manner, before he was dragged to prison, to judgment, and to execution, consequently his followers should observe it as a feast of unity to the end of the world.

Such were the sentiments of this pious man, concerning a very disputed point. He was clear in his conceptions concerning the scripture account of the last supper, for all

the primitive fathers have taught us to consider it in the same light. When Christ said, "This is my body," he could only mean the atonement that was to be made for sin, and surely that could not be the bread he took in his hand. The body of Christ, joined to his human soul, and both united to the divine nature, are now in a state of glory in heaven; and how then can the priest turn a morsel of bread into the body of our Divine Redeemer? The bare thought puts common sense to the blush. It is full of absurdity, and can only impose on the grossest credulity, for the purpose of increasing the influence of artful and designing priests.

Dr. Taylor, after being interrogated by the chancellor for a considerable time, was at length committed to prison; for bigotry knows no feeling; persecution no resting-place.

While he was in prison, he spent the greatest part of his time in prayer, in reading the sacred scriptures, and in exhorting the poor prisoners, confined with him, to a sense of their duty. This was the more necessary, as the people at that time were extremely ignorant; light indeed was beginning to break in upon them, but they knew not how to walk. The prison in which Dr. Taylor was confined, was that commonly called the King's Bench, and there he met with that holy and pious man Mr. Bradford, whose affinity in religious sentiments contributed to mitigate his sufferings. If two virtuous or pious persons are of the same opinion, and under the same circumstances, they generally sympathize with each other. This was the case with Dr. Taylor and Mr. Bradford; for no sooner did they meet each other in prison, than they blessed God who had brought them together, to suffer for the truth of the gospel.

After Dr. Taylor had lain a considerable time in prison, he was cited to appear at Bow church, in Cheapside, to answer to the dean of the arches concerning his marriage.

When he was brought before this officer, he defended marriage in such a masterly manner, that the dean would not venture to pronounce a divorce, but only deprived him of his benefice. He was then remanded to prison, and kept there above a year and a half; when he and several others were brought to be again examined before the chancellor.

Gardiner asked him whether he adhered to the form of religion, as established by king Edward VI.? Whether he approved of the English book of common prayer? Whether he was married? and many other questions. To all these Dr. Taylor gave clear and satisfactory answers, justifying his conduct; but these were not sufficient, seeing his death was resolved on.

Concerning marriage, Dr. Taylor proved, not only from the sacred scriptures, but likewise from the primitive writers, that the clergy were not prohibited from it. As he was a learned civilian and canonist, he proved from the Justinian institutions, that all oaths of celibacy were then condemned, and that the priests were exhorted to marry. Nay, so strict was the emperor in this particular, that if a man made over a legacy to his wife, on condition of her not marrying again, the will was to be void.

He added further, that it was contained in the pandects, that if a man had a female slave, and made her free on condition she should never marry, the condition should not be binding, and she might marry, nor should her former master be permitted to reclaim her. It was the more proper to quote the pandects, because they were written in the sixth century, and although many abuses had then crept into the church, yet celibacy was not in the number.

The next time he was brought before the chancellor, was in company with Mr. Saunders, whose martyrdom we have already described, and Mr. Bradford. Dr. Taylor was charged with heresy by the chancellor, and the other bishops who were present. He acknowledged that he abhorred all the popish doctrines of the church of Rome; that the pope was Antichrist; that to deny the clergy the privilege of marriage was the doctrine of devils; that there were but two sacraments in the New Testament; that the mass was idolatry, the body of Christ being in heaven; and last of all, that he would abide by these sentiments to the last, being convinced that they were consistent with the doctrines laid down by Christ and his apostles.

One may easily imagine what would be the consequences of such a free and open declaration. The papists could not bear to hear their favorite notions thus called in question, and even condemned as idolatry.

The chancellor therefore pronounced sentence on him, and he was taken to a prison in Southwark, called the Clink, where he remained till night, and then was sent to the Compter in the Poultry. Here he remained seven days; when on the 4th of February, 1555, Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to the said Compter to degrade him, bringing with them the popish habits.*

The last part of the ceremony of degradation is for the bishop to strike the person degraded on the breast; but Bonner's chaplain advised him not to strike Dr. Taylor,

* Superstition had risen to such a pitch in the reign of Henry I. that the clergy were exempted from corporeal punishments; but his grandson Henry II. in the constitutions of Clarendon, ordained, that they should suffer the same punishments as the laity; and therefore the clergy, that it might not be said that a priest suffered death, always degraded him before execution; thus by a pitiful quibble maintaining the shadow of exemption, when they had lost the substance.

for he would surely strike again. "Yes, that I will, by St. Peter," said the doctor, "for the cause is Christ's, and I should not be a good soldier if I did not fight my master's battles."

The bishop therefore contented himself with pronouncing a curse upon Dr. Taylor; to which the doctor answered, "You may curse as long as you please, but I am confident God will support me: I have the witness of a good conscience, that I am standing in defence of the truth; whereas you dare not say that you are doing so: but I will pray for you."

When he was brought up to his chamber, he told Mr. Bradford that he had made the bishop of London afraid; "for," said he, "his chaplain advised him not to strike me, lest I should strike him again, which I made him believe I would, although I never intended to do so."

To strike an enemy is strictly forbidden in the gospel; but even had Dr. Taylor been so unguarded as to strike the bishop, it could only have been imputed to the ignorance which at that time prevailed, even over the minds of pious men.

The night after he was degraded, his wife, with his son Thomas, came to see him; and such was the good-nature of the keeper, that he permitted them to go into his apartment, and sup with him. Thus Dr. Taylor found a great difference between the keeper of the bishop's prison, and the keeper of the Compter. The bishop's keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannical, like their master; but the keepers of the royal prisons, for the most part, showed as much favor as could be granted, to those whom they had in custody. John Hull, the servant, came with the wife and son of Dr. Taylor; and at their first coming in, they all kneeled down and prayed.

After supper, the doctor walked two or three times across the room, blessing God that he had singled him out to bear witness to the truth, as it is in Jesus; that he had been thought worthy to suffer for his name's sake; and then turning to his son, he said, "My dear son, God Almighty bless you, and give you his holy spirit, to be a true servant of Christ; to hear his word, and constantly to stand by the truth all thy life long; and, my son, see that thou fear God always; flee from all sin and wicked living; be virtuous; attend closely to thy book, and pray to God sincerely. In all things that are lawful, see that thou be obedient to thy mother; love her and serve her; be ruled and directed by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not God, but indulge their vain appetites and lusts. Fly from whoredom, and abhor all filthy living; remembering that I, thy father, am to die in defence of holy marriage. Another day, when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is to be rich in alms: and when thy mother is far advanced in years, forsake her not, but provide for her according to thy abilities, and see that she want for nothing. And God will bless thee, and give thee long life upon earth, and prosperity; for which now, upon my knees, I pray through the merits of Jesus Christ.

Then turning to his wife, he said, "My dear wife, continue stedfast in the faith, fear, and love of God. Keep yourself undefiled by popish idolatries and superstition. I have been unto you a faithful yokefellow; and so have you been unto me; for the which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, my dear, but God will reward you. Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlock bond towards me: therefore I will give you my counsel, what I think most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and, therefore, it will be most convenient for you to marry; for, doubtless, you will not of yourself be able to support our dear children, nor be out of trouble, till you be married. Therefore, as soon as Providence shall point out some pious, honest man, who you think will support the poor children, be sure to marry him, and live in the fear of God; but by all means avoid idolatry and superstition."

Having said these words, he fell down and prayed for his family; and then he gave his wife an English prayer book, as set forth by king Edward VI.; and to his son Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing a collection of sentiments from the writings of the primitive fathers, relating to the courage and constancy of the ancient martyrs.

The reader who attends to the conduct of this dying martyr, will find that there is something in true religion far superior to deception. In the primitive times it was common for the martyrs, previous to their sufferings, to converse with their friends, and also to write epistles to the churches at a distance. Some of those epistles are still extant, and we know that they were frequently read in the churches afterwards: but no eloquence can exceed that of Dr. Taylor, in taking leave of his wife and son. How sweetly do his expressions flow from the heart! What a manly dignity under his sufferings does he display! What resignation to the will of God, and what a firm reliance on divine Providence! Here, indeed, grace triumphed over human nature, and the soul showed its native splendor, although confined within a mortal body.

The next morning, the 5th of February, so early as two o'clock, the sheriff of London, attended by his officers, came to the Compter, and took Dr. Taylor to the Woolpack, near Aldgate. His wife, having some suspicion that he was to be taken out that

morning, waited all night in the church of St. Botolph, near Aldgate, having with her a poor orphan girl, whom the doctor had brought up from infancy, and one of her own children. When the sheriff and his company came opposite the church, the orphan girl cried out, "O, my dear father; mother, mother, here is my father led out." Then Mrs. Taylor cried out, "Rowland! Rowland! where art thou?" for the morning was extremely dark. To this Dr. Taylor answered, "Here I am, but I am confined." The sheriff's officers wanted to hurry him away; but the sheriff, who had more humanity, ordered them to let him speak with his wife.

She then came to him, when, taking his wife and daughter, with the orphan girl, by the hands, he kneeled down, and prayed with them; which when the sheriff, and the other persons present saw, they shed tears. Prayers being over, he rose up, and taking his wife by the hand, bid her have good comfort, for he had a clear conscience. "God," said he, "will provide a father for my children, but let them be stedfast in the faith." To which his wife answered, "God be with you, my dear Rowland, and I will, with his grace, meet you at Hadleigh."

He was then put into a chamber, with four of the yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's officers. As soon as he entered the chamber, he knelt down, and gave himself wholly to prayer. There the sheriff, seeing Mrs. Taylor, told her that she must not speak to her husband; but that she might go to his house, and he would provide for her, so that she should not want for any thing. To this she answered, that "she would rather go to her mother's house," and two officers were sent to conduct her thither.

This part of the sheriff's conduct doubtless arose from principles of humanity; for what man can see a wife and children weeping over a father and husband, condemned to a cruel death, for a disputable offence, without shedding a tear of compassion?

Dr. Taylor remained at the Woolpack till eleven in the forenoon, when the sheriff of Essex came to receive him, and they prepared to set out on horseback. As they came out of the gate of the inn, John Hull, his old servant, whom we have mentioned before, was there waiting, having with him Dr. Taylor's son Thomas; John lifted up the boy that he might see his father, and then set him on the horse before him. Dr. Taylor, taking off his hat, said, "Good people, this is my own son, begotten in lawful wedlock, and I bless God for lawful matrimony." He then lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son; laid his hat upon the boy's head, and blessed him. After this, he delivered him to John Hull, whom he shook by the hand, and said, "Thou hast been the faithfulest servant ever man had."

When they arrived at Brentwood, they made a close hood for Dr. Taylor, having two holes for his eyes, and one for his mouth to breathe at. They did this, that no man should know him or speak to him; which practice was frequently used in such cases. The evidence of their own consciences convinced them that they were leading innocent people to the slaughter. Guilt creates fear, and thus does Satan reward his vassals.

All the way Dr. Taylor was as joyful as if he had been going to take possession of an estate; and, indeed, how could it be otherwise? He knew he was suffering for the faith, and that the truth was able to support him; and he anticipated a glorious reward from Him for whose cause he suffered.

At Chelmsford they were met by the sheriff of Suffolk, who was to take him into that county to be executed. While they were at supper, the sheriff of Essex labored earnestly with him to return to the popish religion. He told him, "that as he was a man of universal learning, so his death would be a great loss to the nation." The sheriff, whatever his own opinions were, said a great deal to Dr. Taylor, and falling before him on his knees, with the tears running down his cheeks, earnestly begged of him to recant his opinions, and be reconciled to the church; promising that he, and all his friends, would procure his pardon.

Dr. Taylor then took the cup in his hand, and looking to the company, particularly to the sheriff of Essex, said, "I heartily thank you for your good-will; I have hearkened to your words, and minded well your counsels; and, to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am likely to deceive a great many in Hadleigh of their expectations." At these words the whole company clapped their hands with joy: "God bless you," said the sheriff of Essex, "keep to that, it is the most comfortable word we have heard from you. Why should you cast away yourself? Play a wise man's part, and then I am certain you will find favor." Upon this Dr. Taylor replied, "I am, as you see, a man of a very large body, which I thought should have lain in Hadleigh church-yard, and there are a great number of worms there who would have had the feasting, which no doubt they wished for many a day; but I know I am deceived," said he, "and the worms are so too, for my body is to be burned to ashes, and they will lose their feast."

When the sheriff and his companions heard him say this, they were amazed at his constancy; for the nearer his sufferings approached, the more he was strengthened to endure them. In this he imitated our blessed Redeemer, who, when he felt his father's wrath beginning to be inflicted upon him, sweated, as it were, great drops of blood; but when led forth, and nailed to the cross,

he looked round with complacency, and convinced the spectators, that the glory of God shone through his human nature.

Such has been the case of the martyrs in all ages and nations. Human nature might, at first, shudder, and shrink back at the thought of the sufferings they were exposed to; but their constancy increased as the fiery trial drew near.

When the procession arrived at Aldham Common, where Dr. Taylor was to be burnt, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and thanked God that the last struggle was come, and he hoped he should be enabled to go through with it.

He tore the hood from his face, that he might be seen by the numerous spectators, many of whom had formerly been his parishioners. He then began to speak to the people who were praying for him; but the officers thrust sticks into his mouth, and threatened to cut his tongue out, unless he would promise to keep silence at the place of execution.

When he had prayed he kissed the stake, and got into a barrel partly filled with pitch, which was placed for that purpose. Fire being set to the pitch, Dr. Taylor continued praying in the most devout manner, till one of the officers, more humane than the rest, knocked out his brains with a halberd; which put an end to his misery.

We have in this case an instance of popish superstition, in some respects more violent than any we have yet taken notice of. Dr. Taylor was not only a pious man, but he had been, for his knowledge of the canon and civil laws, long esteemed as the glory of Cambridge. He had, from his distinguished abilities and learning, confuted the chancellor in his arguments concerning the marriage of the clergy; and, indeed, in all other respects, he was so well acquainted with the ancient fathers, that he was, with great propriety, called "The Walking Library." But no mercy can be shown, where religious rancor takes place. There is something in such persecutions that shuts up the bowels of compassion, even towards the nearest relations. Civil persecutors may occasionally relax into compassion; but those who persecute from erroneous notions of religion, are strangers to every humane sensation; and pant for the blood of those who differ from them, "even as the hart doth for the water-brooks."

SECTION IV.

Martyrdoms of numerous Persons in various parts of England.

THOMAS TOMKINS.

The first person we have to mention on the bloody list contained in this section, was named Thomas Tomkins, a weaver, who lived, with great reputation, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch. Being accused of heresy, he was summoned before that merciless persecutor bishop Bonner, who confined him, with many others, in the dungeons of his palace at Fulham.

During his imprisonment, he was treated by the bishop in a manner not only unbecoming a prelate, but a man: he several times beat him with peculiar cruelty, and tore the greatest part of his beard from his face, for no other reason but his refusing his assent to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Another instance of this cruel bishop's inhumanity to Mr. Tomkins, was exhibited before several gentlemen who came to visit him. The bishop, finding him inflexible, took hold of him by the wrist, and held his hand over the flame of a wax candle, in order, if possible, to make him deviate from those uncorrupted truths of the gospel he had so strongly preserved. This punishment Mr. Tomkins submitted to with great fortitude, till the veins burst, and water issuing from the hand, flew into the face of a bystander, who was so affected, that he requested the bishop to forbear, saying, he had sufficiently punished the prisoner.

A few days after this, Mr. Tomkins was brought before the bishop, at his consistory court at St. Paul's, to whom he delivered the following articles of confession in writing, sealed up, and signed with his own hand:

"I, Thomas Tomkins, of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the diocese of London, having confessed, and declared openly, heretofore to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, mine ordinary, that my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Savior Jesus Christ is not truly, and in very deed, in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven; and so in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar:

"And moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary openly many times, that although the church, called the Catholic church, hath allowed, and doth allow the mass and sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholesome, profitable, and godly thing; yet my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry,

and unprofitable for the soul; and so I have called it many times, and take it at this present:

"Having also confessed and declared to my said ordinary, that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministered; and also without such ceremonies as are generally used in the Latin church, and otherwise not to be allowed:

"Finally, being many and oftentimes called before my said ordinary, and talking withal, touching all my said confessions and declarations, both by my said ordinary, and divers other learned men, as well his chaplains as others, and counselled by them all to embrace the church, and to recant mine error, in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy, and manifest error; do testify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my said confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises, and every part thereof; and in nowise recant, or go from any part of the same. In witness whereof, I have subscribed and passed the writing, this 26th of September, 1554."

Bishop Bonner, and the rest of the tribunal, strongly pressed Mr. Tomkins to recant his errors, and return to the mother-church; but he only answered, "I was born and brought up in ignorance till of late years, and now I know the truth, I will continue therein unto death."

Finding him inflexible, they declared him a heretic, and ordered the sheriff of London, who attended, to conduct him immediately to Newgate. Here he remained till the 16th of March, 1555, when he was conducted to Smithfield, and there burnt, triumphing in the midst of the flames, and adding to the number of those martyrs who had preceded him through the path of the fiery trial to the 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 parishioners to receive the communion at mass the Easter following, when young Hunter, who was then only nineteen years of age, refusing to obey the summons, was threatened with being brought before the bishop to answer for his disobedience.

In consequence of this, his master, fearful of incurring ecclesiastical censure, desired he would leave him, at least for a time; upon which he quitted his service, and went to his father at Brentwood, in Essex.

During his stay here he one day went into the chapel, and seeing the bible lie on the desk, he opened it, and began to read. Being observed by an officer of the bishop's court, he severely reprimanded him, and said, "Why meddlest thou with the bible? understandeth thou what thou readest? canst thou expound the scriptures?" To which Hunter replied, "I do not presume to do it; but finding the bible here, I read it for my comfort and edification."

The officer then informed a neighboring priest of the liberty Hunter had taken in reading the bible, who immediately sent for him, and severely chid him, saying, "Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read the bible, and expound it?" He answered as he had done to the officer; and on the priest's saying, it became him not to meddle with the scriptures, he frankly declared his resolution to read them as long as he lived. The priest upbraided him as a heretic; but he boldly denied the charge. Being asked his opinion concerning the corporeal presence in the sacrament, he replied, that he esteemed the bread and wine but as figures, and looked upon the sacrament as an institution in remembrance of the death and sufferings of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. On this the priest openly declared him a heretic, and threatened to complain of him to the bishop.

A neighboring justice, named Brown, having heard that young Hunter maintained heretical principles, sent for his father to inquire into the particulars. The old man told him, that his son had left him, and that he knew not whither he was gone. The justice, not believing what he said, threatened to commit him to prison, unless he would immediately cause his son to be apprehended, and brought before him. To this he replied with tears in his eyes, "Would you have me seek out my son to be burned?"

He was, however, obliged to go in quest of his son; when meeting him by accident, William asked his father if he was seeking for him; to which the old man answered, with tears, in the affirmative, and that it was by order of the justice, who threatened to put him in prison. The son, to secure his father from any danger on his account, said, he was ready to accompany him home, which he accordingly did.

The next day he was apprehended by the constable of the parish, who put him in the stocks for twenty-four hours, and then took him before the justice. On his arrival the justice called for a bible, turned to the sixth chapter of St. John, and desired him to give his opinion of the meaning of it, as it related to the sacrament of the altar.

Hunter gave the same explanation as he had done to the priest; and persisting in his denial of the corporeal presence in the eucharist the justice upbraided him with here-

ry, and wrote an account of his conduct to the bishop of London.

In consequence of this, young Hunter was summoned to appear at the consistory court held at St. Paul's. He accordingly attended at the time appointed, when he was severely reproved for having fallen from the Catholic faith, and was exhorted to return to the same.

To this he boldly answered, that he had not fallen from the Catholic faith, but believed and confessed it with all his heart.

He was then desired by the bishop to recant what he had said concerning the sacrament of the altar; but he declared, that by the help of God he would still continue to persist in the faith he had hitherto maintained, and avowed.

Being urged still farther, and promised that if he would recant he should go home unhurt, he said to the bishop, "My lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my own conscience, I will return to my father, and dwell with him, or else with my master again, and will keep my opinion to myself."

The bishop answered, "I am content, so that thou wilt go to church, receive, and be confessed." This Hunter peremptorily refused; upon which, after several farther efforts to bring him over, the bishop ordered him to be put in the stocks, where he continued two days and nights, having only a crust of brown bread, and a cup of water, given to him for refreshment.

At the expiration of the two days, the bishop went to him, and finding the bread and water lay by him untouched, he ordered some of his servants to take him out of the stocks, and let him breakfast with them; but they evaded the bishop's request, thinking it great profanation that such *excellent Christians* as they were, should eat with a vile *heretic*.

After this he was repeatedly brought before the bishop, who, sometimes by soothing him, and sometimes by threats, endeavored to bring him to a recantation; but all his efforts proved ineffectual. In consequence of this, the persecuting prelate passed sentence on him, which was, that he should be remanded to Newgate for a time, from whence he should be removed to Brentwood; "where," said the bishop, "thou shalt be burned."

A few days after this the bishop sent for him again, and promised him preferment if he would recant: to which he replied, "My lord, I thank you for your great offer; but if you cannot enforce my recantation from scripture, I cannot, in my conscience, turn from God for the love of the world, for I count all things but dung and dross for the love of Christ."

He was then carried back to Newgate, and in a few days removed to Brentwood, where he was confined in an inn till the day of his execution. During this time he was visited by many of his neighbors and acquaintances, all of whom he exhorted to beware of popish superstition and idolatry.

On the morning of the 27th of March, 1555, the sheriff gave orders for the necessary preparations to be made for his execution. In the mean time the sheriff's son, who was his friend, visited him at the inn, and encouraged him not to fear the men who were making preparations for his death; to whom he said, "that, thank God, he was not in the least intimidated, for that he had cast up his account, and well knew the happy consequences that would attend his strict adherence to the cause of Christ."

A short time after this he was led from the inn to the stake, between one of the sheriff's officers and his brother Robert. In their way he was met by his father, who, with tears flowing from his eyes, said to him, "God be with thee, son William." To which he replied, "God be with you, good father, and be of good cheer, for I trust we shall meet again, with exceeding great joy."

When he arrived at the place of execution, he 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 heretics translated books as they pleased.

The sheriff then showed him a letter from the queen, containing his pardon if he would recant; but he refused life on such terms, went up to the stake, and was chained to it, saying to the spectators, "Good people, pray for me, and make quick 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." The priest cried out, "As thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell!" "Thou liest, thou false prophet!" exclaimed Hunter; "away with thee!"

As soon as the fire was kindled, our martyr gave his prayer book to his brother, who, to encourage him, reminded him of the passion of his dear Redeemer, and bid him be of good cheer: to which he replied, "I fear neither torture nor death; Lord Jesus, receive my departing spirit!" The fire burning rapidly, he was soon consumed, yielding up his life, with patience and humility, to Him who gave it, and in testimony of the

truth of that God who cannot change, but whose word is the same yesterday, to-day, and 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, both in that county.

WILLIAM PIGOT, STEPHEN KNIGHT, AND THE REV. JOHN LAWRENCE.

These three pious Christians having been informed against by the emissaries of Bonner and Gardiner, as maintaining religious opinions contrary to the doctrine and practrice of holy mother church, were summoned to appear before bishop Bonner, at his consistory court in London, where they were severally questioned concerning their faith of the corporeal presence in the sacrament.

Having respectively answered and subscribed that the elements were not substantially, but figuratively, the body and blood of Christ, in that holy ordinance, they were severely reprimanded by the court, admonished to recant their heretical opinions, and for that time dismissed.

A few days after, they were again examined concerning the same tenet, when they made the like declaration as before: in consequence of which, the bishop addressed himself to the two laymen, and with an affected concern for their spiritual and temporal interests, warmly exhorted them to reject their heresies, and not expose themselves to death here, and damnation hereafter, by obstinately persisting in disobedience to the holy see: but these plain Christians were too well grounded in the doctrines of Christ's pure gospel, to be moved from their adherence to the true faith. They, therefore, told the bishop, that they could not recant consistently with the dictates of their consciences, nor would they abjure the opinions to which they had subscribed.

After this, bishop Bonner entered into argument with Lawrence, the priest, alone, and having demanded of what order he was, he answered, that he was admitted to priest's orders eighteen years past, that he had been formerly a Black friar, and that he was now betrothed to a maid, whom he intended to marry.

The bishop then asked him his opinion of the corporeal presence in the sacrament: to which he replied, that "it was an institution of our blessed Lord, in commemoration of his death and sufferings; and that those were greatly deceived, who believed that his body was verily present in the same, since he had long before ascended into heaven, and was placed at the right hand of the glorious majesty of the Father."

Mr. Lawrence was, for the present, dismissed; but a few days after, he, with Pigot and Knight, were again summoned before the bishop, who, with his usual hypocrisy, exhorted them to recant, embrace the Roman Catholic faith, and not be the wilful cause of their own destruction. But no arguments could induce them to recede in a single point; all of them declaring they would abide by their opinions, because they were founded on the word of God; whereas the other was merely of human invention.

From this frank declaration bishop Bonner proceeded to pass sentence on them as irreclaimable heretics; and then degraded Lawrence with the usual ceremonies. After which they were all three delivered to the sheriff, who conducted them to Newgate.

On the 28th of March, 1555, being the day appointed for the execution of Pigot and Knight, they were removed early in the morning to the respective places destined for their execution, the former at Braintree and the latter at Malden, in Essex. When Knight arrived at the stake, he kneeled down, and, with an audible voice, said the following excellent prayer:

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

my Savior, spread thy wings over me. O blessed and Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Amen."

Both these martyrs suffered with amazing fortitude and resignation, proving to the spectators, that, "as is the day" of the sincere believer, "so likewise will be his strength."

The next day, March 29th, the Rev. John Lawrence suffered at Colchester. He was carried to the place of execution in a chair, being unable to walk, from the pressure of the irons with which his legs were bound, and the weakness of his body from want of proper nourishment while in prison. The chair was fastened to the stake, and he sat in it, for some time, with great composure, praying to God to enable him to undergo the fiery trial; at length the fagots were lighted, and he triumphantly expired in the cause of his glorious master, in sure and certain hope of an eternal existence in heaven.

DR. ROBERT FARRAR, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

The emissaries of the persecuting bishops had, for some time, fixed their eyes on this worthy and pious prelate, who, not only in the former reign, but also after the accession of Mary, had been particularly zealous in promoting the reformed doctrines, and exploding the errors of popish idolatry. Information of this being given to the bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor, Dr. Farrar, with several others, was summoned to appear before him, and the other commissioners.

After some previous harangue, the bishop of Winchester told him, that the queen and parliament had restored religion to the state in which it was at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII.; that he was in the queen's debt, but her majesty would cancel the same, and readmit him to her favor, if he would return to the holy Catholic church.

Undismayed by this information, Dr. Farrar answered, that with respect to the debt, he submitted it to the lord treasurer; but his lordship might well remember, that upon two former occasions he had solemnly sworn never to acknowledge the papal jurisdiction over the realm of England, and therefore it was needless to rehearse what he had already so peremptorily declared.

After a long debate, Gardiner sternly demanded, if he would recant, and acknowledge the papal supremacy: to which Farrar, with a resolution becoming a true Christian, and worthy bishop, expressed a degree of contempt, that his lordship should even think he would recede from an oath he had made to his Maker: an oath he could not break, consistently with his duty to God, and his regard to the interest of the reformed religion in his native country.

The haughty Gardiner was so highly incensed at this spirited behavior in Dr. Farrar, that, according to his usual inhuman custom, he treated him with scurrility, calling him, "froward knave," and telling him, that he should know his fate in a few days. To this Farrar coolly replied, that he would ever readily obey his summons, but would never retract what he had solemnly sworn, at the instigation of him, or any other man whatever.

The examination being over, Dr. Farrar was ordered to Newgate, where he was a short time confined, and then sent into Wales, there to receive his sentence of condemnation.

On his arrival at Carmarthen he was delivered to the sheriff of the county, who took him before Henry Morgan, the popish bishop of St. David's, and Constantine, the public notary, by whom he was committed to the custody of the keeper of Carmarthen jail.

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 to be allowed by the laws of the holy church?

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

Dr. Farrar refused to answer to these questions, unless the bishop produced a commission, authorizing him to ask them; upon which he was remanded to prison.

At length, after various disputes with bishop Morgan, he appealed from him, as an incompetent judge, to cardinal Pole; notwithstanding which, sentence was pronounced against him as a heretic, and he was delivered over to the secular power, having been previously degraded by Morgan.

Thus, for his stedfast adherence to the uncorrupted doctrines of the reformation, and resolute denial of the papal jurisdiction in these realms, was Dr. Farrar condemned, degraded, delivered up to the secular power, and, on the 30th of March, being the eve of Passion Sunday, in the bloody year 1555, executed in the market-place of Carmarthen, amidst a numerous crowd of spectators.

The following circumstance is a convincing proof what constancy and resolution this good man possessed, and how determined he was to retain those religious principles to

the last, which, throughout his life, he had strongly adhered to.

The son of a person of distinction visiting him a few days before his execution, and lamenting the cruel fate that awaited him, the doctor told him, that if he saw him once stir in the pains of burning, he might then give no credit to his doctrine, but look upon it as the effects of enthusiasm.

He resolutely fulfilled his promise, and greatly surprised his friend, who came to condole his fate: for he stood motionless in the midst of the flames, holding both his hands till they were burnt to the stumps, at which time one of the officers struck him on the head with a staff, and put a period to his life.

As Dr. Farrar gave many signal instances of his sincere and unshaken zeal for the honor of Christ, and exaltation of his name, during life, so, at his death, he suffered and expired with a degree of Christian heroism, equal to that of any of the noble army of martyrs.

MARTYRDOM OF RAWLINS WHITE, A POOR FISHERMAN OF SOUTH-WALES.

To such a height did the rage and malice of popish persecutors arrive, during the reign of Mary, that they not only vented their fury on men of eminence and learning, who espoused the Protestant cause, but the meanest and most ignorant of the people, who would not submit to the papal yoke, were arraigned at their bloody tribunals, and put to death for no other cause but that of professing the truth as it is contained in the scriptures.

Rawlins White (the poor man whose sufferings we are about to relate) had been so attentive to the preaching of the gospel during the reign of Edward VI. that he had attained to a very competent knowledge of the holy scriptures, and became a zealous assertor of the Protestant doctrines, having wholly renounced the superstition and idolatry of popery, and conformed to the public worship of God, according to the English common prayer book.

Being thus converted to the true faith of Christ, he took great pains to instruct his son in the same, causing him to read a portion of the holy scriptures every night and morning, till he likewise became well grounded in the principles of the true religion, as contained in the gospel.

White was not only desirous of acquiring saving knowledge himself, but also of communicating it to others; insomuch that he took every opportunity of visiting his neighbors, and endeavoring to instruct those, whom he found desirous of obtaining a knowledge of the truth.

He continued those devout and holy exercises in a public manner, till the death of king Edward, when popery being restored, and the pure religion discouraged and restrained, he used to meet his friends privately, pray, and encourage them to hold fast to the truth. At length he was apprehended, by one of the officers of the town, on a suspicion of heresy, who taking him before the bishop of Llandaff, he was, by that prelate, committed to prison.

During his confinement, several of his friends sent him money; and he was visited by many, whom he instructed in the faith of Christ, and exhorted to beware of popish emissaries, as wolves in sheep's clothing.

After a long imprisonment, the bishop of Llandaff summoned White to appear before him, and endeavored to bring him over to idolatry and superstition; but all his exhortations proving ineffectual, he told him, in anger, that he must come to a resolution either to recant his heretical opinions, or endure the rigor of the laws enacted against those who maintained tenets repugnant to the doctrines of the holy see.

On the day appointed for his examination, the bishop, in the presence of his chaplains, and many others, assembled in the chapel, declared that White was known not only to maintain heretical principles himself, but to inculcate the same among his acquaintance. Then addressing himself to the prisoner, he told him, that he had frequently, since his first warning, been admonished to relinquish his heretical tenets, and yet 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 endeavor to bring him to an humble sense of his errors; and assured him that, upon due penitence for the crimes he had committed, both against God and the laws of his sovereign, they were disposed to show him mercy: but that if, in spite of the royal clemency, and the admonition of the reverend fathers, he persisted in his heresies, they were determined to execute on him the utmost rigor of the law, as a most damnable and obstinate heretic.

White, without the least sign of fear at the peremptory declaration of the bishop, told his lordship, that he blessed God he was a Christian, and held no doctrines contrary to the divine mind and will as revealed in the scriptures of truth: if he did, he 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 heretic. To which White replied, that he might proceed as he thought proper, but that he could not condemn him as a heretic, as he did not maintain any opinion that was not supported by the word of God.

The bishop then desired the people present to join with him in prayer, that it would

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Burning of Dr Farrar, Bishop of St David's, March 30, 1555.

Plate XLI. Book XI.—Sect. 4.

Martyrdom of Rawlins White, at Cardiff, March 30, 1555.

please God to turn White's heart, and bring him to the acknowledgment of the true religion.

Our martyr applauded this behavior of the bishop, as becoming his profession, assuring him, that if the request was agreeable to the divine will, God would, doubtless, hear and grant the same; and that while the bishop was praying to his God, he himself would pray to his God, who he knew would hear and perform his desire.

Accordingly, they all went to private prayer, which being finished, the bishop asked him how he found himself disposed in his mind? He replied, "The very same as before."

The bishop, incensed that no change could be wrought upon him, was about to read the sentence, 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 being performed, he was again warmly admonished to recant, but all exhortation was ineffectual; the bishop, therefore, read the definitive sentence, after which he was carried to Cardiff, and imprisoned in a place called Cockmarel, a most filthy and lothesome dungeon, where he continued till the writ for his execution came from London.

Upon the day appointed for terminating his life, which was March 30, 1555, he was brought from prison, and in his way to the place appointed for the bloody scene, met his wife and children, wringing their hands, and most bitterly lamenting his approaching fate. This affecting sight drew tears from his eyes; but soon recollecting himself, and striking his breast with his hand, he said, "Ah! flesh, stayest thou me, wouldest thou fain prevail? Well, do what thou canst, by God's grace thou shalt not get the victory."

As soon as he arrived at the stake, he fell on his knees, and kissed the earth, saying, "Earth to earth, and dust to dust; thou art my mother, to thee I must return."

When he was fastened to the stake, and the straw, reeds, and wood were placed round him, a priest, appointed for the purpose, stood up and harangued the spectators, who were very numerous, it being market-day.

The priest, having finished his discourse, in which he inveighed against the opinion of the Protestants concerning the sacrament of the altar, our martyr rebuked him, proved his doctrine to be false, and cited, as his authority, those words of our Lord, "Do this in remembrance of me."

The fire being kindled, he was soon surrounded by the flames, in the midst of which this good old man (for he was sixty years of age) held up his hands till the sinews shrunk, crying earnestly, "O Lord, receive my soul! O Lord, receive my spirit!" The flames were so vehement about his legs, that they were almost consumed, before the upper part of his body was injured by the fire; notwithstanding which he bore his sufferings with the greatest composure and resignation, cheerfully resigning his soul into the hands of Him who gave it, in sure and certain hopes of being rewarded for his constancy with a crown of eternal life.

MARTYRDOM OF THE REV. GEORGE MARSH.

This eminent and pious divine was descended from poor, but honest and religious parents, who educated him, from his earliest years, in the principles of the reformed religion; so that when he arrived at manhood, he was well versed in the doctrines of the pure gospel of Christ.

At his first entrance into the business of life he followed the occupation of farming, and by his honest endeavors maintained his family with decency and reputation for some years: but on the decease of his wife, being disposed to study, he placed his children with his father, quitted his farm, and went to Cambridge, where he made such a progress in literature, that he soon entered into holy orders.

He officiated as curate in several parishes in the county of Lancaster, kept a school at Dean, and was a zealous promoter of the true religion, as well as a vigorous opposer of the idolatries of the church of Rome, during the reign of king Edward VI. But when popery again raised its destructive head, he, among many others, became the object of its persecution, as one that propagated doctrines contrary to the *infallible church*, and therefore liable to the severest censure and punishment.

Mr. Marsh, on hearing that search was made after him, absconded for some time, and in his retirement often deliberated with himself, whether he should go abroad to save his life, or surrender himself up, in order to ward off the mischief which threatened his mother and brother, who were suspected of having concealed him.

During this unsettled state of his mind, he consulted with his friends, and earnestly sought direction of God, that he might be guided in the way, which most conduced to His glory, and his own spiritual and eternal interest.

At length, thinking that flight would evince cowardice in the best of causes, he determined, by the grace of God, to abide by the consequence, and accordingly surrendered himself to the earl of Derby, at his seat at Latham, in the county of Lancaster.

When he was brought into the earl's presence, he was charged with propagating heresy, and sowing sedition amongst the people; but he denied the charge, and de-

clared, 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, who was present, then proceeded to inquire his opinion concerning the favorite tenet of the church of Rome, relating to the sacrament. Marsh answered, in general, that he believed whosoever received the holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, according to his own appointment, did eat and drink his body and blood, with all the benefits arising from the same, because our Lord was ever present at his own ordinances.

This general reply not appearing satisfactory, the inquisitors descended to particulars, and peremptorily demanded his opinion, whether or 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, as it were, to suck from him his very blood.

Incensed at this reply, the earl told him, that instead of seeking his destruction, he meant to preserve his life in this world, and secure his happiness in that which is to come, by converting him from damnable errors and heresies, and bringing him over to the holy mother church, out of the pale of which there was no salvation.

After many questions and exhortations, finding he still persevered in the faith which opposed that of the "infallible church," the earl gave him pen and ink, and ordered him to write down his belief concerning the sacrament of the altar; and on his writing the same words he had before delivered, he was commanded to be more particular, when he wrote only the following: "Further I know not."

This resolute behavior exposed him to the keenest resentment of his popish persecutors, who committed him to prison, and suffered no one to come near him but the keeper, who brought him daily the scanty allowance of the place.

Various attempts were made, during his confinement, to bring him to a recantation; but as he still remained fixed and determined in his faith, they administered to him the four following articles, and the earl declared, if he would not subscribe them, he should be imprisoned, and proceeded against with the utmost severity.

"1. Whether the mass now used in the church of England was according to Christ's institution; and with faith, reverence, and devotion, to be heard and seen?

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

"3. Whether the lay-people ought to receive but under the form of bread only; and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

"4. Whether confession to the priest now used in England was godly and necessary?

Having retired for some time to consider of these articles, he returned, and delivered his opinion of them as follows:

The first he absolutely denied.

The second he answered in the very words he had before written.

With respect to the third, he declared, that, lay-people, according to the institution of Christ, ought to receive under both kinds, and that, therefore, to receive under one kind only was not sufficient.

To the last he observed, that though auricular confession was a good means to instruct ignorant people, it was not necessary to salvation, because not commanded by God.

To these answers he added, that his faith in Christ, founded on the infallible word of the only living and true God, he never would deny at the instance of any living creature, or through fear of any punishment whatsoever.

He was afterwards committed to Lancaster jail, laid in irons, and arraigned at the bar with the common felons, where the persecutors endeavored to extort from him information of several persons in that county, whom they suspected of maintaining heretical opinions; but nothing could prevail with him to utter a word that might endanger the lives or liberties of his faithful brethren in Christ.

He was severely reprimanded for reading aloud to the people (who came in crowds every morning and evening under his prison window) the litany and prayers of the reformed church, together with select passages of holy writ in the English tongue, which they termed "preaching," and, therefore, deemed criminal.

After remaining some weeks in confinement at Lancaster, he was removed to Chester, and placed in the bishop's custody, when his lordship frequently conferred with him, and used his utmost endeavors to bring him to an acknowledgment of the corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar, the mass, confession, and, in short, all the tenets and practices of the church of Rome.

When the bishop found he would not assent to a single point, he remanded him to prison; and in a few days summoned him before him in the cathedral church of Ches-

ter, where, in the presence of the mayor, chancellor, and principal inhabitants of that city, both laity and clergy, he caused him to take a solemn oath, to answer truly to such articles as might be alleged against him.

After he was sworn, the chancellor accused him of having preached and published most heretically and blasphemously, within the parishes of Dean, Eccles, Berry, and many other parishes within the bishop's diocese, directly against the pope's authority, the Catholic church of Rome, the mass, and the sacrament of the altar; with many other articles.

To all these charges Mr. Marsh answered, that he had neither heretically 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 publicly taught in the reign of king Edward VI.

After a further confinement of three weeks in prison, Marsh was again brought into the cathedral, where the chancellor made a formal harangue on the bishop's care of his flock, "in order to prevent infection from scabby sheep," and the like; which being ended, the former articles were propounded to him; to which he severally answered in the negative.

Being charged with having declared that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in king Edward's time was the true church, and that the church of Rome is not the true Catholic church; he acknowledged the declaration, and ratified it by a repetition.

Several persons present taking occasion to ask him, as he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England, whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, who were bishops of Rome, were not good men; he replied in the affirmative, but reminded them that they claimed no more authority in England, than the archbishop of Canterbury doth in Rome.

As this observation highly reflected on the validity of the papal supremacy, the bishop was so incensed, that he gave Marsh very abusive language, calling him "a most damnable, irreclaimable, unpardonable heretic."

In return for this, Mr. Marsh mildly expostulated with the bishop, telling him, if he could be persuaded, in his own conscience, that the articles proposed to him were founded on God's word, he would gladly yield in every point; declaring, that he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred every kind of heresy; and then called all present to bear witness, that in the articles of religion he held no other opinion than what was by law established, and publicly taught in England, in the time of king Edward the Sixth; and that, in such religion and doctrine, by the grace of God, he would live and die.

He was then, for the last time, asked, whether he would stand to these opinions, being full of heresies, or forsake them, and return to the Catholic church; and on his heartily declaring he would continue stedfast and immovable in the faith of God's word, nor ever return to any church that was not founded on scripture authority, the bishop began to read his sentence of condemnation, but was interrupted by the chancellor, in order to give him another opportunity of recanting.

He resolutely withstood the earnest entreaties of several people, who desired him to accept of the proffered mercy; nor could even the repeated exhortations of the bishop and chancellor prevail with this eminent servant of Christ, to deny his Lord and master, and submit to the usurpation of cruel, tyrannical men.

All endeavors proving ineffectual, the bishop proceeded in passing sentence, which being ended, Marsh was delivered up to the sheriffs, who conveyed him to the North-Gate prison, where he was confined in a dungeon till the day appointed for his execution.

On the 4th of April, 1555, this firm believer was led to the place appointed for his martyrdom, amidst a crowd of lamenting spectators. It was near a village, called Spittle-Boughton, at a small distance from Chester. As soon as he arrived at the place, the chamberlain of that city showed him a box, containing the queen's pardon, on condition that he would recant. Our martyr coolly answered, "That he would gladly accept the same, for he loved the queen; but as it tended to pluck him from God, who was King of kings, and Lord of lords, he could not receive it on such terms."

Then turning to the spectators, he told them the cause of the cruel death which awaited him, and exhorted them to remain 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; and the fire being kindled, he suffered, for a considerable time, the most exquisite torture, his flesh being so broiled, and puffed up, that those who stood before him could not see the chain with which he was fastened. At length, with the utmost fortitude, he spread forth his 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.

Thus died, in confirmation of the gospel of Christ, a sincere believer, raising, by his patient resignation, the wonder and astonishment of all that saw him suffer, the greater part of whom cried out with ecstasy, "Of a truth God is with him."

This pious Christian, during the course of his confinement, wrote the particulars of his respective examinations before his persecutors; as also a great number of letters to different people, among which we shall select the following:

A LETTER TO SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS, AFTER HIS LAST EXAMINATION.

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

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

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

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

"Take heed, and beware of the leaven of the scribes, and of the sadducees: I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists, which, with their glosses, deprave the scriptures: for, as the apostle St. Peter doth teach us, 'There shall be false teachers amongst us, which privily shall bring in damnable sects:' and he saith, that 'many follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, and that through covetousness, they shall, with feigned words, make merchandise of us;' and Christ earnestly warneth us, 'to beware of false prophets, which come to us in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them.' The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place are we Christians taught, that we should try the preachers, and others, that come under a color, to set forth true religion unto us; according to the saying of St. Paul, 'Try all things, and hold fast that which is good.' Also the evangelist, St. John, saith, 'Believe not every spirit, but prove the spirits, whether they be of God or not; for many false prophets,' saith he, 'are gone out into the world.' Therefore, if thou wilt know the true prophets from the false, try their doctrine by the true touchstone, which is the word of God; and as the pious Bereans did, 'Search ye the scriptures,' whether those things which be preached unto you, be even so or not; or else, by the outward conversation of them, ye may easily be deceived."

A LETTER TO AN UNKNOWN FRIEND.

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

"After hearty commendations, and thanks to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your loving letters, full of

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

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

A DAILY PRAYER USED BY GEORGE MARSH.

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

"Beloved, among other exercises, I do daily, on my knees, use this confession of sins, willing and exhorting you to do the same, and daily to acknowledge, unfeignedly, to God your unbelief, unthankfulness, and disobedience against him. This shall ye do, if ye will diligently consider, and look at yourselves first in the pure glass of God's commandments, and there see your outward filthiness and uncleanness, and so learn to vanquish the same, that is, to wit, fall in hearty displeasure against sin, and thereby be provoked to long after Christ; for we truly are sinners; but he is just, and the justifier of all them that believe on him. We are poor, but he is rich in mercy towards all them that call upon him. If we hunger and thirst for righteousness, let us resort unto his table, for he is a most liberal feastmaker. He will set before us his own holy body, which is given to us to be our meat, and his precious blood, which was shed for us, and for many, for the remission of sins, to be our drink. He biddeth, willeth, and calleth for guests, which hunger and thirst. 'Come,' saith he, 'all ye that labor, and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you, cool and ease you, and you shall find rest unto your souls.'"

SECTION V.

Martyrdoms of William Flower, John Cardmaker, John Warne, and others.

WILLIAM FLOWER

Was born at a place called Snowhill, in the county of Cambridge. He was educated in the Roman Catholic superstition; 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.

In process of time, 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, on a further 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 for his livelihood.

Going one day from Lambeth to Westminster, he went into St. Margaret's church, at the time that mass was performing there. 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 behavior, 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 in striking the priest, if he would have subscribed to the popish faith; but that he absolutely refused to consent to; in consequence of which he was committed a prisoner to the Gate-house.

Here the following conversation took place between himself and a fellow-prisoner, Mr. Robert Smith, which, as it explains his seemingly improper conduct, we give in full:

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

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

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

Flower. I came from my house at Lambeth over the water, and entering into St. Margaret's church, and there seeing the people falling down before a most detestable idol, being moved with extreme zeal for my God, whom I saw before my face dishonored, I drew forth my hanger, and I struck the priest which ministered the same unto them; whereupon I was immediately apprehended.

Smith. Did you not know the person that you struck, or was you not zealous upon him for any evil will or hatred between you at any time?

Flower. No, verily, I never to my knowledge saw the person before, neither had evil will or malice; for if he had not had it, another should, if I had at any time come where the like occasion had been ministered, if God had permitted me to do it.

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

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

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

Flower. No, verily, neither do I know if it were to do again, whether I could do it again: for I was up very early at St. Paul's church upon Christ's day in the morning, to have done it in my jealousy: but when I came there, I was no more able to do it, than now to undo that which is done; and yet now being compelled by the spirit, not only to come over the water, and to enter the church, but being in mind fully content to

die for the Lord, I gave over my flesh willingly without all fear, I praise God. Wherefore I cannot teach you to do the like. First, Because I know not what is in you. Secondly, Because the rules of the gospel command us to suffer with patience all wrongs and injury: yet nevertheless, if he makes you worthy, that hath made me zealous, you shall not be hindered, judged, nor condemned: for he doth in his people his unspeakable works in all ages, which no man can comprehend. I humbly beseech you to judge the best of the spirit, and condemn not God's doings: for I cannot express with my mouth the great mercies that God hath showed on me in this thing, which I repent not.

Smith. Are you not assured to have death ministered unto you for the act, and even with extremity?

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

Smith. I need not examine or commune with you of the hope that you have any further: for I perceive (God be praised) you are in good state, and therefore I beseech God, for his mercies, spread his wings over you, that, as for his love you have been zealous, even to the loss of this life, so he may give you his Holy Spirit to conduct you out of this world into a better life, which I think will be shortly.

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

After remaining some time in prison, he was brought before the bishop, who administered to him, on oath, several articles. But not answering satisfactorily to these, 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 in his power to induce him to recant; but these proving ineffectual, he asked him, If he knew any matter, or cause, why sentence should not be pronounced against him as a heretic? To which Flower 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 pass sentence, condemning and excommunicating him as a heretic: after which he was degraded, and delivered over to the secular power.

The 24th of April, 1555, was the day appointed for his execution, and the place was 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 sins, 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 Savior 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 recant 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 in the living God, he will give me his holy spirit to continue to the end."

He then desired all persons whom he had offended, to forgive him, 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 thou Son of God, have mercy upon me; O thou 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 of his body being consumed a considerable time before the others were much affected. At length, however, the executioner 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, AND JOHN WARNE.

John Cardmaker was educated in the Romish religion, and for some years was 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 the bishop of Wells, and committed to the Fleet, though the laws of king Edward were then in full force.

When the papal supremacy and jurisdiction were re-established in England, and bishops had authority, by virtue of the statute, to proceed against heretics, Cardmaker was removed from the Fleet to the Compter, where he contracted an acquaintance with Laurence Saunders (whose sufferings we have already described,) by whom he was animated and encouraged to continue stedfast in his faith and profession.

In process of time, he was summoned to appear before the arrogant and cruel Bonner, who alleged against him divers charges, which, with Cardmaker's answers, were as follow:

1. That after professing the Roman Catholic religion, and entering into holy orders, he took a wife, and had by her a female 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 believed and taught, and did still believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the visible signs, that is, under the forms of bread and wine, there is really and truly the true and natural body of our Savior Christ.

He replied, that he had believed and taught as contained in this article, but he did not then so believe and teach.

3. That the belief of the Catholic church is, that having the body and blood of Christ really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, is to have, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, the body and blood of Christ there invisibly, but really, present under the same sacrament, and to make thereby a new God, or a new Christ, or a new body of Christ.

The whole of this he denied.

4. That this may be consistent, the faith of the Catholic church is, that the body of Christ is visibly and truly ascended into heaven, and there is, in the visible form of his humanity; and yet the same body, in substance, is invisibly and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar.

This he denied as absurd and unscriptural.

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

To the first part he assented, but denied the latter part; 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 stedfast 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

Was by trade an upholder, and 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 their 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 the following articles were 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 Savior 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 noways altered and changed.

3. That he believed, that if the Catholic 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 naught, 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 his obedience to the church of Rome, but without effect, the definitive sentence was pronounced, when he was delivered up to the sheriffs, and sent to Newgate.

While these two faithful servants of Christ were in prison, some of the popish emissaries had spread a report that they intended to recant, which occasioned the following

LETTER FROM MR. CARDMAKER TO HIS FRIENDS.

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

On the 30th of May, 1555, these two martyrs were conducted, 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 apprehensions that they would recant; and they exclaimed, with satisfaction, "God be praised! the Lord strengthen ye! the Lord Jesus receive your spirits!"

The executioner having set fire to the fagots, they burnt with great rapidity, and the two martyrs soon passed through the flames, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory, prepared for the true soldiers of Christ in his blessed kingdom.

JOHN ARDELEY, AND JOHN SIMPSON.

On the same day that Warne and Cardmaker suffered in Smithfield, JOHN ARDELEY, and JOHN SIMPSON, two laboring men, and sincere though humble Christians, were burnt in Essex; the former at Rayleigh, and the latter at Rochford.

THOMAS HAWKES.

This person 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 the religious principles which had been instilled into his youthful mind: so that finding the gospel, after the death of king Edward, began to decline, (especially among great families, in one of which, that of lord Oxford, he lived) he 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, lying in wait to give information if any one was only suspected of favoring the doctrines of the reformation, Hawkes was apprehended, and brought before the earl of Oxford, his former master, for "being unsound in religion, and contemning the sacraments 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 wish was to compel him to submit to the superstitions of the church of Rome; but this, with all his artifice, he was unable to effect.

The bishop, with several others, held various conferences with Hawkes, concerning his belief of the corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar, the mass, the holy creed, holy water, and other ceremonies of the church of Rome: but these also he rejected as he had done that of baptism, because they were contrary to the word of God, by which alone he was determined to be guided and directed in all matters of faith and religion; nay, he boldly told them all, that he would not credit them in any thing, but what they could prove from the holy scriptures.

At length Bonner, finding he could by no means prevail with him to recant his opinions, and submit to the church of Rome, sent him prisoner to the Gate-house, in Westminster, commanding the keeper to confine him closely, and not to permit any person to converse with him.

During his confinement, various methods were used to bring him over to recant, such as conversation, reading to him, taking him to hear sermons, and the like; but all proved ineffectual; his constant answer, *to all who* spoke to him on that subject, being, "I am no changeling."

Bonner, incensed at his stedfastness, told him, on his second examination, he should find him "no changeling" neither, and immediately went out and wrote the following paper:

"I Thomas Hawkes do here confess and declare, before my ordinary, Edmund bishop of London, that the mass is abominable, detestable, and full of all superstition; and also concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, (commonly called the sacrament of the altar) that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in heaven. This I have believed, and this I do believe."

Bonner ordered Hawkes to subscribe to this paper; but he refused to set his name to what he had not written himself; upon which the haughty prelate struck him on the breast, declaring, at the same time, that "he would severely chastise all such proud and disobedient knaves."

A few days after this the bishop summoned him, with several others, to appear publicly in the consistory court at St. Paul's, where the several articles alleged against him, together with the bill of confession, were read to him, in all which he firmly continued.

They then strongly exhorted him to recant, that they might not be obliged to pass the awful sentence of death upon him. To which he cheerfully replied, that if he had a hundred bodies, he would suffer them all to be torn to pieces, rather than abjure the faith of Christ's gospel.

On his thus 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 Coxall in Essex, where he was burned on the 10th of the same month.

Mr. Hawkes gave many pious exhortations, and godly 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 the possibility of burning without repining might appear, 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 ecstasy 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 their 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.

While Mr. Hawkes was in confinement, he wrote a great number of letters to different persons; and, among them, one to his wife, which so strongly displays the tender husband, and pious Christian, that we shall preserve it here:

"GRACE be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins, to deliver us from this present evil world, through the good will of God our Father, to whom be praise for ever and ever. Amen.

"My dear yokefellow in the Lord, forasmuch as the Lord hath not only called me to work in his vineyard, but hath also fulfilled his good work in me, (I trust to his glory, and to the comfort of all those that look for his coming) I thought it my duty to write unto you some lessons out of God's book; and if you will direct yourself thereafter, doubt not of it but God, who refuseth none that will come to him with their whole heart, will assist with his holy spirit, and direct you in all his ways, to his honor and glory, who grant it for his mercy sake. Amen.

"First, I exhort you to fear God, to serve and honor his holy name, to love him with all your heart, soul, and mind, to believe faithfully in all his promises, to lay sure hold upon them, that in all your troubles, whatsoever they are, ye may run straight to the great mercy of God, and he will bring you out of them: keep you within his wings; then shall ye be sure that neither devil, flesh, nor hell, shall be able to hurt you.

"But take heed; if you will not keep his holy precepts and laws, and, to the uttermost of your power, call for the help of God to walk in the same, but will leave them, and run to all abominations with the wicked world, and do as they do; then be sure to have your part with the wicked world, in the burning lake that never shall be quenched. Therefore, beware of idolatry, which doth, most of all, stink before the face of Almighty God, and was, by all good men, most detested from the beginning of the world. For which, what kingdoms, nations, and realms, God hath punished with most terrible plagues, with fire, brimstone, hunger, sword, pestilence, &c. to the utter subversion of them, it is manifestly to be seen through the whole Bible. Yea, his own peculiar people, whom he had done so much for, when they fell from him, and went and served other gods, contrary to his commandment, he utterly destroyed and rooted them out from off the earth; and as many as died in that damnable state, not repenting their abominable evil, he threw them into the pit of hell. Again, how he hath preserved those that abhor superstition and idolatry, and that have only taken hold upon God with their whole heart, to serve him, to love him, and to fear him, &c. it is most manifestly to be seen, even from the beginning, out of what great dangers he hath always delivered them: yea, when all hope of deliverance was past, as touching their expectation, even then, in the sight of all his enemies, would he work his godly will and purpose, to the utter amazing and destruction of all those that were his manifest enemies.

"Further, I exhort you, in the bowels of Christ, that you will exercise and be stedfast in prayer; for prayer is the only means to pierce the heavens, to obtain, at the hand of God, whatsoever we desire, so that it be asked in faith. Oh, what notable things do we read in the scriptures, that have been obtained through fervent prayer! We are commanded to call upon him for help, aid, and succor, in necessities and troubles: and he hath promised to help us. Again, they that will not call upon him with their whole heart, but upon other dead creatures, in whom there is no help, (for there was none found worthy to open the book, but only the lamb Christ, which was killed for our sins) I say, who that will refuse his help, must even, by the terrible judgments of God, come utterly to confusion; as it hath, and is daily manifest to be seen. And whatsoever you desire of God in your prayer, ask it for Jesus Christ's sake, for whom, and in whom, God hath promised to give us all things necessary. And though that which we ask come not at the first and second calling, yet continue still knocking, and he will, at length, open his treasures of mercy, so that ye shall be sure to obtain; for he hath so promised, if ye continue in faith, hoping surely in him. These former lessons, with all such instructions as I have told you by my mouth, I do wish that you would most earnestly learn; and then I doubt not, but God, who is the giver of all grace, will assist you in all your doings, that ye may be found worthy of his kingdom, which is prepared through Christ.

"Further, whereas it pleased God to send us children, my desire is, that they may be brought up in the fear of God, and in his laws. And this is to certify you, that you deliver, in any wise, my eldest son unto Mr. Throgmorton, who, upon his good-will, hath promised me to bring him up according to my desire; and I trust, as God hath put into his heart. See, therefore, that ye deliver him, in any wise, without delay; and as for the other, if ye shall seem to be burdened with him, (which I think nature will not suffer) my desire is, that it be brought up in the fear of God to the uttermost of your endeavor, with some honest man that hath the fear of God before his eyes; and let us give thanks unto God, which hath given

them us, beseeching him that they may be counted worthy to be of that flock that shall stand on the right hand of the majesty of God, when he shall judge the world. Amen.

"Yet once again I warn you, that ye continue in fervent prayer, as I said before; then shall ye be sure, that God, even of his own mercy, according as he hath promised, will be a husband unto you, and provide better for you than ever I was able to do; yea, he will cause all men that fear him to pity you, to help you, to succor you in all your necessities, so that if any do you wrong, he will be avenged on them. Moreover, I wish you to keep company with those of whom ye may learn to come to a more perfect knowledge in God, and I doubt not but God will provide that such will be glad to receive you, if you shall profess, and go forward in his truth.

"Finally, and to make an end, I desire you that ye take heed with whom ye couple yourself. See that he be a man that feareth God, loveth his laws, and will walk in the same to the utmost of his power: such a one as can be content to love you, and to care for you. Take heed he be no brawler, no drunkard, no wicked person, not given to filthiness, no worldling, no dicer nor carder. In fine, no filthy person; but choose you such a one, as God may be glorified in both your lives. And again, on your part, love him, serve him, obey him in all godliness, as long as God shall give you life in this world. Then shall ye both be sure to obtain that kingdom which God the Father hath prepared, and Jesus Christ obtained for you, that never shall have an end, where I trust to abide your coming. Amen. By your husband, "THOMAS HAWKES."

MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS WATTS.

Mr. Thomas Watts was born of reputable and pious parents, in the county of Essex. He was 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 persecuted, on account of his adherence to a religion contrary to that which was then introduced, he relinquished the business of a linen draper, which he had carried on at Billericay, sold his goods, and made over his property 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 who 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 inquired 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; after which, the following articles were alleged against him, requiring, according to the custom of the court, a particular answer to each article:

1. "That he did not believe in the sacraments of the holy Catholic church, as the Catholic church of Rome, and other churches, members of the same, have believed and taught, but despised the same."

To this he answered, "that he believed in all the sacraments, according to Christ's institution, but not according to the church of the bishop of Rome; that he believed according to the preaching of several ministers of the gospel, who preached the word of God truly and sincerely."

2. "That he believed, and taught others, that the substances of material bread and wine do remain in the sacrament of the altar after consecration."

To this he replied, "that he believed that Christ's body is now in heaven, and nowhere else; and that he never would believe that Christ's body was in the sacrament."

3. "That he believed the mass to be abominable."

To this he frankly answered in the affirmative, declaring, that he would never recant his opinion.

4. "That he believed, that confession to a priest was not necessary."

To this he said, "he did not believe that the priest could absolve him of his sins; but allowed, that it was good to ask spiritual advice of the priest."

5. "That in the open sessions, he confessed that he had refused to come to the church to hear mass, and receive the sacrament of the altar; because, according to the service of the church, set out in the days of king Edward the Sixth, such duties were deemed abominable, heretical, and

schismatical; that he declared, that all that was done in the church, upon the accession of her majesty, was abominable, heretical, schismatical, and unscriptural; and also that he uttered, before the commissioners, other erroneous and arrogant words, to the injury of his soul, and the bad example of the people present."

To this he answered, without the least attempt to evade, that "he declared his opinion, as in the article above mentioned, and begged of God that he might live, and die in that faith."

These, and other articles of less moment, were read to him, and his answers minuted down; after which the bishop used the most forcible arguments he could adduce to bring him to a denial of his "errors," and to be obedient to the holy mother church.

Mr. Watts, however, remaining inflexible, and praying to 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 same evening he was conveyed there, he was in company with Thomas Hawkes, and others, and they all joined together in the most fervent prayer.

The day before his execution, he was visited by his wife, and six children, whom he addressed in the following manner:

"My dear wife, and 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 burnt with him. Their sympathy for a time discomposed our martyr, the Christian 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."

Such was the attachment of this stedfast believer to the cause of his dear Lord and Master, that the affecting spectacle of his disconsolate wife, and six innocent babes, could not, in the least, stagger his resolution; but he persevered in spite of all worldly considerations, being animated so to do, by an assurance of an immortal crown of glory in his Redeemer's kingdom.

CHAMBERLAIN, OSMOND, AND BAMFORD.

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, weaver; THOMAS OSMOND, fuller; and WILLIAM BAMFORD, weaver. The first of these was burnt at Colchester on the 14th of June; the second suffered the next day at Maningtree; and the third the following day at Harwich.

SECTION VI.

Martyrdom of the Rev. John Bradford, John Leafe, 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 at the end 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 Martin Bucer, a zealous advocate for the reformed religion, resided at Cambridge. 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 which is generally the attendant on real merit, excused himself from assuming 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 afterwards made him a prebendary of St. Paul's, where, in rotation, he

preached, during three years, the true gospel of Christ; 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.

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 appointed for the service of the day, to justify Bonner, then restored to his bishopric, 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 desire Mr. Bradford to advance, and endeavor to appease the people, who were so tumultuous, that they could not be quelled even by 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 reproved them for their disorderly behavior, and exhorted them to peace and tranquillity; 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 behavior 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 alleged 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 with him, because they were not founded on scripture, but on 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 heretic, 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 whose sufferings for the faith we are about to relate.

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 to the tyrannical bishop.

A few days after this 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 papers to him, the one containing a recantation, and the other his confession. The messenger, after reading the former to him, (for he could neither read nor 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 paper, 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 for some min-

utes, till Mr. Bradford was desired by the sheriff to make an end, and arise.

On this 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.

Being thus prepared, Mr. Bradford, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, exclaimed, "O England, England, repent thee of thy sins; beware of Antichrist, 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 replied, "The 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.

While Mr. Bradford was in prison, he employed his time in writing various treatises, addressed to the advocates of the reformation. He also wrote pious letters to the city of London, the university of Cambridge, and the towns of Lancashire and Cheshire, besides many others to his private friends and acquaintances. Among the latter we shall preserve the following:

"GRACIOUS God, and most merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, thy dearly beloved Son, grant us thy mercy, grace, wisdom, and holy spirit, to counsel, comfort, and guide us in all our thoughts, words, and works, to thy glory, and our everlasting joy and peace for ever. Amen.

"In my last letter you might perceive my conjecturing to be no less towards you than I have now learned. But, my dearly beloved, I have learned none other thing than what I before told you would come to pass, if ye cast not away that which ye have learned. I do appeal to both your consciences, whether I speak truth herein, as well of my telling (though not so often as I might and should, God forgive me) as also of your learning. Now God will try you, to make others learn by you, that which ye learned by others, and by them which have suffered this day ye might learn, (if already ye had not learned) that life and honor is not to be regarded more than God's commandment. They in no point, for all that ever their ghostly fathers could do, having Dr. Death to take their part, would consent, or seem to consent to the popish mass, and papistical god, otherwise than they had received in the days of our late king. And this their faith they have confessed with their deaths, to their great glory, and all our comforts, if we follow them; but to our confusion, if we start back from the same. Wherefore I beseech you to consider, as well to praise God for them, as to go the same way with them, if God please.

"Consider not the things of this life, which is a very prison to all God's children; but the things of everlasting life, which is our very home. But to behold this ye must open the eyes of your mind, of faith, I should have said, as Moses did, who chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to possess the riches of Egypt, and the pleasures of Pharaoh's court. Your house, home, and goods, yea, life, and all that ever ye have, God hath given you as love tokens, to admonish you of his love, and to win your love to him again. He will try your love, whether ye set more by him than by his tokens. If ye, for the sake of his tokens, that is, your house, home, goods, yea life, will go with the world rather than lose them, then be assured your love, as he cannot but espy it to be a strumpet's love, so will he cast it away with the world. Remember, that he who will save his life shall lose it, if Christ be true; but he who adventureth, yea, loseth his life for the gospel's sake, the same shall be sure to find it eternally. Do not ye know, that the way to salvation is not the broad way which many run in, but the straight way which now few walk in?

"Before persecution came, men might partly have stood in a doubt, by the outward state of the world with us, (although, by God's word, it was plain) which was the highway, (for there were as many that pretended the gospel as popery) but now the sun is risen, and the wind bloweth: so that the corn which has not taken fast root, neither can or will abide; and, therefore, ye may easily see the strait way, by the small number of passengers. Who will now adventure their goods, and life, for the sake of Christ, who gave his life for our sakes? We are now become Gergesites, that would rather lose Christ than our swine. A wife is proved faithful, when she rejecteth and withstandeth other suitors. A faithful Christian is then found so to be, when his faith is assaulted.

"If we are neither able nor willing to forsake this world for God's glory, and gospel's sake, ere long shall we be obliged to leave it for nature's sake. Die ye must once, and leave all ye have, (God only knoweth how soon) whether ye will or not; and seeing you cannot avoid it, why will ye not voluntarily do it for God's sake?

"If ye go to mass, and do as the most part doth, then may ye live quietly, and at rest; but if ye refuse to go thither, then ye shall go to prison, lose your goods, leave your children comfortless, yea, lose your life also. But (my dearly beloved) open the eyes of your faith, and consider the shortness of this life, that it is even as a shadow and a smoke. Again, consider how intolerable the punish-

ment of hell-fire is, and that endless. Last of all, look on the joys incomprehensible, which God hath prepared for all them, world without end, who lose either life, land, or goods, for his name's sake, and reason thus: If we go to mass, the greatest enemy that Christ hath, though for a little while we shall live in quiet, and leave to our children something to live upon hereafter, yet we shall displease God, fall into his hands, (which is horrible to hypocrites) and be in wonderful hazard of falling from eternal joy into eternal misery, first of soul, then of body, with the devil, and all idolaters.

"Again, we shall want peace of conscience, which surmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether God will visit our idolatry on them in this life? Yea, our house and goods, and even our lives, are in danger of being lost by many casualties; and when God is angry with us, he can, when he pleases, send one means, or other, to take all from us for our sins, and to cast us into greater trouble, who will not come into some little for his sake.

"On this sort reason with yourselves, and then, doubtless, God will work otherwise with you, and in you, than ye are aware of. Where now ye think yourselves unable to abide persecution, be most assured, that if you earnestly purpose not to forsake God, that he will make you so able to bear his cross, that you shall rejoice therein. 'God is faithful,' saith St. Paul, 'who will not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able; but will, with the temptation, also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.' Think how great a benefit it is, if God will make you worthy of this honor, to suffer loss of any thing for his sake. He might justly inflict most grievous plagues upon you, and yet now he will correct you with that rod, whereby you shall be made like to his Christ, that ye may for ever reign with him. Suffer yourselves, therefore, now to be made like to Christ, for else ye shall be never made like unto him. The devil would gladly have you now to overthrow that which ye have, a long time, stedfastly professed. O how would he triumph, if he could win his purpose! O how would the papists triumph against God's gospel in you! O how would you confirm them in their wicked popery! O how would the poor children of God be discomfited, if you should go to mass, and other idolatrous service, and do as the world doth!

"Hath God delivered you from labor to serve him so? Hath God miraculously restored you to health, from your grievous agues, for such a purpose? Hath God given you such blessings in this world, and good things all the days of your life hitherto, and now of equity, will ye not receive at his hands, and for his sake, some evil? God forbid; I hope better of you. Use prayer, and cast your care upon God; commit your children into his hand; give to God your goods, bodies, and lives, as he hath given them, or rather lent them to you. Say with Job, 'God hath given, and God hath taken away, his name be praised for ever.' Cast your care upon him, I say, for he is careful for you; and take it amongst the greatest blessings of God, to suffer for his sake. I trust he hath kept you hitherto to that end.

"And I beseech thee, O merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, that thou wouldest be merciful unto us, comfort us with thy grace, and strengthen us in thy truth, that in heart we may believe, and in tongue boldly confess thy gospel, to thy glory, and our eternal salvation. Amen. Pray for me, and I, by God's grace, will do the same for you.

JOHN BRADFORD."

HIS FAREWELL LETTER TO HIS MOTHER.

"God's mercy, and peace in Christ, be more and more perceived of us. Amen.

"My most dear mother, in the bowels of Christ I heartily pray and beseech you to be thankful for me unto God, who now taketh me unto himself: I die not as a criminal, but as a witness of Christ, the truth of whose gospel I have hitherto confessed, I thank God, both by preaching and imprisonment, and now I am willing to confirm the same by fire. I acknowledge that God might justly have taken me hence for my sins, (which are many, great, and grievous: but the Lord, for his mercy in Christ, I hope hath pardoned them all) but now, dear mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a confessor and witness, that the religion taught by Christ Jesus, the prophets, and the apostles, is God's truth. The prelates in me do persecute Christ, whom they hate, and his truth, which they will not abide, because their works are evil. They do not care for the light, lest men thereby should discover their darkness. Therefore, my dear mother, give thanks to God for me, that he hath made the fruit of your womb to be a witness of his glory, and attend to the truth, which I have truly taught out of the pulpit of Manchester. Use often and continual prayer to God the Father, through Jesus Christ. Hearken to the scriptures, and serve God according to them, and not according to the custom: beware of the Romish religion in England; defile not yourself with it: carry the cross of Christ as he shall lay it upon your back: forgive them that kill me: pray for them, for they know not what they do: commit my cause to God our Father: be mindful of both your daughters, and help them as well as you can.

"I send all my writings to you and my brother Roger; do with them as you will, because I cannot as I would; he can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you: only I pray God, my Father, for Christ's sake, to

bless you, and keep you from evil. May he make you patient and thankful, that he will take the fruit of your womb to witness his truth; wherein I confess to the whole world, I die, and depart this life, in hope of a much better: which I look for at the hands of God my father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ.

"Thus, my dear mother, I take my last farewell of you in this life, beseeching the Almighty and eternal Father, by Christ, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we shall give him continual thanks, and praise, for ever and ever. Amen. Your son, in the Lord, JOHN BRADFORD."

June 24, 1555.

MARGARET POLLEY, FIRST FEMALE MARTYR IN ENGLAND.

Such was the fury of bigoted zeal during the reign of Mary, that even the more tender sex did not escape the resentment of the Romish persecutors. These monsters, in human form, embraced every opportunity of exercising their cruelty, tyranny, and usurpation; nor could youth, age, or sex, impress on their minds the least feelings of humanity.

Information being given against Margaret Polley, to Maurice, bishop of Rochester, she was brought before him, when his lordship, according to the pontifical solemnity of the church of Rome, rose from his chair, 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 Popingberry, 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 heretics, who maintain and hold other opinions than our holy mother and Catholic church doth?"

To this she replied, "They are, indeed, heretics and grossly deceived, who hold and maintain doctrines contrary to the will of God, contained in the holy scriptures, which I sincerely believe were written by holy men immediately taught and instructed by the Holy Ghost."

2. "Do you hold and maintain that in the sacrament of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of Christ, and that the said body is verily in heaven only, and not in the sacrament?"

She answered, "What I have learned from the holy scriptures, those living oracles of God, I do and will stedfastly maintain, viz. that the very body which was crucified for the sins of all true believers, ascended into heaven, is there placed at the right hand of the majesty on high; that such body has ever since remained there, and therefore cannot, according to my belief, be in the sacrament of the altar.

"I believe that the bread and wine in the sacrament are to be received as symbols and representatives of the body and blood of Christ, but not as his body really and substantially.

"I think, in my weak judgment, that it is not in the power of any man, by pronouncing words over the elements of bread and wine, to transubstantiate them into the real body and blood of Christ.

"In short, it is my belief, that the eucharist is only a commemoration of the death of our Savior, who said, 'As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.'"

Those pertinent and frank replies greatly provoked the haughty prelate, who exclaimed against the woman, as an obstinate heretic, and, after much scurrilous language, told her, "she was a silly woman, knew not what she said, and that it was the duty of every Christian to believe as the mother church hath taught and doth teach."

He then asked her the following question: "Will you, Margaret Polley, recant the error which you maintain, be reconciled to the holy church, and receive the remission of sins?" To which she replied, "I cannot believe otherwise than I have spoken, because the practice of the church of Rome is contrary not only to reason, and my senses, but also to the word of God."

Immediately on this reply, the bishop pronounced sentence of condemnation against her; after which she was carried back to prison, where she remained for upwards of a month.

She was a woman in the prime of life, pious, charitable, humane, learned in the scriptures, and beloved by all who were acquainted with her.

During her imprisonment, she was repeatedly exhorted to recant; but she refused all offers of life on such terms, choosing glory, honor, and immortality hereafter, rather than a few short years in this vale of grief, and even those purchased at the expense of truth and conscience.

When the day appointed for her execution arrived, which was in July, 1555, she was conducted from the prison at Rochester to Tunbridge, where she was burned, sealing the truth of what she had testified with her blood, and showing that the God of all grace, out of the weakest vessel can give strength, and cause the meanest instruments to magnify the glories of his redeeming love.

CHRISTOPHER WADE.

On the same day that Margaret Polley suffered, one CHRISTOPHER WADE, a weaver of Dartford, in Kent, who had likewise been condemned by the bishop of Rochester, shared the same fate, and at the same place; but they were executed separately, he first submitting to the dreadful sentence.

OTHER MARTYRS.

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.

MARTYRDOMS OF JOHN LAUNDER, AND DIRICK CARVER.

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 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, said, 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, an officer.

He avowed his belief, that "there is on earth one whole and universal Catholic church, the members of which are dispersed throughout the world; that 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, "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 Catholic church, whereof he believeth himself to be a member. 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.

"Moreover, that the mass used in the realm of England, or elsewhere, in Christendom, is abominable, and directly against God's word, and his Catholic church, and that there is nothing said or used in it, good or profitable; for though the '*Gloria in excelsis*,' the creed and pater-noster, and other parts of the mass, are good in themselves, yet being used amongst other things that are superstitious, they become corrupt. Lastly, that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature, but every person ought to confess his sins to God alone, because no earthly power has any authority to absolve any man from his sins."

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 counsel: 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 persuaded 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 the spectators as follows:

"Dear brothers and sisters, Bear witness that I am come to seal with my blood the gospel of Christ, because I know that it is true. Many of you know that the gospel hath been truly preached to you here in Lewes, and now it is not so preached; and because I will not here deny God's gospel, I am condemned to die."

On this the sheriff said, "If thou dost not believe in the pope, thou art damned, body and soul." But our martyr pitied his blindness, and begged of God to forgive his errors.

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-prisoner, 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.

MARTYRDOM OF JOHN DENLEY, JOHN NEWMAN, AND PATRICK PACKINGHAM.

So perpetually were the popish emissaries in search of their prey, in all parts of the kingdom, that it was almost impossible long to escape them.

As Mr. Denley and Mr. Newman were travelling together into Essex, on a visit to some friends, they were accidentally met by Mr. Tyrrel, justice of the peace for the said 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 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 Packingham, (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 inflexibly to adhere to the same, 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."

These they acknowledged to be true.

2. "That they had not, nor did believe, that there is a Catholic church of Christ there on earth."

This they severally denied, "for that they did believe the holy Catholic 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 Catholic 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 Catholic 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 Catholic church, but is the church of Antichrist, 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 Catholic 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 Packingham alone, which was, "that he, Patrick Packingham, 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 the various articles and their answers had been 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 stedfast in their faith and profession, they were all condemned as heretics, 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 execution.

Denley was ordered to be burned at Uxbridge, where, being conveyed on the day appointed, he was chained to the stake, and expired in the midst of the flames, 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 faggot 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. Nor will their expectations be unfulfilled. He, "who cannot lie," has declared, that they who suffer for his sake on earth, shall be amply rewarded in heaven. "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake: Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."

END OF VOL. I.

FRONTISPIECE.

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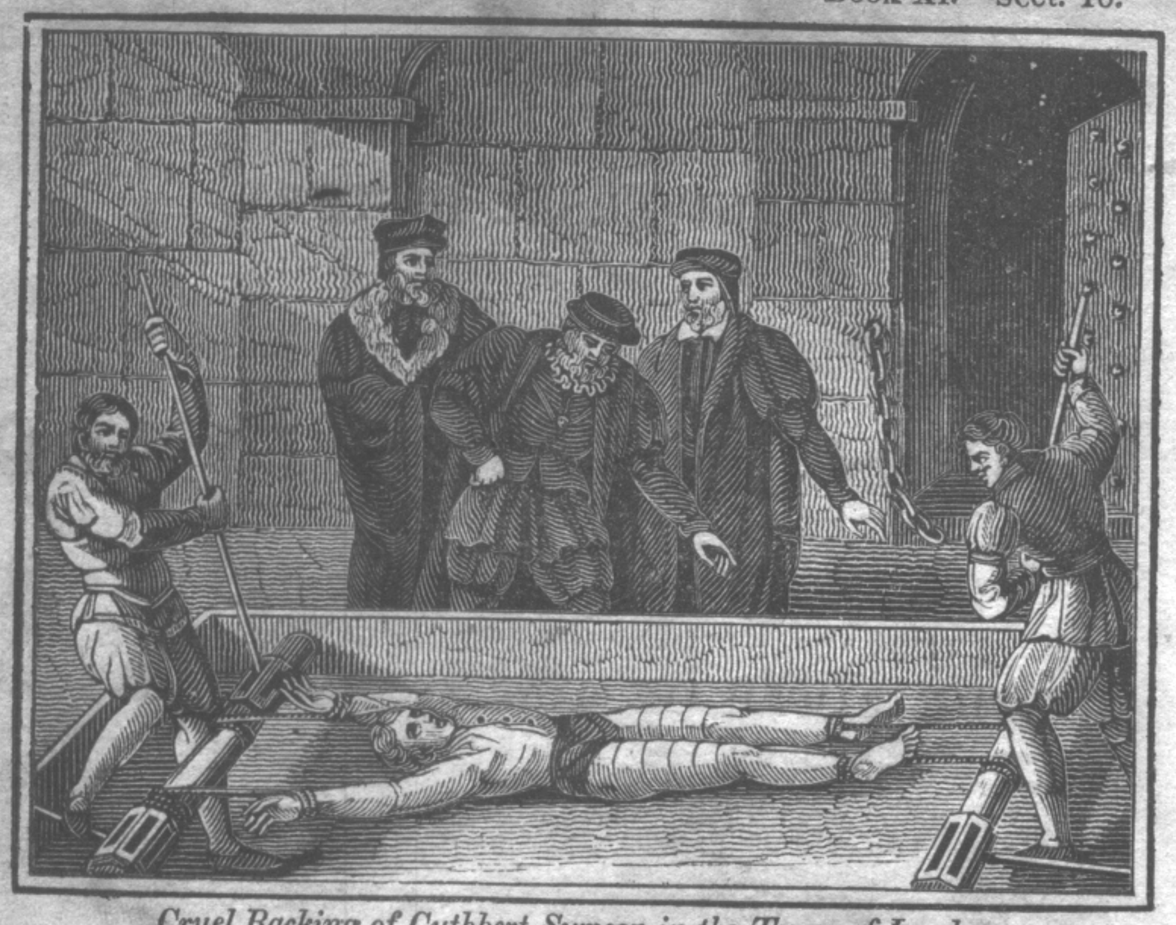

Cruel Racking of Cuthbert Symson in the Tower of London.

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Irish Protestants dragged through Bogs and hung on Tenter-Hooks fastened to poles, till they perished.

FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS.

A

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

OF

CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOM:

FROM

THE BIRTH OF OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR

TO

THE LATEST PERIODS OF PERSECUTION.

ORIGINALLY COMPOSED BY

THE REV. JOHN FOX, A. M.

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FOX'S

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

OR

CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOM.

BOOK XI.

SECTION VII.

Martyrdoms of William Coker, William Hooper, Henry Lawrence, Richard Collier, Richard Wright, and William Steer.

INFORMATION having been given, at the same time, against these six persons, they were all brought before Dr. Richard Thornton, bishop of Dover, and his assistants, in the spiritual court of Canterbury; when various 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, and were remanded to prison.

Being again brought before the above persons, they were farther examined, when 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.

Hooper, at first, seemed to assent to the faith and determination of the Roman Catholic 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, also sentenced to be burned.

Lawrence, who was next examined, 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 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 Antichrist, and him ye follow." He was then prevented from speaking farther, and sentence of condemnation was pronounced on him in the usual form.

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 this, he likewise received sentence of death.

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, therefore, by any means allow it." In consequence of which he also received condemnation.

Steer, the last examined, was required by the judge to answer the articles laid before him. But he denied the judge's authority, and 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 being chained to each. They all joyfully yielded up their lives as sacrifices to God, in testimony of their regard to the word of truth, "which abideth to all eternity."

SECTION VIII.

Martyrdoms of George Tankerfield, Elizabeth Warne, Robert Smith, and others.

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 he had hitherto professed.

In consequence of this, he applied himself, with great diligence, to obtain a knowledge of the scriptures, sought the directions of unerring wisdom, and the teaching of that Spirit, which alone can lead unto all truth, and, by the grace of God, soon attained to a very competent knowledge of the doctrines of the reformed church, as well as detected the errors, superstition and idolatry of the popish faith.

Being thus grounded in the great truths of the gospel, he communicated his sentiments to his most intimate friends, whom he exhorted to search the sacred records, nor be blindly led by such as imposed on them creeds, which on examination, he found contrary to the divine mind and will, as contained in the holy scriptures.

This deviation from the principles he had before so warmly professed, and zealously maintained, excited the astonishment of his friends, and raised the resentment of the popish faction, especially those who were more immediately concerned in its restoration; insomuch, that Sir Roger Cholmondeley, 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.

Mr. Tankerfield being absent when the yeoman came in quest of him, it was pretended that he was wanted to dress a dinner at the house of lord Paget. When he came home, his wife told him that he was required to attend at a banquet; to which he replied, "A banquet, woman! such a banquet as will not be pleasing to the flesh; but God's will be done."

He was then seized by a constable, and committed to Newgate; and after being confined there some time, 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."

The bishop, after this confession, in his usual manner, exhorted him to recant his opinions, declaring them to be damnable heresies; but Tankerfield assured his lordship that he would persist in his belief till it should be proved erroneous from scripture authority, being regardless of the tenets of the greatest prelate upon earth, if not founded on the word of eternal truth, declaring, at the same time, that the arbitrary commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs condemned persons without proving any thing against them.

Bonner, with an affected concern for his interests, temporal and eternal, used many enticing words to bring him to the "mother church;" but our martyr boldly told him, that the church of which the pope is supreme, is no part of Christ's Catholic 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 was so enraged at his resolute behavior, that he immediately proceeded to read the sentence of condemnation; after which, Mr. Tankerfield was delivered over to the secular power.

The place allotted for his execution was St. Alban's in Hertfordshire, and the follow-

ing "Notes" give so interesting an account of his behavior and sufferings, that we give them verbatim.

"NOTES CONCERNING GEORGE TANKERFIELD, AFTER HE WAS CARRIED TO ST. ALBAN'S TO SUFFER MARTYRDOM.

"He was brought to St. Alban's by the high sheriff of Hertfordshire, Edward Brocket, Esq. and Mr. Pulter, of Hitchen, who was under-sheriff. They put up at the Cross-Keys inn, where there was a great concourse of people to see and hear the prisoner; some were sorry to see so pious a man brought to be burned, others praised God for his constancy and perseverance in the truth. Contrariwise, some said, it was pity he did stand in such opinions: and others, both old men and women, cried against him; one called him heretic, and said it was pity that he lived. But Tankerfield spake unto them so effectually out of the word of God, lamenting their ignorance, and protesting unto them his unspotted conscience, that God did mollify their hardened hearts, insomuch that some of them departed out of the chamber weeping.

"There came a certain school-master to have communication with him, the day before he was coming to St. Alban's, concerning the sacrament of the altar, and other points of the popish religion: but as he urged Tankerfield with the authority of the doctors, wresting them after his own will; so, on the other side, Tankerfield answered him mightily by the scriptures, not wrested after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jesus, &c. So that as he would not allow such allegations as Tankerfield brought out of the scriptures, without the opinions of the doctors; so again Tankerfield would not credit his doctrine to be true, except he would confirm it by the scriptures. In the end, Tankerfield prayed him that he would not trouble him in such matters, for his conscience was established, &c. He, therefore, departed from him, wishing him well, and protesting that he meant him no more hurt than his own soul.

"When the hour drew on that he should suffer, he desired the wine-drawer that he might have a pint of malmsey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, because he could not have it administered to him by others in such manner as Christ commanded: and then he kneeled down, making his confession unto the Lord with all which were in the chamber with him; and after he had prayed earnestly, and had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Jesus out of the evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said, 'O Lord, thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those which are thy ministers, but only because I cannot have it administered according to thy word, &c.' and when he had spoke these and such like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

"When some of his friends desired him to eat some meat, he said he would not eat that which should do others good that had more need, and that had longer to live than he.

"He prayed his host to let him have a good fire in the chamber, which was granted him; and then he, sitting on a form before it, put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his leg to the flame; and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leg, showing the flesh did persuade him one way and the spirit another. The flesh said, O thou fool, wilt thou burn, and needest not? The spirit said, Be not afraid, for this is nothing in respect of fire eternal. The flesh said, Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintance, which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing. The spirit said, The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence doth exceed all fleshly friends. The flesh said, Do not shorten thy time, for thou mayest live if thou wilt much longer. The spirit said, This life is nothing unto the life in heaven which lasteth for ever, &c. And all this time the sheriffs were at a gentleman's house at dinner, not far from the town, whither also resorted many knights and gentlemen out of the country, because his son was married that day; and until they returned from dinner, the prisoner was left to the care of his host, by whom he was kindly treated; and considering that his time was short, his saying was, 'That although the day was ever so long, yet at the last it ringeth to evening song.'

"About two o'clock, when the sheriffs returned from dinner, they brought Mr. Tankerfield out of the inn to the place where he should suffer, which was called Romeland, being a green place near the west end of the Abbey church; unto which when he was come, he kneeled down by the stake that was set up for him; and after he had ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful faith said, that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful supper in heaven.

"While the fagots were set about him, there came a priest and persuaded him to believe on the sacrament of the altar, and he would be saved. But Tankerfield cried vehemently, 'I defy the whore of Babylon: fy on that abominable idol: good people, do not believe him.' And then the mayor of the town commanded fire to be set to the heretic, and said, If he had but one load of fagots in the world, he would give them to

burn him. Amidst this confusion, there was a certain knight who went unto Tankerfield, and taking him by the hand, said, 'Good brother, be strong in Christ;' this he spake softly; and Tankerfield said, 'O sir, I thank you, I am so, I thank God.' Then fire was set unto him, and he desired the sheriff and all the people to pray for him; most of them did so. And so embracing the fire, he called on the name of the Lord Jesus, and was quickly out of pain."

ELIZABETH WARNE.

This pious woman, and stedfast believer in the pure gospel of Christ, (according to the dying request of her husband, who, some time before, had sealed the truth with his blood) 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, from 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 heretic, 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, in August 1555, following her husband through the path of a fiery trial, to the heaven of rest that awaits all the disciples of our blessed and glorious Redeemer.

ROBERT SMITH.

This martyr was originally educated in the Roman Catholic 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 the scriptures, he soon became well acquainted with the doctrines of the gospel. He was also very exemplary in his life and conversation, attracting the veneration and esteem of all those who knew him.

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 soon after sent up prisoner to the bishop of London, by whom he was committed to Newgate, after having been examined by him several 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 inquired, 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 honor 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, nor a sacrament; but only man's vain invention. If ye can show from scripture that it is the very body, I will believe it, but till then I shall 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 inquired his opinion concerning the Catholic church.

Mr. Smith replied, "I believe there is one Catholic 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 popish 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 the articles against him were read, Mr. Smith remonstrated with the lord mayor, sheriffs, and others who were present on the occasion, in the following manner: turning to the lord mayor he said, "I require you, my lord, in God's behalf, unto whom pertaineth your sword and justice, that I may here before your presence answer to these objections that are laid against me, and have probation of the same; and if any thing that I have said, or will say, be proved (as my lord saith) heresy, I shall not only with all my heart forsake the same, and cleave to the truth, but also recant whereso-ever you shall assign me, and all this audience shall be witness to the same."

L. May. Why, Smith, thou canst not deny but this thou saidst.

Smith. Yes, my lord, I deny that which he hath written, because he hath both added to and diminished from the same: but what I have spoken, I will never deny.

L. May. Why, thou speakest against the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Smith. I denied it to be any sacrament, and I do stand here to make probation of the same; and if my lord or any of his doctors be able to prove either the name or usage of the same, I will recant mine error.

Bonner. By my troth, Mr. Speaker, you shall preach at a stake.

Smith. Well sworn, my lord, you keep a good watch.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, I am no saint.

Smith. No, my lord, nor yet a good bishop. For a bishop, saith St. Paul, should be faultless, and a vessel dedicated unto God; and are you not ashamed to sit in judgment and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents?

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, you are faultless.

Smith. My lord mayor, I require you, in God's name, that I may have justice. We be here to-day a great many innocents wrongfully accused of heresy. And I require you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have no more favor at your hands, than the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa; who being heathens and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, who being a Christian judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the heathen have suffered: if you do, then shall all this audience, yea, and the heathen, speak shame of your act. For all that do well come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light.

At this the lord mayor was abashed, and said nothing, but the bishop told Smith he should preach at the stake, and the sheriff cried, Away with him.

Before the bishop passed sentence, in derision of Tankerfield, who was also sentenced at the same time, and was a victualler, he told a tale of a gentleman and his cook. To which Smith answered, "My lord, you fill the people's ears with fantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but if you were a true bishop, you should leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God."

Bonner. Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, Mr. Speaker, your companion the cook, that my chancellor should here instruct him, but he hath with great disdain refused it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee into the right way?

Smith. My lord, if your chancellor wil do me any good, and take any pains, as you say, let him take mine articles in his hands that you have objected against me, and either prove one of them heresy, or any thing that you do to be good: and if he be able so to do, I stand here with all my hear to hear him; if not, I have no need, praise God, of his sermon: for I come t answer for my life, and not to hear a ser mon.

Then began the sentence, "In the nam of God," &c. To which Smith answered that he began in a wrong name, asking him where he learned in scripture to give sen tence of death against any man for his con science sake. To which he made no answe but went on, and immediately cried, "Awa with him." Then Smith turned to the lor mayor, and said, "Is it not enough for yo my lord mayor, and you that are the sherif that you have left the straight way of th Lord, but you must condemn Christ caus less!"

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, now y cannot say, but I have offered you fair, have instruction. And now, I pray the call me Bloody Bishop, and say, I seek t blood.

Smith. Well, my lord, if neither I n any of this congregation do report the tru of your fact, yet shall these stones cry it o rather than it shall be hidden.

Bonner. Away with him, away with hi

Smith then addressed himself to the spe tators in the following manner:

"Ye have seen and heard, my friends, t

great injury I have this day received; and ye are all witnesses, that we have referred the equity of our cause to the book of God, which appeal not being admitted, we are condemned unheard."

Addressing the lord mayor, he said, "Though, my lord, you have here exercised your authority unjustly, and will not attend to the cry of the poor, I commit my cause to that God who judgeth aright, and will render unto every man according to his deeds; that God, at whose awful bar both you and I must stand without respect or authority, and where sentence will be passed without partiality, bigotry, or caprice, and according to the eternal laws of infallible truth."

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 strong guard, to Uxbridge, and there 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.

Mr. Smith had received a very liberal education, and, during the time of his imprisonment, he wrote a great number of treatises, letters, &c. He had a good turn for poetry, in which several of his compositions were formed. Among the number of his writings we shall preserve the following

LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

"I beseech you, above all things, to love God, my dear wife, with all your heart; study his word, learn his will, and perform it.

"Be friendly to all creatures, and especially to your own soul.

"Be always an enemy to the devil, and the world, but especially to your own flesh.

"In hearing of good things, join the ears your head and heart together.

"Seek unity and quietness with all men, at especially with your conscience; for he ill not easily be entreated.

"Love all people, but especially your emies.

"Hate the sins that are past, but especially those to come.

"Be as ready to further your enemy, as is to hinder you, that ye may be the ild of God.

"Defile not that which Christ hath ansed, lest his blood be laid to your rge.

"Remember that God hath hedged in ur tongue with the teeth and lips, that it ght speak under correction.

"Be ready at all times to look to your ther's eye, but especially in your own ; for he that warneth others of what he himself is guilty, doth give his neighbor the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs to himself.

"Beware of riches and worldly honor; for without understanding, prayer and fasting, it is a snare, and also poverty, all which are like to consuming fire, of which, if a man take a little, it will warm him, but if he take too much, it will consume him: for it is hard for a man to carry fire in his bosom, and not be burnt.

"Show mercy to the saints for Christ's sake, and Christ shall reward you for the saints' sake. Among all other prisoners visit your own; for it is inclosed in a perilous prison.

"If you love God, hate evil, and ye shall obtain the reward of well doing.

"Thus fare you well, good Anne. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beseech you have me in your prayer while I am living, and I am assured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my children, and yours, in the fear of God, and then shall I not fail, but receive you together in the everlasting kingdom of God, into which I hope to go.

"Your husband,

"ROBERT SMITH."

His "Short Address to all the faithful Servants of Christ, exhorting them to be strong under Persecution," we present as a specimen of his verse, which, considering the age in which it was written, is not deficient in harmony, although full of quaint conceits, like the other productions of that time.

Content thyself with patience,
With Christ to bear the cross of pain,
Which can and will thee recompense,
A thousand fold, with joys again.
Let nothing cause thy heart to quail,
Launch out thy boat, hale up thy sail,
Put from the shore:
And be thou sure thou shalt attain
Unto the port that shall remain
For evermore.

About the same period 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, near Bow; the second at Ware, and the third at Barnet.

GEORGE KING, THOMAS LEYES, AND JOHN WADE.

These three persons being most cruelly used in Lollard's Tower, and falling sick there, were so weak that they were removed into different houses in the city, where they died, and were then thrown into the fields, and there buried in the night by some of the

faithful brethren, none of whom, in the daytime, durst do it.

WILLIAM ANDREW.

The same *Catholic charity* was also shown to William Andrew, of Horsley, in the county of Essex, carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the first of April, 1555. His principal persecutor was lord Rich, who sent him to prison.

Being twice examined before bishop Bonner, Andrew boldly stood in defence of his religion. At length, by the severe usage he met with in Newgate, he there lost his life, which otherwise would have been taken away by fire: and so after the popish manner he was cast out into a field, and by night was privately buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

SECTION IX.

Martyrdom of the Rev. Robert Samuel, and others.

MR. ROBERT SAMUEL was a very pious man, and an eminent preacher of the gospel, according to the principles of the reformation, during the reign of Edward VI. He attended his charge with indefatigable industry, and by his preaching and living, recommended and enforced the truth of the gospel.

Soon after the accession of queen Mary, he was turned out of his living, and retired to Ipswich; but he could not refrain from using his utmost efforts to propagate the reformed religion, and, therefore, what he was prevented doing in public, he did in private. He assembled those who had been accustomed to hear him in a room in his house, and there daily taught them such precepts as might lead them to salvation.

While he was spending his time in this Christian manner, the queen commanded the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs to publish an order, that all priests who had been married in the days of king Edward, should put away their wives, and be compelled again to chastity, (as their hypocritical term expressed it) and a single life.

This order Mr. Samuel could by no means obey, because he knew it to be abominable, contrary to the law of Christ, and every tie, social and humane. Therefore, determining within himself that God's laws were not to be violated for the traditions of men; he still kept his wife at Ipswich, and omitted no opportunity of instructing his Christian friends in the neighborhood.

At length, his conduct reaching the ears of Foster, a justice of peace in those parts, every artifice was used by that popish bigot to apprehend Mr. Samuel, who was at length taken into custody by some of his myrmidons, when on a visit to his wife at Ipswich. Many efforts had been made without success, but, at length, information having been given of the precise time when he was to visit his wife, they deferred their enterprise till night, (fearing the resentment of the people, if they should attempt to apprehend him by day) when great numbers beset him, and he quietly resigned himself into their hands.

Being taken before Foster, he was committed to Ipswich jail, where he conversed and prayed with many of his fellow-sufferers, during his confinement in that place.

In a short time he was removed from Ipswich to Norwich, where Dr. Hopton, the persecuting bishop of that diocese, and Dunning, his chancellor, exercised on him the most intolerable cruelties.

Among all the inhuman wretches with which the nation abounded at that time, none could be compared for cruelty with these two tyrants; for while the rage of others was generally satisfied with imprisonment and death, these were notorious for new-invented tortures, by which some of their prisoners were brought to recant, and others were driven into all the horrors of the most bewildered madness.

In order to bring Mr. Samuel to recant, they confined him in a close prison, where he was chained to a post in such a manner, that, standing only on tiptoe, he was, in that position, forced to sustain the whole weight of his body.

To aggravate this torment, they kept him in a starving condition twelve days, allowing him no more than two bits of bread, and three spoonfuls of water each day, which was done in order to protract his misery, till they could invent new torments, to overcome his patience and resolution.

These inhuman proceedings brought him to so shocking a state, that he was often ready to perish with thirst and hunger.

At length, when all the tortures that these savages could invent proved ineffectual, and nothing could induce our martyr to deny his great Lord and Master, he was condemned to be burned, an act less cruel than what he had already suffered.

On the 31st of August, 1555, he was

taken to the stake, where he declared to the people around him what cruelties he had suffered during the time of his imprisonment, but that he had been enabled to sustain them all by the consolations of the divine spirit, with which he had been daily visited.

As this eminent martyr was being led to execution, a young woman, who had belonged to his congregation, and received the benefit of his spiritual discourses, came up to him, and, as the last token of respect, cordially embraced him. This being observed by some of the bloodthirsty papists, diligent inquiry was made for her the next day, in order to bring her to the like fate with her revered pastor, but she happily eluded their search, and escaped their cruel intentions.

Before Mr. Samuel was chained to the stake, he exhorted the spectators to avoid idolatry, and hold fast to the truth of the gospel; after which he knelt down, and with an audible voice, said the following prayer:

"O Lord, my God and Savior, who art Lord in heaven and earth, maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the creature, and work of thy hands: Lord God, look upon me, and other thy people, who, at this time, are oppressed by the worldly-minded for thy law's sake; yea, Lord, thy law itself is now trodden under foot, and men's inventions exalted above it; and for that cause do I, and many thy creatures, refuse the glory, praise, and conveniences of this life, and do choose to suffer adversity, and to be banished, yea, to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hope's sake that is laid up in store. For, Lord, thou knowest, if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to thy word, we might, by their permission, enjoy these advantages that others do, as wife, children, goods, and friends, all which I acknowledge to be thy gifts, given to the end I should serve thee. And now, Lord, that the world will not suffer me to enjoy them, except I offend thy laws, behold I give unto thee my whole spirit, soul, and body; and lo, I leave here all the pleasures of this life, and do now leave the use of them, for the hope's sake of eternal life purchased in Christ's blood, and promised to all them that fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his truth, whensoever the world and the devil shall persecute the same.

"O Father, I do not presume to come unto thee, trusting in mine own righteousness; no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son, my Savior. For which excellent gift of salvation I cannot worthily praise thee, neither is my sacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in comparison of our bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will: and now, Lord, whatsoever rebellion hath been, or is found in my members against thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my body, to the death, rather than I will use any strange worshipping, which, I beseech thee, accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice; let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even death, the end of misery, and the beginning of all joy, peace, and solace: and when the time of resurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now be spoiled and consumed by the fire. O Lord Jesus, receive my spirit into thy hands. Amen.

When he had finished his prayer he arose, and being fastened to the stake, the fagots were placed round him, and immediately lighted. He bore his sufferings with a courage and resolution truly Christian, cheerfully resigning this life of care and trouble in exchange for another, where death shall be swallowed up in victory, where the tears shall be wiped away from all eyes, and an eternity employed in singing the praises of that grace, which has brought the redeemed of the Lord from much tribulation, and advanced them to mansions at the right hand of God, where are pleasures for evermore.

As Mr. Samuel was a faithful pastor over his flock during his life, so he was resolved they should not forget him after his death, as appears by the following composition, which he wrote to some of his congregation during his continement.

A LETTER OF EXHORTATION.

"A MAN knoweth not his time; but as a fish is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with the snare, so are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. 'The time cometh; the day draweth near,' Ezek. vii. 'Better it were to die,' (as the preacher saith) 'than to live and see the miserable works which are done under the sun.'

"Alas, for this sinful nation! a people of great iniquity, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord; they have provoked the holy one of Israel to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in such a security, and rest, as though all dangers were clean overpast? Yea, who liveth not now in such felicity, worldly pleasures and joys, wholly seeking the world, providing, and craftily shifting for the earthly clod and carnal appetite, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured?

"We might now worthily, dear Christians, lament and bewail our heavy estate, miserable condition, and sorrowful chance; yes, I say, we might well accuse ourselves, and, with Job, curse these our turbulent,

wicked, and bloody last days of this world, were it not that we both see and believe, and find in God's sacred book, that God hath reserved a remnant in all ages, I mean the faithful, as many as have been, from the beginning of the world, exercised, with divers afflictions and troubles, cast and dashed against all perils and dangers, as the very dross and outcasts of the earth, and ye will in nowise halt between God and Baal. Christ will not part spoil with his mortal enemy the devil: he will have all, or lose all; he will not permit the devil to have the service of the body, and he to stand contented with the heart and mind; but he will be glorified both in your bodies and in your spirits, which are his, as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. vi. 'For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter saith. With his own immaculate body hath he clean discharged your bodies from sin, death, and hell, and, with his most precious blood, paid your ransom, and full price, once for all, and for ever.

"Now what harm, I pray you, or what loss sustain you by this? Why are ye, O vain men, more afraid of Jesus, your gentle Savior, and his gospel of salvation, than of a legion of cruel devils, going about utterly to destroy you, both souls and bodies? Think you to be more sure than under your captain Christ? Do you promise yourselves to be more quiet in Satan's service, than in Christ's religion? Esteem you more these transitory and pernicious pleasures, than God and all his heavenly treasures? O palpable darkness, horrible madness, and wilful blindness, without comparison, too much to be suffered any longer! We see and will not see; we know and will not know; yea, we smart and will not feel, and that our conscience well knoweth. O miserable souls, which would, for foolish pleasures, lose the royal kingdom and permanent joys of God, with the everlasting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world! The children of the world live in pleasure and wealth, and the devil, who is their god, and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us, which be of Christ, seek and inquire for heavenly things, which, by God's promise and mercy in Christ, shall be peculiar unto us. Let carnal people pass for things that be pleasant for the body, and do appertain to this transitory life: 'Yet shall they once,' (as the kingly prophet saith) 'run about the city of God, to and fro, howling like dogs, desiring one scrap of the joys of God's elect;' but all too late, as the rich glutton did.

"Let us, therefore, press for those things that do pertain to the spirit, and are celestial. 'We must be here,' (St. Paul saith) 'not as inhabiters, and home-dwellers, but as strangers;' not as strangers only, but after the mind of Paul, as painful soldiers appointed by our governor, to fight against the governor of darkness of this world, against spiritual craftiness in heavenly things. The time is come: we must to it; the judgment must begin first at the house of God. 'Began they not first with the green and sappy tree? and what followed then on the dry branches?' Jeremy speaking in the person of God, saith, 'In the city wherein my name is invocated, will I begin to punish: but as for you,' (meaning the wicked) 'shall you be as innocents, and not once touched?' Nay, the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved unto them in the end: but God's household shall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy. Wherefore we ought not to be dismayed, or discourage ourselves, but rather be of good comfort; not sorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodness will vouchsafe to take up his beloved children, to subdue our sinful lusts, our wretched flesh and blood unto his glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our habitation, 2 Cor. v. (St. Paul meaning the body) be destroyed! we know assuredly we have a building not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, with such joys as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They pass all desires and wishes. Obtained they may be by Christ, esteemed they cannot be. Wherefore the more affliction and persecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abideth in heaven. But worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure unto themselves, by persecuting and thrusting away the gospel, shall turn unto their own trouble, and at last unto horrible destructions, and dire change of realms and countries; and after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual misery. For they had rather, with Nabal, and his temporal pleasures, descend to the devil, than with Christ, and his bodily troubles, ascend into the kingdom of God his father. 'But an unwise man,' (saith the psalmist) 'comprehendeth them not, neither doth the foolish understand them;' that is, these bloody persecutors grow up and flourish like the flower and grass in the field. But unto this end do they so flourish, that they may be cut down, and cast into the fire for ever. For, as Job saith, 'Their joy lasteth but the twinkling of an eye,' and death shall lie gnawing upon them as doth the flock upon the pasture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance (as St. Mark saith) shall lie gnaw-

ing, tormenting, and accusing their wretched conscience for evermore.

"Let us, therefore, good Christians, be constant in obeying God rather than men. For although they slay our sinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for God's truth; yet they cannot do it, but by God's will, to his praise and honor, and to our eternal joy and felicity. 'These are the days of vengeance,' saith Luke, 'that all things written may be fulfilled.' Now, therefore, saith God, by the mouth of his prophet, 'I will come unto thee, and will send my wrath upon thee.' Upon thee, I say, O England, and punish thee according to thy ways, and reward thee after all thine abomination! thou hast kindled the fire of God's wrath, and hast stirred up the coals. For thou wast once enlightened, and hadst tasted of heavenly gifts, and wast become partaker of the Holy Ghost, and hadst tasted of the good word of God: 'Yea, it is yet in thy mouth,' saith the prophet. Alas, O England, thou knowest thy Lord and master's will, but didst not do it! 'thou must, therefore,' says he, 'suffer many stripes, and many sharp strokes.'

"Let the enemies of Christ, and all unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed, without hope of God's mercy, who know not God in Christ to be their very righteousness, their life, their own salvation, and alone Savior, nor believe in him.

"But we are the children of saints, and look for another life, which God shall give to all them who change not their faith, and shrink not from him. Rejoice, therefore, ye Christian afflicted brethren, for they cannot take our souls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which are kept as in the bosom of our most loving father, and if we abide fast in Christ, and turn not away, surely we shall live for ever. Christ affirmeth the same, saying, 'My sheep hear my voice, I know them, they hearken unto me, and to no strangers, and I give them everlasting life: for they shall not be lost, and no man shall pluck them out of my hands:' no, nor yet this flattering world, with all its vain pleasures, nor any tyrant, with his threats, can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What consolation, or comfort, can we have more pleasant and effectual than this? God is on our side, and fighteth for us. As the world can do nothing against his might, neither in taking away, or diminishing from his glory, nor putting him from his celestial throne; so neither can it hurt any one of his children without his good-will: for we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye. Let us, therefore, with earnest faith, lay fast hold on the promises in the gospel, and let us not be separated from the same by temptation, tribulation, or persecution.

"Let us consider the truth of God to be invincible and immutable, promising and giving us, his faithful soldiers, life eternal. It is he only that hath reserved it for us: it is his only benefit, and of his only mere mercy, and unto him only must we render thanks. Let not, therefore, the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and foolish gaudy toys of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the devil, drive, and separate us from our hope of the crown of righteousness, that is laid up in store for us against the last day. O that happy and joyful day, I mean to the faithful, when Christ, by his covenant, shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit with him, as he ascended and sitteth on the throne with his Father! The same body and soul that is now with Christ afflicted, shall then with Christ be glorified: now in cruel hands, as sheep appointed to die; then sitting at God's table with Christ in his kingdom, as God's honorable and dear children; where we shall have heavenly riches for earthly poverty; fullness of the presence of the glory of God, for hunger and thirst; celestial joys in the company of angels, for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons; and life eternal for bodily death. O happy souls! O precious death, and ever more blessed, right dear in the eyes of God! to you the spring of the Lord shall ever be flourishing. Then (as saith Isaiah) the Redeemer shall return, and come again into Sion, praising the Lord, and eternal mercies shall be over their heads: they shall obtain mirth and comfort; sorrow and woe shall be utterly vanquished. Yes, I am he, saith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlasting consolation. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be glory and praise for ever. Amen.

"ROBERT SAMUEL."

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 laboring man, was burnt at Walsingham, in Norfolk.

THOMAS COB, a butcher, suffered at Thetford, in the same county.

ROGER COO, an ancient gentleman, was brought before the bishop of Norwich, and the following account of his examination will give a good idea of the degree of mercy and justice to be expected at such a tribunal; it being evident that the examination was a mere mockery.

Roger Coo, being brought before the bishop, was first asked by him, why he was imprisoned?

Coo. At the justice's commandment.

Bishop. There was some cause why.

Coo. Here is my accuser, let him declare.

And his accuser said, that he would not receive the sacrament.

Then the bishop said that he thought he had transgressed a law.

Coo answered, that there was no law to transgress.

The bishop then asked, What he said to the law that then was?

Coo answered, that he had been in prison a long time, and knew it not.

No, said his accuser, nor will not. My lord, ask him when he received the sacrament.

When Coo heard him say so, he said, I pray you, my lord, let him sit down and examine me himself.

But the bishop would not hear that, but said, Coo, why will you not receive?

He answered him, That the bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine instead of the gospel, and the belief of the same.

Bishop. Is not the holy church to be believed?

Coo. Yes, if it be built upon the word of God.

The bishop said to Coo, that he had the charge of his soul.

Coo. Have you so, my lord? Then if you go to the devil for your sins, what shall become of me?

Bishop. Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honest man?

Coo. It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, "There shall come a people with the prince that shall destroy both city and sanctuary." I pray you show me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or not?

The bishop not answering his question, asked him, whether he would not obey the king's laws?

Coo. As far as they agree with the word of God I will obey them.

Bishop. Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we are bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel.*

Coo. If Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, had so done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confessed the living God.

Bishop. These two-and-twenty years we have been governed by such kings.

Coo. My lord, why were you then dumb, and did not speak or bark?

Bishop. I durst not for fear of death. And thus they ended.

Mr. Coo was an aged man, and was at length committed to the fire at Yoxford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly concluded his long-extended years, in the month of September, 1555.

Four others also suffered about the same time at Canterbury, viz. George Cotmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, and George Brodridge; all of whom bore their punishment with Christian fortitude, glorifying God in the midst of the flames.

SECTION X.

Sufferings and Martyrdoms of Robert Glover, and Cornelius Bongey, of Coventry; and of William Wolsey and Robert Pigot, of the Isle of Ely.

At the time Mr. Glover was apprehended, he lay sick at the house of his brother John Glover, who had secreted himself, on account of a warrant being issued to bring him before his ordinary, on a suspicion of heresy.

Though Mr. Robert Glover was in great danger from the bad state of his health, yet such was the brutality of the popish emissaries, that they took him out of his bed, and carried him to Coventry jail, where he continued ten days, though no misdemeanor was alleged against him.

When the ten days were expired, in which he suffered great affliction from his illness, he was brought before his ordinary, the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who told him that he must submit to ecclesiastical authority, and stand reproved 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

* A modern prelate discovered exactly the same spirit, when he said, in the House of Lords, that "the people had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them;" which shows that bigotry and intolerance are not confined to papists.

"give a reason for the faith that was in him," he was remanded back to Coventry jail, where he was kept close prisoner, without a bed, notwithstanding his illness; nevertheless, the divine comforts enabled him to sustain such cruel treatment without repining.

From Coventry he was removed to Lichfield, where he was visited by the chancellor and prebendaries, who exhorted him to recant his errors, and be dutiful to the holy mother church; but he refused to conform to that, or any other church, whose doctrines and practices were not founded on scripture authority, which he determined to make the sole rule of his religious conduct.

After this visit, he remained alone eight days, during which time he gave himself up to constant prayer, and meditation on the exceeding precious promises of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to all true believers, daily amending in bodily health, and increasing in the true faith of the gospel.

At the expiration of the eight days, he was again brought before the bishop, who inquired how his imprisonment agreed with him, and warmly entreated him to become a member of the mother church, which had continued many years; whereas the church, of which he had professed himself a member, was not known but in the time of Edward VI.

With respect to the inquiry, our martyr was silent, treating it with that contempt which such behavior in a prelate deserved, but told his lordship, that he professed himself a member of that church, which is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; and then quoted that well-known passage in the epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians. "This church," added he, "hath been from the beginning, though it bore no pompous show before the world; being, for the most part, under crosses and afflictions, despised, rejected, and persecuted."

After much debate, in which Mr. Glover cited scripture for whatever he advanced, to the confusion and indignation of the haughty prelate, he was commanded, on his obedience, to hold his peace, as a proud and arrogant heretic.

Mr. Glover then, with a spirit becoming a man and a Christian, told the bishop he was not to be convinced by insolent and imperious behavior, but by sound reasoning, founded on scripture; desiring, at the same time, that he would propound to him some articles; but the bishop chose to decline that method of proceeding, till he should be summoned to the consistory court, dismissing him with an assurance that he should be kept in prison, and there have neither meat nor drink, till he recanted his heresies.

Our martyr heard these cruel words with patience and resignation, lifting up his heart to God, that he might be enabled to stand stedfast in the faith of the glorious gospel.

When he was brought into the consistory court, the bishop demanded of him how many sacraments Christ had instituted to be used in his church? He replied, Two: Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, and no more.

Being asked if he allowed confession, he answered in the negative.

With respect to the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, he declared that the mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, because they had taken away the true institution; and when they should restore it, he would give his judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.

After several other examinations, public and private, he was condemned as a heretic, and delivered over to the secular power.

CORNELIUS BONGEY, (who was apprehended much about the same time as Mr. Glover, and suffered with him) was examined by Randolph, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and the following allegations brought against him:

1. That he did hold, maintain and teach in the city of Coventry, that the priest hath no power to absolve a sinner from his sins.

2. That he asserted, there were in the church of Christ but two sacraments; Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

3. That in the sacrament of the popish 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 that God who gave them, hoping, through the merits of the great Redeemer, for a glorious resurrection to life immortal.

JOHN and WILLIAM GLOVER, brothers to Robert, were sought after by the popish emissaries, in order to be brought to the stake, but they eluded their searches, and happily escaped. However, the resentment of the popish persecutors did not cease here, for after their deaths, the bones of one were taken up and dispersed in the highway; and

the remains of the other were deposited in a common field.

WILLIAM WOLSEY AND ROBERT PIGOT.

Information being laid against these two persons by the popish emissaries, they were sought after, and soon apprehended. William Wolsey was first taken, and being brought before a neighboring justice, was bound over to appear at the ensuing sessions for the Isle of Ely. But a few days after, he was again taken into custody, and committed to Wisbeach jail, there to remain till the next assizes for the county.

During his confinement here he was visited by the chancellor of Ely, who told him that he was out of the pale of the Catholic church, and desired that he would not meddle any more with the scriptures than became a layman.

After a short pause, Mr. Wolsey addressed the chancellor as follows: "Good doctor, what did our Savior mean, when he said, Wo be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men; ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them that come to enter in?"

Dr. Fuller replied, "You must understand that Christ spake to the scribes and pharisees."

"Nay, Mr. Doctor," answered Wolsey, "Christ spake even to you, and your fellows here present, and to all such as you are."

Dr. Fuller then said: "I will leave thee a book to read, of a learned man's writing, that is to say, Dr. Watson's," (who was then bishop of Lincoln.)

Wolsey receiving the book, diligently read it over, and found it in many places manifestly contrary to God's word. At length, a fortnight or three weeks after, Dr. Fuller going again to the prison to converse with Wolsey, asked him how he liked the book. Wolsey replied, "Sir, I like the book no otherwise than I thought before I should find it." Whereupon the chancellor taking his book, departed home.

At night, when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he found in many places, the book rased with a pen by Wolsey, and being vexed therewith, said, "O this is an obstinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book."

Then the assizes drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller came again to Wolsey, and said to him, "Thou dost much trouble my conscience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee, and come to the church when thou wilt; and if thou be complained upon, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not hear of it."

"Doctor," said Wolsey, "I was brought hither by a law, and by a law I will be delivered."

He was then brought to the sessions, and laid in the castle at Wisbeach, he and all his friends thinking that he would have suffered there at that time, but it proved otherwise.

Robert Pigot was apprehended, and brought before Sir Clement Hyam, who reproved him severely for absenting himself from church. The reason he assigned for his absence was, that "he considered the church should be a congregation of believers, assembled together for the worship of God, according to the manner laid down in his most holy word: and not a church of human invention, founded on the whimsical fancy of fallible men."

In consequence of this answer he was, with Wolsey, committed to prison, where they both remained till the day appointed for their execution.

During their confinement, several of the neighbors came to visit them, among whom was Peter Valerices, a Frenchman, chaplain to the bishop of Ely, who thus addressed them: "My brethren, according to mine office, I am come to talk with you, for I have been almoner here these twenty years and more, wherefore, my brethren, I desire you to take it in good part. I desire not to force you from your faith, but I require and desire you, in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of his gospel, and his word; and I beseech Almighty God, for his Son's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end, for I know not, brethren, how soon I may be in the same case with you."

This address, being so different from what was expected, drew tears from all who were present, and greatly comforted our martyrs.

On the 9th of October, Pigot and Wolsey were brought before Dr. Fuller the chancellor, and other commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs, who laid several articles to their charge, but particularly that of the sacrament of the altar.

When that article was proposed, they jointly declared the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the real body and blood of Christ was not present in the said sacrament; and to this opinion they said they would stand, though at the peril of their lives, being founded on the authority of God's word, which enjoined the worship of the supreme God alone.

After this declaration, they were exhorted by Dr. Shaxton, one of the commissioners, to consider the danger of continuing in that belief, and recant the same, lest they should die here, and perish hereafter; and

ing, that he had formerly believed as they did, but was now become a new man in point of faith.

This not having any effect, Dr. Fuller upbraided Wolsey with obstinacy and foolhardiness; but endeavoured to soothe Pigot into compliance, desiring one of the attendants to write to the following purport:

"I Robert Pigot do believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Christ, substantially the self-same that was born of the Virgin Mary."

It was then read to Pigot; and his answer being required, he briefly said, "Sir, that is your faith, but never shall be mine, till you can prove it from scripture."

These two martyrs thus persevering in the faith of the pure gospel, sentence of death was passed, and they were both ordered to be burned as heretics.

On the 16th of October, 1555, the day appointed for their execution, they were conducted to the stake, amidst the lamentations of great numbers of spectators. Several English translations of the New Testament being ordered to be burned with them, they took each one of them in their hands, lamenting, on the one hand, the destroying so valuable a repository of sacred truth; and glorying, on the other, that they were deemed worthy of sealing the same with their blood.

They both died in the triumph of faith, magnifying the power of divine grace, which enables the servants of God to glory in tribulation, and count all things but dung and dross, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ their Redeemer.

SECTION XI.

The Lives, Sufferings, and Martyrdoms of Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester; and Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London.

Hugh Latimer was born of humble parents at Thirkeston, in Leicestershire, about the year 1475, who gave him a good education, and sent him to Cambridge, where he showed himself a zealous papist, and inveighed much against the reformers, who, at that time, began to make some figure in England. But conversing frequently with Thomas Bilney, the most considerable person at Cambridge of all those who favored the reformation, he saw the errors of popery, and became a zealous Protestant.

Latimer being thus converted, labored, 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 with his party, which Bilney had so long, supported. Among other instances of his zeal and resolution in this cause, he gave one which was very remarkable: he had the courage to write to the king (Henry VIII.) against a proclamation, then just published, forbidding the use of the bible in English, and other books on religious subjects. He had preached before his majesty once or twice at Windsor; and had been taken notice of by him in a more affable manner, than that monarch usually indulged towards his subjects. But whatever hopes of preferment his sovereign's favour might have raised in him, he chose to put all to the hazard rather than omit what he thought his duty. His letter is the picture of an honest and sincere heart: he concludes in these terms: "Accept, gracious sovereign, without displeasure, what I have written; I thought it my duty to mention these things to your majesty. No personal quarrel, as God shall judge me, have I with any man: I wanted only to induce your majesty to consider well what kind of persons you have about you, and the ends for which they counsel. Indeed, great prince, many of them, or they are much slandered, have very private ends. God grant your majesty may see through all the designs of evil men, and be in all things equal to the high office, with which you are intrusted. Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself; have pity upon your own soul, and think that the day is at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and the

blood which hath been shed by your sword: in the which day, that your grace may stand stedfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon sealed with the blood of our Savior Christ, which alone serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him, who suffered death for our sins. The spirit of God preserve you."

Lord Cromwell was now in power, and being a favorer of the reformation, he obtained a benefice in Wiltshire for Latimer, who immediately went thither and resided, discharging his duty in a very conscientious manner, though much persecuted by the Romish clergy; who, at length, carried their malice so far as to obtain an archiepiscopal citation for his appearance in London. His friends would have had him quit England; but their persuasions were in vain.

He set out for London in the depth of winter, and under a severe fit of the stone and colic; but he was most distressed at the thoughts of leaving his parish exposed to the popish clergy. On his arrival at London, he found a court of bishops and canonists ready to receive him; where, instead of being examined, as he expected, about his sermons, a paper was put into his hands, which he was ordered to subscribe, declaring his belief in the efficacy of masses for the souls in purgatory, of prayers to the dead saints, of pilgrimages to their sepulchres and relics, the pope's power to forgive sins, the doctrine of merit, the seven sacraments, and the worship of images: which, when he refused to sign, the archbishop, with a frown, ordered him to consider what he did. "We intend not," said he, "Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you; we dismiss you for the present; take a copy of the articles; examine them carefully, and God grant, that at our next meeting we may find each other in better temper."

At the next, and several succeeding meetings, the same scene was acted over again. He continued inflexible, and they continued to distress him. Three times every week they regularly sent for him, with a view either to draw something from him by captious questions, or to tease him at length into compliance. Tired out with this usage, when he was again summoned, instead of going he sent a letter to the archbishop, in which, with great freedom, he told him, "That the treatment he had lately met with had brought him into such a disorder as rendered him unfit to attend that day; that in the mean time he could not help taking this opportunity to expostulate with his grace for detaining him so long from his duty; that it seemed to him most unaccountable, that they, who never preached themselves, should hinder others; that, as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progress; that if his sermons gave offence, although he persuaded himself they were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, he was ready to answer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them; that he wished a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people; and that a distinction might be made between the ordinances of God and man; that if some abuses in religion did prevail, as was then commonly supposed, he thought preaching was the best means to discountenance them; that he wished all pastors might be obliged to perform their duty; but that, however, liberty might be given to those who were willing; that as to the articles proposed to him, he begged to be excused subscribing to them; while he lived, he never would abet superstition; and that, lastly, he hoped the archbishop would excuse what he had written; he knew his duty to his superiors, and would practise it; but in that case, he thought a stronger obligation lay upon him."

The bishops, however, continued their persecutions, but their schemes were frustrated in an unexpected manner. Latimer being raised to the see of Worcester, in the year 1533, by the favor of Anne Boleyn, then the favorite wife of Henry, to whom, most probably, he was recommended by lord Cromwell, he had now a more extensive field to promote the principles of the reformation, in which he labored with the utmost pains and assiduity. All the historians of those times mention him as a person remarkably zealous in the discharge of his new office; and tell us, that in overlooking the clergy of his diocese, he was uncommonly active, warm, and resolute, and presided in his ecclesiastical court with the same spirit. In visiting, he was frequent and observant; in ordaining, strict and wary; in preaching, indefatigable; and in reproving and exhorting, severe and persuasive.

In 1536, he received a summons to attend the parliament and convocation, which gave him a further opportunity of promoting the work of reformation, whereon his heart was so much set. Many alterations were made in religious matters, and a few months after, the bible was translated into English, and recommended to a general perusal, in October, 1537.

Latimer, highly satisfied with the prospect of the times, now repaired to his diocese, having made no longer stay in London than was absolutely necessary. He had no talents, and he pretended to have

none, for state affairs. His whole ambition was to discharge the pastoral functions of a bishop, neither aiming to display the abilities of a statesman, nor those of a courtier. How very unqualified he was to support the latter of these characters, the following story will prove: It was the custom in those days for the bishops to make presents to the king on New-year's day, and many of them presented very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their hopes and expectations. Among the rest, Latimer, being then in town, waited upon the king, with his offering; but instead of a purse of gold, which was the common oblation, he presented a New Testament, with a leaf doubled down in a very conspicuous manner, at this passage—"Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge."

In 1539, he was summoned again to attend the parliament: the bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, was his great enemy; and, upon a particular occasion, when the bishops were with the king, kneeled down and solemnly accused bishop Latimer of a seditious sermon preached at court. Being called upon by the king, with some sternness, to vindicate himself, Latimer was so far from denying and palliating what he had said, that he nobly justified it; and turning to the king, with that noble unconcern which a good conscience inspires, "I never thought myself worthy," said he, "nor did I ever sue to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike it, to give place to my betters; for I grant, there may be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I can be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt, indeed, to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace." The boldness of his answer baffled his accuser's malice; the severity of the king's countenance changed into a gracious smile, and the bishop was dismissed with that obliging freedom, which this monarch never used but to those he esteemed.

However, as Latimer could not give his vote for the act of the six papistical articles, drawn up by the duke of Norfolk, he thought it wrong to hold any office in a church where such terms of communion were required, and therefore he resigned his bishopric, and retired into the country, where he purposed to live a sequestered life. But in the midst of his security, an unhappy accident carried him again into the tempestuous atmosphere of the court: he received a bruise by the fall of a tree, and the contusion was so dangerous, that he was obliged to seek for better assistance than could be afforded him by the unskilful surgeons of that part of the country where he resided. With this view he repaired to London, where he had the misfortune to see the fall of his patron, the lord Cromwell: a loss which he was soon made sensible of. For Gardiner's emissaries quickly found him out in his concealment, and a pretended charge of his having spoken against the six articles, being alleged against him, he was sent to the Tower, where, without any judicial examination, he suffered, through one pretence and another, a cruel imprisonment for the remaining six years of king Henry's reign.

On the death of Henry, the Protestant interest revived under his son Edward, and Latimer, immediately upon the change of the government, was set at liberty. An address was made to the protector, to restore him to his bishopric: the protector was very willing to gratify the parliament, and proposed the resumption of his bishopric to Mr. Latimer; who now thinking himself unequal to the weight of it, refused to resume it, choosing rather to accept an invitation from his friend archbishop 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 resorted 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 reign of king Edward: he was also appointed to preach the Lent sermons before his majesty, which office he performed during the first three years of his reign.

Upon the revolution, which happened at court, after the death of the duke of Somerset, he retired into the country, and made use of the king's license as a general preacher, in those places where he thought his labors might be most serviceable.

He was thus employed during the remainder of that reign, and continued the same course, for a short time, in the beginning of the next; but as soon as the re-introduction of popery was resolved on, the first step towards it was the prohibition of all preaching, and licensing only such as were known to be popishly inclined. The bishop of Winchester, who was now prime minister, having proscribed Mr. Latimer from the first, sent a message to cite him before the council. He had notice of this

design, some hours before the messenger's arrival, but he made no use of the intelligence. The messenger found him equipped for his journey, at which, expressing his surprise, Mr. Latimer told him, that he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life; and that he doubted not but that God, who had already enabled him to preach the word before two princes, would enable him to witness the same before a third. The messenger then acquainting him, that he had no orders to seize his person, delivered a letter, and departed. However, opening the letter, and finding it a citation from the council, he resolved to obey it, and set out immediately. As he passed through Smithfield, he said, cheerfully, "This place of burning hath long groaned for me." The next morning he waited upon the council, who having loaded him with many severe reproaches, sent him to the Tower, from whence, after some time, he was removed to Oxford.

Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, received the earliest part of his education at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, from whence he was removed to the university of Cambridge, where his great learning and distinguished abilities, so recommended him, that he was made master of Pembroke-hall, in that university.

After being some years in this office, he left Cambridge, and travelled into various parts of Europe for his advancement in knowledge. On his return to England, he was made chaplain to Henry VIII. and bishop of Rochester, from which he was translated to the see of London by Edward VI.

In private life he was pious, humane, and affable: in public he was learned, sound, and eloquent; diligent in his duty, and very popular as a preacher.

He had been educated in the Roman Catholic religion, but was brought over to the reformed faith by reading Bertram's book on the Sacrament; and he was confirmed in the same by frequent conferences with Cranmer and Peter Martyr, so that he became a zealous promoter of the reformed doctrines and discipline during the reign of king Edward.

The following character of this eminent divine presents so interesting a picture of the good man and pious Christian, that we give it verbatim.

"In his important offices he so diligently applied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that no good child was more singularly loved by his dear parents, than he by his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in one place or other, except he was otherwise hindered by weighty affairs and business; and to his sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and so faithfully did his life portray his doctrines, that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any thing.

"Besides this, he was very learned, his memory was great, and he had attained such reading withal, that he deserved to be compared to the best men of his age, as his works, sermons, and his sundry disputations in both the universities well testified.

"He was, also, wise of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. He was anxious to gain the obstinate papists from their erroneous opinions, and sought by gentleness to win them to the truth, as his gentle and courteous treatment of Dr. Heath, who was prisoner with him in king Edward's time, in his house, one year, sufficiently proved. In fine, he was in all points so good, pious, and spiritual a man, that England never saw his superior.

"He was comely in his person, and well proportioned. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancor from his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kind and natural to his relations, and yet not bearing with them any otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea to his own brother and sister, that they doing evil should look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens to him, and that they, to be his brother and sister, must live a good life.

"He used all kinds of ways to mortify himself, and was much given to prayer and contemplation: for duly every morning, as soon as he was dressed, he went to his bedchamber, and there upon his knees prayed for half an hour: which being done, immediately he went to his study (if no other business came to interrupt him) where he continued till ten o'clock, and then came to the common prayer, daily used in his house. This being done, he went to dinner; where he talked little, except otherwise occasion had been ministered, and then it was sober, discreet and wise, and sometimes merry, as cause required.

"The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts talking, or playing at chess: he then returned to his study, and there would continue, except visitors, or business abroad prevented him, until five o'clock at night, when he would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon; which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before. After supper, recre-

ating himself again at chess, after which he would return again to his study; continuing there till eleven o'clock at night, which was his common hour of going to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees as in the morning when he rose. When at his manor of Fulham, he used to read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the epistles of St. Paul, giving to every man that could read a New Testament, hiring them, besides, with money, to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially the 13th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, reading also unto his household oftentimes the 101st Psalm, being marvellously careful over his family, that they might be a pattern of all virtue and honesty to others. In short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Savior Jesus Christ.

"The following is a striking instance of the benevolence of his temper, shown to Mrs. Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London. Bishop Ridley, when at his manor of Fulham, always sent for Mrs. Bonner, who dwelt in a house adjoining his own, to dinner and supper, with a Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister, saying, Go for my mother Bonner; who coming, was always placed in the chair at the head of the table, being as gently treated and welcomed as his own mother, and he would never have her displaced from her seat, although the king's council had been present; saying, when any of them were there, (as several times they were) By your lordships' favor, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner. But how well he was recompensed for this singular kindness and gentle piety afterwards at the hands of Dr. Bonner, is too well known. For who afterwards was a greater enemy to Dr. Ridley than Dr. Bonner? Who went more about to seek his destruction than he? Recompensing his gentleness with extreme cruelty; as well appeared by the severity against Dr. Ridley's own sister, and her husband, George Shipside, from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other permitted Bonner's mother, sister, and others of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had from bishop Bonner, but also entertained them in his house, showing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them; while, on the other side, Bonner being restored again, would not suffer the brother and sister of bishop Ridley, and other of his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by their brother, but also churlishly, without all order of law or honesty, wrested from them all the livings they had."

On the accession of queen Mary, he shared the same fate with many others who professed the truth of the gospel. Being accused of heresy, he was first removed from his bishopric, then sent prisoner to the Tower of London, and afterwards to Bocardo prison, in Oxford; from whence he was committed to the custody of Mr. Irish, mayor of that city, in whose house he remained till the day of his execution.

On the 30th of September, 1555, these two eminent prelates were cited to appear in the divinity school at Oxford, which they accordingly did.

Dr. Ridley was first examined, and severely reprimanded by the bishop of Lincoln, because when he heard the "cardinal's grace," and the "pope's holiness" mentioned in the commission, he kept on his cap. The words of the bishop were to this effect: "Mr. Ridley, if you will not be uncovered, in respect to the pope, and the cardinal his legate, by whose authority we sit in commission, your cap shall be taken off."

The bishop of Lincoln then made a formal harangue, in which he 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 Catholic faith, by the prolocutor of the convocation-house, and sundry learned men of both universities.

5. That all and singular the premises are true, and notoriously known, by all near at hand, and in distant places.

To the first of these articles Dr. Ridley replied, "that he believed Christ's body to be in the sacrament, really, by grace and spirit effectually, but not so as to include a lively and movable body under the forms of bread and wine."

To the second he answered in the affirmative.

Part of the fourth he acknowledged, and part he denied.

To the fifth he answered, "that the premises were so far true, as his replies had set forth. Whether all men spake evil of them he knew not, because he came not so much abroad, to hear what every man reported."

He was then ordered to appear the following day in St. Mary's curch, in Oxford, to give his final answer; after which he was committed to the custody of the mayor.

When Latimer was brought into court, the bishop of Lincoln warmly exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, from which he had revolted.

The same articles which were proposed to Dr. Ridley were read to Latimer, and he was required to give a full and satisfactory answer to each of them.

His replies not being satisfactory to the court, he was dismissed; but ordered to appear in St. Mary's church, at the same time with Dr. Ridley.

On the day appointed, the commissioners met, when Dr. Ridley being first brought before them, the bishop of Lincoln stood up, and began to repeat the proceedings of the former meeting, assuring him that he had full liberty to make what alterations he pleased in his answers to the articles proposed to him, and to deliver the same to the court in writing.

After some debate, Dr. Ridley took out a paper, and began to read; but the bishop interrupted him, and ordered the beadle to take the writing from him. The doctor desired permission to read on, declaring the contents were only his answers to the articles proposed; but the bishop and others, having privately reviewed it, would not permit it to be read in open court.

When the articles were again administered, he referred the notary to his writing, who set them down according to the same.

The bishop of Gloucester affecting much concern for Dr. Ridley, persuaded him not to indulge an obstinate temper, but recant his erroneous opinions, and return to the unity of the holy Catholic church.

Dr. Ridley coolly replied, he was not vain of his own understanding, but was fully persuaded that the religion he professed was founded on God's most holy and infallible church; and therefore, he could not abandon or deny the same, consistently with his regard for the honor of God, and the salvation of his immortal soul.

He desired to declare his reasons, why he could not, with a safe conscience, admit of the popish supremacy; but his request was denied.

The bishop finding him inflexible in the faith, according to the doctrine of the reformation, thus addressed him: "Dr. Ridley, it is with the utmost concern that I observe your stubbornness and obstinacy in persisting in damnable errors and heresies; but unless you recant, I must proceed to the other part of my commission, though very much against my will and desire."

Ridley not making any reply, sentence of condemnation was read; after which he was carried back to confinement.

When Latimer was brought before the court, the bishop of Lincoln informed him, that though they had already taken his answers to certain articles alleged against him, yet they had given him time to consider on the same, and would permit him to make what alterations he should deem fit, hoping, by such means, to reclaim him from his errors, and bring him over to the faith of the holy Catholic church.

The articles were again read to him, but he deviated not, in a single point, from the answers he had already given.

Being again warned to recant, and revoke his errors, he refused, declaring, that he never would deny God's truth, which he was ready to seal with his blood. Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced against him, and he was committed to the custody of the mayor.

The account of the degradation of Ridley, his behavior before, and at the place of execution, is curious and interesting: we therefore give it at length.

"On the 15th day of October, in the morning, Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Marshall, with others of the chief and heads of the same university, and many others accompanying them, came to the house of Mr. Irish, mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley was a close prisoner. And when the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where Dr. Ridley lay, he told him for what purpose their coming was, saying, 'That yet once again the queen's majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if he would receive it, and come home again to the faith in which he was baptized.' And further said, 'That if he would not recant and become one of the Catholic church with them, then they must needs (against their wills) proceed according to the law, which they would be very loth to do, if

they might otherwise. But,' said he, 'we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant your fantastical and devilish opinions, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good Mr. Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue both of body and soul, if you shall so wilfully cast yourself away in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time.'

"'My lord,' said Dr. Ridley, 'you know my mind fully herein: and as for my doctrine, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to God's word (to his glory be it spoken); and which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall move, and breath is within my body; and in confirmation thereof I am willing to seal the same with my blood.'

"*Brooks.* Well, it were best, Mr. Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us. For you know well enough, that whosoever is out of the Catholic church cannot be saved. Therefore I say, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the pope's holiness to be the chief head of the church.

"*Ridley.* I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Antichrist.—And here he would have reasoned with the bishop of Gloucester, concerning the bishop of Rome's authority, but was not suffered, and yet he spake so earnestly against the pope therein, that the bishop told him, 'If he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled. And seeing,' saith he, 'that you will not receive the queen's mercy, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission to degrading and depriving you of the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore will the sooner have done with you: so committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow.'

"*Ridley.* Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you; I am well content to abide the same with all my heart.

"*Brooks.* Put off your cap, and put upon you this surplice.

"*Ridley.* Not I, truly.

"*Brooks.* But you must.

"*Ridley.* I will not.

"*Brooks.* You must; therefore, make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you.

"*Ridley.* Truly, if it come upon me, it shall be against my will.

"*Brooks.* Will you not put it upon you?

"*Ridley.* No, that I will not.

"*Brooks.* It shall be put upon you, by one or other.

"*Ridley.* Do therein as it shall please you, I am well content with that, and more than that; the servant is not above his master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Savior Christ, as the scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much doth it become us, his servants! And in saying these words they put upon him a surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass. As they were about this, Dr. Ridley vehemently inveighed against the Romish bishop, and all that foolish apparel, calling the first Antichrist, and the last foolish and abominable, 'yea, too foolish for a device in a play.'

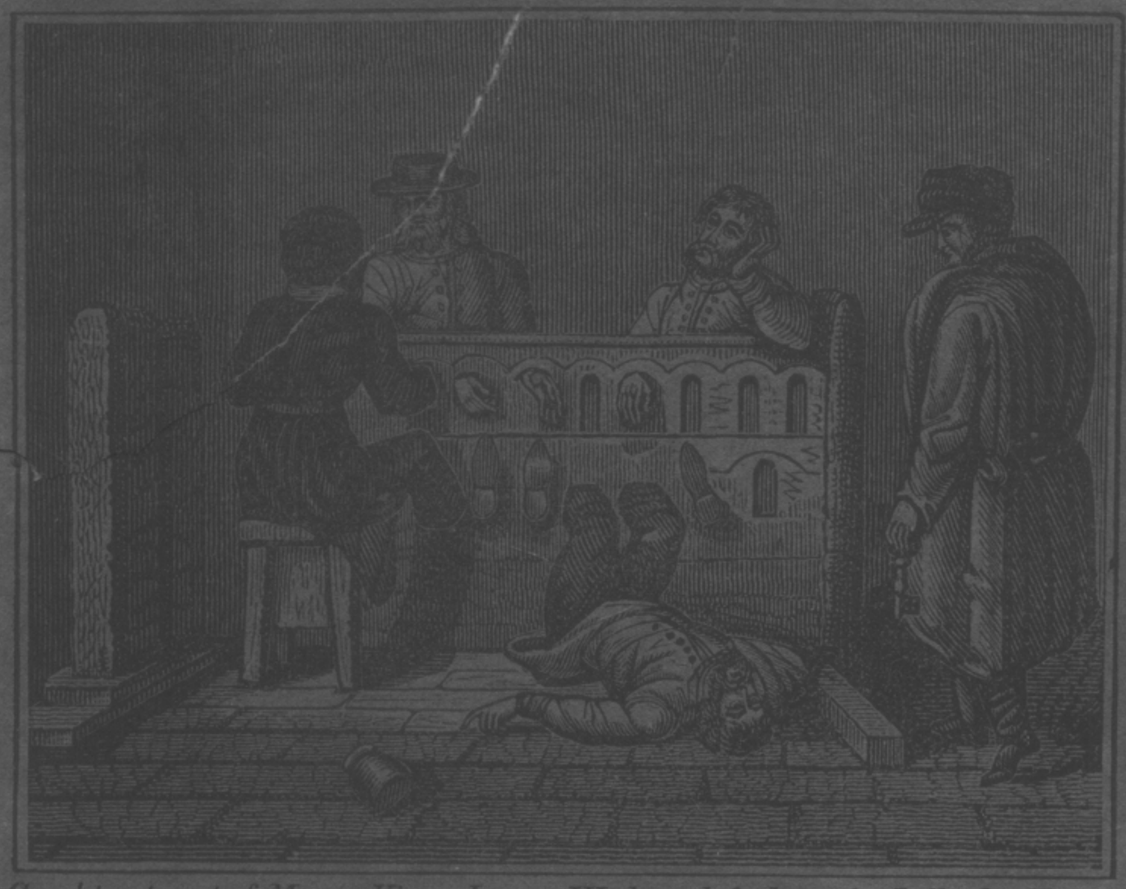
"*Brooks.* You had best hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped.—At which words one Edridge, the reader of the Greek lecture, standing by, said, 'Sir, the law is that he should be gagged, therefore let him be gagged.' At which words Dr. Ridley, looking earnestly upon him, shook his head at him, and made no answer.

"When they came to that place where Dr. Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer cake (called the singing-bread) Dr. Ridley said, 'They shall not come into my hands; for if they do, they shall fall to the ground for me.' Then one was appointed to hold them in his hand, while bishop Brooks read a part in Latin, touching the degradation of spiritual persons, according to the pope's law.

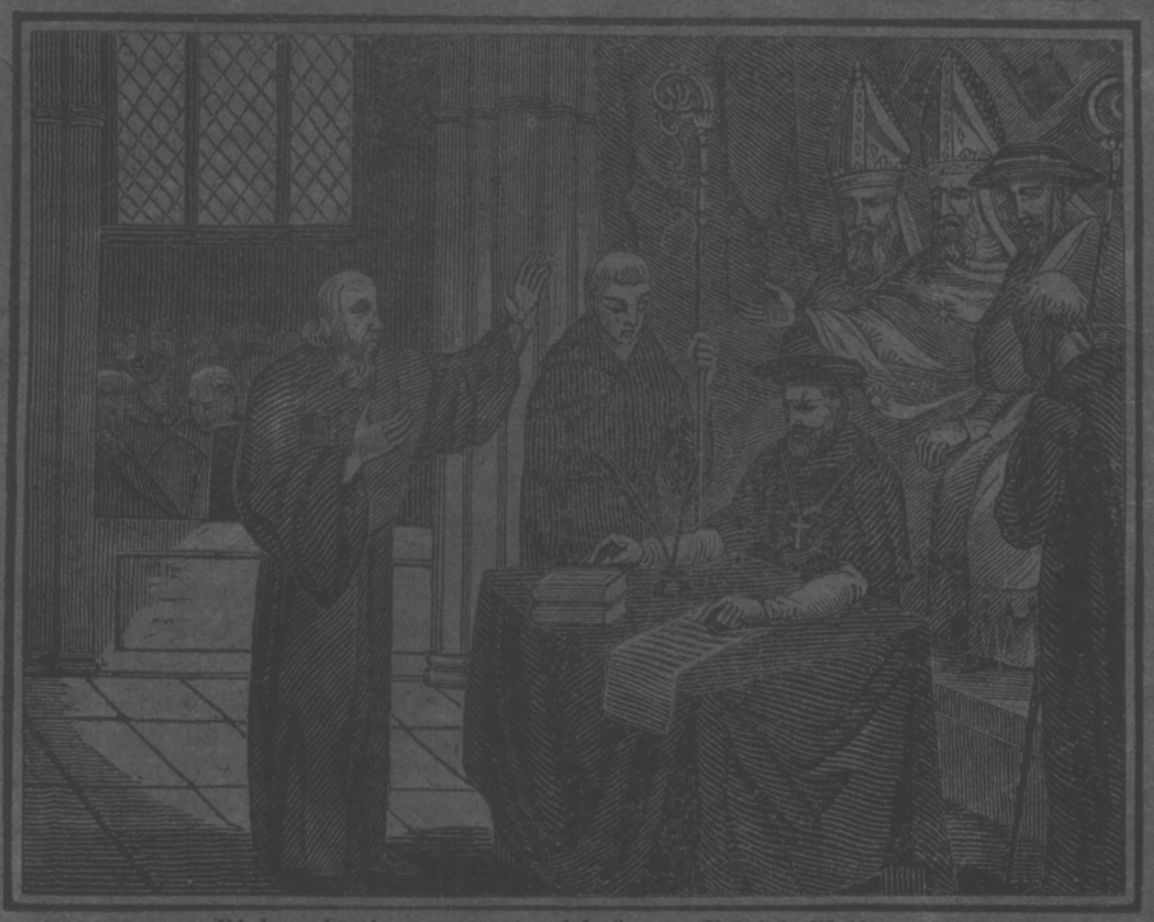
"They then put the book into his hand, and read another thing in Latin, the effect of which was, 'We do take from thee the office of preaching the gospel,' &c. At which words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, and looking up towards heaven, said, 'O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness.'

"Having put on him the mass-gear, they began to take it away (beginning with the uppermost garment), again reading in Latin according to the pope's law. Now when all was taken from him, saving only the surplice, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. Ridley said unto them, 'Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never a singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had.'

"So when this ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnly, Dr. Ridley said to Dr. Brooks, 'Have you done? If you have, then give me leave to talk a little concerning these matters.' Brooks answered, 'Mr. Ridley, we must not talk with you; you are out of the church; and our law is, that we must not talk with any out of the church.' Then Dr. Ridley said, 'Seeing that you



Cruel treatment of Messrs King, Leyes, Wade and Andrew, in Lollard's Tower, Lambeth Palace, A.D. 1555.



Bishop Latimer examined before a Popish Tribunal.

will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience! I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him.'

"They were then going, when Ridley said, 'My lord, I would wish that you would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's writing, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you will find much good learning therein, if you will read it with an impartial judgment.' To which Dr. Brooks made no answer, but was going away. Then said Dr. Ridley, 'Oh, I perceive you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well, as it is to no purpose, I will say no more; I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my lord, hear me, and be a means to the queen's majesty, in behalf of a great many poor men, especially my poor sister and her husband, who standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, when I was in the see of London, which is taken away from them, by him that occupieth the same room, without either law or conscience. I have a supplication to her majesty, in their behalf. You shall hear it.' Then he read the same, and when he came to the place that spake of his sister by name, he wept; so that, for a time, he could not speak for weeping. But recovering himself, he said, 'This is nature, that moveth me, but I have now done:' and with that he finished it, and then delivered it to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen's majesty, and to sue not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from them by Dr. Bonner. Dr. Brooks said, 'Indeed, Mr. Ridley, your request in this supplication is very right; therefore I must, in conscience, speak to the queen's majesty for them.'

"*Ridley.* I pray for God's sake so do.

"*Brooks.* I think your request will be granted, except one thing hinder it, and that is because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same.

"*Ridley.* What remedy? I can do no more than speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein, and God's will be done.

"*Brooks.* I will do my best.

"The degradation being concluded, and all things finished, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Dr. Ridley, with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Dr. Ridley, in praising God, said, 'God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it would surely be done, I see very well.' Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting himself.

"Dr. Ridley said, "No, as I said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me.' Then they departed, and in going away, a certain warden of a college advised Dr. Ridley to repent and forsake that erroneous opinion. 'Sir,' said the doctor, 'repent *you*, for you are out of the truth: and I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word.' Then the warden, being in a passion thereat, said, 'I trust that I shall never be of your devilish opinion, either yet to be in that place whither you shall go: thou art the most obstinate and wilful man that I ever heard talk since I was born.'

"BEHAVIOR OF DR. RIDLEY, THE NIGHT BEFORE HE SUFFERED.

"On the night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs: and as he sat at supper, at the house of Mr. Irish, his keeper, he invited his hostess, and the rest at the table, to his marriage: for, said he, to-morrow I must be married, and so showed himself to be as merry as ever he had been before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother, sitting at the table, whether he thought she could find in her heart to be there: he answered, 'Yes, I dare say, with all her heart.' At which he said, 'He was glad to hear of her sincerity.' At this discourse Mrs. Irish wept. But Dr. Ridley comforted her, saying, 'O, Mrs. Irish, you love me not, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you are not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper will be more pleasant and sweet.'

"When they arose from the table, his brother offered to stay all night with him. But he said, 'No, no, that you shall not. For I intend (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night, as ever I did.' On this, his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

"BURNING OF RIDLEY, AND LATIMER.

"On the north side of the town, in the ditch over-against Baliol-college, the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might arise to hinder

the burning of the servants of Christ, the lord Williams was commanded by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed; and when every thing was in readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs.

"Dr. Ridley had on a black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he used to wear when he was a bishop; a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, with a corner cap, and slippers on his feet. He walked to the stake between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

"After him came Mr. Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock much worn, with his buttoned cap and kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging down to the feet: which at the first sight excited sorrow in the spectators, beholding, on the one side, the honor they sometime had; and on the other, the calamity in which they had fallen.

"Dr. Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where Dr. Cranmer lay, hoping to have seen him at the glass window, and spoken to him. But Dr. Cranmer was then engaged in dispute with friar Soto and his fellows, so that he could not see him through that occasion. Dr. Ridley then looking back, saw Mr. Latimer, coming after. Unto whom he said, 'Oh, are you there?'—'Yea,' said Mr. Latimer, 'have after, as fast as I can.' So he following a pretty way off, at length they came to the stake. Dr. Ridley first entering the place, earnestly held up both his hands, and looked towards heaven: then shortly after seeing Mr. Latimer with a cheerful look, he ran to him, and embraced him, saying, 'Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it.'

"He then went to the stake, and, kneeling down, prayed with great fervor, while Mr. Latimer following, kneeled also, and prayed as earnestly as he. After this, they arose and conversed together, and while thus employed, Dr. Smith began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, in the 13th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians: 'If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby.' Wherein he alleged, that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person: which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford who of late hanged herself, for that they and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately separated their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men who stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics and died out of the church.' He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon scarcely lasted a quarter of an hour.

"At its conclusion, Dr. Ridley said to Mr. Latimer, 'Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?' Mr. Latimer said, 'Begin you first, I pray you.'—'I will,' said Dr. Ridley.

"He then, with Mr. Latimer, kneeled to my lord Williams, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and the other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form thereby, and said, 'I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words:' and whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know whether he might have leave to speak, the bailiffs, and Dr. Marshal, the vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopping his mouth, said, 'Mr. Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, you shall not only have liberty so to do; but also your life.'—'Not otherwise?' said Dr. Ridley.—'No,' answered Dr. Marshal; 'therefore if you will not do so, there is no remedy: you must suffer for your deserts.'—'Well,' said the martyr, 'so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me:' with that he rose and said with a loud voice, 'I commit our cause to Almighty God, who will indifferently judge all.'

"To which Mr. Latimer added his old saying, 'Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened;' and said he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered. They were then commanded to prepare immediately, for the stake.

"They according with all meekness obeyed. Dr. Ridley gave his gown and tippet to his brother-in-law Mr. Shipside, who all the time of his imprisonment, although he was not suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant who kept him. Some other of his apparel he also gave away, the others the bailiffs took.

"He likewise made presents of other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping; to Sir Henry Lea, he gave a new groat; to my lord William's gentleman, some napkins, &c. and happy was he who could get the least trifle for a remembrance of this good man.

"Mr. Latimer quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other apparel

which was very simple; and being stripped to his shroud, he seemed as comely a person as one could well see.

"Then Dr. Ridley standing as yet in his trouse, said to his brother, 'It were best for me to go in my trouse still.'—'No,' said Mr. Latimer, 'it will put you to more pain: and it will do a poor man good.' Whereunto Dr. Ridley said, 'Be it in the name of God,' and so unlaced himself. Then being in his shirt, he stood upon the aforesaid stone, and held up his hand and said, 'O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death; I beseech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this realm of England, and deliver it from all her enemies.'

"Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought it about their middles: and as he was knocking in the staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand, and looking aside to the smith, said 'Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course.' Then Mr. Latimer brought him a bag of gunpowder, and tied it about his neck. Dr. Ridley asked him what it was, he answered gunpowder. 'Then, said he, I will take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it. And have you any,' said he, 'for my brother?' (meaning Mr. Latimer). 'Yea, Sir, that I have,' said he. 'Then give it unto him,' said he, 'in time, lest you come too late.' So his brother went and carried it to Mr. Latimer.

"Dr. Ridley said to my lord Williams, 'My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen in their behalf. I beseech your lordship, for Christ's sake, to be a means to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, (I praise God) this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me, for the same. Now I hear that the bishop who now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants made to them, but contrary to all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings. I beseech you, my lord, be a means for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you.'

"They then brought a lighted fagot, and laid it at Dr. Ridley's feet; upon which Mr. Latimer said, 'Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man: we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust never shall be put out.' When Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with an amazing loud voice: 'Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; Lord, receive my spirit;' and continued often to repeat, 'Lord, Lord, receive my spirit.' Mr. Latimer, on the other side, cried as vehemently, 'O father of heaven, receive my soul.' After which he soon died, seemingly with very little pain.

"But Dr. Ridley, from the ill-making of the fire, the fagots being green, and piled too high, so that the flames being kept down by the green wood, burned fiercely beneath, was put to such exquisite pain, that he desired them, for God's sake, to let the fire come unto him: which his brother-in-law hearing, but not very well understanding, to rid him out of his pain, (for which cause he gave attendance) as one in such sorrow, and not well knowing what he did, heaped fagots upon him, so that he quite covered him, which made the fire so vehement beneath, that it burned all his nether parts before it touched the upper, and made him struggle under the fagots, and often desire them to let the fire come to him, saying, 'I cannot burn.' Yet, in all his torment, he forgot not to call upon God, still having in his mouth, 'Lord have mercy upon me,' intermingling his cry, 'Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn.' In which pains he labored till one of the standers-by, with his bill, pulled the fagots from above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself to that side. And when the fire touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Mr. Latimer's feet; his body being divided.

"The dreadful sight filled almost every eye with tears. Some took it grievously to see their deaths whose lives they had held so dear. 'Some pitied their persons, who thought their souls had no need thereof.' But the sorrow of his brother, whose extreme anxiety had led him to attempt to put a speedy end to his sufferings, but who, from error and confusion, had so unhappily prolonged them, surpassed that of all; and so violent was his grief, that the spectators pitied him almost as much as they did the martyr."

Thus did these two pious divines and stedfast believers, testify, with their blood, the truth of the everlasting gospel, upon which depends all the sinner's hopes of salvation; to suffer for which was the joy, the glory of many eminent Christians, who, having followed their dear Lord and Master though much tribulation in this vale of tears, will be glorified for ever with him, in the kingdom of his father and our father, of his God and our God.

Mr. Latimer, at the time of his death, was in the eightieth year of his age, and

preserved the principles he had professed with the most distinguished magnanimity. He had naturally a happy temper, formed on the principles of true Christianity. Such was his cheerfulness, that none of the accidents of life could discompose him: such was his fortitude, that not even the severest trials could unman him; he had a collected spirit, and on no occasion wanted a resource; he could retire within himself, and hold the world at defiance.

And as danger could not daunt, so neither could ambition allure him: though conversant in courts, and intimate with princes, he preserved, to the last, his primeval plainness: in his profession he was indefatigable; and that he might bestow as much time as possible on the active part of it, he allowed himself only those hours for his private studies, when the busy world is at rest, constantly rising, at all seasons of the year, by two in the morning. How conscientious he was in the discharge of the public duties of his office, we have many examples. No man could persuade more forcibly; no man could exert, on proper occasions, a more commanding severity. The wicked, in whatever station, he rebuked with censorial dignity, and awed vice by his firmness, more than the penal laws by their punishments.

He was not esteemed a very learned man, for he cultivated only useful learning; and that he thought lay in a very narrow compass. He never engaged in worldly affairs, thinking that a clergyman ought to employ himself only in his profession. Thus he lived, rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not those commanding talents which give superiority in business; but for purity and sincerity of heart, for true simplicity of manners, for apostolic zeal in the cause of religion, and for every virtue, both of a public and private kind, which should adorn the life of a Christian, he was eminent beyond most men of his own, or any other time.

As to his sermons, which are still extant, they are, indeed, very far from being correct or elegant compositions, yet his simplicity and low familiarity, his humor and drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence at that day, was exceedingly popular. His action, and manner of preaching too, were very affecting; and no wonder; "for he spoke immediately from his heart." His abilities, however, as an orator, made only an inferior part of his character as a preacher. What particularly recommends him, is that noble and apostolic zeal which he continually exerted in the cause of truth.

Mr. Ridley was no less indefatigable in promoting the reformed religion, than his fellow-sufferer Mr. Latimer. He was naturally of a very easy temper, and distinguished for his great piety and humanity to the distressed. He persevered, to the last, in that faith he had professed, and cheerfully resigned his life in defence of the truth of the gospel.

Both these worthy prelates, during their confinement, employed their time in writing various pieces to propagate that gospel to which they had so strictly adhered. They also wrote great numbers of letters to their respective friends and particular acquaintances.

Among the pieces written by Dr. Ridley, was a farewell address to the university of Cambridge, and particularly to the members of Pembroke-hall, of which he had been master. He also wrote addresses, of the same nature, to the cities of Rochester, (the see of which he had some time held) Westminster, and London.

These are too long to be here inserted, but the following displays so beautifully the character of a Christian, that we give it entire.

"TO THE PRISONERS IN THE CAUSE OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL, AND TO ALL WHO FOR THE SAME CAUSE ARE BANISHED FROM THEIR COUNTRY.

"Farewell, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ, both you my fellow-prisoners, and you also that be exiled and banished out of your countries, because you will rather forsake all worldly advantages, than the gospel of Christ.

"Farewell all you together in Christ: farewell and be merry, for you know that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole and sound on every side, and such, after trial, ye know, shall receive the crown of life, according to the promise of the Lord made to his dearly beloved; let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the husbandman abideth patiently the former and latter rain for the increase of his crop, so let us be patient, and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example of patience in tribulation of the prophets, who likewise spake God's word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith is much more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even so our faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious, and honorable.

For if we for Christ's cause do suffer, that is grateful before God; for thereunto are we called, that is our state and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Christ, we know, suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we should follow his footsteps; for he committed no sin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth: when he was railed upon, and all to be reviled, he railed not again: when he was evil entreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to him that judgeth aright.

"Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful comfortable sentences spoken by the mouth of our Savior Christ; blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for their's is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you, persecute you, and speak evil against you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so did they persecute the prophets that were before you. Christ our master hath told us beforehand, that the brother should put the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children should rise against their parents and kill them, and that Christ's true apostles should be hated of all men for his name's sake; but he that abideth patiently unto the end shall be saved.

"Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our master Christ, and be contented therewith, for he suffered, being our Master and Lord: how doth it then become us to suffer? For the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It may suffice the disciple to be as his master, and the servant to be as his lord. If they have called the Father of the family, the Master of the household, Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them so of his household? Fear them not (saith our Savior) for all hidden things shall be made plain; there is now nothing secret, but it shall be showed in light. Of Christ's words let us neither be ashamed nor afraid to speak them; for so Christ commandeth us, saying, What I tell you privily, speak openly abroad, and what I tell you in your ear, preach upon the house-top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill; but fear him which can cast both body and soul into hell-fire.

"Know ye that our heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and respect toward you, and a fatherly providence for you, so that without his knowledge and permission nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, he shall provide that which shall be best for us. For if of two small sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father and all the hairs of our head are numbered, fear not them (saith our master Christ) for you are more worth than many small sparrows. And let us not stick to confess our master Christ for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be, remembering the promise that Christ maketh, saying, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father which is in heaven. Christ came not to give us here a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace, but rather to separate and divide from the world, and to join them unto himself: in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake father and mother, and stick unto him. If we forsake him or shrink from him for trouble or death's sake, which he calleth his cross; he will none of us, we cannot be his. If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again, and enjoy them for evermore: but if, in this cause, we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here, then shall we lose them so, that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death. What though our troubles here are painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant; yet we know that they shall not last, in comparison of eternity, no, not the twinkling of an eye, and that they, patiently taken in Christ's cause, shall procure and get us unmeasurable heaps of heavenly glory, unto which these temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoiced upon. Wonder not, saith St. Peter, as though it were any strange matter that ye are tried by the fire, he meaneth of tribulation, which thing, saith he, is done to prove you; nay, rather in that ye are partners of Christ's afflictions, rejoice that in his glorious revelation ye may rejoice with merry hearts. If ye suffer rebukes in Christ's name, happy are ye, for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonored, but of you he is glorified.

"Let no man be ashamed of that which he suffereth as a Christian, and in Christ's cause: for now is the time that judgment and correction must begin at the house of God: and if it begin first at us, what shall be the end of those, think ye, that believe not the gospel? And if the righteous shall be hardly saved, the wicked and the sinner, where shall he appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls to him by well doing, as to a trusty and faithful Maker. This, as I said, may not seem strange to us, for we know that

all the whole fraternity of Christ's congregation in this world is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the fervent love that the apostles had unto their master Christ, and for the great advantages and increase of all godliness which they felt by their faith to issue of afflictions in Christ's cause, and also for the heaps of heavenly joys which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in heaven for evermore; for these causes (I say) the apostles did joy of their afflictions, and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and rebukes for Christ's name. And St. Paul, as he glorieth in the grace and favor of God, whereunto he was brought and stood in by faith; so he rejoiced in his afflictions for the heavenly and spiritual profits which he numbered to rise upon them: yea, he was so far in love with what the carnal man lotheth so much, that is, with Christ's cross, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified: he will glory, he saith, in nothing else but in Christ's cross, yea, and he blesseth all those as the only true Israelites, and elect people of God, with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule, and after no other.

"O Lord, what a wonderful spirit was that, that made Paul, in setting forth of himself against the vanity of Satan's false apostles, and in his claim there, that he, in Christ's cause, did excel and surpass them all? What wonderful spirit was that, I say, that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labors, his beatings, his whippings and scourgings, his shipwrecks, his dangers and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakedness and cold, with many more, and the daily care of all the congregations of Christ, among whom every man's pain did pierce his heart, and every man's grief was grievous unto him?

"O Lord, is this Paul's primacy, whereof he thought so much good that he did excel others? Is not this Paul's saying unto Timothy his own scholar? and doth it not pertain to whosoever will be Christ's true soldiers? Bear thou, saith he, affliction like a true soldier of Jesus Christ. This is true; if we die with him (he meaneth Christ) we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithless, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himself. This, Paul would have known to every body; for there is no other way to heaven but Christ and his way; and all that will live godly in Christ, shall (saith St. Paul) suffer persecution. By this way went to heaven the patriarchs, the prophets, Christ our master, his apostles, his martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning. And as it hath been of old, that he which was born after the flesh, persecuted him who was born after the spirit, for so it was in Isaac's time; so said St. Paul, it was in his time also. And whether it be so now or no, let the spiritual man, the self-same man, I mean, that is endued with the spirit of Almighty God, let him be judge. Of the cross of the patriarchs, as ye may read in their stories, if ye read the book of Genesis, ye shall perceive. Of others, St. Paul in a few words comprehendeth much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, death, and torments which the men of God, in God's cause, and for the truth's sake, willingly and gladly did suffer. After much particular rehearsal of many, he saith, Others were racked and despised, and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better resurrection. Others again were tried with mockings and scourgings, and moreover with bonds and imprisonments; they were stoned, hewn asunder, tempted, fell, and were slain upon the edge of the sword; some wandered to and fro in sheep skins, in goat skins, forsaken, oppressed, afflicted, such godly men as the world was unworthy of, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in caves, and in dens, and all these were commended for their faith. And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for those their brethren which are to be slain as they were for the word of God's sake, that none be shut out, but that we may all go together to meet our master Christ in the air at his coming, and so be in bliss with him in body and soul for evermore.

"Therefore seeing we have so much occasion to suffer, and to take afflictions for Christ's name's sake patiently, so many advantages thereby, so weighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, so pure promises of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lie: let us throw away whatever might hinder us, all burden of sin, and all kind of carnality, and patiently and constantly let us run for the best game in this race that is set before us, ever having our eyes upon Jesus Christ, the captain and perfecter of our faith, who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, not minding the shame and ignominy thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the throne of God. Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withstood unto death fighting against sin. Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Christ's sake, that fatherly exhortation of the wise man that speaketh unto us, as unto his children, the godly wisdom of God, saying thus: My son, despise

not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and scourgeth every child whom he receiveth. What child is he whom the father doth not chasten! If ye be free from chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and no children. Seeing then, when as we have had carnal parents which chastened us, we reverenced them, shall not we much more be subject unto our spiritual Father that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own mind, but this Father teacheth us to our advantage, to give unto us his holiness. All chastisement for the present time appeareth not pleasant but painful; but afterwards it rendereth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it. Wherefore let us be of good cheer, good brethren, and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen or begun to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the rest, and let us walk upright and straight, that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us not look upon the things that be present; but, with the eyes of our faith, let us stedfastly behold the things that be everlasting in heaven, and so choose rather in respect of that which is to come, with the chosen members of Christ to bear Christ's cross, than for this short life-time enjoy all the riches, honors, and pleasures of the broad world. Why should we Christians fear death! Can death deprive us of Christ, which is all our comfort, our joy, and our life! Nay, forsooth. But contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in which so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.

"Wherefore understanding our state in that we be Christians, that if our mortal body, which is our earthly house, were destroyed, we have a building, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the body, we are absent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by sight. Nevertheless we are bold, and had rather be absent from the body, and present with God. Wherefore we strive, whether we be present at home, or absent abroad, that we may always please him: and who that hath true faith in our Savior Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly what Christ our Savior is, that he is the eternal Son of God, life, light, the wisdom of the Father, all goodness, all righteousness, and whatsoever is good that heart can desire, yea, infinite plenty of all these, above what man's heart can either conceive or think (for in him dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead corporally), and also that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redemption: who (I say) is he that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his master Christ? Paul for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the body, and to have been with Christ, for he counted it much better for himself, and had rather be loosed than to live. Therefore, these words of Christ to the thief on the cross, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace: 'This day thou shalt be with me in paradise.' To die in the defence of Christ's gospel, it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbor. To Christ, because he died for us, and rose again that he might be Lord over all. And seeing he died for us, we also, saith St. John, should hazard, yea give our life for our brethren, and this kind of giving and loosing, is getting and winning indeed: for he that giveth or loseth his life thus, getteth and winneth it for evermore. Blessed are they therefore that die in the Lord, and if they die in the Lord's cause, they are most happy of all. Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the flesh to smart; but that our faith, which is fastened and fixed upon the word of God, telleth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight unto life. For St. John saith, He that liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. And in another place, He shall depart from death unto life. And therefore this death of the Christian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance into everlasting life. Therefore, Paul calleth it but a dissolution and change, and both Peter and Paul, a putting off this tabernacle or dwelling house: meaning thereby the mortal body, as wherein the soul or spirit doth dwell here in this world for a small time. Yea, this my death may be called, to the Christian, an end of all miseries. For so long as we live here, we must pass through many tribulations before we can enter into the kingdom of heaven. And now, after that death hath shot his bolt, all the Christian man's enemies have done what they can; after that they have no more to do. What could hurt or harm poor Lazarus that lay at the rich man's gate? his former penury and poverty? his misery, beggary, and horrible sores and sickness? No; as soon as death had struck him with his dart, so soon came the angels, and carried him straight up into Abraham's bosom. What lost he by death, who from misery and pain was conducted, by the ministry of angels, into a place of joy and felicity?

"Farewell, dear brethren, farewell; let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with God's word, for heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

"Farewell, Christ's dearly beloved spouse, here wandering in this world in a strange land, encompassed about with deadly enemies, who see thy destruction.

"Farewell, farewell, O ye, the whole universal congregation of the chosen of God here living upon earth, the true church militant of Christ, the true mystical body of Christ, the very household and family of God, and the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost, farewell.

"Farewell, O thou little flock of the high heavenly pastors of Christ, for to you it hath pleased the heavenly Father to give an everlasting and eternal kingdom. Farewell.

"Farewell, thou spiritual house of God, thou holy and royal priesthood, thou chosen generation, thou holy nation, thou won spouse. Farewell, farewell."

SECTION XII.

Persecutions, Deaths, and Martyrdoms of John Webb, George Roper, Gregory Parke, William Wiseman, James Gore, and John Philpot.

MARTYRDOMS OF JOHN WEBB, GEORGE ROPER, AND GREGORY PARKE, AT CANTERBURY.

Mr. Webb was brought before Nicholas Harpsfield, or his deputy, at Dover, on the 16th of September; and there had propounded unto him such articles as were commonly administered by Bonner to those of his jurisdiction. Being advised for the present to depart, and deliberate with himself upon the matter, against his next appearance; he answered, "That he would say no otherwise (by God's grace) than he had already said, which was, that the sacrament was simply a commemoration of the death of the Lord for his church; and that the bread and wine underwent no transformation."

After this, on the 3d of October, and at several other times, Mr. John Webb, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were all brought together before the said judge; and all of them stedfastly adhering to the answer made before by Mr. Webb, were adjudged heretics; and, in consequence, about the end of the same month, they were brought out of prison together to the place of martyrdom; praying and repeating psalms in their way.

Being brought to the stake, and there fastened with a chain, they were burnt all together in one fire at Canterbury, most patiently enduring their torments, and accounting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord that they were made worthy to suffer for his sake.

DEATH OF WILLIAM WISEMAN, AND OF JAMES GORE.

On the 13th of December, William Wiseman, a cloth-worker of London, died in Lollards' Tower, where he had been confined on account of his adherence to the gospel. It was suspected that he had been starved to death; but the truth of this could not be ascertained.

After his death, the papists cast him out into the fields, as was their usual custom with such of the Protestants as expired under their hands, commanding that no man should bury him. Notwithstanding their merciless commands, some pious Christians buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the rest thrown out in like manner, singing psalms together at their burial.

In the same month also, James Gore, imprisoned and in bonds for his resistance of the popish abominations, died in prison at Colchester.

HISTORY AND MARTYRDOM OF MR. JOHN PHILPOT.

Mr. Philpot was of a family highly respectable (his father being a knight,) and was born in Hampshire. He was brought up at New College, Oxford, where he studied civil law, and other branches of liberal education, particularly the learned languages, and became a great proficient in the Hebrew. He was accomplished, courageous, and zealous; ever careful to adorn his doctrine by his practice; and his learning is fully evinced by what he has left on record.

Desirous to travel, he went over to Italy, and journeying from Venice to Padua, he was in danger, through a Franciscan friar, who accompanied him, and, at Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England, uncorrupted in his morals, and strengthened in his faith, by beholding the monstrous absurdities and innumerable iniquities of Antichrist in his

strong hold, and finding that the time permitted more boldness unto him, it being the reign of king Edward, he had several conflicts with bishop Gardiner, in the city of Winchester.

After that, he was made arch-deacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet, who then succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric, and here he continued during the reign of king Edward, to the great profit of those whom his office placed under his care. When the pious prince above named was taken away, and Mary, his sister, succeeded, her study was wholly to alter the state of religion in England: and first, she caused a convocation of the prelates and other retainers of her faith, to be assembled for the accomplishment of her desire.

In this convocation, Mr. Philpot, according to his degree, with a few others, sustained the cause of the gospel against the adversary, for which, notwithstanding the liberty the house had promised before, he was called to account before the chancellor, by whom he was first examined. From thence again he was removed to bishop Bonner, and other commissioners, with whom he had divers conflicts, as may appear by the following examinations, the account of which was written by himself.

HIS FIRST EXAMINATION BEFORE THE COMMISSIONERS, AT NEWGATE SESSIONS-HALL, OCT. 2, 1555.

"Before I was called into an inner parlor, where the commissioners sat, Dr. Story came into the hall where I was, to view me among others who were there; and passing by me, he grossly observed, that I was well fed indeed.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in prison these twelve months and a half.

Story. We hear thou art a suspected person, and of heretical opinions, and therefore we have sent for thee.

Philpot. I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspicion of setting forth the report thereof.

Story. If thou wilt revoke the same, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do well; or else thou shalt be committed to the bishop of London. How sayest thou, wilt thou revoke?

Philpot. I have already answered in this behalf to mine ordinary.

Story. If thou answerest thus when thou comest before us anon, thou shalt hear more of our minds; and with that he went into the parlor, and I a little while after was called in.

The Scribe. Sir, what is your name?

Philpot. My name is John Philpot. And so he entitled my name.

Story. This man was arch-deacon of Winchester, of Dr. Poinet's presentment.

Philpot. I was arch-deacon indeed, but none of his presentment; but by virtue of a former advowson given by my lord chancellor that now is.

Story. You may be assured that my lord chancellor would not make any such as he is arch-deacon.

Roper. Come hither to me, Mr. Philpot. We hear that you are out of the Catholic church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of which whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation. Wherefore if you will come into the same, you shall be received and find favor.

Philpot. I am come before your worshipful masterships at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorized by the queen's majesty, whom I own and will do my due obedience unto the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, for which I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire of you that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my wrongful imprisonment, where I have lain a year and a half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without law.

Roper. Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may, by our commission, and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you: and besides this, we have statutes to charge you herein withal.

Philpot. If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal, and if I have incurred the penalty thereof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the queen's laws, by force whereof you now sit, I desire that if I be not found a transgressor of any of them, I may not be burthened with more than I have done.

Cholmley. If the justice do suspect a felon, he may examine him upon suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison, though there be no fault done.

Story. I perceive whereabout this man goeth: he is plain in Cardmaker's case, for he made the same allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art a heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass: how sayest thou to that?

Philpot. I am no heretic.

Story. I will prove thee a heretic. Whosoever hath held against the blessed mass is a heretic: but thou hast held against the same, therefore thou art a heretic.

Philpot. That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where, by the queen's majesty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to speak his mind freely of such questions in religion as there were propounded by the prolocutor; for which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now to be compelled by you to answer for the same.

Story. Thou shalt go to Lollards' Tower, and be handled there like a heretic, as thou art, and answer to the same that thou there didst speak, and be judged by the bishop of London.

Philpot. Sir, you know it is against all equity, that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the law have nothing to do with me.

Roper. You cannot deny, but that you spoke against the mass in the convocation-house.

Story. Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there or no?

Philpot. I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death for it, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto.

The Scribe. This man is fed of vainglory.

Cholmley. Play the wise gentleman and be conformable, and be not stubborn in your opinion, neither cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good.

Philpot. I desire you, sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands, than the law chargeth me, for what I have done, since there was no law directly against that wherewith I am now charged. And you, Mr. Doctor, (of old acquaintance in Oxford) I trust will show me some friendship, and not extremity.

Story. I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good Catholic I would spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to a heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?

Philpot. I am not come now to dispute, and the time serveth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal.

Story. Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into Lollards' Tower.

Philpot. Sir, since you will needs show me this extremity, and charge me with my conscience, I desire to see your commission, whether you have this authority so to do.

Story. Shall we let every vile person see our commission? Let him lie in the Lollards' Tower; for I will sweep the King's Bench, and all other prisons also, of these heretics; they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their heresies.

Philpot. I mind not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse used than I am.

Story. Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday.

Philpot. God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in which he will judge us with righteousness, however you judge of us now.

Roper. Show yourself a Catholic man.

Philpot. Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my conscience is, I should but dissemble with you: and why be you so earnest to have me show myself a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?

Roper. We do not require you to dissemble with us to be a Catholic man.

Philpot. If I do stand in any thing against that, wherein any man is able to burthen me with one jot of the scripture, I shall be content to be counted no Catholic man, or a heretic, as you please.

Story. This man is like his fellow Woodman, who the other day would have nothing but scripture. And this is the beginning of the tragedy.

On the 24th of October, he was again brought before the same party, and experienced from them the most harsh, illiberal, and vulgar treatment. On demanding the fulfilment of their promise in being shown their commission, the scribe, in compliance, began to open it, when Dr. Cook, now added to their number, exclaimed.

Cook. Fy, what will ye do? he shall not see it.

Philpot. Then you do me wrong, to call me and vex me, not showing your authority in this behalf.

Cook. If we do you wrong, complain of us: and in the mean time thou shalt lie in the Lollards' Tower.

Philpot. Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I trust that you will not commit me to so vile a place, being no heinous trespasser.

Cook. Thou art no gentleman.

Philpot. Yes, I am.

Cook. A heretic is no gentleman; for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

Philpot. The offence cannot take away the state of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor: but I mean not to boast of my gentlemanship, but I will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it.

Story. What, will you suffer this heretic to prate all day?

Cook. He saith he is a gentleman.

Story. A gentleman, said he! he is a vile heretic knave: for a heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards' Tower come in, and have him away.

Keeper. Here, sir.

Story. Take this man with you to the Lollards' Tower, or else to the bishop's coal-house.

Philpot. Sir, if I were a dog, you could not appoint me a worse nor more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you, Mr. Cholmley, show me some friendship that I may not be carried to so vile a place. On this Mr. Cholmley called me aside, and said: I neither understand their doings nor their laws; I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good.

After this, I with four others was brought to the keeper's house in Paternoster-row, where we supped, and after supper I was called up to a chamber by a servant of the archdeacon of London, and that in his master's name, who offered me a bed for the night. I thanked him, and said, That it would be a grief to me to lie one night well and the next night worse; wherefore, said I, I will begin as I am likely to continue, to take such part as my fellows do. And with that we were brought through Paternoster-row to my lord of London's coal-house; unto which was joined a little dark house, with a great pair of stocks, both for hand and foot; and there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. The minister at my coming desired to speak with me, telling me that he greatly lamented his infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment he had been constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London; whereupon he had been set at liberty, and afterwards felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he went to the bishop's register, desiring to see his bill again; which as soon as he received, he tore it in pieces, after which he was joyful as any man. When my lord of London understood this, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and buffeted him, so that he made his face black and blue; and plucked away a great piece of his beard.

HIS EXAMINATION BEFORE BISHOP BONNER.

The second night of my imprisonment in his coal-house, the bishop sent Mr. Johnson his register to me with a mess of meat, and a good pot of drink and some bread, saying, That he had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, not knowing whether I would receive the same.

I thanked God for his lordship's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, desiring the Almighty to increase the same in him, and in all others; and that I would not refuse his beneficence, and therewith took the same unto my brethren.

Johnson. My lord would know the cause of your being sent hither (for he is ignorant thereof,) and wondereth that he should be troubled with prisoners that are not of his own diocese. On this I declared unto him the whole cause. After which he said, that my lord's will was, I should have any friendship I would desire, and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my lord's gentlemen came for me; and brought me into his presence, where he sat at a table with three or four of his chaplains waiting upon him, and his register.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand. (Which I did.)

Then said he, I am sorry for your trouble, and promise you that till within these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me the cause: for I promise you I know nothing thereof as yet, and marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I must be obedient to my betters, and I fear men speak otherwise of me than I deserve.

I told him, that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house, for which I was, against all right, molested.

Bonner. I marvel that you should be troubled for that, if there was no other cause. But peradventure you have maintained the same since, and some of your friends of late have asked, whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, yea; and for this you might be committed to prison.

Philpot. If it shall please your lordship, I am burdened no otherwise than I have told you, by the commissioners who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same.

Bonner. A man may speak in the parliament-house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it, as in case he speak words of high treason against the king and queen; and so it might be that you spake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ.

Philpot. I spake nothing which was out of the articles which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole house, and by permission of the queen and council.

Bonner. Why, may we dispute of our faith?

Philpot. That we may.

Bonner. Nay, I think not, by the law.

Philpot. Indeed, by the civil law, I know it is not lawful, but by God's law we may reason thereof. For St. Peter saith, "Be ye ready to render account unto all men of the hope which is in you."

Bonner. Indeed, St. Peter saith so. Why, then I ask of you what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar!

Philpot. My lord, St. Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot show you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes in danger of my life for it. Wherefore, as the said doctor said unto Valentinian the emperor, so say I to your lordship; Take away the law, and I shall reason with you. And yet, if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any.

Bonner. I perceive you are learned; I would have such as you about me. But you must come and be of the church, for there is but one church.

Philpot. God forbid I should be out of the church! I am sure I am within the same: for I know, as I am taught by the scripture, that there is but one Catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation, out of which there is no salvation.

Bonner. How chanceth it then, that you go out of the same, and walk not with us?

Philpot. My lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon she is built, which is the word of God.

Bonner. What age are you of?

Philpot. I am four-and-forty.

Bonner. You are not now of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers promised for you, in which you were baptized.

Philpot. Yes, I am: for I was baptized into the faith of Christ, which I now hold.

Bonner. How can that be? there is but one faith.

Philpot. I am assured of that by St. Paul, saying, "That there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism," of which I am.

Bonner. You were, twenty years ago, of another faith than you are now.

Philpot. Indeed, my lord, to tell you plain, I was then of no faith; a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

Bonner. Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?

Philpot. I desire your lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that God's word was thoroughly with the primitive church.

Bonner. Well, I promise you I mean you no hurt. I will not, therefore, burden you with your conscience now; I marvel that you are so merry in prison as you are, singing and rejoicing, as the prophet saith, Rejoicing in your naughtiness. Methinks you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry.

Philpot. My lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, singing together in hymns and psalms: and I trust your lordship cannot be displeased with that. We are, my lord, in a dark, comfortless place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, sorrowfulness eat up our heart.

Bonner. I will trouble you no farther now. If I can do you any good, I shall be glad. God be with you, good Mr. Philpot, and good night. Take him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine.

Thus I departed, and by my lord's register I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my lord's chaplain, Mr. Cousin, followed me, making acquaintance, saying that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular.

Philpot. I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, saying, "Woe be to him that is alone." After that I was carried to my lord's coal-house again, where I with my six companions housed together in straw as cheerfully as others in their beds of down.

FOURTH EXAMINATION OF MR. PHILPOT, BEFORE THE BISHOPS OF LONDON, BATH, WORCESTER, AND GLOUCESTER.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, it hath pleased my lords to take pains here to-day, to dine with my poor archdeacon, and in the dinner-time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here by many who knew you at New College in Oxford. And I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me, by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned: and therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that it might not be said hereafter, that I had so many learned bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talk with you; and at my request (I thank them) they are content so to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favor be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as you may if you please.

Bath. My lords here have not sent for you to fawn upon you, but for charity's sake to exhort you to come into the right Catholic church.

Worcester. Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call upon God for grace;

and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth.

With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner:

"Almighty God, who art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (a most vile sinner in thy sight) the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the satisfaction of the hearers, before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing."

Bonner. Nay, my lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing praise unto God before dawning of the day.

Philpot. My lord, God make me and all you here present such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns: for they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended.

Bath. Proceed to what he hath to say. He hath prayed, I cannot tell for what.

Bonner. Say on, Mr. Philpot; my lords will gladly hear you.

Philpot. I have, my lords, been these twelve months and a half in prison without any just cause, and my living is taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from my own territory and ordinary, into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your lordship can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released.

Bonner. There is none here that goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, you were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore, speak your conscience without any fear.

Philpot. My lords, it is not unknown to you, that the chief cause why you count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is because we be not at unity with your church. You say, that whatsoever is out of your church is damned: and we think verily, on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Whereof if your lordships can bring any better authority for your church than we can for our's, and prove by the scriptures that the church of Rome now is the true Catholic church, as in all sermons, writings and arguments you uphold; and that all Christian persons ought to be ruled by the same, under pain of damnation, (as you say) and that the same church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the scriptures as it seemeth good to her, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only; I shall be as conformable to the same church as you may desire, which otherwise I dare not.

Cole. If you stand upon this point only, you may soon be satisfied, if you please.

Philpot. It is what I require, and to this I will stand, and refer all other controversies wherein I now am against you, and will put my hand thereto, if you mistrust my word.

Bonner. I pray you, Mr. Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith.

Philpot. My lord, to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith; for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then as I ought to do, God forgive me.

Bonner. No faith? that is not so. I am sure you were of some faith.

Philpot. My lord, I have declared to you on my conscience what I then was, and judge of myself. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?

Bonner. Doctor Cole, I pray you speak your mind to him.

Cole. What will you say, if I can prove it was decreed by a universal council in Athanasius's time, that all the Christian church should follow the determination of the church of Rome? but I do not now remember where.

Philpot. If you, Mr. Doctor, can show me the same granted to the see of Rome by the authority of the scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I think you are not able to show any such thing: for Athanasius was president of the Nicene council, and there was no such thing decreed.

Cole. Though it were not then, it might be at another time.

Philpot. I desire to see the proof thereof.

Upon this Mr. Harpsfield, the chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Irenæus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be; which after the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the latter gave me the book, and said:

Take the book, Mr. Philpot, and look upon that place, and there you may see how the church of Rome is to be followed of all men.

On this I took the book and read the place, after which I said it made nothing against

me, but against Arians and other heretics, against whom Irenæus wrote.

Worcester. It is to be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced the same.

Philpot. Let that be proved, and I have done.

Worcester. Nay, you are of such arrogancy, singularity and vain-glory, that you will never see it, be it ever so well proved.

Philpot. Ha! my lords, is it now time, think you, for me to follow singularity or vain-glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And, I know, if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly: and again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and a great many more: yet I had rather perish by your hands, than perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my goods of this world, and lie in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog.

Cole. Where are you able to prove that the church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what history? Certain it is by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was bishop twenty-five years at Rome.

Philpot. I know well that Eusebius so writeth: but if we compare that which St. Paul writeth to the Galatians, Gal. i. the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past thirty-five years after he was called to be an apostle: and St. Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ's death more than thirteen years. And further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historiographers, that the church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because she agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive church did use, according to the gospel, and there needeth none other proof, but to compare the one with the other.

Bonner. I may compare this man to a certain one I read of, who fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself: and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply this as I might. I pray you, (Mr. Doctor) go forth with him.

Cole. My lord, there is on every side of me, some who are better able to answer him, and I love not to fall into disputation: for we now-a-days sustain shame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had rather show my mind in writing.

Philpot. And I had rather you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument; and I beseech you to do so. But if I were a rich man, I durst wager a hundred pounds that you shall not be able to show me that you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius's time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa, many years after, that none of Africa (under pain of excommunication) should appeal to Rome: which decree I am sure they would not have made, if by the scriptures and by a universal council it had been decreed, that all men should abide and follow the determination of the church of Rome.

Cole. But I can show that they revoked that error again.

Philpot. So you say, Mr. Doctor, but I pray you show me where. I have hitherto heard nothing from you to my satisfaction, but bare words without any authority.

Bonner. What, I pray you, ought we to dispute with you of our faith? Justinian in the law hath a title, *De fide Catholica*, to the contrary.

Philpot. I am certain the civil law hath such a constitution: but our faith must not depend upon the civil law. For, as St. Ambrose saith, Not the law, but the gospel hath gathered the church together.

Worcester. Mr. Philpot, you have the spirit of pride wherewith you be led, which will not let you yield to the truth: leave it off, for shame.

Philpot. Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of faith, by which I speak at this present: neither am I ashamed to stand to my faith.

Gloucester. What! do you think yourself better learned than so many notable learned men as are here?

Philpot. Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred priests against him.

Worcester. Oh, you would be counted now for Elias! And yet I tell thee he was deceived: for he thought there had been none good but himself; and yet he was deceived, for there were seven thousand besides him.

Philpot. Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other four hundred were.

Worcester. Do you think the universal church may be deceived?

Philpot. St. Paul to the Thessalonians prophesied that there should come a universal departing from the faith, in the latter days, before the coming of Christ, saying, that "Christ shall not come, till there come departing first."

Worcester. I am sorry that you should be against the Christian world.

Philpot. The world commonly, and such

as are called Christians, have hated the truth, and been enemies of the same.*

Gloucester. Why, Mr. Philpot, do you think that the universal church hath erred, and that you only are in the truth?

Philpot. The church that you are of was never universal, for two parts of the world, which are Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, neither did they follow his decrees.

Gloucester. Yes, in the Florentine council they did agree.

Philpot. It was said so by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home: but it was not so indeed, as the sequel of them all proved the contrary.

Gloucester. I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy which happen daily?

Philpot. By the word of God. For Christ saith in St. John, "The word that he spake, shall be judged in the latter day."

Gloucester. What if *you* take the word one way, and *I* another way; who shall be judge then?

Philpot. The primitive church.

Gloucester. I know you mean the doctors that wrote thereof.

Philpot. I mean verily so.

Gloucester. What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another; who shall be judge then?

Philpot. Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word.

Worcester. Thou art the arrogantest fellow that ever I knew.

Philpot. I pray your lordship to bear with my hasty speech; it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily: but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your lordship.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, my lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go hence to the place whence you came, and have such favor as in the meanwhile I can show you; and upon Wednesday next you shall be called upon again, to be heard what you can say for the maintenance of your error.

Philpot. My lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I required; and your lordship shall find me as I have said.

Worcester. God send you more grace.

Philpot. And increase the same in you, and open your eyes, that you may see to maintain his truth, and his true church.

Then the bishops rose, and after consulting together, caused a writing to be made, in which I think my blood by them was bought and sold, and thereto they put their hands; after which I was carried to my coal-house again.

THE FIFTH EXAMINATION OF MR. PHILPOT BEFORE THE BISHOPS OF LONDON, ROCHESTER, ST. ASAPH, AND OTHERS.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, come you hither; I have desired my lords here, and other learned men, to take some pains once again to do you good, and because I do mind to sit in judgment on you to-morrow, as I am commanded, yet I would you should have as much favor as I can show you, if you will be any thing conformable; therefore play the wise man, and be not singular in your own opinion, but be ruled by these learned men.

Philpot. My lord, in that you say you wilt sit on me in judgment to-morrow, I am glad thereof: for I was promised by them which sent me unto you, that I should have been judged the next day after: but promise hath not been kept with me, to my further grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you are to require it.

Having argued some time upon questions of civil law, the subject of papal supremacy was resumed.

St. Asaph. It is most evident that St. Peter did build the Catholic church at Rome. And Christ said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church."

* This truth is as forcible in the present day as it was in that of the martyr; for the WORLD is still *at enmity against God*. One of the ablest writers upon the truths of scripture, of the present time, thus beautifully and vigorously expresses himself: "The *man who really believes the gospel of* GOD, OUR SAVIOR, is brought to the knowledge of the *true* GOD; and knows, that 'Justice and judgment are the habitation of his throne,' while 'mercy and truth shall go before his face.' (Psalm lxxxix. 14.) The man who *disbelieves* this gospel, may be very *religious*; but a *false* God is the object of his religion; a God neither merciful, nor righteous, nor true. He may talk much of what he calls the divine *mercy*, and may borrow many arguments from it against the gospel. But what he calls *mercy* is always something which stands in opposition to *perfect righteousness* and immutable *truth*,—some indulgence of what is evil—some forbearance to execute the penalty which the law of God pronounces against sin. Such an attribute belongs not to JEHOVAH. Unbelievers vainly boast of entertaining higher ideas of GOD's *mercy*, than those whom they oppose. They altogether deny his *real mercy*, which is indeed higher than the heavens; but, in its highest displays, harmonizes with the most awful sanctions of his law."

"In their opposition to the glorious gospel, the true character of *unbelieving* religionists is detected; and is proved to be that of *haters of* GOD. The pride of their souls spurns at his *mercy*: the ungodliness of their rebellious minds arraigns his *justice*, as tyrannical severity; the infidelity of their self-deceiving hearts, denies his *truth*, and treats the denunciations of his law as unmeaning threats which are not to be executed. In their zeal for their *false* GODS, they often fear not to blaspheme the GOD of heaven; and rather than be saved by HIM, in the way which exhibits all his glories, they will choose destruction."

Moreover the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place so well, which is a manifest probation of the Catholic church, as divers doctors do write.

Philpot. That you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and that by the authority which you allege of Christ, saying unto Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church," unless you can prove that rock to signify Rome, as you would make me falsely believe. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the Catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the Catholic church is built, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remain.*

Bonner. Are there any more churches than one Catholic church? And I pray you tell me into what faith were you baptized?

Philpot. I acknowledge one holy Catholic and apostolic church, whereof I am a member (I praise God), and am of that Catholic faith of Christ, whereunto I was baptized.

Coventry. I pray, can you tell what this word Catholic doth signify?

Philpot. Yes, I can, thank God. The Catholic faith, or the Catholic church, is not, as the people are taught, that which is most universal, or by most part of men received, whereby you infer our faith to hang upon the multitude; but I esteem the Catholic church to be as St. Austin defineth: "We judge," saith he, "the Catholic faith, of that which *hath been*, *is*, and *shall be*." So that if you can be able to prove that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and shall be, then you may count yourselves Catholic, otherwise not. And Catholic is a Greek word, compounded of *kata*, which signifieth, after, or according, and *holon*, a sum, or principle, or whole. So that CATHOLIC CHURCH, OR CATHOLIC FAITH, is as much as to say, the first, whole, sound, or chief faith.

Bonner. Doth St. Austin say so as he allegeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the same? How say you, Mr. Curtop.

Curtop. Indeed, my lord, St. Austin hath such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the Catholic faith ought to be esteemed of things in time past, and as they are practised according to the same, and ought to be through all ages, and not after a new manner, as the Donatists began to profess.

Philpot. You have said well, Mr. Curtop, and after the meaning of St. Austin, and to confirm that which I have said for the signification of Catholic.

Coventry. Let the book be seen, my lord.

Bonner. I pray you, my lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off, and let all alone. Do you think that the Catholic church (until within these few years, in which a few upon singularity have swerved from the same) hath erred?

Philpot. I do not think that the Catholic church can err in doctrine: but I require you to prove this church of Rome to be the Catholic church.

Curtop. I can prove that Irenæus (which was within a hundred years after Christ) came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics, which (by all likelihood) he would not have done, if he had not taken him to be supreme head.

Coventry. Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer the same? Answer if you can.

Philpot. It is soon answered, my lord, for that it is of no force; neither doth this fact of Irenæus make any more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, than mine hath done, who have been at Rome as well as he, and might have spoken with the pope if I had listed; and yet I would none in England did favor his supremacy more than I.

St. Asaph. You are more to blame (by the faith of my body) for that you favor the same no better, since all the Catholic church (until these few years) have taken him to be the supreme head of the church, besides this good man Irenæus.

Philpot. That is not likely, that Irenæus so took him, or the primitive church: for I am able to show seven general councils after Irenæus's time, wherein he was never taken for supreme head.

The other Bishop. This man will never be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him.

Philpot. O, my lords, would you have me satisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by these many general councils am able to prove, that he was never so taken in many hundred years after Christ, as by Nicene, Ephesine, the first

*This unanswerable argument, we see, was evaded by the bishops; as it always is by the professors of popery—they rely upon the mere succession of bishops as being sufficient to prove that they are in every respect the same, whereas nothing can be more fallacious: as well might the followers of the impostor Mahomet be considered as the *successors of the apostles*, because they have usurped the country sanctified by the labors of the first followers of our blessed Lord. And, in truth, their tenets differ not much more widely from real and genuine Christianity than those of the upholders of papacy and superstition.

and second Chalcedon, Constantinopolitan, Carthaginese, Aquilense.

Coventry. Why will you not admit the church of Rome to be the Catholic church?

Philpot. Because it followeth not the primitive Catholic church, neither agreeth with the same.

Coventry. Wherein doth it dissent?

Philpot. It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, supremacy and transubstantiation.

Dr. Saverson. I wonder you will stand so stedfast in your error, to your own destruction.

Philpot. I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true church such a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries thereof should never be able to resist. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reasoning, neither by writing, your synagogue of Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all (at this day) is able to answer Calvin's Institutions?

Dr. Saverson. A godly minister indeed, a receiver of cut-purses and runagate traitors. And of late I can tell you, there is such contention fallen between him and his own sect, that he was obliged to fly the town, about predestination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva here.

Philpot. I am sure you blaspheme him and that church where he is minister; as it is your church's disposition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to answer them with blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in no other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing to the scriptures.

Saverson. Men are able to answer him if they will. And I pray which of you has answered bishop Fisher's book?

Philpot. Yes, Mr. Doctor, that book is answered, and answered again, as you may see, if you like to seek what hath been written against him.

And after this Dr. Story came in. To whom I said, Mr. Doctor, you have done me great injury, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And besides this you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after.

Story. I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a fantastical man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beast! yea, these heretics be worse than brute beasts; for they will upon a vain singularity take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools and asseheads, not able to maintain that which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in.

Philpot. I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you like. God forgive it you; yet I am no heretic. Neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold one jot against the word of God otherwise than a Christian man ought.

Story. The word of God, forsooth! It is but folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But yet I may reason with thee, not that I have any hope to win thee: whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou standest?

Philpot. Verily, the word itself.

Story. Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? he willeth the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak?

Philpot. If I cannot prove that which I have said by good authority, I will be content to be counted a heretic and an ignorant person, and further what you please.

Story. Let us hear what wise authority thou canst bring in.

Philpot. It is the word of Christ in St. John, "The word which I have spoken, shall judge in the last day." If the word shall judge in the last day, how much more ought it to judge of our doings now? and I am sure I have my judge on my side, who will absolve and justify me in another world. Howsoever now it shall please you by authority unrighteously to judge of me and others, sure I am in another world to judge you.

Story. Well, sir, you are like to go after your father Latimer the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he learned his heresy of Cranmer. But I dispatched them; and I tell thee that there never yet hath been one burnt, but I have spoke with him, and have been a cause of his dispatch.*

Philpot. You will have the more to answer for, Mr. Doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you now triumph.

Story. I tell thee I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak with my lord, I pray one of you to tell my lord, that my coming was to signify to his lordship, that he

* This inhuman ruffian is a fair specimen of the thorough-paced papistical persecutor. Unable to offer a single argument, he overwhelms his victims with vulgar abuse, and glories in having been an instrument of bringing many to the stake —that conclusive reply with which the papist found it so convenient to stop the mouths of those whose doctrines they could not controvert, and which they would *now* gladly press into their service, were their ability equal to their desires.

must out of hand put this heretic out of the way. And going away he said to me, I certify thee, that thou mayest thank no other man but me.

Philpot. I thank you therefore with all my heart, and forgive it you.

Story. What, dost thou thank me? If I had thee in my study half an hour, I think I should make thee sing another song.

Philpot. No, Mr. Doctor, I stand upon too sure a ground to be overthrown by you now. And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left alone. And afterwards going with my keeper to the coal-house, as I went I met my lord of London, who spoke unto me very gently.

Bonner. Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may show thee in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it.

Philpot. My lord, the pleasure that I will require of your lordship, is to hasten my judgment which is committed unto you, and to dispatch me out of this miserable world unto my eternal rest. And for all this fair speech I cannot attain hitherto, this fortnight's space, either fire, candle, or good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore praised be God that hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladness to be content therewith. Let all who love the truth say Amen.

HIS SIXTH EXAMINATION BEFORE THE LORD CHAMBERLAIN, THE BISHOP OF LONDON, LORDS RICH, ST. JOHN, WINDSOR, CHANDOIS, SIR JOHN BRIDGES, DR. CHEDSEY, AND OTHERS, NOV. 6, 1555.

While the lords were seating themselves, the bishop of London came and whispered in my ear, desiring me to behave prudently before the lords of the queen's council, and to take heed what I said.

He then, after the lords and other gentlemen were sat, placed himself at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the lords I was placed at the upper end against him; where I kneeling down, the lords commanded me to stand up, and the bishop spoke to me in the following manner.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, I have heretofore both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more times than once caused you to be conversed with, to reform you of your errors, but I have not yet found you so tractable as I could wish: wherefore now I have desired those honorable lords of the temporalty, and of the queen's majesty's council, who have taken pains with me this day, I thank them for it, to hear you, and what you can say, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good or not: and I dare be bold to say in their behalf, that if you show yourself conformable to the queen's majesty's proceedings, you shall find as much favor for your deliverance as you can wish. I speak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home unto the church. Now let them hear what you have to say.

Philpot. My lord, I thank God that I have this day such an honorable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your lordship's equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive church, which was, if any body had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese where he was suspected; secondly, in the presence of others his fellow bishops and learned elders; and thirdly, in hearing of the laity: where after the judgment of God's word declared, and with the assent of the bishops and consent of the people, he was condemned for a heretic, or absolved. And the second point of that good order, I have found at your lordship's hands already, in being called before you and your fellow bishops; and now have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness in my cause, than I have found with the clergy: God grant that I may have at the last the judgment of God's word concerning the same.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, I pray you, ere you go any further, tell my lords here plainly, whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to prison or not, and whether I have showed you any cruelty since you have been committed to my prison.

Philpot. If it shall please your lordship to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward.

Lord Rich. Answer first of all to my lord's two questions, and then proceed to the matter. How say you? Were you imprisoned by my lord or not? Can you find any fault since with his cruel using of you?

Philpot. I cannot lay to my lord's charge the cause of my imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly; but rather for my part I may say, that I have found more gentleness at his hands, than I did at my own ordinary's, for the time I have been within his prison, because he hath called me three or four times to mine answer, to which I was not called in a year and a half before.

Rich. Well, now go to your matter.

Philpot. The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputations held by me in the convocation-house against the sacra-

ment of the altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the queen's majesty and of the whole house, and that house, being a member of the parliament-house, which ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this realm. Wherefore I think myself to have sustained hitherto great injury for speaking my conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honorable lordship's judgment, who are of the parliament-house, whether of right I ought to be impeached for the same, and sustain the loss of my living (as I have done), and moreover of my life, as it is sought.

Rich. You are deceived herein; for the convocation-house is no part of the parliament-house.

Philpot. My lord, I have always understood the contrary by such as are more expert men in things of this realm than I: and again, the title of every act leadeth me to think otherwise, which allegeth the agreement of the spiritualty and temporalty assembled together.

Rich. That is meant of the spiritual lords of the upper house.

Lord Windsor. Indeed the convocation-house is called together by one writ of the summons of the parliament, of an old custom; notwithstanding that house is no part of the parliament-house.

Philpot. My lords, I must be contented to abide your judgments in this behalf.

Rich. We have told you the truth. And yet we would not that you should be troubled for any thing that there was spoken, so that you having spoken amiss, do declare now that you are sorry for what you have said.

Bonner. My lords, he hath spoken there manifest heresy, yea, and there stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar (and with that he put off his cap, that all the lords might reverence and vail their bonnets at that idol as he did,) and would not allow the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same; yet, my lords, God forbid that I should endeavor to show him extremity for so doing, in case he will repent and revoke his wicked sayings; and if in faith he will so do, with your lordships' consent, he shall be released by and by; if he will not, he shall have the extremity of the law, and that shortly.

Rich. How say you? will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, as all learned men of this realm do, in the mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it?

Philpot. My lord, I do acknowledge in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ such a presence as the word of God doth allow and teach me.

Rich. That shall be no otherwise than you like.

Bonner. A sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; so that there is both the sign which is the accident (as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of bread,) and there is also the thing itself, as very Christ both God and man. But these heretics will have the sacrament to be but bare signs. How say you? declare unto my lords here whether you allow the thing itself in the sacrament, or no.

Philpot. I do confess that in the Lord's supper there are in due respects both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly administered after the institution of Christ.

Rich. Show us what manner of presence you allow in the sacrament.

Philpot. My lords, the reason that at first I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you, is, because I cannot speak without the danger of my life.

Rich. There is none of us here who seek thy life, or mean to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak.

Philpot. Although I mistrust not your lordships that be here of the temporalty; yet here is one that sitteth against me (pointing to the lord of London) that will lay it to my charge even to death. Notwithstanding, seeing you require me to declare my mind of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, that ye may perceive I am not ashamed of the presence of Christ, neither do maintain any opinion without probable and sufficient authority of the scripture, I will show you frankly my mind.

I do protest here, first before God and his angels, that I speak it not of vain-glory, neither of singularity, neither of wilful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded upon God's word, against which I dare not go for fear of damnation, which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge.

There are two things principally, by which the clergy at this day deceive the whole realm; that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the Catholic church: which they do both usurp, having indeed neither of them. And as touching their sacrament, which they term of the altar, I say, that it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any manner of Christ's presence. Wherefore they deceive the queen, and you the nobility of this realm, in making you to believe that to be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this to be

true, besides manifest proof, which I am able to make, I will yield my life; which to do, if it were not upon sure ground, it were to my utter damnation.

And where they take on them the name of the Catholic church (whereby they blind many people's eyes) they are nothing so, calling you from the true religion which was revealed and taught in king Edward's time, unto vain superstition. And this will I say for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the Catholic church, I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my lords, to be a means for me to the queen's majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial hereof.

Bonner. It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale.

Rich. All heretics boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself; as Joan of Kent, and the Anabaptists. I had myself Joan of Kent a week in my house after the writ was out for her being burnt, where my lord of Canterbury, and bishop Ridley, resorted almost daily unto her: but she was so high in the Spirit that they could do nothing with her for all their learning. But she went wilfully into the fire, as you do now.

Philpot. As for Joan of Kent, she was a vain woman (I knew her well) and a heretic indeed, because she stood against one of the manifest articles of our faith, contrary to the scriptures: and such are soon known from the true Spirit of God and his church, for that the same abideth within the limits of God's word, and will not go out of it.

Bonner. I pray you, how will you join me these two scriptures together: *Pater major me est; pater & ego unum sumus;** now show your cunning, and join these two scriptures by the word, if you can.

Philpot. Yes, that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there be two natures, the divinity and humanity, and in respect of his humanity, it is spoken of Christ, "The Father is greater than I." But in respect of his Deity, he said again, "The Father and I are one."

Bonner. But what scripture have you?

Philpot. Yes, I have sufficient scripture for the proof of that I have said. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels."

Bonner. What say you then to the second scripture? how couple you that by the word with the other?

Philpot. The text itself declareth, that notwithstanding Christ did abase himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in Deity with the Father. And this St. Paul to the Hebrews doth more at large set forth.

Bonner. How can that be, seeing St. Paul saith, "That the letter killeth, but it is the Spirit that giveth life?"

Philpot. St. Paul meaneth not that the word of God written, in itself killeth, which is the word of life, and faithful testimony of the Lord; but that the word is unprofitable, and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God; therefore St. Paul said, "That the gospel to some was a savor of life unto life, and to others a savor of death unto death." Also an example hereof we have in the sixth of John, of them who hearing the word of God without the Spirit, were offended thereby; wherefore Christ said, "The flesh profiteth nothing, it is the Spirit that quickeneth."

Bonner. You see, my lords, that this man will have his own mind, and wilfully cast himself away. I am sorry for him.

Philpot. The words that I have spoken are none of mine, but the gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my lord, can bring better authority for the faith you would draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same.

Rich. What countryman are you?

Philpot. I am Sir P. Philpot's son, of Hampshire.

Rich. He is my near kinsman: wherefore I am the more sorry for him.

Philpot. I thank your lordship that it pleaseth you to challenge kindred of a poor prisoner.

Rich. In faith, I would go a hundred miles on my bare feet to do you good.

Lord Chamberlain. He may do well enough if he will.

St. John. Mr. Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you should do well.

Rich. I dare be bold to procure for you of the queen's majesty that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgment. How say you, will you promise here before my lords so to do?

Philpot. I will be contented to be judged by them.

Rich. Yea, but will you promise to agree to their judgment?

Philpot. There are causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the word of God.

Rich. O, I perceive you will have no man judge but yourself, and think yourself wiser than all the learned men in this realm.

* The Father is greater than I; I and the Father are one.

Philpot. My lord, I seek not to be mine own judge, but am willing to be judged by others, so that the order of judgment in matters of religion be kept that was in the primitive church, which is, first, that God's will by his word was sought, and thereunto both the spiritualty and temporalty were gathered together, and gave their consents and judgment, and such kind of judgment I will stand to.

Rich. I marvel why you do deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, saying, "This is my body:" and yet you will not stick to say it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? And is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body, as he was to make man flesh of a piece of clay? Did not he say, "This is my body which shall be betrayed for you?" And was not his very body betrayed for us? Therefore it must needs be his body.

Bonner. My lord Rich, you have said wonderful well and learnedly. But you might have begun with him before also, in the sixth of John, where Christ promised to give his body in the sacrament of the altar, saying, "The bread which I will give is my flesh." How can you answer to that?

Philpot. You may be soon answered; that saying of St. John is, that the humanity of Christ, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life whereby our souls and bodies are sustained to eternal life, of which the sacramental bread is a lively representation, and an effectual coaptation to all such as believe on his passion. And as Christ saith in the same sixth of John, "I am the bread that came down from heaven; but yet he is not material, neither natural bread: likewise, the bread is his flesh, not naturally or substantially, but by signification, and by grace in the sacrament.

And now to my lord Rich's argument. I do not deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, "This is my body;" but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: they must be taken spiritually, according to the express declaration of Christ, saying that the words of the sacrament which the Capernaites took carnally, as the papists now do, ought to be taken spiritually and not carnally, as they falsely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Christ hath made in this behalf, neither following the institution of Christ, neither the use of the apostles and the primitive church, who never taught, neither declared any ~~such~~ carnal manner of presence as is now exacted of us violently, without any ground of scripture or antiquity.

Bonner. What say you to the omnipotency of God? Is not he able to perform that which he spake, as my lord Rich hath very well said? I tell thee, that God, by his omnipotency, may make himself to be this carpet, if he will.

Philpot. As concerning the omnipotency of God, I say, that God is able to do, (as the prophet David saith) whatsoever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his word; that is blasphemy which my lord of London hath spoken, that God may become a carpet. For, God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature, and it is contrary to the nature of God to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature, and God is the creator; and the creator cannot be the creature: wherefore, unless you can declare by the word, that Christ is otherwise present with us than spiritually and sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the omnipotency of God in vain.

Bonner. Why, wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the sacrament? Or do you deny it?

Philpot. I deny not that Christ is really present in the sacrament to the receiver thereof according to Christ's institution.

Bonner. What mean you by "really present"?

Philpot. I mean by "really present," present indeed.

Bonner. Is God really present everywhere?

Philpot. He is so.

Bonner. How prove you that?

Philpot. The prophet Isaiah saith, "That God filleth all places:" and wheresoever there be two or three gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them.

Bonner. What, his humanity?

Philpot. No, my lord, I mean the Deity, according to that you demanded.

Rich. My lord of London, I pray you let Dr. Chedsey reason with him, and let us see how he can answer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whose doctrine the queen's majesty and the whole realm doth well allow; therefore, hear him.

Dr. Chedsey accordingly began.

Chedsey. You have of scriptures the four evangelists for the probation of Christ's real presence to be in the sacrament after the words of consecration, with St. Paul to the Corinthians: which all say, "This is my body." They say not, as you would have me believe, This is not my body. But especially the 6th of John proveth this most manifestly, where Christ promised to give his body, which he performed in his last supper, as it appeareth by these words, "The bread which I will give thee is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

Philpot. My lord Rich, with your leave I must needs interrupt him a little, because he speaketh open blasphemy against the death of Christ: for if that promise, brought in by St. John, was performed by Christ in his last supper, then he needed not to have died after he had given the sacrament.

Windsor. There were never any that denied the words of Christ as you do. Did he not say, "This is my body?"

Philpot. My lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do not deny the words of Christ; but we say, these words are of none effect, being spoken otherwise than Christ did institute them in his last supper. For example: Christ biddeth the church to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. If a priest say these words over the water, and there be no child to be baptized, these words only pronounced do not make baptism. And baptism is only baptism to such as be baptized, and to none other standing by.

Lord Chamberlain. My lord, let me ask him one question. What kind of presence in the sacrament (duly administered according to Christ's ordinance) do you allow?

Philpot. If any come worthily to receive, then do I confess the presence of Christ wholly to be with all the fruits of his passion, unto the said worthy receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Christ is thereby joined to him, and he to Christ.

Lord Chamberlain. I am answered.

Bonner. My lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His similitude that he bringeth in of baptism, is nothing like to the sacrament of the altar. For if I should say to Sir John Bridges, being with me at supper, and having a fat capon, Take, eat, this is of a capon, although he eat not thereof, is it not a capon still? And likewise of a piece of beef, or of a cup of wine, if I say, Drink, this is a cup of wine, is it not so, because he drinketh not thereof?

Philpot. My lord, your similitudes are too gross for so high mysteries as we have in hand, as like must be compared to like, and spiritual things with spiritual, and not spiritual things with corporeal things. The sacraments are to be considered according to the word which Christ spake of them, of which, "Take ye, eat ye," be some of the chief, concurrent to the making of the same, without which there can be no sacraments. And, therefore, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is called Communion.

Bonner. My lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now. And with that the lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word unto me.

HIS SEVENTH EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER 19, BEFORE THE BISHOPS OF LONDON AND ROCHESTER, THE CHANCELLOR OF LICHFIELD, AND DR. CHEDSEY.

Bonner. Sirrah, come hither. How chance you came no sooner? Is it well done of you to make Mr. Chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour! By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming.

Philpot. My lord, it is well known to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors be shut upon me, and I cannot come when I please; but as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately.

Bonner. We sent for thee to the intent that thou shouldst have come to mass. How say you, would you have come to mass or no, if the doors had been sooner opened?

Philpot. My lord, that is another manner of question.

Bonner. Lo, Mr. Chancellor, I told you we should have a froward fellow of him. he will answer directly to nothing. I have had him before the spiritual lords and the temporal, thus he fareth still; yet he reckoneth himself better learned than all the realm. Yea, before the temporal lords the other day, he was so foolish as to challenge me the best: he would make himself learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed.

Philpot. I reckon I answered your lordship before the lords plain enough.

Bonner. Why answerest thou not directly, whether thou wouldest have gone to mass or not, if thou hadst come in time?

Philpot. Mine answer shall be thus, that if your lordship can prove your mass, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a Christian ought to come, I will afterwards come with a good will.

Bonner. Look, I pray you; the king and queen, and all the nobility of the realm do come to mass, and yet he will not. By my faith, thou art too well handled; thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee.

Philpot. Your lordship hath power to treat my body as you please.

Bonner. Thou art a very ignorant fool. Mr. Chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they can desire. I did let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the leads, with a number of apprentices, gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty; but I cut off their resort: and as for the apprentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them.

Philpot. My lord, we have no such resort to us, as your lordship imagineth, and there come very few unto us. And of apprentices, I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our coal-house, that I know of: wherefore your lordship hath mistaken your mark.

Bonner. Nay, now you think (because my lord chancellor is gone) that we will burn no more; yet, I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you recant.

The conversation then turned again upon the supremacy of the Romish church, on which nothing was said by its advocates, but what had been before refuted by Mr. Philpot; at length the chancellor thus concluded.

Chancellor. Well, Doctor, you see we can do no good in persuading of him; let us administer the articles which my lord hath left us, unto him. How say you, Mr. Philpot, to these articles? Mr. Johnson, I pray you write his answers.

Philpot. Mr. Chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles as you go about, for I am not of my lord of London's diocese; and to be brief with you, I will make no further answer herein than I have already to the bishop.

Chancellor. Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE BISHOP AND MR. PHILPOT, AND OTHER PRISONERS.

Two days after, an hour before it was light, the bishop sent for me again by the keeper.

Keeper. Mr. Philpot, arise, you must come to my lord.

Philpot. I wonder what my lord meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus early; I fear he will use some violence towards me, wherefore I pray you make him this answer. That if he do send for me by an order of law, I will come and answer: otherwise, since I am not of his diocese, neither is he mine ordinary, I will not (without I be violently constrained) come unto him.

With that, one of them took me by force by the arm, and led me up into the bishop's gallery.

Bonner. What, thou art a foolish knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fetched.

Philpot. I am brought indeed, my lord, by violence unto you, and your cruelty is such, that I am afraid to come before you; I would your lordship would gently proceed against me by the law.

Bonner. I am blamed by the lords the bishops, that I have not dispatched thee ere this; and am commanded to take a further order with thee; and in good faith, if thou wilt not relent, I will make no further delay. Marry, if thou wilt yet be conformable, I will forgive thee all that is past, and thou shalt have no hurt for any thing that is already spoken or done.

Philpot. My lord, I have answered you already in this behalf, what I will do.

Bonner. Hadst thou not a pig brought thee the other day with a knife in it? Wherefore was it but to kill thyself? or, as it is told me, (marry I am counselled to take heed of thee) to kill me? But I fear thee not; I think I am able to tread thee under my feet, do the best thou canst.

Philpot. My lord, I cannot deny but that there was a knife in the pig's belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpose, I know not, unless it were because he that sent the meat, thought I was without a knife. But other things your lordship needeth not to fear; for I was never without a knife, since I came to prison. And touching your own person, you shall live long if you live till I go about to kill you; and I confess, by violence your lordship is able to overcome me.

Bonner. I charge thee to answer to mine articles. Hold him a book. Thou shalt swear to answer truly to all such articles as I shall demand of thee.

Philpot. I refuse to swear in these causes before your lordship, because you are not mine ordinary.

Bonner. I am thine ordinary, and here do pronounce, by sentence peremptory, I am thine ordinary, and that thou art of my diocese: (and here he ordered others to be called in to bear him witness.) And I make thee (taking one of his servants by the arm) to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles, to which (when he had read them) he admonished me to make answer, and said to the keeper, Fetch me his fellows, and I shall make them to be witnesses against him.

In the meanwhile came in one of the sheriffs of London, whom the bishop placed by him, saying, Mr. Sheriff, I would you should understand how I do proceed against this man. Mr. Sheriff, you shall hear what articles this man doth maintain; and so read a rabblement of feigned articles: That I should deny baptism to be necessary to them that were born of Christian parents; that I denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds; that I maintained only bare faith to be sufficient to salvation, whatsoever a man did besides, and I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness.

Philpot. Ah, my lord, have you nothing of truth to charge me withal, but you must be fain to imagine these blasphemous lies against me? You might as well have said

I had killed your father. The scriptures say, "That God will destroy all men that speak lies." And is not your lordship ashamed to say before this gentleman, (who is unknown to me) that I maintain what you have rehearsed? which if I did, I were well worthy to be counted a heretic, and to be burnt.

Bonner. Wilt thou answer to them?

Philpot. I will first know you to be my ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things.

Bonner. Well, then I will make thy fellows to be witnesses herein against thee: where are they? are they come?

Keeper. They are here, my lord.

Bonner. Come hither, sirs; (hold them a book) you shall swear by the contents of that book, that you shall say the truth of all such articles as shall be demanded of you concerning this man here present, and take you heed of him that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth, and strengtheneth you in your errors.

Prisoners. My lord, we will not swear, except we know whereto; we can accuse him of no evil; we have been but a while acquainted with him.

Philpot. I wonder your lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the same, for your lordship doth take them to be heretics, and by the law a heretic cannot be a witness.

Bonner. Yes, one heretic against another may be well enough. And, Mr Sheriff, I will make one of them to be a witness against another.

Prisoners. No, my lord.

Bonner. No! will you not? I will make you swear, whether you will or no. I think they be Anabaptists, Mr. Sheriff, they think it not lawful to swear before a judge.

Philpot. We think it lawful to swear for a man judicially called, as we are not now, but in a blind corner.

Bonner. Why then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for yourselves, and I do here in the presence of Mr. Sheriff object the same articles unto you, as I have done unto him, and require you, under pain of excommunication, to answer particularly unto every one of them when you shall be examined, as you shall be soon, by my register and some of my chaplains.

Prisoners. My lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay any thing against us, we are here ready to answer thereto: otherwise we pray your lordship not to burden us; for some of us are here before you, we know no just cause why.

Bonner. Mr. Sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with these froward men. And so he rose up, and was going away, talking with Mr. Sheriff.

Philpot. Mr. Sheriff, I pray you record how my lord proceedeth against us in corners, without all order of law, having no just cause to lay against us. And after this, we were all commanded to be put in the stocks, where I sat from morning until night; and the keeper at night upon favor let me out.

The Sunday after, the bishop came into the coal-house at night, with the keeper, and viewed the house, saying, that he was never there before: whereby a man may guess how he kept God's commandment in visiting the prisoners. Between eight and nine, he sent for me, saying:

Bonner. Sir, I have great displeasure of the queen and council for keeping you so long, and letting you have so much liberty; and besides that, you strengthen the other prisoners in their errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough; I will sequester you therefore from them, and you shall hurt them no more as you have done, and I will out of hand dispatch you as I am commanded, unless you will be a conformable man.

Philpot. My lord, you have my body in your custody, you may transport it whither you please: I am content. And I wish you would make as quick expedition in my judgment, as you say; I long for it: and as for conformity, I am ready to yield to all truth, if any can bring better than I.

Bonner. Why, will you believe no man but yourself, whatsoever they say?

Philpot. My belief must not hang upon men's sayings, without sure authority of God's word, which if they can show me, I will be pliant to the same; otherwise I cannot go from my certain faith to that which is uncertain.

Bonner. Have you then the truth only?

Philpot. My lord, I will speak my mind freely unto you and upon no malice that I bear to you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God; but you persecute both the truth and the true church of God, for which cause you cannot prosper long. You see God doth not prosper your doings according to your expectations: he hath of late showed his just judgment against one of your greatest doers, who, by reports, died miserably.* I envy not the authority you are in. You that have learning, should know best how to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity and living again, use the

* The bishop of Winchester, who died of a very painful disorder, on the 12th of November, 1555.

same to God's glory, and to the setting forth of his true religion; otherwise it will not continue, do what you can. With this saying he paused, and at length said:

Bonner. That good man was punished for such as thou art. Where is the keeper? Come, let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before.

He then followed me, calling the keeper aside, commanding him to keep all men from me, and narrowly to search me, commanding two of his men to accompany the keeper to see me placed.

I afterwards passed through St. Paul's up to Lollards' Tower, and after that turned along the west side of St. Paul's through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors, came to my lodging through many straits; where I called to remembrance, that strait is the way to heaven. And it is in a tower, right on the other side of Lollards' Tower, as high almost as the battlements of St. Paul's, eight feet in breadth, and thirteen in length, and almost over the prison where I was before, having a window opening towards the east, by which I could look over the tops of a great many houses, but saw no man passing into them.

And as I came to my place, the keeper took off my gown, searched me very narrowly, and took away a pen-case, ink-horn, girdle, and knife, but (as God would have it) I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removal, and thereupon made an errand to the stool, where (full sore against my will) I cast away many a friendly letter: but that which I had written of my last examination before, I thrust into my hose, thinking the next day to have made an end thereof, and with walking it was fallen down to my leg, which he by feeling soon found out, and asked what that was. I said, they were certain letters: and with that he was very busy to have them out. Let me alone, said I, I will take them out: with that I put my hand, having two other letters therein, and brought up the same writing into my breeches, and there left it, giving him the other two that were not of any importance: which to make a show that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, till they snatched them from me; and so deluded him of his purpose.

Then he went away, and as he was going, one of them that came with him, said, that I did not deliver the writing I had in my hose, but two other letters I had in my hand before. Did he not? says he, I will go and search him better: which I hearing, conveyed my examination I had written, into another place near my bed, and took all my letters I had in my purse, and was tearing of them when he came again, and as he came I threw the same out of the window, saying, That I heard what he said. By this, I prevented his searching any further.

This zealous and unshaken servant of God still continued to be held in suspense, and underwent seven more examinations, being combated with all the learning and sophistry of the various heads of the corrupted church; but armed with truth, he bravely stood the test, and proved himself to be *founded on a rock.*

To relate the whole of the examinations, would only be a tedious repetition of the insolence of Bonner, of the pride and arrogance of the other bishops, and of points of dispute already discussed. We, therefore, proceed to his fourteenth and final examination.

LAST EXAMINATION OF MR. PHILPOT.

Bishop Bonner having wearied himself with repeated interviews and conferences with our Christian champion; by turns insulting, threatening, and exhorting him, with equally hopeless effect, at length resolved to terminate the contest. Accordingly, on the 13th of December, he ordered him to be brought before him and others, in the consistory of St. Paul's, and thus addressed him:

Mr. Philpot, amongst other things that were laid and objected against you, these three you were principally charged with.

"The first is, that you being fallen from the unity of Christ's Catholic church, do refuse to be reconciled thereunto.

"The second is. That you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry.

"And the third is, That you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same.

"And according to the will and pleasure of the synod legislative, you have been often by me invited and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the Catholic church, which if you will now willingly do, you shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favor I can show you. And now to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore if you so refuse, I do ask of you whether you have any cause that you can show why I now should not give sentence against you.

Philpot. Under protestation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent judge, I say, respecting your first objection concerning the Catholic church, I neither

was nor am out of the same. And as to the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, I never spoke against the same. And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say, that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true Catholic church, which is contrary to your church, whereunto you would have me to come: and in that time I have been many times sworn, both in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, and of Edward his son, against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, which oath I think I am bound in my conscience to keep, because I must perform unto the Lord mine oath. But if you, *by way of the synod, can, by God's word,* persuade me that my oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, faith, and religion, I will gladly yield unto you, otherwise not.

Bonner then, not able with all his learned doctors to accomplish this offered condition, had recourse, as usual, to his promises and threats; to which Mr. Philpot answered:

"You, and all other of your sort, are hypocrites, and I wish all the world knew your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry."

Upon these words the bishop for that time dismissed him, commanding that on Monday the 16th of the same month he should again be brought thither, there to have the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against him, if he then remained resolved.

CONDEMNATION OF PHILPOT.

The day being come, Mr. Philpot was accordingly presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Lichfield; when the former thus began:

Bonner. My lords, Stokesley, my predecessor, when he went to give sentence against a heretic, used to make this prayer:

Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire, justitiæ veritatisque tuæ lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui christiana professione censentur, & illa respuere quæ huic inimica sint nomini, & ea quæ sint apta sectari per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Which I will follow. And so he read it with a loud voice in Latin.

Philpot. I wish you would speak in English, that all men might understand you; for St. Paul willeth, that all things spoken in the congregation to edify, should be spoken in a tongue that all men might understand.

Whereupon the bishop read it in English.

"O God, who showest the light of thy truth and righteousness to those that stray, that they may return into thy way, give to all who profess themselves Christians, to refuse those things which are foes to thy name, and to follow those things which are fit, by Christ our Lord. Amen." And when he came to these words, "To refuse those things which are foes to thy name," Mr. Philpot said,

"Then they all must turn away from you; for you are enemies to that name."

Bonner. Whom do you mean?

Philpot. You, and all of your generation and sect. And I am sorry to see you sit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute justice, and to do nothing less but deceive all in this realm.

And then turning himself *unto the people*, he further said, "O all you gentlemen, beware of these men, and all their doings, which are contrary to the primitive church. And I would know of you, my lord, by what authority you proceed against me."

Bonner. Because I am bishop of London.

Philpot. Well, then you are not my bishop, nor have I offended in your diocese: and moreover, I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own law you ought not to proceed against me, especially being brought hither from another place by violence.

Bonner. Why, who sent you hither to me?

Philpot. Dr. Story, and Dr. Cook, with other commissioners of the king and queen: and, my lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own sheep, but you must also meddle with other men's?

Then the bishop delivered two books to Mr. Philpot, one of the civil, and the other of the canon law, out of which he would have proved that he had authority to proceed against him as he did. Mr. Philpot then perusing them, and seeing the small and slender proof that was there alleged, said to the bishop:

"I perceive your law and divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I wish you knew your own ignorance: but you dance in a net, and think that no man doth see you." Hereupon they had much talk. At last Bonner said unto him:

"Philpot, as concerning your objections against my jurisdiction, you shall understand that both the civil and canon laws make against you; and as for your appeal, it is not allowed in this case: for it is written in the law, There is no appeal from a judge executing the sentence of the law."

Philpot. My lord, it appeareth by your interpretation of the law, that you have no knowledge therein, and that you do not understand the law: for if you did, you would not bring in that text.

Hereupon the bishop recited a law of the Romans, That it was not lawful for a Jew

to keep a Christian in captivity, and to use him as a slave, laying then to the said Philpot's charge that he did not understand the law, but did like a Jew. Whereunto Philpot answered,

"No, I am no Jew, but you, my lord, are a Jew. For you profess Christ, and maintain Antichrist; you profess the gospel, and maintain superstition, and you are able to charge me with nothing."

Bonner and another bishop. With what can you charge us?

Philpot. You are enemies to all truth, and all your doings are full of idolatry, saving the article of the Trinity.

Whilst they were thus debating, there came thither Sir William Garret, knight, then mayor of London, Sir Martin Bowes, knight, and Thomas Leigh, then sheriff of the same city, and sat down with the bishops in the consistory.

They were no sooner seated than Bonner again addressed Mr. Philpot, with the prayer, and again repeated the charge against him: after which he addressed him in a formal exhortation, which he had no sooner ended than Mr. Philpot turned himself to the lord mayor, and said,

Philpot. I am glad, my lord, now to stand before that authority, that hath defended the gospel and the truth of God's word: but I am sorry to see that that authority, which representeth the king and queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the command of Antichrist; and I am glad that God hath given me power to stand here this day, to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ.

Therefore, (turning to the bishops) as touching your first objection, I say, that I am of the Catholic church; whereof I never was out, and that your church is the church of Rome, and so the Babylonical, and not the Catholic church; of that church I am not.

As touching your second objection, which is, that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass; I do say, that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice; for your daily sacrifice is reiterated blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention; and that abominable sacrifice which you set upon the altar, and use in your private masses, instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry.

Thirdly, where you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar you mean, whether it be the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone: and if you call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone, then I defy your Christ, for it is a false one.

And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was first brought up by a pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in Antichrist's name; prove to me that you be of the Catholic church (which you never can) and I will follow you, and do as you would have me. But you are idolaters and traitors; for in your pulpits ye rail against good things, as king Henry, and king Edward his son, who have stood against the usurped power of the pope of Rome: against whom I have also taken an oath, which, if you can show me by God's law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the king and queen's heart from your synagogue and church.

Coventry. In our true Catholic church are the apostles, evangelists, and martyrs; but before Martin Luther there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr of your church.

Philpot. Will you know the cause why? Christ did prophesy that in the latter days there should come false prophets and hypocrites, as you are.

Coventry. Your church of Geneva, which you call the Catholic church, is that which Christ prophesied of.

Philpot. I allow the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same, for it is Catholic and apostolic, and doth follow the doctrine which the apostles preached.

Bonner. My lord, this man had a roasted pig brought unto him, and this knife was put secretly between the skin and flesh thereof. And also this powder, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat and drink; which powder was only to make ink to write withal. For when his keeper perceived it, he took it and brought it unto me: which when I saw I thought it had been gunpowder, and thereupon put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poison, and so gave it to a dog, but it was not so. I then took a little water, and made as good ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my lord, you may understand what a naughty fellow this is.

Philpot. Ah, my lord, have you nothing else to charge me withal, but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the church of Rome to be the Catholic church?

Then the bishop brought forth a certain instrument, containing articles and questions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. Also he exhibited two books in print; the one was the catechism composed in king Edward's days, in the year 1552,

the other concerning the report of the disputation in the convocation-house, mention whereof is above expressed.

Moreover, he brought forth two letters, and laid them to Mr. Philpot's charge; the one was addressed to him by a friend, complaining of the bishop's ill usage of a young man named Bartlet Green; the other was a consolatory letter from lady Vane. Besides these, was introduced a memorial drawn up by Mr. Philpot to the queen and parliament, stating the irregularity of his being brought to bishop Bonner, he not being of his diocese; also complaining of the severity of his treatment.

These books, letters, supplications, &c. having been read, the bishop demanded of him, if the book entitled, "The true report of the disputation, &c." were of his penning, or not? To this Mr. Philpot answered in the affirmative.

The bishops growing weary, and not being able by any sufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient Catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, began with flattering speech to persuade him: promising, that if he would revoke his opinions, and return to their Romish and Babylonical church, he would not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would, with all favor and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. But when Bonner found that it would take no effect, he demanded of Mr. Philpot, whether he had any just cause to allege why he should not condemn him as a heretic. "Well," quoth Mr. Philpot, "your idolatrous sacrament, which you have found out, you would fain defend, but you cannot, nor ever shall."

In the end the bishop, seeing his stedfastness in the truth, openly pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words, "and you, an obstinate, pernicious, and impenitent heretic," &c. Mr. Philpot said, "I thank God that I am a heretic out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you grace to repent your wicked doings."

When Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, "My lord, my lord, know of him first whether he will recant or not." Bonner said, "O, let him alone:" and so read forth the sentence.

When he had concluded, he delivered him to the sheriffs; and so two officers brought him through the bishop's house into Paternoster-row, where his servant met him, and when he saw him, he said, "Ah, dear master!"

"Content thyself," said Mr. Philpot, "I shall do well enough: for thou shalt see me again."

The officers then took him to Newgate; where they delivered him to the keeper. Then his man strove to go in after his master, and one of the officers said unto him, "Hence, fellow! what wouldst thou have?" And he said, "I would speak with my master." Mr. Philpot then turned about, and said to him, "To-morrow thou shalt speak with me."

When the under keeper understood it to be his servant, he gave him leave to go in with him. And Mr. Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a short time, when Alexander, the chief keeper, came unto him; who said, "Ah, hast thou not done well to bring thyself hither?"—"Well," said Mr. Philpot, "I must be content, for it is God's appointment; and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favor, for you and I have been of old acquaintance."

"If you will recant," said the keeper, "I will show you any pleasure I can."—"Nay," said Mr. Philpot, "I will never recant that which I have spoken, whilst I have my life, for it is most certain truth, and in witness hereof, I will seal it with my blood." Then Alexander said, "This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics." Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons to be put upon his legs as he could bear.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that Mr. Philpot had given his man money. Alexander said to him, "What money hath thy master given thee?" He answered, "My master hath given me none."—"No?" said Alexander, "hath he given thee none? That I will know, for I will search thee."

"Do with me as you like, and search me all that you can," quoth his servant; "he hath given me a token or two to send to his friends, to his brothers and sisters."—"Ah," said Alexander unto Mr. Philpot, "thou art a maintainer of heretics; thy man should have gone to some of thy affinity, but he shall be known well enough."—"Nay," said Mr. Philpot, "I do send it to my friends; there he is, let him make answer to it. But, good Mr. Alexander, be so much my friend, that these irons may be taken off."—"Well," said Alexander, "give me my fees, and I will take them off; if not, thou shalt wear them still."

Then said Mr. Philpot, "Sir, what is your fee?" He said, "Four pounds."—"Ah," said Mr. Philpot, "I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison."—"What wilt thou give me, then?" said Alexander. "Sir," said he,

"I will give thee twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for, or else I will give thee my gown in pledge; for the time is not long, I am sure, that I shall be with you; for the bishop said unto me that I should soon be dispatched."

"What is that to me?" said Alexander. And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be put in a dungeon; but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would have a groat.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore Mr. Philpot said to his servant, "Go to the sheriff, and show him how I am used, and desire him to be good to me:" and so his servant went, and took another person with him.

When they came to the sheriff, and showed him how Mr. Philpot was treated in Newgate, he took his ring from off his finger, and delivered it to the person that came with Mr. Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander the keeper, and commanded him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him.

And when they returned to Alexander, and delivered their message from the sheriff, he took the ring, and said, "Ah, I perceive that Mr. Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is, therefore to-morrow I will show it to his letters:" yet at ten o'clock he went to Mr. Philpot where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had before taken from his servant.

Upon Tuesday, the 17th of December, while he was at supper, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade Mr. Philpot make ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at the stake. Mr. Philpot answered, "I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection." And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks, that he had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

EXECUTION OF MR. PHILPOT.

In the morning the sheriffs came according to order, about eight o'clock, and calling for him, he most joyfully came down to them. And there his man met him, and said, "Ah, dear master, farewell." His master answered, "Serve God, and he will help thee." And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, "What, will you make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot." But, on entering Smithfield, he kneeled down and said, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield."

On arriving at the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer the most vile death upon the cross for me?" And then with an obedient heart he repeated the 106th, 107th, and 108th Psalms: and when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, "What have you done for me?" And when they severally declared what they had done, he gave money to them.

They then bound him to the stake, and lighted the fire, when the blessed martyr soon resigned his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

Thus have we presented the reader with the life and actions of this learned and worthy soldier of the Lord, with his various examinations that were preserved from the sight and hand of his enemies; who, by all manner of means, sought not only to stop him from all writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written. For which cause he was many times searched in the prison by his keeper: but yet so happily were these particulars preserved, that they always escaped his prying eyes.

There are many letters extant written by this excellent man upon various occasions; and we give the following, as it treats of a very important point of doctrine; and, we trust, may have some weight in doing away an error that originated in the deluded and perverted mind of an Arian.

LETTER FROM MR. PHILPOT TO A FRIEND, UPON INFANT BAPTISM.

The God of all light and understanding enlighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit. Amen.

I received yesternight from you a letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the baptism of infants. And before I show you what I have learnt out of God's word, and of his true and infallible church, touching the same, I will first declare what vision I had the same night, on falling asleep, after reading your letter, knowing that God doth not without cause reveal to his people, who have their minds

Dr. Story sent him to Bonner, who likewise, after various examinations upon the articles in the consistory, attempted the like manner of persuasions with him as he did to the others, to recant and return. To whom, in very few words, Went answered, "He would not; but that, by the leave of God, he would stand firm and constant in what he had said." Whereupon being condemned by the bishop's sentence, he was committed unto the sheriffs, and so brought to his martyrdom, which he with no less constancy suffered to the end, with the rest of that blessed society.

ISABEL FOSTER,

Was born in Grafestock, in the diocese of Carlisle, and was the wife of John Foster, cutler, of St. Bride's, Fleet-street. She likewise, for not coming to their church, was sent to bishop Bonner, who put her in prison, and examined her sundry times, but she would never be removed from the constant confession of Christ's gospel.

At length, coming unto her final examination before the bishop, she was tried again, whether she would yet go from her former answers. Whereunto she gave a resolute answer; "I will not," said she, "go from them, by God's grace." The bishop, promising both life and liberty, if she would associate herself in the unity of the Catholic church, she said again, "That she trusted she was never out of the Catholic church;" and so persisting in the same, continued constant till the sentence was pronounced, when she was committed by command of the bishop to the secular power, and so brought a few days after to the stake, being fifty-five years of age.

JOAN LASHFORD, ALIAS WARNE,

Was the daughter of Elizabeth Warne, by her first husband, Robert Lashford. The reader may remember the story of John and Elizabeth Warne, who both suffered for the cause of truth, as related in a former part of this book; and when her father and mother were in prison, Joan, then about twenty years of age, attended upon them and administered to their wants with all the tenderness and affection of a dutiful child. She was soon discovered to hold the same doctrines as her parents, and was, in consequence, sent to Bonner, bishop of London, by Dr. Story, and so committed to the Poultry Compter, where she remained about five weeks, and from thence she was conveyed to Newgate, where she continued some months.

After that, remaining prisoner in the custody of Bonner, and being examined, her confession was, that, for above a twelvemonth before, she came not to the popish mass service in church, neither would, either to receive the sacrament of the altar, or to be confessed, because her conscience would not suffer her so to do; protesting against the real presence of Christ's body and blood; and denying that auricular confession, or absolution after the popish sort, was necessary; but said, that both the said sacraments, confession and absolution, and the mass, with all their other superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service, as then used in this realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's word and institution; so that they were neither at the beginning, nor shall be at the latter end. This resolute maid, feeble and tender of age, yet strong by grace in her confession and faith, stood so firm, that neither the promises nor the threats of the bishop could turn her; and on being exhorted by the bishop to return to the Catholic unity of the church, she boldly said, "If you will leave off your abomination, I will return, and otherwise I will not. Do as it pleaseth you, and I pray God that you may do that which may please him."

And thus she constantly persevering in the truth, was condemned and committed to the sheriffs, by whom she with the rest was brought unto the stake, and there washed her clothes in the blood of the Lamb.

THEIR MARTYRDOMS.

On the 27th of January, 1556, these seven believers in, 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. Bartlet Green, in particular, frequently repeated the following lines:

> O Christ, my God, sure hope of health,
> Besides thee have I none:
> The truth I love, and falsehood hate;
> Be thou my guide alone.

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.

Two of these noble martyrs, namely, Thomas Whittle, and Bartlet Green, wrote a great number of letters, to their friends and acquaintances, during their confinement: and as we have already given an extract from one of Green's, we now present one written by Mr. Whittle.

"My dear and well-beloved brethren in Christ, Mr. Filles and Cuthbert, I wish

you all welfare of soul and body. Welfare to the soul is repentance of sin, faithful affiance in Christ Jesus, and a godly life. Welfare to the body is the health of the same, with all necessary things for this life. The soul of man is immortal, and, therefore, ought to be well kept, lest immortality of joy should turn to immortality of sorrow. As for the body, be it never so well kept, and much made of, yet shortly, by nature, will it perish and decay: but those that are ingrafted and incorporated into Christ by true faith, feeling the motion of God's holy spirit, as a pledge of their election and inheritance exciting and stirring them not only to seek heavenly things, but also to hate vice, and embrace virtue, will not only do these things, but also, if need require, will gladly take up their cross, and follow their captain, their king and their Savior Jesus Christ, (as his poor afflicted church of England now doth) against that false and Antichristian doctrine and religion now used, and especially that blasphemous mass, wherein Christ's Supper, and holy ordinance, is altogether perverted and abused, contrary to his institution, and to Paul's proceedings: so that that which they have in their mass, is neither sacrament of Christ, nor yet sacrifice for sin, as the priests falsely pretend. It is a sacrament, that is, as St. Augustine saith, 'A visible sign of invisible grace,' when it is administered to the communicants according to Christ's example, and as it was, of late years, in this realm. And as for sacrifice, there is none to be made now for sin: 'For Christ, with one sacrifice, hath perfected for ever those that are sanctified.'

"Beware of false religion, and men's vain traditions, and serve God with reverence and godly fear, according to the doctrine of his gospel; whereto cleave ye that ye may be blessed, though of wicked men ye are hated and accursed. Rather drink of the cup of Christ with his church, than of the cup of that rose-colored whore of Babylon, which is full of abominations. Rather strive ye to go to heaven by the path which is strait to flesh and blood, with the little flock, than to go in the wide way, following the enticements of the world and the flesh, which leadeth to damnation.

"Like as Christ suffered in the flesh, saith St. Peter, so arm ye yourselves with the same mind: for Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example to follow his footsteps. Blessed are they that suffer for his sake; great is their reward in heaven. He that overcometh (saith St. John, Rev. 2, 3) shall eat of the tree of life; he shall have a crown of life, and not be hurt of the second death: he shall be clothed with white array, and not be put out of the book of life; yea, I will confess his name, saith Christ, before my father, and before his angels, and he shall be a pillar in the house of God, and sit with me on my seat. And thus I bid you farewell, mine own brethren, and dear fellows in Christ; whose grace and peace be always with you. Amen.

This world I do forsake,
To Christ I me take,
And for his gospel's sake,
Patiently death I take,
My body to the dust,
Now to return it must;
My soul, I know full well,
With my God it shall dwell.

"THOMAS WHITTLE."

SECTION XIV.

History of John Lomas, Anne Albright, Joan Catmer, Agnes Snoth, and Joan Sole, who were burnt at Canterbury, in one fire.

THESE martyrs suffered for the truth of the gospel, on the 31st day of January, 1556.

JOHN LOMAS,

Of the parish of Tenterden, was discovered to be of that religion which the papists call heresy, and cited upon the same to appear at Canterbury, where he was examined there as to whether he believed the Catholic church or not; he answered, that "he believed so much as was contained in God's book, and no more."

He was then ordered to appear again on the following Wednesday, which was the 17th day of January, when he was examined, whether he would be confessed by a priest or not; he said, that "he found it not written that he should be confessed to any priest, in God's book, neither would he be confessed, unless he were accused, by some man, of sin." Again, being examined whether he believed the body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar really under the forms of bread and wine after the consecration? He answered, that "he believed no reality of Christ's body to be in the sacrament; neither found he written, that he is there under form or trestle, but he believed so much as was written." Being then asked whether he believed that there was a Catholic church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the same, he answered, that "he believed so much as was written in God's book," and

God were always ready to administer the sacraments to them for whom they were instituted. As for an example, we may behold Joshua, who most diligently procured the people of Israel to be circumcised before they entered into the land of promise; but since the apostles were the preachers of the word, and the very faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who may hereafter doubt that they baptized infants, since baptism is in the place of circumcision?

Item, The apostles did attemperate all their doings to the shadows and figures of the Old Testament; therefore it is certain that they did attemperate baptism accordingly to circumcision, and baptized children because they were under the figure of baptism; for the people of Israel passed through the Red Sea, and the bottom of the water of Jordan, with their children. And although the children be not always expressed, neither the woman in the holy scriptures, yet they are comprehended and understood in the same.

Also the scripture evidently telleth us, that the apostles baptized whole families or households: but the children are comprehended in a family or household, as the chiefest and dearest part thereof: therefore we may conclude, the apostles did baptize infants or children, and not only men of lawful age. And that the house or household is taken for man, woman, and child, it is manifest in the 17th of Genesis; and also in that Joseph doth call Jacob with all his house, to come out of the land of Canaan into Egypt.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient writers, that the baptism of infants hath continued from the apostles' time unto ours, neither was it instituted by any councils, neither of the pope, nor of other men, but commanded from the scripture by the apostles themselves. Origen, upon the declaration of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, expounding the 6th chapter, saith, "That the church of Christ received the baptism of infants from the very apostles." St. Jerome maketh mention of the baptism of infants in the third book against the Pelagians, and in his epistle to Leta. St. Augustine reciteth, for this purpose, a place out of John, bishop of Constantinople, in in his first book against Julian, chap. 2; and he again writing to St. Jerome, epist. 28, saith, "That St. Cyprian, not making any new decree, but firmly observing the faith of the church, judged with his fellow bishops, that as soon as one was born, he might be lawfully baptized." The place of Cyprian is to be seen in his epistle to Fidus.

Also St. Augustine, in writing against the Donatists, in the fourth book, chap. 23 and 24, saith, That the baptism of infants was not derived from the authority of man, neither of councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the apostles.

Cyril, upon Leviticus, chap. 8, approveth the baptism of children, and condemneth the iteration of baptism. These authorities of men I do allege, not to tie the baptism of children unto the testimonies of men, but to show how men's testimonies do agree with God's word, and that the verity of antiquity is on our side, and that the Anabaptists have nothing but lies for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptism of children to be the pope's commandment.

After this will I answer to the sum of your arguments for the contrary. The first, which includeth all the rest, is, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: but he that believeth not, shall be damned," &c.

To this I answer, That nothing is added to God's word by baptism of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the same word doth require, for that children are accounted of Christ in the gospel among the number of such as believe, as it appeareth by these words, "He that offendeth one of these little babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a mill-stone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea." Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess their faith, Believers, because of his mere grace he reputeth them for believers. And this is no wonder so to be taken, since God imputeth faith for righteousness unto men that be of riper age: for both in men and children, righteousness, acceptation, sanctification, is of mere grace, and by imputation, that the glory of God's grace might be praised.

And that children of faithful parents are sanctified, and that among such as do believe, is apparent in the seventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. And whereas you do gather by the order of the words in the said commandment of Christ, that children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you allege many places out of the Acts, proving that such as confessed their faith first, were baptized; I answer, that if the order of words might weigh any thing in this cause, we have the scripture that maketh us well for us. For in St. Mark we read that John did baptize in the desert, preaching the baptism of repentance. In which place we see baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after.

And also I will declare this place of Matthew, exactly considered, to make for the use of baptism in children; for St. Matthew hath it written in this wise, "All

power is given me (saith the Lord) in heaven and in earth," therefore going forth *Matheteusate*, that is, Disciple ye, (as I may express the signification of the word) or, Make, or Gather to me disciples of all nations. And following, he declareth the way how they should gather to him disciples out of all nations; "Baptizing them and teaching;" by baptizing and teaching ye shall procure a church to me. And both these aptly and briefly severally he setteth forth, saying, "Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Now then, baptism goeth before doctrine.

But hereby I do not gather, that the Gentiles, who never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost, ought to be baptized, neither would they permit themselves to be baptized, before they knew to what end. But this I have declared to show you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptists be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did only command such to be baptized whom the apostles had first of all taught. Neither here verily is signified who only are to be baptized, but he speaketh of such as be at perfect age, and of the first foundations of faith, and of the church to be planted among the Gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion.

Such as be of age may hear, believe, and confess that which is preached and taught, but infants cannot: therefore we may justly collect, that he speaketh nothing here of infants or children. But for all this they ought not to be excluded from baptism.

It is a general rule, "He that doth not labor must not eat." But who is so barbarous as to think hereby, that children should be famished?

The Lord sent his apostles, at the beginning of his setting up his true religion, unto all nations, unto such as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the covenant of God; and truly such persons it behoved not first to be baptized, and afterward taught; but first to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we should go to the Turks to convert them to the faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterwards baptize such as would yield to be the servants of Christ. Likewise the Lord himself in time past did, when first he renewed the covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumcision to be a seal of the covenant after that Abraham was circumcised. But he, when he perceived the infants also to pertain to the covenant, and that circumcision was the sealing up of the covenant, did not only circumcise Ishmael his son, that was thirteen years of age, but all other infants that were born in his house, among whom we reckon Isaac.

Even so, faithful people who were converted from heathen idolatry by the preaching of the gospel, and confessing the faith, were baptized; when they understood their children to be counted among the people of God, and that baptism was the token of the children of God, they procured also their children to be baptized. Therefore, it is written, "Abraham circumcised all the male children in his house." In like manner we read in the Acts and writings of the apostles, that after the master of the house was turned to the faith, all the whole house was baptized. And as concerning those which of old time were compelled to confess their faith before they received baptism, which were called Catechumeni, they were such as with our forefathers came from the Gentiles into the church, who being yet rude of faith, they did instruct in the principles of their belief, and afterward they did baptize them; but the same ancient fathers, notwithstanding, did baptize the children of faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

I beseech thee, dear brother in the gospel, follow the steps of the glorious in the primitive church, and of such as at this day follow the same; decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then shall death, be it ever so bitter, be more sweet than this life: then shall Christ, with all the heavenly Jerusalem, triumphantly embrace your spirit with unspeakable gladness and exultation, who in this earth was content to join your spirit with their spirits, according as it is commanded by the word, that the spirit of the prophets should be subject to the prophets. One thing ask with David, ere you depart, and require the same, that you may dwell with a full accord in his house, for there is glory and worship: and so with Simeon in the temple embracing Christ, depart in peace: to which peace Christ bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of faith, by such ways as shall please him, to his glory. Let the bitter passion of Christ, which he suffered for your sake, and the horrible torments which the godly martyrs of Christ have endured before us, and also the inestimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in, Amen.

Your yokefellow in captivity for the verity of Christ's gospel, to live and die with you in the unity of faith,

JOHN PHILPOT.

We have gone at some length into the report of this case, because it gives a perfect insight of the manner in which the persecutors of those days strove, by various arts, to overcome the faith of those who were brought before them. They at first tried, by insidious and soothing speeches, and by pretended compassion for their prisoners, to induce them to abandon the cross which they had taken up; those failing, they then began to show the natural malignity and bloodthirstiness of their hearts: their victims were overwhelmed with abuse, and exposed to every species of cruelty and ill-treatment; still the hypocritical whine of compassion was kept up; they tortured the Protestant only to prove their regard for his soul, and brought him to the stake only to make him "*conformable*"—that is, they merely wished him to give up the exercise of that reason with which his Creator had endowed him, and to adopt, instead of the pure and benevolent principles of the reformed religion, the monstrous, absurd, and blasphemous tenets of popery—in return for which sacrifice, they graciously promised to allow him to *retain* a life, which no law, but one issuing from the Pandemonium of the prime object of their idolatry, the *Pope*, could have ever given them authority to *deprive him of*. What heart but must revolt from the contemplation of the bare possibility of such enormities being again enacted in this country, once so happily rescued from the tyranny of papal domination? And yet, alas! who can deny that the fatal security in which Protestants have so long indulged, and the unwearied assiduity of their adversaries, *may*,—nay, *will*—establish Antichrist again on the throne, and allow him again to wallow in the blood of the saints, unless they be roused by this timely warning, to shake off their slumber, and oppose the enemy at every point?

SECTION XIII.

History of Thomas Whittle, Bartlet Green, John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Browne, Isabel Foster, and Joan Warne, otherwise Lashford, who were all burned at Smithfield, January 27, 1556.

THE above martyrs were all condemned under one general form of articles objected against them, and which ran, as usual, upon the common points of doctrine, namely, their denial of the pope's supremacy; their objections to the errors of the mass, &c. in the Romish church, and their refusal to attend the same, with their public avowal of their abhorrence to the whole. They severally answered to the various objections with all the boldness and simplicity of truth.

We shall give a brief relation of their stories, beginning with

THE REV. THOMAS WHITTLE.

Mention has been made in the account of Mr. Philpot, of a married priest, whom he found in bishop Bonner's coal-house at his first going thither, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the doctrine he had taught in king Edward's days, whose name was Thomas Whittle, of Essex. This Thomas Whittle, after he had been expelled from the place in Essex where he served, became an itinerant preacher, sowing the gospel of Christ, wherever he found opportunity. At length being apprehended by one Edmund Alablaster, in hope of reward and promotion, he was brought first as prisoner before the bishop of Winchester, who then was lately fallen sick of the disease, whereof not long after he died. But the apprehender for his proffered service was checked by the bishop, who asked, "If there were no mab unto whom he might bring such rascals, but to him? Hence! out of my sight, thou varlet," cried he; "why dost thou trouble me with such matters?" The cormorant being thus defeated of his desired prey, yet unwilling to give it up, carried his prisoner to the bishop of London, by whom Whittle was cruelly treated, as appears from the following letter to one of his friends.

"Upon Thursday, which was the tenth of January, the bishop of London sent for me, Thomas Whittle, minister, out of the porter's lodge, where I had been all night, lying on the earth, on a little low bed, where I had as painful a night of sickness as ever I had. And when I came before him, he talked with me upon many things of the sacrament so grossly, as is not worthy to be rehearsed. And amongst other things, he asked me, if I would have come to mass that morning if he had sent for me. I answered, that I would have come to him at his commandment, but to your mass (said I) I have small affection. At which answer he was sore displeased, and said, I should be fed with bread and water. And

as I followed him through the great hall, he turned back, and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheek, and then on the other, as the sign of my beating did many days appear. And then he led me to a little salt-house, where I had neither straw nor bed, but lay two nights on a table, and slept soundly.

"On the Friday after, I was brought to my lord, when he gave me many fair words, and said he would be good to me. And so he going to Fulham, committed me to Dr. Harpsfield, that he and I, in that afternoon, should commune together, and draw out certain articles, whereunto if I would subscribe, I should be dismissed. But Dr. Harpsfield sent not for me till night, and then persuaded me very much to forsake my opinions. I answered, I held nothing but the truth, and therefore I could not so lightly turn therefrom. So I thought I should at that time have had no more ado: but he had made a certain bill, which the register pulled out of his bosom, and read. The bill indeed was very easily made, and therefore more dangerous; for the effect thereof was to detest all errors and heresies against the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments, and to believe the faith of the Catholic church, and live accordingly.

"To this bill I did also set my hand, being much desired and counselled so to do; and the flesh being always desirous to have liberty, I considered not thoroughly the inconvenience that might come thereupon; and respite I desired to have had, but earnestly they desired me to subscribe. Now when I had done so, I had little joy thereof; for by and by my mind and conscience told me by God's word that I had done evil, by such a slight means to shake off the sweet cross of Christ; and yet it was not my seeking, as God knoweth, but altogether came of them.

"The night after I had subscribed I was sore grieved, and for sorrow of conscience could not sleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but still was in my conscience tormented more and more, being assured by God's Spirit and his word, that I through evil counsel and advice had done amiss. And both with disquietude of mind, and my other cruel handling, I was sickly; lying upon the ground when the keeper came; and so I desired him to pray Dr. Harpsfield to come to me, and so he did.

"And when he came, and the register with him, I told him that I was not well at ease, but that I was grieved very much in my conscience and mind because I had subscribed. And I said that my conscience had so accused me, through the just judgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conscience, and Satan ready to devour me; and therefore I pray you, Mr. Harpsfield, (said I) let me have the bill again, for I will not stand to it. So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me, and suffered me to put out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had so done, although death should follow. And hereby I had experience of God's providence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people, and suffereth them to fall, but not to be lost: for in the midst of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and also delivered me; his name be praised for evermore. Amen.

"Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any of Christ's sheep out of his hand. Of which flock of Christ's sheep I trust undoubtedly I am one, by means of his death and blood-shedding, and shall at the last day stand at his right hand, and receive with others his blessed benediction. And now, being condemned to die, my conscience and mind, I praise God, is quiet in Christ, and I by his grace am very willing and content to give over this body to the death, for the testimony of his truth and pure religion, against Antichrist and all his false religion and doctrine. By me,

"THOMAS WHITTLE, Minister."

CONDEMNATION AND MARTYRDOM OF MR. WHITTLE.

At his last examination before the bishop upon the 14th day of January, 1556, bishop Bonner, with others, sitting in his consistory in the afternoon, first called forth Thomas Whittle, with whom he began as follows: "Because you be a priest," said he, "as I and other bishops here be, and did receive the order of priesthood after the rite and form of the Catholic church, you shall not think but I will administer justice as well unto you as unto others."

Bonner then charged him with the several articles mentioned above, to which Whittle made spirited and pertinent replies: when the bishop, finding that neither threats nor entreaties had any effect on him, forthwith proceeded to his degradation.

Whittle, in the midst of the ceremonies, when he saw them so busy in degrading him, said unto them, "Paul and Titus had not so much to do with their priests and bishops." And, speaking to the bishop, he said, "My lord, your religion standeth most with the church of Rome, and not with the Catholic church of Christ."

The bishop, after this, according to his accustomed formal proceedings, tried him yet again with words, rather than with

substantial arguments, to conform him to his religion, and asked, what fault he found in the administration of the sacrament of the altar?

Whittle answered, "It is not used according to Christ's institution, in that it is privately and not openly done. And also because it is administered but in one kind to the lay-people, which is against Christ's ordinance. Farther, Christ commanded it not to be elevated nor adored: for the adoration and elevation cannot be proved by scripture."

"Well," said Bonner, "my lords here, and other learned men, have showed great learning for thy conversion, wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the faith and religion of the Catholic church, I will receive thee therounto, and not commit thee to the secular power." But Whittle, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and immovable in what he had affirmed. Wherefore the sentence being read, the next day he was committed to the secular power, and in a few days after brought to the fire with the six persons above named, sealing the testimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for witness of the truth.

BARTLET GREEN,

Was of a respectable family, and was blessed with parents who, understanding the value of a good education, were anxious to bestow one upon their son. After having been placed at preparatory schools, he was sent to the university of Oxford, where, by his diligence, he made great advances in his studies; but was, for a time, so far from feeling any interest in eternal things, that he was utterly averse to the subject. At length, by attending the lectures of Peter Martyr, then reader of the divinity-lecture, his mind was struck with the importance of religion.

When he had once tasted of this, it became unto him as the fountain of living water, that our Savior Christ spake of to the woman of Samaria; insomuch that when he was called by his friends from the university, and was placed in the Temple at London, there to study the common laws of the realm, he still continued, with great earnestness, to read and search the scriptures.

But, (such is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the special assistance of God's Holy Spirit) through the continual fellowship of such worldly youth as are commonly in that and the like places, he became by little and little a partaker in their follies, as well in his apparel, as also in banquetings, and other superfluous excesses: which he afterwards bewailed sorely, as appears by his own testimony, left in a book belonging to Mr. Bartram Calthorpe, one of his friends, written a little before his death, as follows:

"Two things have very much troubled me while I was in the Temple, pride and gluttony; which under the color of glory and good fellowship, drew me almost from God. Against both there is one remedy, by earnest prayer, and without ceasing. And forasmuch as vain-glory is so subtle an adversary, that almost it woundeth deadly, ere ever a man can perceive himself to be smitten, therefore we ought so much the rather by continual prayer to labor for humbleness of mind. Truly, gluttony beginneth under a charitable pretence of mutual love and society, and hath in it most uncharitableness. When we seek to refresh our bodies, that they may be more apt to serve God, and perform our duties towards our neighbors, then it stealeth in as a privy thief, and murdereth both body and soul, that now it is not apt to pray, or serve God, apt to study or labor for our neighbor. Let us therefore watch and be sober: for our adversary the devil walketh about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.

"Agreement of minds joining in unity of faith, and growing up in charity, is true and stedfast amity. Farewell, my Bartram, and remember me, that ever we may be like together. Farewell; at Newgate, Jan. 26, 1556.

"Set sober love against hasty wrath.

"BARTLET GREEN."

Thus we see the fatherly kindness of our most gracious and merciful God, who never suffereth his elect children so to fall, that they lie still in security of sin, but oftentimes quickeneth them up by such means, as perhaps they think least of. And now to return to our history: for the better maintenance of himself in his studies, and other his affairs, he had a large allowance of his grandfather, Dr. Bartlet, who during the time of Green's imprisonment made him offers of great livings, if he would recant, and return to the church of Rome. But his persuasions took no effect on his grandson's faithful heart. He was a man beloved of all (except the papists, who esteem none that love the truth), and so he well deserved; for he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and gentle behavior to all; injurious to none, beneficial to many, especially to those who were of the household of faith.

The cause of Mr. Green's sufferings originated from a letter of his being intercepted. This letter was written to an exiled friend, who having, in a letter to Mr.

Green, amongst other things, asked whether the queen was dead, as a report of that nature had been circulated on the continent; Mr. Green, after answering other questions, briefly said in his letter—"*The queen is not dead.*"

These letters, with many others, written to the godly exiles, by their friends in England, being delivered to a messenger to carry over, came, by the apprehension of the bearer, into the hands of the council, who perused the whole of them, and amongst them found that of Mr. Green, written to his friend Christopher Goodman; in the contents whereof they found the words, mentioned above; which words were only written as a simple answer to a question. Howbeit, to some of the council they seemed very heinous words, yea, treason they would have made them, if the law would have suffered. Which when they could not do, they then examined him upon his faith in religion.

His answers displeased them; he was committed to prison, and, after being confined for some time was, at length, sent to bishop Bonner.

Many conferences and examinations they brought him to. But in the end (seeing his steadiness of faith to be such that neither their threatenings nor their flattering promises could prevail against it), the 15th day of January the bishop caused him, with the others before mentioned, to be brought into the consistory of St. Paul's; where being set in his judgment-seat, accompanied by Fecknam, his dean, and his chaplains, after he had condemned the other six, he called for Bartlet Green, and again repeated the articles to him. After which Dr. Fecknam disputed with him upon the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, &c. At length, impatient of longer delay, Bonner demanded if he would recant and return to his Romish mother; and on his answering in the negative, he pronounced the definitive sentence against him, and then committed him to the sheriffs of London, who sent him to Newgate.

As he was going thither, two gentlemen met him, particular friends, who wished to comfort this their persecuted brother, but their hearts not being able to contain their sorrow, "Ah, my dear friends," said the martyr, "is this the comfort you are come to give me, in this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have consolation ministered to me, become now a comforter of you?" And thus declaring his most quiet peaceable mind and conscience, he cheerfully spake to them and others, until he came to the prison door, into which he joyfully entered, and there remained either in prayer or meditation until the 28th of January, when he, with his brethren, went most cheerfully to the place of their torments.

THOMAS BROWN,

Was born in the parish of Histon, in the diocese of Ely, and came afterwards to London, where he dwelt in the parish of St. Bride's, in Fleet-street. He was a married man, aged thirty-seven, and his troubles first arose because he came not to his parish church, for which neglect he was presented by the constable of the parish to bishop Bonner. Being brought to Fulham with the others to be examined, he was required to come into the chapel to hear mass, which he refusing to do, went into the warren, and there kneeled among the trees. For this he was greatly charged by the bishop, as for a heinous matter, because he said it was done in despite and contempt of their mass. At length being brought to his last examination before the said bishop, on the 15th of January, there to hear the definitive sentence against him, he was required, with many fair words and glossing promises, to revoke his doctrine. But he resisted with stedfast faith, and told the bishop he was a bloodsucker.

After this, Bonner read the sentence against him; which being done, he was committed to the sheriffs to be burned on the day appointed.

JOHN TUDSON,

Was also brought forth unto the like condemnation. He was born in Ipswich, and apprenticed in London to George Goodyear Being complained of to Sir Richard Cholmley and Dr. Story, he was by them sent to Bonner, and was divers times before him in examination.

On his last examination, when the bishop promised, on condition of his recanting, to forgive him all his offences, he demanded wherein he had offended. Then said the bishop, "In your answers."—"No," replied Tudson, "I have not therein offended; and you, my lord, pretend charity, but nothing thereof appeareth in your works." Thus, after a few words, the bishop pronounced against him sentence of condemnation; which being read, the martyr was committed to the secular power, and so with much patience finished this life with his fellows on the 27th day of January.

JOHN WENT,

Born in Langham, in Essex, was twenty-seven years of age. He was first examined by Dr. Story, upon the sacrament of the altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him thoroughly in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ,

Dr. Story sent him to Bonner, who likewise, after various examinations upon the articles in the consistory, attempted the like manner of persuasions with him as he did to the others, to recant and return. To whom, in very few words, Went answered, "He would not; but that, by the leave of God, he would stand firm and constant in what he had said." Whereupon being condemned by the bishop's sentence, he was committed unto the sheriffs, and so brought to his martyrdom, which he with no less constancy suffered to the end, with the rest of that blessed society.

ISABEL FOSTER,

Was born in Grafestock, in the diocese of Carlisle, and was the wife of John Foster, cutler, of St. Bride's, Fleet-street. She likewise, for not coming to their church, was sent to bishop Bonner, who put her in prison, and examined her sundry times, but she would never be removed from the constant confession of Christ's gospel.

At length, coming unto her final examination before the bishop, she was tried again, whether she would yet go from her former answers. Whereunto she gave a resolute answer; "I will not," said she, "go from them, by God's grace." The bishop, promising both life and liberty, if she would associate herself in the unity of the Catholic church, she said again, "That she trusted she was never out of the Catholic church;" and so persisting in the same, continued constant till the sentence was pronounced, when she was committed by command of the bishop to the secular power, and so brought a few days after to the stake, being fifty-five years of age.

JOAN LASHFORD, ALIAS WARNE.

Was the daughter of Elizabeth Warne, by her first husband, Robert Lashford. The reader may remember the story of John and Elizabeth Warne, who both suffered for the cause of truth, as related in a former part of this book; and when her father and mother were in prison, Joan, then about twenty years of age, attended upon them and administered to their wants with all the tenderness and affection of a dutiful child. She was soon discovered to hold the same doctrines as her parents, and was, in consequence, sent to Bonner, bishop of London, by Dr. Story, and so committed to the Poultry Compter, where she remained about five weeks, and from thence she was conveyed to Newgate, where she continued some months.

After that, remaining prisoner in the custody of Bonner, and being examined, her confession was, that, for above a twelvemonth before, she came not to the popish mass service in church, neither would either to receive the sacrament of the altar, or to be confessed, because her conscience would not suffer her so to do; protesting against the real presence of Christ's body and blood; and denying that auricular confession, or absolution after the popish sort, was necessary; but said, that both the said sacraments, confession and absolution, and the mass, with all their other superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service, as then used in this realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's word and institution; so that they were neither at the beginning, nor shall be, at the latter end. This resolute maid, feeble and tender of age, yet strong by grace in her confession and faith, stood so firm, that neither the promises nor the threats of the bishop could turn her; and on being exhorted by the bishop to return to the Catholic unity of the church, she boldly said, "If you will leave off your abomination, I will return, and otherwise I will not. Do as it pleaseth you, and I pray God that you may do that which may please him."

And thus she constantly persevering in the truth, was condemned and committed to the sheriffs, by whom she with the rest was brought unto the stake, and there washed her clothes in the blood of the Lamb.

THEIR MARTYRDOMS.

On the 27th of January, 1556, these seven believers in, 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. Bartlet Green, in particular, frequently repeated the following lines:

O Christ, my God, sure hope of health,
Besides thee have I none:
The truth I love, and falsehood hate;
Be thou my guide alone.

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.

Two of these noble martyrs, namely, Thomas Whittle, and Bartlet Green, wrote a great number of letters, to their friends and acquaintances, during their confinement: and as we have already given an extract from one of Green's, we now present one written by Mr. Whittle.

"My dear and well-beloved brethren in Christ, Mr. Fiffes and Cuthbert, Lewish

you all welfare of soul and body. Welfare to the soul is repentance of sin, faithful affiance in Christ Jesus, and a godly life. Welfare to the body is the health of the same, with all necessary things for this life. The soul of man is immortal, and, therefore, ought to be well kept, lest immortality of joy should turn to immortality of sorrow. As for the body, be it never so well kept, and much made of, yet shortly, by nature, will it perish and decay: but those that are ingrafted and incorporated into Christ by true faith, feeling the motion of God's holy spirit, as a pledge of their election and inheritance exciting and stirring them not only to seek heavenly things, but also to hate vice, and embrace virtue, will not only do these things, but also, if need require, will gladly take up their cross, and follow their captain, their king and their Savior Jesus Christ, (as his poor afflicted church of England now doth) against that false and Antichristian doctrine and religion now used, and especially that blasphemous mass, wherein Christ's Supper, and holy ordinance, is altogether perverted and abused, contrary to his institution, and to Paul's proceedings: so that that which they have in their mass, is neither sacrament of Christ, nor yet sacrifice for sin, as the priests falsely pretend. It is a sacrament, that is, as St. Augustine saith, 'A visible sign of invisible grace,' when it is administered to the communicants according to Christ's example, and as it was, of late years, in this realm. And as for sacrifice, there is none to be made now for sin: 'For Christ, with one sacrifice, hath perfected for ever those that are sanctified.'

"Beware of false religion, and men's vain traditions, and serve God with reverence and godly fear, according to the doctrine of his gospel; whereto cleave ye that ye may be blessed, though of wicked men ye are hated and accursed. Rather drink of the cup of Christ with his church, than of the cup of that rose-colored whore of Babylon, which is full of abominations. Rather strive ye to go to heaven by the path which is strait to flesh and blood, with the little flock, than to go in the wide way, following the enticements of the world and the flesh, which leadeth to damnation.

"Like as Christ suffered in the flesh, saith St. Peter, so arm ye yourselves with the same mind: for Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example to follow his footsteps. Blessed are they that suffer for his sake; great is their reward in heaven. He that overcometh (saith St. John, Rev. 2, 3) shall eat of the tree of life; he shall have a crown of life, and not be hurt of the second death: he shall be clothed with white array, and not be put out of the book of life; yea, I will confess his name, saith Christ, before my father, and before his angels, and he shall be a pillar in the house of God, and sit with me on my seat. And thus I bid you farewell, mine own brethren, and dear fellows in Christ; whose grace and peace be always with you. Amen.

This world I do forsake,
To Christ I me take,
And for his gospel's sake,
Patiently death I take.
My body to the dust,
Now to return it must;
My soul, I know full well,
With my God it shall dwell.

"THOMAS WHITTLE."

SECTION XIV.

History of John Lomas, Anne Albright, Joan Catmer, Agnes Snoth, and Joan Sole, who were burnt at Canterbury, in one fire.

THESE martyrs suffered for the truth of the gospel, on the 31st day of January, 1556.

JOHN LOMAS,

Of the parish of Tenterden, was discovered to be of that religion which the papists call heresy, and cited upon the same to appear at Canterbury, where he was examined there as to whether he believed the Catholic church or not; he answered, that "he believed so much as was contained in God's book, and no more."

He was then ordered to appear again on the following Wednesday, which was the 17th day of January, when he was examined, whether he would be confessed by a priest or not; he said, that "he found it not written that he should be confessed to any priest, in God's book, neither would he be confessed, unless he were accused, by some man, of sin." Again, being examined whether he believed the body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar really under the forms of bread and wine after the consecration? He answered, that "he believed no reality of Christ's body to be in the sacrament; neither found he written, that he is there under form or trestle, but he believed so much as was written." Being then asked whether he believed that there was a Catholic church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the same, he answered, that "he believed so much as was written in God's book," and

other answer than this he refused to give. Whereupon sentence was read against him on the 18th of January, and so he was committed to the secular power, and, afterwards, suffered for the true faith, with the four women following.

AGNES SNOTH,

Was a widow, of the parish of Smarden, and was likewise cited and accused for her faith. She was divers times examined, and being compelled to answer to such articles and interrogatories as should be administered unto her, she first denied to be confessed to a priest. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she protested that if she or any other did receive the sacrament so as Christ and his apostles after him did deliver it, then she and they did receive it to their comfort; but as it is now used in the church, she said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation, as she thought. Afterwards, being examined again concerning penance, whether it were a sacrament or not, she plainly denied it. Whereupon the sentence being likewise read, she was committed to the sheriffs of Canterbury, and suffered with her faithful companions.

ANNE ALBRIGHT.

This female, strong in her belief, on appearing before the judge and his colleagues, told them, that "she would not be confessed by a priest." And speaking to the judge and his assistants, she told them that they were subverters of Christ's truth.

And concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said "it was a wicked and abominable idol." Thus persevering in her former sayings and answers, she was condemned on the 18th of January, and suffered with the others before mentioned.

JOAN SOLE,

Was of the parish of Horton, and was accused by the priests of denying auricular confession, and the real presence and substance of Christ to be in the sacrament. She was accordingly condemned and brought to the stake.

JOAN CATMER,

The fifth and last of this little company of martyrs, was of the parish of Hith, wife of George Catmer, who had suffered before. She, also refusing to be confessed by a priest, and denying the bodily presence in the sacrament, was, in consequence, condemned and burnt.

These five stedfast 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, who had given them the victory over all their enemies, and a good hope, through grace, that when this earthly tabernacle was dissolved, they should have a house, not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens.

SECTION XV.

Life, Sufferings, and Martyrdom of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was burnt at Oxford, March 21, 1556.

THIS eminent prelate was born at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, on the 2d of July, 1489. His family was ancient, and came in with William the Conqueror. He was early deprived of his father, and, after a common school education, was sent by his mother to Cambridge, at the age of fourteen, according to the custom of those times.

Having completed his studies at the university, he took the usual degrees, and was so well beloved that he was chosen fellow of Jesus college, and became celebrated for his great learning and abilities.

In 1521 he married, by which he forfeited his fellowship; but his wife dying in childbed, within a year after his marriage, he was re-elected. This favor he gratefully acknowledged, and chose to decline an offer of a much more valuable fellowship in cardinal Wolsey's new seminary at Oxford, rather than relinquish friends who had treated him with the most distinguished respect.

In 1523 he commenced doctor of divinity; and being in great esteem for theological learning, he was chosen divinity lecturer in his own college, and appointed, by the university, one of the examiners in that science. In this office he principally inculcated the study of the holy scriptures, then greatly neglected, as being indispensably necessary for the professors of that divine knowledge.

The plague happening to break out at Cambridge, Mr. Cranmer, with some of his pupils, removed to Waltham-abbey, where, meeting with Gardiner and Fox,

one the secretary, the other almoner of king Henry VIII., that monarch's intended divorce of Catherine his queen, the common subject of discourse in those days, was mentioned: when Cranmer advising an application to 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 favor and esteem, which he never afterwards forfeited.

In 1530 he was sent by the king, with a solemn embassy, to dispute on the subject of the divorce, at Paris, Rome, and other foreign parts. At Rome he delivered his book, which he had written in defence of the divorce, to the pope, and offered to justify it in a public disputation: but after various promises and appointments none appeared to oppose him; while in private conferences he forced them to confess that the marriage was contrary to the law of God. The pope constituted him penitentiary-general of England, and dismissed him. In Germany he gave full satisfaction to many learned men, who were before of a contrary persuasion; and prevailed on the famous Osander (whose niece he married while there) to declare the king's marriage unlawful.

During the time he was abroad, the great archbishop Warham died: Henry, convinced of Cranmer's merit, determined that he should succeed him: and commanded him to return for that purpose. He suspected the cause, and delayed: he was desirous, by all means, to decline this high station: for he had a true and primitive sense of the office. But a spirit so different from that of the churchmen of his times, stimulated the king's resolution; and the more reluctance Cranmer showed, the greater resolution Henry exerted. He was consecrated on March 30, 1533, to the office; and though he received the usual bulls from the pope, he protested, at his consecration, against the oath of allegiance, &c. to him. For he had conversed freely with the reformed in Germany, had read Luther's books, and was zealously attached to the glorious cause of reformation.

The first service he did the king in his archiepiscopal character, was, pronouncing the sentence of his divorce from queen Catherine: and the next was joining his hand with Anne Boleyn, the consequence of which marriage was the birth of the glorious Elizabeth, to whom he stood godfather.

As the queen was greatly interested in the reformation, the friends to that good work began to conceive high hopes; and, indeed, it went on with desirable success. But the fickle disposition of the king, and the fatal end of the unhappy Anne, for a while, alarmed their fears; though, by God's providence, without any ill effects. The pope's supremacy was universally exploded; monasteries, &c. destroyed, upon the fullest detection of the most abominable vices and wickedness existing in them: that valuable book of the "Erudition of a Christian Man," was set forth by our great archbishop, with public authority: and the sacred scriptures, at length, to the infinite joy of Cranmer, and of lord Cromwell, his constant friend and associate, were not only translated, but introduced into every parish. The translation was received with inexpressible joy: every one, that was able, purchased it, and the poor flocked greedily to hear it read: some persons in years learned to read on purpose that they might peruse it: and even little children crowded with eagerness to hear it! We cannot help reflecting, on this occasion, how much we are bound to prize this sacred treasure, which we enjoy so perfectly; and how much to contend against every attempt of those enemies, and that church, which would deprive us of it, and again reduce us to legends and schoolmen, to ignorance and idolatry!

Cranmer, that he might proceed with true judgment, made a collection of opinions from the works of the ancient fathers and later doctors; of which work Dr. Burnet saw two volumes in folio; and it appears, by a letter of lord Burleigh, that there were then six volumes of Cranmer's collections in his hands. A work of incredible labor, and of vast utility.

A short time after this, he gave a shining proof of his sincere and disinterested constancy, by his noble opposition to what are commonly called king Henry's six bloody articles, which we have described in a former part of this volume. However, he weathered the storm; and published, with an incomparable preface, written by himself, the larger Bible; six of which, even Bonner, then newly consecrated bishop of London, caused to be fixed, for the perusal of the people, in his cathedral of St. Paul's.

The enemies of the reformation, however, were restless: and Henry, alas! was no Protestant in his heart. Cromwell fell a sacrifice to them; and they aimed their malignant shafts at 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. 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 he assured the king, that on the passing of that act, he had parted with his wife, and sent her abroad to her friends. His majesty was so charmed with his openness and integrity, that he discovered the whole plot that was laid against him; and gave him a ring of great value to produce upon any future emergency.

A few days after this, Cranmer's enemies summoned him to appear before the council. He accordingly attended, when they suffered him to wait in the lobby, amongst the servants, treated him on his admission with haughty contempt, and would have sent him to the Tower. But he produced the ring, which changed their tone; and, while his enemies received a severe reprimand from Henry, Cranmer himself gained the highest degree of security and favor.

On this occasion he showed that lenity and mildness for which he was always so much distinguished: he never persecuted any of his enemies; but, on the contrary, freely forgave even the inveterate Gardiner, on his writing a supplicatory letter to him. The same lenity he showed towards Dr. Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, and Dr. Barber, who, though entertained in his family, intrusted with his secrets, and indebted to him for many favors, 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, abandoned villains ought to be prosecuted with the greatest rigor; 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 for forgiveness. The archbishop told them, "that he forgave them, and would pray for them; but that they must not expect him ever to trust them for the future."

As we are upon the subject of the archbishop's readiness to forgive and forget injuries, it may not be improper here to relate a pleasant instance of it, which happened some time before the above circumstances.

The archbishop's first wife, whom he married at Cambridge, was kinswoman to the hostess at the Dolphin inn, and boarded there; and he often resorting thither on that account, the popish party had raised a story, that he had been ostler to that inn, and never had the benefit of a learned education. This idle story a Yorkshire priest had, with great confidence, asserted, in an alehouse which he used to frequent; railing at the archbishop, and saying, that he had no more learning than a goose. Some people of the parish informed lord Cromwell of this, and the priest was committed to the Fleet prison. When he had been there nine or ten weeks, he sent a relation of his to the archbishop, to beg his pardon, and to sue for a discharge. The archbishop instantly sent for him, and, after a gentle reproof, asked the priest, whether he knew him? To which he answering, "No," the archbishop expostulated with him, why he should then make so free with his character? The priest excused himself, by saying he was disguised with liquor: but this Cranmer told him was a double fault. He then said to the priest, if he was inclined to try what a scholar he was, he should have liberty to oppose him in whatever science he pleased. The priest humbly asked his pardon, and confessed himself to be very ignorant, and to understand nothing but his mother-tongue. "No doubt then," said Cranmer, "you are well versed in the English Bible, and can answer any questions out of that; pray tell me, who was David's father?" The priest stood still for some time to consider; but, at last, told the archbishop he could not recollect his name. "Tell me then," said Cranmer, "who was Solomon's father?" The poor priest replied, that he had no skill in genealogies, and could not tell. The archbishop then, advising him to frequent alehouses less, and his study more, and admonishing him not to accuse others for want of learning till he was master of some himself

discharged him out of custody, and sent him home to his cure.

These may serve as instances of Cranmer's clement temper. Indeed, he was much blamed by many for his too great lenity; which, it was thought, encouraged the popish faction to make fresh attempts against him: but he was happy in giving a shining example of that great Christian virtue which he diligently taught.

The king, who was a good discerner of men, remarking the implacable hatred of Cranmer's enemies towards him, changed his coat of arms from three cranes to three pelicans, feeding their young with their own blood; and told the archbishop, "that these birds should signify to him, that he ought to be ready, like the pelican, to shed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of Christ; for," said the king, "you are like to be tried, if you will stand to your tackling, at length." The event proved the king to be no bad prophet.

In 1547, Henry died, and left his crown to his only son, Edward, who was godson to Cranmer, and had imbibed all the spirit of a reformer. This excellent young prince, influenced no less by his own inclinations than by the advice of Cranmer and the other friends of reformation, was diligent in every endeavor to promote it. Homilies, and a catechism, were composed by the archbishop; Erasmus's notes on the New Testament were translated, and fixed in churches; the sacrament was administered in both kinds; and the liturgy was read in the vulgar tongue. Ridley, the archbishop's great friend, and one of the brightest lights of the English reformation, was equally zealous in the good cause: and in concert with him the archbishop drew up the forty-two articles of religion, which were revised by other bishops and divines; as, through him, he had perfectly conquered all his scruples respecting the doctrine of the corporeal presence, and published a much esteemed treatise, entitled, "A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ."

But this happy scene of prosperity was not to continue: God was pleased to deprive the nation of king Edward, in 1553, designing, in his wise providence, to perfect the new-born church of his son Jesus Christ in England, by the blood of martyrs, as at the beginning he perfected the church in general.

Anxious for the success of the reformation, and wrought upon by the artifices of the duke of Northumberland, Edward had been persuaded to exclude his sisters, and to bequeath the crown to that duke's amiable and every way deserving daughter-in-law, the lady Jane Gray. The archbishop did his utmost to oppose this alteration in the succession; but the king was overruled; the will was made, and subscribed by the council and the judges. The archbishop was sent for, last of all, and required to subscribe; but he answered that he could not do so without perjury, having sworn to the entail of the crown on the two princesses Mary and Elizabeth. To this the king replied, "that the judges, who, being best skilled in the constitution, ought to be regarded in this point, had assured him, that notwithstanding that entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to lady Jane." The archbishop desired to discourse with them himself about it; and they all agreeing, that he might lawfully subscribe the king's will, he was at last prevailed with to resign his own private scruples to their authority, and set his hand to it.

Having done this, he thought himself obliged in conscience to join the lady Jane: but her short-lived power soon expired; when Mary and persecution mounted the throne, and Cranmer could expect nothing less than what ensued; attainder, imprisonment, deprivation, and death.

He was condemned for treason, and, with pretended clemency, pardoned; but, to gratify Gardiner's malice, and her own implacable resentment against him for her mother's divorce, Mary gave orders to proceed against him for heresy. His friends, who foresaw the storm, had advised him to consult his safety by retiring beyond sea; but he chose rather to continue steady to the cause, which he had hitherto so nobly supported; and preferred the probability of sealing his testimony with his blood, to an ignominious and dishonorable flight.

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 purpled tyrant, with the sword deep-drenched in blood, though encircled with all the pomp and pageantry of power!

In April, 1554, the archbishop, with bishops Ridley and Latimer, was removed from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both universities. But how vain are disputations, where the fate of men is fixed, and every word is misconstrued! And such

was the case here: for on April the 20th, Cranmer was brought to St. Mary's, before the queen's commissioners, and refusing to subscribe to the popish articles, he was pronounced a heretic, and sentence of condemnation was passed upon him. Upon which he told them, that he appealed from their unjust sentence to that of the Almighty; and that he trusted to be received into his presence in heaven for maintaining the truth, as set forth in his most holy gospel.

After this his servants were dismissed from their attendance, and himself closely confined in Bocardo, the prison of the city of Oxford. But this sentence being void in law, as the pope's authority was wanting, a new commission was sent from Rome in 1555: and in St. Mary's church, at the high altar, the court sat, and tried the already condemned Cranmer. He was here well nigh too strong for his judges; and if reason and truth could have prevailed, there would have been no doubt who should have been acquitted, and who condemned.

The February following, a new commission was given to bishop Bonner and bishop Thirlby, for the degradation of the archbishop. When they came down to Oxford, he was brought before them; and after they had read their commission from the pope, (for not appearing before whom in person, as they had cited him, he was declared contumacious, though they themselves had kept him a close prisoner) Bonner, in a scurrilous oration, insulted over him in the most unchristian manner, for which he was often rebuked by bishop Thirlby, who wept, and declared it 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 canvas 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, threadbare and ill-shaped, and a townsman's cap; and in this manner delivered him to the secular power to be carried back to prison, where he was kept entirely destitute of money, and totally secluded from his friends. Nay, such was the fury of his enemies, that a gentleman was taken into custody by Bonner, and narrowly escaped a trial, for giving the poor archbishop money to buy him a dinner.

Cranmer had now been imprisoned almost three years, and death should have soon followed his sentence and degradation; but his cruel enemies reserved him for greater misery and insult. Every engine that could be thought of was employed to shake his constancy; but he held fast to the profession of his faith. Nay, even when he saw the barbarous martyrdom of his dear companions, Ridley and Latimer, he was so far from shrinking, that he not only prayed to God to strengthen them, but also, by their example, to animate him to a patient expectation and endurance of the same fiery trial.

The papists, after trying various severe ways to bring Cranmer over without effect, at length determined to try what gentle methods would do. They accordingly removed him from prison to the lodgings of the dean of Christ-church, where they urged every persuasive and affecting argument to make him deviate from his faith; and, indeed, too much melted his gentle nature, by the false sunshine of pretended civility and respect.

The unfortunate prelate, however, withstood every temptation, at which his enemies were so irritated, that they removed him from the dean's lodgings to the most lothesome part of the prison in which he had been confined, and there treated him with unparalleled severity. This was more than the infirmities of so old a man could support; the frailty of human nature prevailed, and he was induced to sign the following recantation, drawn from him by the malice and artifices of his enemies.

"I, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest, all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which are contrary to sound and true doctrine. And I believe most constantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confess one holy and

Catholic church visible, without which there is no salvation; and thereof I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to be supreme head on earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest bishop and pope, and Christ's vicar, unto whom all Christian people ought to be subject.

"And as concerning the sacraments, I believe and worship in the sacrament of the altar, the very body and blood of Christ, being contained most truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread, through the mighty power of God, being turned into the body of our Savior Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood.

"And in the other six sacraments, also (like as in this) I believe and hold, as the universal church holdeth, and the church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

"Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls departed be punished for a time, for whom the church doth godlily and wholesomely pray, like as it doth honor saints and make prayers to them.

"Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe, than the Catholic church and church of Rome holdeth and teacheth. I am sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me, whatsoever I have offended against God or his church, and also I desire and beseech all Christian people to pray for me.

"And all such as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them, by the blood of Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

"And to conclude, as I submit myself to the Catholic church of Christ, and to the supreme head thereof, so I submit myself unto the most excellent majesties of Philip and Mary, king and queen of this realm of England, &c. and to all other their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favor or fear of any person, but willingly and of mine own conscience, as to the instruction of others."

This recantation of the archbishop was immediately printed, and distributed throughout the country, and to establish its authenticity, first was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a solemn subscription, then followed the witnesses of his recantation, Henry Sydal, and friar John de Villa Garcina. All this time Cranmer had no certain assurance of his life, although it was faithfully promised to him by the doctors: but after they had gained their purpose, the rest they committed to chance, as is usual with men of their religion. The queen, having now found a time to revenge her old grudge against him, received his recantation very gladly; but would not alter her intention of putting him to death.

The quaint simplicity with which the following account of the concluding scene of this good man's life is given, renders it more valuable and interesting than any narrative of the same transactions in "modern phrase;" we therefore give it *verbatim*.

Now was Dr. Cranmer in a miserable case, having neither inwardly any quietness in his own conscience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries.

Besides this, on the one side was praise, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger, so that he could neither die honestly, nor yet honestly live. And whereas he sought profit, he fell into double disprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid secret shame, nor yet with evil men the note of dissimulation.

In the mean time, while these things were doing in the prison amongst the doctors, the queen taking secret counsel how to dispatch Cranmer out of the way, (who as yet knew not of her secret hate, and was not expecting death) appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the 21st of March he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning, and so instructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleasure in that behalf, sent him away.

Soon after, the lord Williams, of Tame, and the lord Shandois, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown, were sent for, with other worshipful men and justices, commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford on the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death should raise there any tumult.

Dr. Cole having this lesson given him before, and charged by her commandment, returned to Oxford, ready to play his part; who, as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the prison to Dr. Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the Catholic faith, wherein before he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had answered that by God's grace he would be daily more confirmed in the Catholic faith; Cole departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification as yet of his death that was prepared. And therefore, in the morning, which was the 21st day of March, appointed for Cranmer's execution, the said Cole coming to him, asked him if he had any money, to whom when he had answered that he had none, he delivered fifteen crowns to give to the

poor, to whom he would: and so exhorting him as much as he could to constancy in faith, departed thence about his business, as to his sermon appertained.

By this partly, and other like arguments, the archbishop began more and more to surmise what they were about. Then because the day was not far spent, and the lords and knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish friar, witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer should openly profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him that he would write the said instrument with the articles with his own hand, and sign it with his name: which when he had done, the said friar desired that he would write another copy thereof, which should remain with him, and that he did also. But yet the archbishop, being not ignorant whereunto their secret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, he put his prayer and his exhortation written in another paper secretly into his bosom, which he intended to recite to the people before he should make the last profession of his faith, fearing lest, if they heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterwards have suffered him to exhort the people.

Soon after, about nine o'clock, the lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Brown, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen, that were sent of the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train of waiting men. Also of the other multitude on every side (as is wont in such a matter) was made a great concourse, and greater expectation: for first of all, they that were of the pope's side were in great hope that day to hear something of Cranmer that should establish the vanity of their opinion: the other part, who were endued with a better mind, could not yet doubt that he, who by continued study and labor for so many years, had set forth the doctrine of the gospel, either would or could now, in the last act of his life, forsake his part. Briefly, as every man's will inclined, either to this part or to that, so according to the diversity of their desires, every man wished and hoped for. And yet because in an uncertain thing the certainty could be known of none what would be the end; all their minds were hanging between hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in so doubtful a matter, the more was the multitude that was gathered thither to hear and behold.

During this great expectation, Dr. Cranmer at length came from the prison of Bocardo unto St. Mary's church, (because it was a foul and rainy day) the chief church in the university, in this order. The mayor went before, next him the aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Cranmer brought between two friars, which mumbling to and fro certain psalms in the streets, answered one another until they came to the church door, and there they began the song of Simeon, "*Nunc dimittis*;" and entering into the church, the psalm-singing friars brought him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over-against the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Dr. Cole made ready for his sermon.

The lamentable case and sight of that man was a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes that beheld him. He that lately was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of all England, and the king's privy counsellor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill-favoredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case, and might not fear his own chance, to see such a prelate, so grave a counsellor, and of so long continued honor, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life, and now presently from such fresh ornaments, to descend to such vile and ragged apparel?

In this habit, when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till at length Dr. Cole coming into the pulpit, and beginning his sermon, entered first into mention of Tobias and Zachary, whom after he had praised in the beginning of his sermon for their perseverance in the true worshipping of God, he then divided his whole sermon into three parts (according to the solemn custom of the schools), intending to speak first of the mercy of God: secondly, of his justice to be showed: and last of all, how the prince's secrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occasion by and by to turn his talc to Cranmer, and with many hot words reproved him, that he being one endued with the favor and feeling of wholesome and Catholic doctrine, fell into a contrary opinion of pernicious error; which he had not only defended by his writings, and all his power, but also allured other men to do the like, with great liberality of gifts, as it were ap-

pointing rewards for error; and after he had allured them, by all means did cherish them.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were pronounced. The sum of his tripartite declamation was, that he said God's mercy was so tempered with his justice, that he did not altogether require punishment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet sometimes suffered the same to go altogether unpunished, yea, though they had repented. As in David, who when he was bidden to choose of three kinds of punishment which he would, and he had chosen pestilence for three days, the Lord forgave him half the time, but did not release all; and that the same thing came to pass in him also, to whom although pardon and reconciliation were due according to the canons, seeing he repented of his errors, yet there were causes why the queen and the council at this time judged him to death; of which, lest he should marvel too much, he should hear some.

First, That being a traitor, he had dissolved the lawful matrimony between the king and queen, her father and mother: besides the driving out of the pope's authority, while he was a metropolitan.

Secondly, That he had been a heretic, from whom, as from an author and only fountain, all heretical doctrine and schismatical opinion, that so many years have prevailed in England, did first rise and spring; of which he had not been a secret favorer only, but also a most earnest defender, even to the end of his life, sowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruin and decay to the Catholic church.

And further, it seemed meet, according to the law of equality, that as the death of the late duke of Northumberland *made even* with Thomas More, chancellor, that died for the church; so there should be one that should *make even* with Fisher, of Rochester: and because that Ridley, Hooper, and Farrar, were not able to make even with that man, it seemed that Cranmer should be joined to them to fill up their part of the equality.*

Besides these, there were *other just* and *weighty* causes, which appeared to the queen and council, which was not meet at that time to be opened to the common people.

After this, turning his tale to the hearers, he bid all men beware by this man's example, that among men nothing is so high that can promise itself safety on the earth, and that God's vengeance is equally stretched against all men, and spareth none:† therefore they should beware, and learn to fear their prince. And seeing the queen's majesty would not spare so notable a man as this, much less in the like cause would she spare other men, that no man should think to make thereby any defence of his error, either in riches or any kind of authority. They had now an example to teach them all, by whose calamity every man might consider his own fortune; who, from the top of dignity, none being more honorable than he in the whole realm, and next the king, was fallen into such great misery, as they might see, being a person of such high degree, sometime one of the chief prelates of the church, and an archbishop, the chief of the council, the second person in the realm a long time, a man thought in great assurance, having a king on his side; notwithstanding all his authority and defence, to be debased from high estate to a low degree, of a counsellor to become a caitiff, and to be set in so wretched a state, that the poorest wretch would not change condition with him; briefly, so heaped with misery on all sides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worse.

The latter part of his sermon he converted to the archbishop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of scripture, as with these, and such like; bidding him not to mistrust, but he should incontinently receive what the thief did, to whom Christ said, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise:" and out of St. Paul he armed him against the terror of fire by this, "The Lord is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength:" by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew; adding also the rejoicing of St. Andrew on his cross, the patience of St. Lawrence in the fire, assuring him, that God, if he called on him, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it.

He glorified God much in his (Cranmer's) conversion, because it appeared to be only His (the Almighty's) work, declaring what travail and conference had been with him

* This *arithmetical reason* for burning a man is certainly the very acme of Romish logic. If all accounts were to be thus settled, what would be the balance due from Popery?

† The truth of this axiom was strikingly exhibited in the course of a very few years after this, although not in the way intended by the preacher: he and his party, with that blindness which is the usual concomitant of tyranny and persecution, concluded that the power was given to them for ever; but the blood of the saints "had cried unto God from the earth;" He had heard its voice, and had already prepared the downfall of the merciless persecutors.

to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time (said he) he flowed in riches and honor, he was unworthy of his life; and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labor (he said), and also did promise, in the name of all the priests that were present, that immediately after his death there should be dirges, masses, and funerals, executed for him in all the churches of Oxford, for the succor of his soul.

All this time with what great grief of mind Cranmer stood hearing this sermon, the outward shows of his body and countenance did better express, than any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow livelily in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping down marvellously from his fatherly face. They that were present do testify, that they never saw in any child more tears than came from him at that time, during the whole sermon; but especially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts, that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

After Cole had ended his sermon, he called back the people to prayers that were ready to depart. "Brethren," said he, "lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you; and therefore I pray you, Mr. Cranmer, to perform that now, which you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a Catholic indeed." "I will do it," said the archbishop, "and that with a good will;" who, rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speak thus unto the people:

"Good Christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how great and how many soever my sins be, I beseech you to pray to God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all." And here kneeling down, he said the following prayer:

"O Father of heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth, more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or succor. To thee, therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me, for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son (O heavenly Father) unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy; have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now, therefore, O Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name," &c. And then he, rising, said:

"Every man (good people) desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation, that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby: so I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

"First, It is a heavy cause to see that so many folk so much dote upon the love of this false world, and be so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore, this shall be my first exhortation: That you set not your minds overmuch upon this deceitful world, but upon God, and upon the world to come, and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth which St. John teacheth, 'That the love of this world is hatred against God.'

"The second exhortation is, That next under God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by

God to rule and govern you: and therefore whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

"The third exhortation is, That you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For, alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one lesson, To do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favor.

"The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world; That they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the scripture: one is of our Savior himself, who saith, Luke xviii. 'It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.' A sore saying, and yet spoken by him who knoweth the truth.

"The second is of St. John, I John iii. whose saying is this, "He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?'

"The third is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner, 'Weep you and howl for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches do rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver doth canker and rust, and their rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire: you gather a hoard or treasure of God's indignation against the last day.' Let them that be rich ponder well these three sentences: for if they ever had occasion to show their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear.

"And now forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I see before [illegible]yes presently either heaven ready to [illegible]me, or else hell ready to swallow [illegible] I shall therefore declare unto you [illegible]y faith how I believe without any [illegible] dissimulation: for now is no time [illegible]semble, whatsoever I have said or written [illegible]n times past.

"First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I believe every article of the Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Savior Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

"And now I come to the great thing which so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand hath offended, writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished; for when I come to the fire, it shall be first burned.

"And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

"And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show her face."

Here the standers-by were all astonished, marvelled, and amazed, and looked upon one another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood.

Briefly, it was strange to see the doctors beguiled of so great a hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted, but they looked for a glorious victory, and a perpetual triumph by this man's retractation.

As soon as they heard these things, they began to let down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume; and so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief: for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the world can die but once; and whereas of necessity he must needs die that day, though the papists had been ever so well pleased; being ever so much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed by them. And so when they could do nothing else unto him, yet lest they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him his falsehood and dissimulation.

Unto which accusation he answered, "Ah, my masters" (quoth he), "do you not

take it so? Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled;" and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out, yelp, and bawl, and especially Cole cried out upon him, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."

And then Cranmer being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. "What madness," say they, "hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell!" To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saving that to one troubling him in the way, he spake, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply to his book diligently; saying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he should get knowledge.

But the other Spanish barker, raging and foaming, was almost out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, *Non fecisti?* "Didst thou it not?"

But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, bishop Latimer and bishop Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, kneeling down he prayed to God, and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garment to his shirt, he prepared himself for death. His shirt was made long, down to his feet. His feet were bare; likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare that one hair could not be seen upon it. His beard was so long and thick, that it covered his face with marvellous gravity; and his reverend countenance moved the hearts both of his friends and enemies.

Then the Spanish friars, John and Richard, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him, and play their parts with him afresh, but with vain and lost labor. Cranmer with stedfast purpose abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and others that stood by, bidding them farewell.

And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Mr. Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand and refused, saying, it was not lawful to salute heretics, and especially such a one as falsely returned unto the opinions that he had forsworn. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly, and chid those serjeants and citizens, who had not refused to give him their hands. This Mr. Ely was a student in divinity, and lately made a priest, being then one of the fellows in Brazen-nose college.

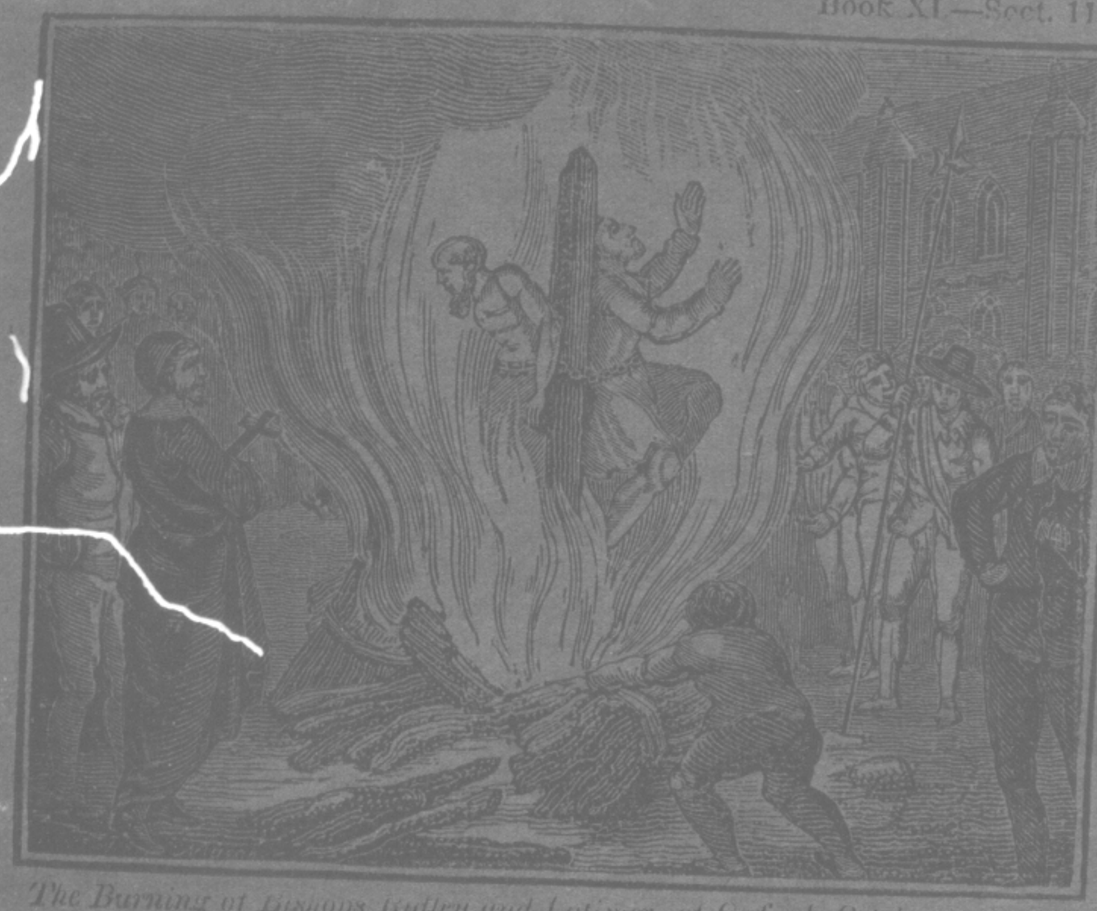
Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, and they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, he stretched forth his right hand, which had signed his recantation, into the flames, and there held it so stedfast that all the people might see it burnt to a coal before his body was touched. In short, he was so patient and constant in the midst of these extreme tortures, that he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up to heaven, and often he repeated, "this unworthy right hand," so long as his voice would suffer him; and as often using the words of the blessed martyr St. Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," till the fury of the flames putting him to silence, he gave up the ghost.

This fortitude of mind, which perchance is rare and not found among the Spaniards, when friar John saw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of desperation, although such manner of examples which are of like constancy, have been common here in England, he ran to the lord Williams of Tame, crying that the archbishop was vexed in mind, and died in great desperation. But he, who was not ignorant of the archbishop's constancy, being unknown to the Spaniards, smiled only, and as it were by silence rebuked the friar's folly. And this was the end of this learned archbishop, whom, lest by evil subscribing he should have perished, by well recanting, God preserved: and lest he should have lived longer with shame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and profit of his church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying the same with the testimony and blood of such a martyr; and so good also to the man with this cross of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against John Lambert and Mr. Allen, or if there were any other, with whose burning or blood his hand had been any thing before polluted. But especially he had to rejoice, that dying in such a cause, he was numbered amongst the martyrs of Christ, and much more worthy the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury than he whom the pope falsely before canonize.

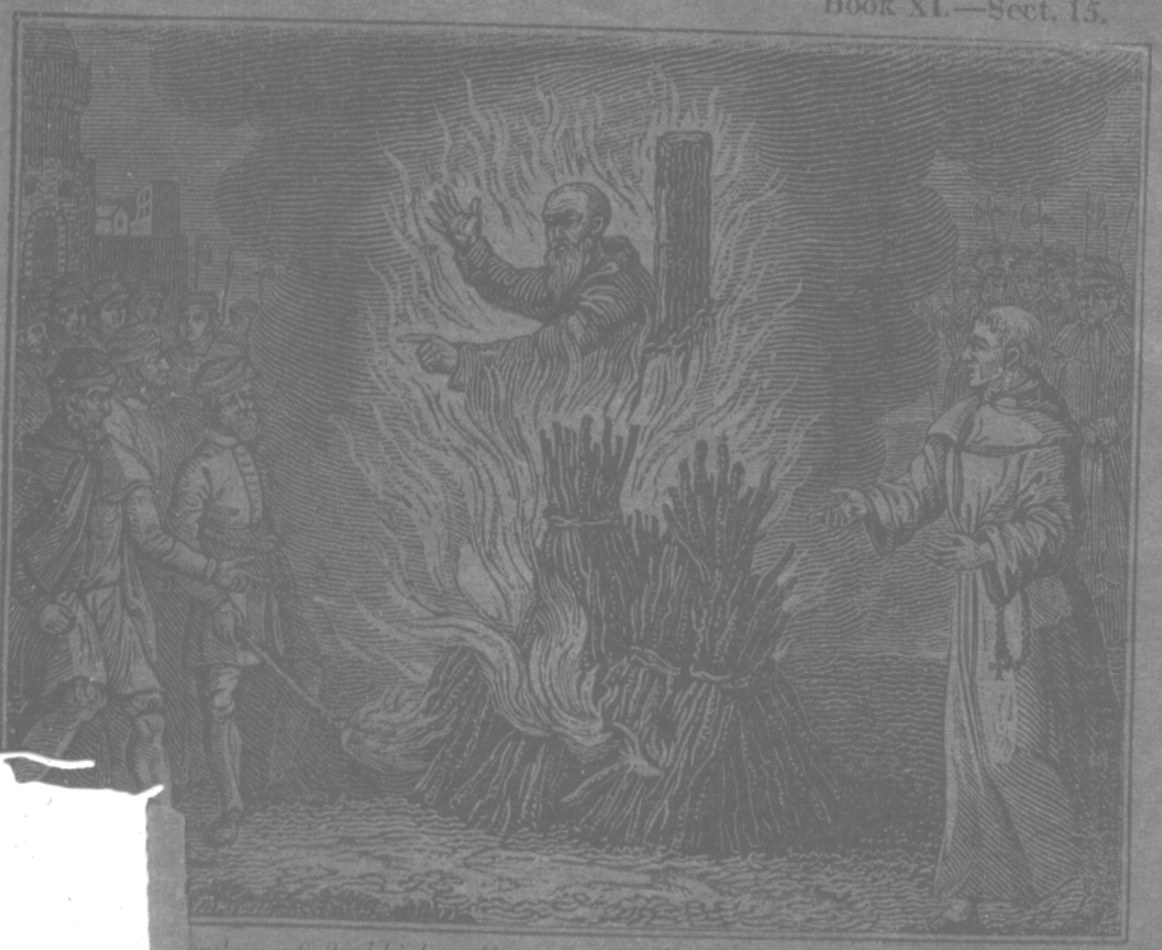
Thus died Thomas Cranmer, in the [illegible]h year of his age. He was a man of great candor, and a firm friend, which appeared

Plate XLIV. Book XI.—Sect. 11.



The Burning of Bishops Ridley and Latimer, at Oxford, October 16, 1555.

Plate XLV. Book XI.—Sect. 15.



rdom of Archbishop Cranmer, at Oxford, March 21, 1556.

signally in the misfortunes of Anne Boleyn, Cromwell, and the duke of Somerset. In his writings he rather excelled in great industry and good judgment, than in a quickness of apprehension, or a closeness of style. He employed his revenues on pious and charitable uses; and in his table he was truly hospitable, for he entertained great numbers of his poor neighbors often at it. The gentleness and humility of his deportment were very remarkable. His last fall was the greatest blemish of his life, yet that was expiated by a sincere repentance; and while we drop a tear over this melancholy instance of human frailty, we must acknowledge with praise the interposition of Divine Providence in his return to the truth. And it seemed necessary that the reformation of the church, being the restoring of the primitive and apostolical doctrine, should have been chiefly carried on by a man thus eminent for primitive and apostolical virtues.

That the Christian reader may judge how little this noble martyr regarded human greatness, or his own interest, when truth was concerned, we present him with the following celebrated letter written by the archbishop to Queen Mary, which, though rather long, we doubt not will be perused with interest, when the writer, and the subject, are considered.

MAY it please your majesty to pardon my presumption that I dare be so bold to write to your highness. But very necessity constraineth me, that your majesty may know my mind, rather by mine own writing than by other men's reports. So it is, that upon Wednesday, being the 12th day of this month, I was cited to appear at Rome the eightieth day after, there to make answer to such matters as should be objected against me upon the behalf of the king and your most excellent majesty, which matters the Thursday following were objected against me by Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, your majesty's proctors before the bishop of Gloucester, sitting in judgment by commission from Rome.

But (alas!) it cannot but grieve the heart of a natural subject to be accused of the king and queen of his own realm; and especially before an outward judge, or by authority coming from any person out of this realm; where the king and queen, as if they were subjects within their own realm, shall complain and require justice at a stranger's hands against their own subject, being already condemned to death by their own laws. As though the king and queen could not do or have justice within their own realms against their own subjects; but they must seek it at strangers' hands in a strange land, the like whereof (I think) was never seen. I would have wished to have had some meaner adversaries: and, I think, that death shall not grieve me much more, than to have my most dread and most gracious sovereign lord and lady, to whom, under God, I do own all obedience, to be mine accusers in judgment within their own realm, before any stranger and outward power. But forasmuch as in the time of the prince of most famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, your grace's father, I was sworn never to consent, that the bishop of Rome should have or exercise any authority or jurisdiction in this realm of England, therefore lest I should allow his authority, contrary to mine own oath, I refused to make answer to the bishop of Gloucester sitting here in judgment by the pope's authority, lest I should run into perjury.

Another cause why I refused the pope's authority, is this; that his authority, as he claimeth it, is repugnant to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the laws of the same: which every true subject is bound to defend. First, for that the pope saith, that all manner of power, as well temporal as spiritual, is given first to him of God; and that the temporal power he giveth unto emperors and kings, to use it under him, but so as to be always at his commandment and beck.

But contrary to this claim, the imperial crown and jurisdiction temporal of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under him only, and is subject to none but God alone.

Moreover, to the imperial laws and customs of this realm, the king in his coronation, and all justices when they receive their offices, be sworn, and all the whole realm is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary hereunto, the pope by his authority maketh void, and commandeth to blot out of our books, all laws and customs being repugnant to his laws, and declareth accursed all rulers and governors, all the makers, writers, and executors of all such laws or customs, as it appeareth by many of the pope's laws, whereof one or two I shall rehearse. In the decrees, Dict. 10., it is written thus, "The constitution or statutes enacted against the canons and decrees of the bishops of Rome, or their good customs, are of none effect." Also, "We excommunicate all heretics of both sexes, what name soever they be called by, and their favorers, receptors, and defenders; and also them that shall hereafter cause to be observed the statutes and customs made against the liberty of the church, except they cause the same to be put out of their records and chapters within two months

after the publication thereof. Also we excommunicate the statute-makers and writers of those statutes, and all the potentates, powers, consuls, governors, and counsellors of places, where such statutes or customs shall be made or kept; and also that shall presume to give judgment according to them, or shall notify in public form the matter so adjudged."

Now by these laws, if the bishop of Rome's authority which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your grace's laws and customs of your realm, being contrary to the pope's laws, be naught, and as well your majesty, as your judges, justices, and all other executors of the same, stand accursed amongst heretics, which God forbid. And yet this curse can never be avoided (if the pope hath such power as he claimeth) until such times as the laws and customs of this realm (being contrary to his laws) be taken away and blotted out of the law-books. And although there be many laws of this realm contrary to the laws of Rome, yet I name but a few; as to convict a clerk before any temporal judge of this realm for debt, felony, murder, or for any other crime; which clerks by the pope's laws are so exempt from the king's laws, that they can be nowhere sued, but before their ordinary.

Also the pope by his laws may give all bishoprics and benefices spiritual; which by the laws of this realm can be given but only by the king and other patrons of the same, except they fall into lapse.

By the pope's laws, *jus patronatus* shall be sued only before the ecclesiastical judge; but by the laws of the realm it shall be sued before the temporal judge.

And to be short, the laws of this realm do agree with the pope's like fire and water. And yet the kings of this realm have provided for their laws by the *præmunire*; so that if any man have let the execution of the laws of this realm by any authority from the see of Rome, he falleth into the *præmunire*.

But to meet with this, the popes have provided for their laws by cursing. For whosoever hindereth the pope's laws to have full course within this realm, by the pope's power standeth accursed: so that the pope's power treadeth all the laws and customs of this realm under his feet, cursing all that execute them, until such time as they do give place unto his laws.

But it may be said, that notwithstanding all the pope's decrees, yet we do still execute the laws and customs of this realm. Nay, not all quietly, without interruption of the pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it unjustly, if the pope's power be of force, and for the same we stand excommunicate, and shall do, until we leave the execution of our own laws and customs. Thus we be well reconciled to Rome, allowing such authority, whereby the realm standeth accursed before God, if the pope have any such authority.

These things (as I suppose) were not fully opened in the parliament-house when the pope's authority was received again within this realm; for if they had, I do not believe that either the king or queen's majesty, or the nobles of this realm, or the commons of the same, would ever have consented to receive again such a foreign authority, so injurious, hurtful, and prejudicial, as well to the crown as to the laws and customs and state of this realm, as whereby they must needs acknowledge themselves to be accursed. But none could open this matter well but the clergy, and such of them as had read the pope's laws, whereby the pope had made himself, as it were, a god. These seek to maintain the pope, whom they desired to have their chief head, to the intent they might have, as it were, a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the crown, and wherewith the crown may not meddle; and so being exempted from the laws of the realm, might live in this realm like lords and kings, without damage or fear of any man, so that they please their high and supreme head at Rome. For this consideration, (I think) some that knew the truth held their peace in the parliament, whereas if they had done their duties to the crown and whole realm, they should have opened their mouths, declared the truth, and showed the perils and dangers that might ensue to the crown and realm.

And if I should agree to allow such authority within this realm, whereby I must needs confess, that your most gracious highness, and also your realm, should ever continue accursed, until ye shall cease from the execution of your own laws and customs of your realm; I could not think myself true either to your highness, or to this my natural country, knowing that I do know. Ignorance, I know, may excuse other men; but he that knoweth how prejudicial and injurious the power and authority which he challengeth everywhere, is to the crown-laws and customs of this realm, and yet will allow the same, I cannot see in any wise how he can keep his due allegiance, fidelity, and truth to the crown and state of this realm.

Another cause I alleged, why I could not allow the authority of the pope, which is this: That by his authority he subverted not only the laws of this realm, but also the laws of God: so that whosoever be under his authority, he suffereth them not

to be under Christ's religion purely, as Christ did command.

And for one example I brought forth, that whereas by God's laws all Christian people be bounden diligently to learn his word, that they may know how to believe and live accordingly, for that purpose he ordained holy days, when they ought, leaving apart all other business, to give themselves wholly to know and serve God. Therefore God's will and commandment is, that when the people be gathered together, ministers should use such language as the people may understand and take profit thereby, or else hold their peace. For as a harp or lute, if it give no certain sound that men may know what is played, who can dance after it? for all the sound is vain. So it is in vain, and profiteth nothing, saith Almighty God by the mouth of St. Paul, if the priest speak to the people in a language which they know not; "For else he may profit himself, but profiteth not the people," saith St. Paul. But herein I was answered thus; that St. Paul spake only of preaching, that the preacher should speak in a tongue which the people did know, or else his preaching availeth nothing; but if the preaching availeth nothing, being spoke in a language which the people understand not, how should any other service avail them, being spoken in the same language? And yet that St. Paul meant not only of preaching, it appeareth plainly by his own words. For he speaketh by name expressly of praying, singing, and thanking of God, and of all other things which the priests say in the churches, whereunto the people say Amen; which they use not in preaching, but in other divine service; that whether the priests rehearse the wonderful works of God, or the great benefits of God unto mankind above all other creatures, or give thanks unto God, or make open profession of their faith, or humble confession of their sins, with earnest request of mercy and forgiveness, or make suit and request unto God for any thing; then all the people understanding what the priests say, might give their minds and voices with them, and say, Amen, that is to say, allow what the priests say; that the rehearsal of God's universal works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the profession of faith, the confession of sins, and the requests and petitions of the priests and of the people, might ascend up into the ears of God altogether, and be as a sweet savor, odor, and incense in his nose: and thus was it used many hundred years after Christ's ascension.

But the aforesaid things cannot be done when the priests speak to the people in a language not known, and so they (or their clerk in their name) say Amen, but they cannot tell whereunto. Whereas St. Paul saith, "How can the people say Amen to thy well saying, when they understand not what thou sayest?" And thus was St. Paul understood by all interpreters, both the Greeks and Latins, old and new school authors, and others that I have read, until above thirty years past. At which time one Fekius, with others of his sort, began to devise a new exposition, understanding St. Paul of preaching only.

But when a good number of the best learned men reputed within this realm, some favoring the old, some the new learning, as they term it, (where indeed that which they call the old is the new, and that which they call the new is indeed the old) but when a great number of such learned men of both sorts were gathered together at Windsor for the reformation of the service of the church, it was agreed by both, without controversy (not one saying contrary) that the service of the church ought to be in the mother-tongue; and that St. Paul, in the fourteenth chapter to the Corinthians, was so to be understood. And so St. Paul was understood in the civil law, more than a thousand years past, where Justinian, a most godly emperor, in a synod writeth in this manner: "We command that all bishops and priests celebrate the holy oblation and prayer used in holy baptism, not after a still and close manner, but with a clear loud voice, that they may be plainly heard by the faithful people, so as the hearers' minds may be lifted up thereby with the greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For so St. Paul teacheth also in the epistle to the Corinthians, "If the Spirit do only bless (or say well) how shall he that occupieth the place of a private person say Amen, to thy thanksgiving? for he perceiveth not what thou sayest: thou dost give thanks well, but the other is not edified." And not only the civil law, and all other writers a thousand and five hundred years continually together, have expounded St. Paul not of preaching only, but of other service said in the church; but also reason saith the same, that if men be commanded to hear any thing, it must be spoken in a language which the hearers understand, or else (as St. Paul saith) what availeth it to hear? So that the pope giveth a contrary commandment that the people coming to the church shall hear they know not what, and shall answer they know not whereto, taketh upon him to command, not only against reason, but also directly against God.

And again I said, whereas our Savior Christ ordained the sacrament of his most precious body and blood to be received by all Christian people under the forms of

bread and wine, and said of the cup, "Drink ye all of this;" the pope giveth a clean contrary commandment, that no layman shall drink of the cup of their salvation; as though the cup of salvation by the blood of Christ pertaineth not to laymen. And whereas Theophilus Alexandrinus (whose works St. Jerome did translate about eleven hundred years past) saith, That if Christ had been crucified for the devils, his cup should not be denied them; yet the pope denieth the cup of Christ to Christian people, for whom Christ was crucified. So that if I should obey the pope in these things, I must needs disobey my Savior *Christ*.

But I was answered hereunto (as they commonly answer) that under the form of bread is both Christ's flesh and blood: so that whosoever receiveth the bread, receiveth as well Christ's blood as his flesh. Let it be so; yet in the form of bread only, Christ's blood is not drunk, but eaten: nor is it received in the cup in the form of wine, as Christ commanded, but eaten with the flesh under the form of bread. And moreover, the bread is not the sacrament of his blood, but of his flesh only; nor is the cup the sacrament of his flesh, but of his blood only. And so the pope keepeth from all lay-persons the sacrament of their redemption by Christ's blood, which Christ commandeth to be given unto them.

And furthermore, Christ ordained the sacrament in two kinds, the one separated from the other, to be a representation of his death, where his blood was separated from his flesh, which is not represented as one kind alone; so that the lay-people receive not the whole sacrament whereby Christ's death is represented, as he commanded.

Moreover, as the pope taketh upon him to give the temporal sword, by royal and imperial power, to kings and princes; so doth he likewise take upon him to depose them from their imperial states, if they be disobedient to him, and commandeth the subjects to disobey their princes, assoiling the subjects as well of their obedience, as of their lawful oaths made under their true kings and princes, directly contrary to God's commandment, who commandeth all subjects to obey their kings, or their rulers under them.

One John, patriarch of Constantinople, in the time of St. Gregory, claimed superiority above all other bishops. To whom St. Gregory writeth, that therein he did injury to his three brethren, which were equal with him; that is to say, the bishop of Rome, the bishop of Alexandria, and of Antioch; which three were patriarchal sees, as well as Constantinople, and were brethren one to another. But (saith St. Gregory) if any one shall exalt himself above all the rest, to be the universal bishop, the same passeth in pride. But now the bishop of Rome exalteth himself not only above all kings and emperors, and above all the whole world, but takes upon him to give and take away, to set up and pull down as he shall think good. And as the devil, having no such authority, yet took upon him to give unto Christ all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him; in like manner the pope taketh upon him to give empires and kingdoms, being none of his, to such as will fall down and worship him, and kiss his feet.

And moreover, his lawyers and glossers so flatter him, that they feign he may command emperors and kings to hold his stirrup when he lighteth from his horse, and to be his footmen: and that if any emperor or king give him any thing, they give him nothing but what is his own, and that he may dispense against God's word, against both the Old and New Testament, against St. Paul's epistles, and against the gospel. And furthermore, whatsoever he doth, although he draw innumerable people by heaps with himself into hell, yet may not mortal man reprove him, because he being judge of all men, may be judged of no man. And thus he sitteth in the temple of God as if he were a god, and nameth himself God's vicar, and yet he dispenseth against God. If this be not to play Antichrist's part, I cannot tell what Antichrist is, which is no more to say, but Christ's enemy and adversary; who shall sit in the temple of God advancing himself above all other, yet by hypocrisy, and feigned religion, shall subvert the true religion of Christ, and under pretence and color of Christ's religion, shall work against Christ, and therefore hath the name of Antichrist. Now if any man lift himself higher than the pope hath done, who lifteth himself above all the world; or can be a greater adversary to Christ, than to dispense against God's laws; and where Christ hath given any commandment, to command directly the contrary, that man must needs be taken for Antichrist. But until the time that such a person may be found, men may very easily conjecture where to find Antichrist.

Wherefore seeing the pope thus to overthrow both God's laws, and man's laws, taking upon him to make emperors and kings to be vassals and subjects unto him, especially the crown of this realm, with the laws and customs of the same; I see no reason how I may consent to admit his usurped power within this realm, contrary to mine oath, mine obedience to God's laws, mine allegiance and duty to your

majesty, and my love and affection to this realm.

This that I have spoken against the power and authority of the pope, I have not spoken (I take God to record and judge) for any malice I owe to the pope's person, whom I know not, but I shall pray to God to give him grace, that he may seek above all things to promote God's honor and glory, and not to follow the trade of his predecessors in these latter days.

Nor have I spoken it for fear of punishment, and to avoid the same, thinking it rather an occasion to aggravate than to diminish my trouble; but I have spoken it for my most bounden duty to the crown, liberties, laws, and customs of this realm of England, but more especially to discharge my conscience in uttering the truth to God's glory, casting away all fear by the comfort which I have in Christ, who said. "Fear not them that kill the body, and cannot kill the soul, but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell-fire." He that for fear of losing this life will forsake the truth, shall lose the life everlasting: and he that for the truth's sake will spend his life, will find everlasting life. And Christ promiseth to stand fast with them before his Father, which will stand fast with him here; which comfort is so great, that whosoever hath his eyes fixed upon Christ, cannot greatly set his heart on this life, knowing that he may be sure to have Christ stand by him in the presence of his Father in heaven.

And as touching the sacrament, I said; Forasmuch as the whole matter standeth in the understanding of these words of Christ, "This is my body, this is my blood;" then surely Christ in these words made demonstration of the bread and wine, and spake figuratively, calling bread his body, and wine his blood, because he ordained them to be sacraments of his body and blood. And where the papists say in those two points contrary unto me, that Christ called not bread his body, but a substance uncertain, nor spoke figuratively; herein I said, I would be judged by the old church, and which doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would stand unto. And forasmuch as I have alleged in my book many old authors, both Greeks and Latins, which above a thousand years after Christ continually taught as I do: if they could bring forth but one old author, that saith in these two points as they say, I offered six or seven years ago, and do offer yet still, that I will give place unto them.

But when I bring forth my author that saith in most plain terms as I do, yet saith the other part, that the authors meant not so; as much as to say, that the authors spake one thing, and meant clean contrary. And upon the other part, when they cannot find any one author that saith in words as they say; yet say they, that the authors meant as they say. Now, whether I or they speak more to the purpose herein, I refer me to the judgment of all impartial hearers; yea, the old church of Rome, above a thousand years together, neither believed nor used the sacrament, as the church of Rome hath done of late years.

For in the beginning, the church of Rome taught a pure and a sound doctrine of the sacrament. But after that the church of Rome fell into new doctrine of transubstantiation; with the doctrine they changed the use of the sacrament, contrary to that Christ commanded, and the old church of Rome used above a thousand years. And yet to deface the old, they say that the new is the old; wherein, for my part, I am content to stand to the trial. But their doctrine is so foolish and uncomfortable, that I marvel how any man would allow it, if he knew what it was. But howsoever they bear the people in hand, that that which they write in their books hath neither truth nor comfort.

For by their doctrine, of one body of Christ is made two bodies: one natural having a distance of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect body, and this body is in heaven: but the body of Christ in the sacrament, by their own doctrine, must needs be a monstrous body, having neither distance of members, nor form, fashion, or proportion of a man's natural body. And such a body is in the sacrament (teach they), and goeth into the mouth in the form of bread, and entereth no further than the form of bread goeth, and tarrieth no longer than the form of bread is by natural heat in digesting. So that when the form of bread is digested, that body of Christ is gone. And forasmuch as evil men are as long in digesting as good men, the body of Christ (by their doctrine) entereth as far, and tarrieth as long in wicked men as in godly men. And what comfort can be herein to any Christian man, to receive Christ's unshapen body, and it to enter no further than the stomach, and to depart by and by as soon as the bread is consumed!

It seemeth to me a more sound and comfortable doctrine, that Christ hath but one body, and that hath form and fashion of a man's true body: which body spiritually entereth into the whole man, body and soul: and though the sacrament be consumed, yet whole Christ remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godliness, and never departeth until the receiver forsake him. And as for

the wicked, they have not Christ within them at all, who cannot be where Belial is. And this is my faith, and (as I judge) a sound doctrine, according to God's word, and sufficient for a Christian to believe in that matter. And if it can be showed unto me that the pope's authority is not prejudicial to the things before mentioned, or that my doctrine in the sacrament is erroneous (which I think cannot be showed), then I never was nor will be so perverse to stand wilfully in mine own opinion, but I shall with all humility submit myself unto the pope, not only to kiss his feet, but another part also.

Another cause why I refused to take the bishop of Gloucester for my judge was, the respect of his own person, being more than once perjured. First, for that he being divers times sworn never to consent that the bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction within this realm, but to take the king and his successors for supreme head of this realm, as by God's laws they are; contrary to that lawful oath, the said bishop sat then in judgment by authority from Rome, wherein he was perjured, and not worthy to sit as judge.

The second perjury was, that he took his bishopric both of the queen's majesty and of the pope, making to each of them a solemn oath, which oaths are so contrary, that the one must needs be perjured. And, furthermore, in swearing to the pope to maintain his laws, decrees, constitutions, ordinances, reservations, and provisions, he declareth himself an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws and state of this realm, whereby he declareth himself not worthy to sit as a judge within this realm. And for these considerations I refused to take him for my judge.

HIS SECOND LETTER TO THE QUEEN.

I LEARNED by Mr. Martin that on the day of your majesty's coronation, you took an oath of obedience to the pope of Rome, and the same time you took another oath to this realm, to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. And if your majesty did make an oath to the pope, I think it was according to the other oaths which he useth to administer to princes: which is to be obedient to him, to defend his person, to maintain his authority, honor, laws, lands, and privileges. And if it be so, (which I know not but by report), then I beseech your majesty to look upon your oath made to the crown and realm, and to compare and weigh the two oaths together, to see how they do agree, and then do as your majesty's conscience shall direct you; for I am surely persuaded, that willingly your majesty will not offend, nor do against your conscience for any thing.

But I fear that there are contradictions in your oaths, and that those which should have informed your grace thoroughly, did not their duties therein. And if your majesty ponder the two oaths diligently, I think you shall perceive you were deceived; and then your highness may use the matter as God shall put in your heart. Furthermore, I am kept here from the company of learned men, from books, from counsel, from pen and ink, except at this time to write unto your majesty, which were all necessary for a man in my case. Wherefore I beseech your majesty, that I may have such of these as may stand with your majesty's pleasure. And as for my appearance at Rome, if your majesty will give me leave, I will appear there. And I trust that God shall put in my mouth to defend his truth there as well as here. But I refer it wholly to your majesty's pleasure.

HIS LETTER TO MRS. WILKINSON, EXHORTING HER TO CONSTANCY IN THE TIME OF PERSECUTION.

THE true comforter in all distress is only God, through his Son Jesus Christ; and whosoever hath him, hath company enough if he were in a wilderness all alone: and he that hath twenty thousand in his company, if God be absent, is in a miserable wilderness and desolation. In Him is all comfort, and without Him is none. Wherefore, I beseech you, seek your dwelling there where you may truly and rightly serve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet conscience, to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christ's religion? If you are loth to depart from your kindred and friends, remember that Christ calleth them his mother, sisters, and brothers, that do his Father's will. Where we find, therefore, God truly honored, according to his will, there we can want neither friend nor kindred.

If you be loth to depart, for the slander of God's word, remember that Christ, when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his country into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the scribes and pharisees; and commanded his apostles, that if they were persecuted in one place they should fly to another. And was not Paul let down by a basket out at a window, to avoid the persecution of Aretas? And what wisdom and policy he used from time to time to escape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the Apostles do declare. And after the same sort did the other apostles, although, when

it came to such a point, that they could no longer escape danger of the persecutor of God's true religion, then they showed themselves, that their flying before came not of fear, but of godly wisdom to do more good; and that they would not rashly, without urgent necessity, offer themselves to death, which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they stood boldly to the profession of Christ; then they showed how little they dreaded death; how much they feared God more than man; how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come, above this short and miserable life.

Wherefore, I exhort you, as well by Christ's commandment, as by the example of him and his apostles, to withdraw yourself from the malice of your's and God's enemies, into some place where God is most purely served; which is no slandering of the truth, but a preserving of yourself to God and the truth, and to the society and comfort of Christ's little flock. And what you will do, do it with speed, lest by your own folly you fall into the persecutor's hands. And the Lord send his Holy Spirit to lead and guide you wheresoever you go, and all that be godly will say, Amen.

SECTION XVI.

Persecutions and Martyrdoms of various Persons, after the Death of Archbishop Cranmer

The force of bigotry in the breast of the unrelenting Mary, only terminated with her life. The destruction of those who could not think as she did, was her principal employment, and her greatest pleasure. Her emissaries were continually "seeking whom they might devour:" and the martyrdoms and cruelties inflicted under her orders, will load her name with indelible infamy.

MARTYRDOMS OF AGNES POTTEN, AND JOAN TRUNCHFIELD.

These two advocates and sufferers for the pure gospel of Christ, lived in the town of Ipswich, in Suffolk. Being apprehended on an information of heresy, they were brought before the bishop of Norwich, who examined them concerning their religion in general, and their faith in the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, in particular.

With respect to the latter article, they both delivered it as their opinion, that, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there was represented the memorial only of Christ's death and passion, saying, that, according to the scriptures, he was ascended up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God the Father; and therefore his body could not be really and substantially in the sacrament.

A few days after this, they were examined by the bishop, when both of them still continuing stedfast in the profession of their faith, sentence was pronounced against them as heretics, and they were delivered over to the secular power.

On the day appointed for their execution, which was in the month of March, 1556, they were both led to the stake, and burnt, in the town of Ipswich. Their constancy was admired by the multitude who saw them suffer; for, as they undressed, and 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 triumphing in being deemed worthy to suffer for the glorious cause of Jesus Christ, their Lord and master.

MARTYRDOMS OF JOHN MAUNDREL, WILLIAM COBERLY, AND JOHN SPICER.

John Maundrel was the son of Robert Maundrel, of Rowd, in the county of Wilts, farmer; he was from his childhood brought up in husbandry, and when he came to man's estate, he dwelt in a village called Buckhampton, in the above county, where he lived in good repute. After the scripture was translated into English by William Tindal, this John Maundrel became a diligent hearer thereof, and a fervent embracer of God's true religion, so that he delighted in nothing so much as to hear and speak of God's word, never being without the New Testament about him, although he could not read himself, as was at that period too frequently the case among persons in his station of life. But when he came into the company of any one who could read, his book was always ready; and having a very good memory, he could recite by heart most

places of the New Testament; and his life and conversation were very honest and charitable.

In the reign of king Henry the Eighth, when Dr. Trigonion and Dr. Lee visited the abbeys, John Maundrel was brought before Dr. Trigonion, at an abbey called Edyngton, in Wiltshire; where he was accused that he had spoken against the holy water and holy bread, and such like ceremonies, and was condemned to wear a white sheet, bearing a candle in his hand, about the market, in the town of Devizes. Nevertheless, his fervency did not abate, but, by God's merciful assistance, he took better hold, as the sequel will declare.

In the days of queen Mary, when popery was restored again, and God's true religion put to silence, Maundrel left his own house and went into Gloucestershire, and into the north part of Wiltshire, wandering from one to another to such men as he knew feared God, with whom, as a servant to keep their cattle, he remained some time; but afterwards returned to his own country, and coming to Devizes, to a friend of his, named Anthony Clee, he mentioned his intention of returning home to his house.

And when his friend exhorted him by the words of scripture, to flee from one city to another, he replied again by the words of the Revelations of them that be fearful, and said, that he must needs go home; and so he did; and here he, Spicer and Coberly, used at times to resort and confer together.

At length, they agreed together to go to the parish church, where, seeing the parishioners in the procession, following and worshipping the idol there carried, they advised them to leave the same, and to return to the living God, particularly speaking to one Robert Barksdale, the principal man of the parish, but he paid no regard to their words.

After this the vicar came into the pulpit, and being about to read his bead-roll, and to pray for the souls in purgatory, John Maundrel, speaking with an audible voice, said, that was the pope's pinfold, the other two affirming the same. Upon which words, by command of the priest, they were put in the stocks, where they remained till the service was done, and then were brought before a justice of the peace; the next day they were all three carried to Salisbury, and taken before bishop Capon, and William Geffrey, chancellor of the diocese; by whom they were imprisoned, and oftentimes examined concerning their faith, in their houses, but seldom openly. And at the last examination the usual articles being alleged against them, they answered, as Christian men should and ought to believe: and first they said, they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, the twelve articles of the creed, the holy scripture from the first of Genesis to the last of the Revelation.

But that faith the chancellor would not allow. Wherefore he proposed them in particular articles: First, whether they did not believe, that in the sacrament of the altar (as he termed it), after the words of consecration spoken by the priest at mass, there remained no substance of bread nor wine, but Christ's body, flesh and blood, as he was born of the virgin Mary. To which they answered negatively, saying that the popish mass was abominable idolatry, and injurious to the blood of Christ; but confessing, that in a faithful congregation, receiving the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, being duly administered according to Christ's institution, Christ's body and blood is spiritually received of the faithful believer.

Also, being asked whether the pope was supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar on earth, they answered negatively saying, that the bishop of Rome doth usurp over emperors and kings, being Antichrist, and God's enemy.

The chancellor said, "Will you have the church without a head?" They answered, "Christ was head of his church, and under Christ the queen's majesty."

"What," said the chancellor, "a woman head of the church?" "Yea," said they, "within her grace's dominions."

They were also asked whether the souls in purgatory were delivered by the pope's pardon, and the suffrages of the church.

They said, they believed faithfully that the blood of Christ had purged their sins, and the sins of them that were saved, unto the end of the world, so that they feared nothing of the pope's purgatory, nor esteemed his pardons.

Also, whether images were necessary to be in the churches, as laymen's books, and saints, to be prayed unto and worshipped.

They answered negatively, John Maundrel adding, "that wooden images were good to roast a shoulder of mutton, but evil in the church; whereby idolatry was committed."

Those articles being thus answered, the chancellor read their condemnation, and so delivered them to the sheriff, who was present during the examination. John Spicer then said, "O, master sheriff, now must you be their butcher, that you may be guilty also with them of innocent blood before the Lord." This was on the 23d day of March, 1556, and on the following day they were carried out of the common jail to a place between Salisbury and Wilton, where were two stakes set for them to be

burnt at. Upon coming to the place, they kneeled down, and made their prayers secretly together, and then being undressed to their shirts, John Maundrel cried out, with a loud voice, "Not for all Salisbury!" Which words were understood to be an answer to the sheriff, who offered him the queen's pardon if he would recant. And after that John Spicer said, "This is the joyfullest day that ever I saw." Thus were the three burnt at two stakes, where most constantly they gave their bodies to the fire, and their souls to the Lord, for the testimony of his truth.

The wife of William Coberly, being also apprehended, was detained in the keeper's house at the same time that her husband was in prison. The keeper's wife, Agnes Penicote, having secretly heated a key red hot, laid it in the back-yard, and desired Alice Coberly to fetch it to her in all haste; the poor woman went immediately to bring it, and taking it up in haste, burnt her hand terribly. Whereupon she crying out, "Ah! thou drab," cried the keeper's wife, "thou that canst not abide the burning of the key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole body?" And indeed, she was weak enough to recant.

But to return to the story of Coberly; he being at the stake, was somewhat long in burning: after his body was scorched with the flames, and the flesh of his left arm entirely consumed by the violence of the fire, at length he stooped over the chain, and with the right hand, which was less injured, smote upon his breast softly, the blood gushing out of his mouth. Afterwards, when all thought he had been dead, suddenly he rose upright again, but shortly after expired, following his companions to the realms of eternal glory and felicity.

MARTYRDOMS OF RICHARD AND THOMAS SPURG, JOHN CAVILL, AND GEORGE AMBROSE, LAYMEN; AND OF ROBERT DRAKE AND WILLIAM TIMS, MINISTERS.

These six pious Christians resided in the county of Essex. Being accused of heresy, they were all apprehended, and sent by the lord Rich, and other commissioners, at different times, to bishop Gardiner, lord chancellor; who, after a short examination, sent the four first to the Marshalsea prison in the borough, and the two last to the King's Bench, where they continued during a whole year, till the death of bishop Gardiner.

When Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, succeeded to the chancellorship, four of these persecuted brethren, namely, Richard and Thomas Spurg, John Cavill and George Ambrose, weary of their tedious confinement, presented a petition to the lord chancellor, subscribing their names, and requesting his interest for their enlargement.

A short time after the delivery of this petition, Sir Richard Read, one of the officers of the court of chancery, was sent by the chancellor to the Marshalsea, to examine them.

Richard Spurg, the first who passed examination, being asked the cause of his imprisonment, replied, that he, with several others, being complained of by the minister of Bocking, for not coming to their parish church, to the lord Rich, was thereupon sent up to London by his lordship, to be examined by the late chancellor.

He acknowledged that he had not been at church since the English service was changed into Latin (except on Christmas day was twelvemonth) because he disliked the same, and the mass also, as not agreeable to God's holy word.

He then desired that he might be no farther examined concerning this matter until it pleased the present chancellor to inquire his faith concerning the same, which he was ready to testify.

Thomas Spurg, on his examination, answered to the same effect with the other, confessing that he absented himself from church, because the word of God was not there truly taught, nor the sacraments of Christ duly administered, as prescribed by the same word.

Being farther examined touching his faith in the sacrament of the altar; he said, that if he stood accused in that particular, he would answer as God had given him knowledge, which he should do at another opportunity.

John Cavill likewise agreed in the chief particulars with his brethren: but farther said, the cause of his absenting himself from church was, that the minister there had advanced two doctrines contrary to each other; for first, in a sermon which he delivered when the queen came to the crown, he exhorted the people to believe the gospel, declaring it to be the truth, and that if they believed it not, they would be damned; and secondly, in a future discourse, he declared that the New Testament was false in forty places; which contrariety gave Cavill much disgust, and was, among other things, the cause of his absenting himself from church.

George Ambrose answered to the same effect, adding, moreover, that after he had read the late bishop of Winchester's book, intituled *De verâ Obedientia*, with bishop

Bonner's preface thereunto annexed, both inveighing against the authority of the bishop of Rome, he esteemed their principles more lightly than he had done before.

ROBERT DRAKE was minister of Thundersly, in Essex, to which living he had been presented by lord Rich in the reign of Edward VI. when he was ordained priest by Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, according to the reformed English service 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 neighboring 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 before mentioned) was ordered to appear before the bishop of London, who questioned him in the usual manner, concerning his faith in the sacrament of the altar.

Mr. Tims answered, that the body of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar, really and corporeally, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest; and that he had been a long time of that opinion, ever since it had pleased God, of his infinite mercy, to call him to the true knowledge of the gospel of his grace.

On the 28th of March, 1556, these six persons were all brought into the consistory court, in St. Paul's church, before the bishop of London, in order to be examined, for the last time; when he assured them, that if they did not submit to the church of Rome, they should be condemned for heresy.

The bishop began his examination with Tims, whom he called the ringleader of the others: he told them, that he had taught them heresies, confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and endeavored, 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 render it evident, that they learned not their religion in prison.

"For my own part, I declare I never knew them, till such time as I became their fellow-prisoner; how then could I be their ringleader and teacher? With respect to the charge alleged against me, a charge which you endeavor to aggravate to the highest degree, whatever opinion you maintain concerning me, I am well assured I hold no other religion than what Christ preached, the apostles witnessed, the primitive church received, and of late the apostolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught, and for which you have cruelly caused them to be burnt, and now seek to treat us with the like inhuman severity. I acknowledge you to be my ordinary."

The bishop, finding it necessary to come to the point with him, demanded, if he would submit 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 heretic.

In answer to this, Tims told his lordship he was well persuaded that he was within the pale of the Catholic church, whatever he might think; and reminded him, that he had most solemnly abjured that very church to which he since professed such strenuous allegiance; and that, contrary to his oath, he again admitted, in this realm, the authority of the pope, and was, therefore, perjured and forsworn in the highest degree. He also recalled to his memory, that he had spoken with great force and perspicuity against the usurped power of the pope, though he afterwards sentenced persons to be burnt, because they would not acknowledge the pope to be the supreme head of the church.

On this Bonner sternly demanded, what *he* had written against the church of Rome!

Mr. Tims pertinently answered, "My lord, the late bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned treatise, intituled, *De verâ Obedientia*, which contains many solid arguments against the papal supremacy: to this book *you* wrote a preface, strongly inveighing against the bishop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and usurpation, and showing that his power was ill-founded, and contrary both to the will of God, and the real interest of mankind."

The bishop, struck with the poignancy of this reproof, evasively told him, that the bishop of Winchester wrote a book against the supremacy of the pope's holiness, and he wrote a preface to the same book, tending to the same purpose: but that the cause of the same arose not from their disregard to his holiness, but because it was then deemed treason by the laws of the realm to maintain the pope's authority in England.

He also observed, that at such time it was dangerous to profess to favor the church of Rome, and therefore fear compelled them to comply with the prevailing opinions of the times; for if any person had conscientiously acknowledged the pope's authority in those days, he would have been put to death: but that since the queen's happy accession to the throne, they might boldly speak the dictates of their consciences; and farther reminded him, that as my lord of Winchester was not ashamed to recant his errors at St. Paul's cross, and that he himself had done the same, every inferior clergyman should follow the example of his superiors.

Mr. Tims, still persisting in the vindication of his own conduct, and reprehension of that of the bishop, again replied, "My lord, that which you have written against the supremacy of the pope may be well proved from scripture to be true; that which you now do is contrary to the word of God, as I can sufficiently prove."

Bonner, after much farther conversation, proceeded according to the form of law, causing his articles, with the respective answers to each, to be publicly read in court.

Mr. Tims acknowledged only two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; commending the bishop of Winchester's book *De verâ Obedientia*, and the bishop of London's preface to the same. He declared that the mass was blasphemy of Christ's passion and death; that Christ is not corporeally but spiritually present in the sacrament, and that, as they used it, it was an abominable idol.

Bonner exhorted him to revoke his errors and heresies, conform to the church of Rome, and not abide strenuously by the literal sense of the scripture, but use the interpretation of the fathers.

Our martyr frankly declared he would not conform thereunto, 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 Catholic church, Tims informed him that he had the popish church, for which he was perjured and forsworn, declaring that the see of Rome was the see of Antichrist, and therefore he would never consent to yield obedience to the same.

The bishop, finding Mr. Tims so inflexible in his adherence to the faith he professed, that every attempt to draw him from it was vain and fruitless, read his definitive sentence, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

Bonner then used the same measures with Drake as he had done with Tims; but Drake frankly declared, that he denied the church of Rome, with all the works thereof, even as he denied the devil, and all his works.

The bishop, perceiving all his exhortations fruitless, pronounced sentence of condemnation, and he was immediately delivered into the custody of the sheriffs.

After this, Thomas and Richard Spurg, George Ambrose, and John Cavill, were severally asked, if they would forsake their heresies, and return to the Catholic church. They all refused consenting to the church of Rome; but said, they were willing to adhere to the true Catholic church, and continue in the same.

Bonner then read their several definitive sentences, after which he committed them to the custody of the sheriffs of London, by whom they were conducted to Newgate.

On the 14th of April, 1556, the day appointed for their execution, they were all led to Smithfield, where they were chained to the same stake, and burnt in one fire, patiently submitting themselves to the flames, and resigning their souls into the hands of that glorious Redeemer, for whose sake they delivered their bodies to be burned.

Mr. Tims, during his imprisonment, wrote a great number of letters to his friends and brethren in the cause of Christ; among which we shall preserve the following:

TO CERTAIN GODLY WOMEN OF HIS PARISH.

GRACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you both now and evermore, Amen.

Dear sisters, I have me most heartily recommended unto you, thanking you for the great kindness showed unto me in this time of mine imprisonment, and not only unto me, but also unto my poor wife and children; and also for the great kindness that you show unto all the living saints that are dispersed abroad, and are obliged to hide their heads for fear of this cruel persecution.

Dear sisters, when I do remember your constancy in Christ, I call to remembrance the constancy of divers godly women, as Susannah, Judith, Esther, and the good wife of Nabal, that through her godly conditions saved both her husband's life, and all her household, when David had thought to have slain him for his churlish answer that he sent him. Also I do remember Rahab that lodged the Lord's spies, how God preserved her and her whole household for her faithfulness that she bare to God's people. So do I believe that when the Lord shall send his angel to destroy these idolatrous Egyptians here in England, and shall find the blood of the Lamb sprinkled on the door-post of your hearts, he will go by and not hurt you, but spare your whole households for your sakes. Also I remember Mary Magdalen, how faithful she was; for she was the first that preached the resurrection of Christ. Remember the blessed martyr, Anne Askew, in our time, and follow her example of constancy, and, for the love of God, take heed that in no case you consent to idolatry, but stand fast to the Lord, as the good woman did that had her seven sons put to death before her face, and she always comforting them; yea, and last of all suffered death herself, for the testimony of her God, which is the living God. Thus I beseech God to send you grace and strength to stand fast to the Lord, as she did, and then you shall be sure of the same kingdom that she is sure of; to which kingdom I pray God bring both you and me, Amen. By me,

Prisoner in the King's Bench,

WILLIAM TIMS.

TO HIS FRIENDS IN HOCKLEY.

THE grace of God the Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus, our Lord and only Savior, with the continual aid of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to our everlasting comfort, be with you, my dear brethren, both now and evermore, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I beseech God to reward the great goodness that you have showed unto me, seven-fold into your bosoms; and as you have always had a most godly love unto his word, even so I beseech him to give you grace to love your own souls, and then I trust you will flee from all those things that should displeasure our good and merciful God, and hate and abhor all the company of those that would have you to worship God any otherwise than is contained in his holy word. And beware of those masters of idolatry, that is, these papistical priests. My dear brethren, for the tender mercy of God, remember well what I have said unto you, and also written, which I am now ready to seal with my blood. I praise God that ever I lived to see the day, and blessed be my good and merciful God, that ever he gave me a body to glorify his name. And, dear hearts, I do now write unto you for none other cause, but to put you in remembrance that I have not forgotten you, to the end that I would not have you forget me, but to remember well what I have simply, by word of mouth and writing, taught you. Which, although it were most simply done, yet truly, as your own conscience beareth me record: and, therefore, in any case take heed that you do not that thing which your own conscience doth condemn. Therefore come out of Sodom, and go heavenward, with the servants and martyrs of God, lest you be partakers of the vengeance of God that is coming upon this wicked nation, from which the Lord God defend you, and send us a joyful meeting in the kingdom of heaven; unto which God bring you all, Amen. Thus, now I take my leave of you for ever in this world, except I be burned amongst you, which thing is uncertain unto me as yet.

By me, in Newgate, your poorest and most unworthy brother in Christ,

W. TIMS.

Newgate, April 12.

TO HIS PARISHIONERS, THANKING THEM FOR THEIR CHARITY SHOWN TO HIS WIFE.

THE everlasting peace of our Lord and only Savior Jesus Christ, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the increase of your faith, to the performance of his will, and to your eternal comfort in the everlasting kingdom of heaven, be with you, my dear brethren and sisters, both now and ever, Amen.

My most dear brethren and sisters in our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, I have me most heartily commended unto you, with hearty thanks for all the great liberality that you have showed unto me, and especially now in the time of my necessity,

when that God hath sent my poor wife a child in my captivity; which is no little care to me, so to provide, that I might keep both my child and my wife from the Antichristian church: which thing, I thank my God, through his most gracious providence, I have yet done, though it be (as ye know) great charge, not to me, but to the congregation of God, and it grieveth me that I have been so chargeable to them as I have been, and especially you, my dear brethren, I being so unworthy a member as I have been, and also of so small acquaintance: but such is the merciful goodness of God, so as to move your hearts with charity towards me. And as he hath moved your hearts so to do, even so I beseech God to give you power to forsake and reject all things which are displeasing in his sight, to do all things which are requisite to a Christian; and send you grace to go forwards in the same, as you have godlily begun, neither fearing fire nor sword. And, my most dear hearts, remember well the simple plain doctrine which I have taught you, and also written unto you, which was the truth, and for a testimony of the same I trust that you shall shortly hear, or else see, that I will seal the same with my blood.

And, in the mean time, I desire you all to remember me in your prayers, as I know you do, and as, with God's help, I will do for you, that God, for his dear Son Christ's sake, will so finish the days of our pilgrimage, that we may rest together with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the everlasting kingdom of heaven, to which I beseech the eternal Lord, for his Christ's sake, to bring both you and all your's, Amen.

By me,
WILLIAM TIMS.

MARTYRDOMS OF JOAN BEACH, WIDOW, OF TUNBRIDGE; AND JOAN HARPOLE, OF ROCHESTER.

Information being laid against these two persons, for heresy, they were apprehended, and, by the magistrates of the respective places where they lived, committed to prison. After being some time in confinement, they were separately examined before Maurice, bishop of Rochester, their diocesan.

JOAN BEACH was first taken before the bishop for examination, when the following articles were exhibited against her:

1. That living in the parish of Tunbridge, she belonged to the diocese of Rochester.

This she granted.

2. That all people who preach, ...ty of believe, or say otherwise, or contr... the their mother, the holy Catholic churc...o the excommunicated persons, and heretic...g the

This she acknowledged to be tr...e sac- added withal, "that, nevertheless, ... lieved not the holy Catholic churc...he ex- her mother, but believed only the ...on the of heaven to be her father." as fol-

3. That she had affirmed, and di... maintain and believe, contrary to ...ief that mother church of Christ, that in the ...st upon sacrament of the altar, under form o... and wine, there is not the very bo...n sac- blood of our Savior Christ in substanc...nder- only a token and memorial thereo... that the very blood of Christ is in he...tism, and not in the sacrament.

4. That Christ, being in heaven, c... ...dfa- not be in the sacrament.

To this she answered, "that she had, a...in did verily believe, hold, and affirm, in th... sacrament of the altar, under the forms o...r- bread and wine, there was not the ver...t body and blood of our Savior, in substance, but only a token and remembrance of his death, to the faithful receiver, and that his body and substance is only in heaven, and not in the sacrament."

5. That she had been, and then was, among the parishioners of Tunbridge, noted and strongly suspected of being a sacramentary, and a heretic.

To this she answered, "that she did not know how she had been, or was reputed amongst the parishioners of Tunbridge, nor was their opinion of any avail to her immortal state."

The bishop finding her inflexible in the faith she professed, strongly urged her to preserve her life by renouncing her errors; which she peremptorily refusing, he pronounced sentence on her, and she was delivered over to the secular power.

JOHN HARPOLE being next examined before the same bishop, articles of a similar nature were exhibited against him as against his fellow-sufferer, Joan Beach.

His answers to all of them were to the same import as hers: upon which the bishop pronounced sentence of death on him in the usual form.

These two faithful followers of Christ were burnt together, in one fire, in the city of Rochester, about the latter end of April, 1556. They embraced each other at the stake, and cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of their Redeemer; after repeatedly singing hallelujahs to the praise and glory of his name.

ERINGS OF CHRISTOPHER LISTER, JOHN CE, JOHN SPENCER, SIMON JOYN, RICH- NICHOLS, AND JOHN HAMMOND; WHO RE ALL BURNT TOGETHER AT COL- STER.

se six persons being all apprehended harge of heresy, were brought before Bonner, at his palace at Fulham; articles were exhibited against them, same nature, and in the usual form, against others on the like occasion. he first article, namely, "that there e holy Catholic church on earth, in the religion and faith of Christ is professed," they all consented and ed; but John Spencer added, "that the h of Rome was no part of Christ's olic church."

o the second, concerning the seven sa- ments, they answered, "that in the true atholic church of Christ, there are but wo sacraments, Baptism, and the Lord's upper."

To the third, they unanimously agreed nd confessed, "that they were baptized in the faith and belief of the Catholic church, and that their godfathers and godmothers had promised and professed for them as contained in the article administered."

To the fourth article, concerning their continuance in that faith and profession into which they were baptized, they agreed that they did so continue; Nichols observed, "that he had more plainly learned the truth of his profession, by the doctrine set forth in the days of king Edward the Sixth; that thereupon he had built his faith, and would continue in the same, by the grace of God, to his life's end."

Concerning swerving from the Catholic faith, they declared that they had not swerved, nor departed in the least, from the faith of Christ.

They unanimously confessed, "that they had disapproved of, and spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, affirming, that they would not come to hear, nor be partakers thereof; that they had believed, and then did believe, that they were set forth and used contrary to God's word and glory."

They granted also that they had spoken against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, who was an oppressor of the holy church of Christ, and ought not to have any power in England.

Concerning their reconciliation to the unity of the church, they said, "that they never refused, nor did then refuse, to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's Catholic church; but declared they had, and then did, and would for ever hereafter, refuse to come to the church of Rome, or to acknowledge the authority of the papal see; but did utterly abhor the same, for rejecting the book of God, the Bible, and setting up the mass, with other ridiculous and Antichristian ceremonies."

They all granted, that, disapproving the mass, and sacrament of the altar, they had refused to come to the parish church, &c.; and Simon Joyn added, moreover, "that the cause wherefore he refused to be partaker of their trumpery, was, because the commandments of God were there broken, and Christ's ordinances changed, and the bishop of Rome's ordinances put up in their stead."

Christopher Lister affirmed, "that in the sacrament of the altar, there is the substance of bread and wine, as well after the words of consecration as before, and that there is not in the same the very body and blood of Christ, really, substantially, and spiritually, by faith in the faithful receiver, and that the mass is not a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, but mere idolatry and abomination."

They then said, "that they were sent to Colchester prison, by the king and queen's commissioners, because they would not come to their parish churches: that what was contained in the premises was true, and that they belonged to the diocese of London."

On the close of this examination the bishop dismissed them, but ordered them to attend again in the afternoon. This order they obeyed, when the articles and answers of the first examination were read to them, and they resolutely persisted in the profession they had made.

After various endeavors to bring them to recant, without the least effect, sentence of death was pronounced against them, and they were all delivered over to the secular power.

The writ for their execution being made out, they were removed to Colchester, where, on the 28th of April, 1556, they were fastened to two stakes, and burnt in one fire. They all cheerfully met their fate, giving glory to God in the midst of the flames and encouraging others, for the truth of the gospel, to follow their example.

MARTYRDOMS OF HUGH LAVEROCK, AN OLD DECREPIT 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 68th 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 neighborhood, he, with his fellow-sufferer, was taken before Bonner to be examined with respect to their faith.

The bishop laid before them the same articles as have been mentioned in former instances, and they returned answers to the same effect as those of other advocates for the truth of the gospel.

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 endeavored to persuade them to recant their opinions concerning the sacrament of the altar.

Hugh Laverock declared, that by the grace of God he would continue in 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 Catholic 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 stedfast 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:

"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 undaunted 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 blessed Redeemer.

MARTYRDOMS OF CATHARINE HUT, JOAN HORNES, AND ELIZABETH THACKVILL.

These three pious women being apprehended on suspicion of heresy, were carried before Sir John Mordaunt and Mr. Tyrrel, justices of peace for the county of Essex, 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 sacrament of the altar.

Being brought before the bishop, he exhibited to them the articles usual on the occasion; to which they answered as follows:

To the first, concerning their belief that there was a Catholic church of Christ upon earth, they all assented.

To the second, relating to the seven sacraments, they said "they did not understand properly what they were."

To the third, concerning their baptism, they replied, "they believed they were baptized, but knew not what their godfathers and godmothers promised for them."

To the fourth, about their continuance in the same faith into which they were baptized, until they arrived at the age of fourteen years, or the age of discretion, without disapproving the same; they granted it to be true.

To this article Catharine Hut observed, "that at that time she did not understand what she professed."

Joan Hornes added, "that in the days of king Edward VI. she learned the faith that was then set forth, and still continued in the same; and would, with God's assistance, so continue during the remainder of her life."

To the fifth article, concerning the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, they said, "they could discern no excellence in the mass, nor could they believe but that Christ's natural body was in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar."

Concerning the see of Rome, they acknowledged no supremacy in the same, nor would they adhere to it.

To the sixth article, of their reconciliation to the church of Rome, they refused to be reconciled to the same.

To the seventh, of their disapproving the service of the church, and not frequenting their parish church, they acknowledged it to be true.

Catharine Hut alleged, as the cause of her absenting herself from church, that she neither approved the service in Latin, the mass matins, or even-song; nor were the sacraments used and administered according to God's word. She declared, moreover, that the mass was an idol, neither was the true body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as they wished to compel persons to believe.

To the eighth article they declared, "that they were all sent up to the bishop of London, by Sir John Mordaunt and Edmund

Tyrrel, Esq. justices of the peace for the county of Essex, because they could not believe the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and for absenting themselves from their parish church."

To the ninth article, that they were of the diocese of London, they all assented, except Catharine Hut, who said she was of the parish of Bocking, in Essex, which is of the peculiar jurisdiction of Canterbury, and not under that of the diocese of London.

On the 13th of April they were again brought before the bishop, and the respective articles, with their answers, publicly read in court, in order to their final judgment.

CATHARINE HUT, being first examined, was required to declare her opinion of the sacrament of the altar, and to return to the Catholic faith. To this she replied, "that the sacrament, as enforced by the papists, was not truly God, but a dumb god, made with men's hands; upon which she received sentence of death.

JOAN HORNES was next examined, and being charged that she did not believe the sacrament of Christ's body and blood to be Christ himself, said, "If you can make your god to shed blood, or show any sign of a true, living body, then will I believe you: but it is bread as to the substance; and that which you call heresy is the manner in which I trust to serve my God to the end of my life.

"Concerning the bishop and see of Rome, I detest them as abominations, and desire ever to be delivered from the same."

In consequence of these answers, sentence of condemnation was immediately pronounced on her.

ELIZABETH THACKVILL continuing stedfast in her former confessions, and refusing to recant, shared the same fate with the other two; when they were all delivered over to the secular power, and committed to Newgate.

On the 16th of May, 1556, 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 that God, for the truth of whose word they joyfully suffered death, in hopes of obtaining life everlasting.

MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS DROWRY, A BLIND BOY, AND THOMAS CROKER.

We have just before related the sufferings of two men, the one blind, and the other lame; and we have now another instance of natural blindness conjoined with mental illumination, leading the possessor to a glorious death, and a never-ending felicity in heaven.

Thomas Drowry, a blind boy, at his last examination, and final condemnation, was brought by the officers under whose custody he had remained, before Dr. Williams, then chancellor of Gloucester, sitting judicially in the consistory of the cathedral of Gloucester. The chancellor having administered to the boy such articles as were usual in such cases, said to him, "Dost thou not believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth the very real body of Christ, in the sacrament of the altar?"

To which Drowry answered, "No, that I do not."

Chancellor. Then thou art a heretic, and shalt be burned. But who hath taught thee this heresy?

Drowry. You, master chancellor.

Chancellor. Where, I pray thee?

Drowry. Even in yonder place: (pointing with his hand, and turning towards the pulpit.)

Chancellor. When did I teach thee?

Drowry. When you preached there (naming the day) a sermon to all men as well as to me, upon the sacrament. You said the sacrament was to be received spiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as the papists have heretofore taught.

Chancellor. Then do as I have done, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning.

Drowry. Though you can so easily dispense with yourself, and mock with God, the world, and your own conscience, yet will I not so do.

Chancellor. Then the Lord have mercy upon thee, for I will read the condemnation sentence against thee.

Drowry. God's will be fulfilled.

The register, Mr. Taylor, being moved with compassion for the boy, and indignation against the shameless persecutor, stood up and said to the chancellor:

"Fy for shame, man, will you read the sentence against him, and condemn yourself? Away, away, and substitute some other to give sentence and judgment."

Chancellor. No, register, I will obey the law, and give sentence myself, according to mine office.

And so he read the sentence condemnatory against the boy, delivering him over to the secular power, and on the 15th day of May, the boy was brought to the place of execution, at Gloucester; together with one THOMAS CROKER, a bricklayer, con-

demned also for the like testimony of the truth. They both together, with great fortitude and resignation, joyfully yielded their souls into the hands of the Lord Jesus.

SUFFERINGS OF THOMAS SPICER, JOHN DENNY, AND EDMUND POOLE.

These three persons were apprehended by the justices of the county of Suffolk, in which they lived, and committed to prison, for not attending mass at their parish church

After being some time in confinement, they were brought before the chancellor 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 follow:

1. That they believed not the pope of Rome to be supreme head, immediately under Christ, of the universal Catholic 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 truth of those accusations; in consequence of which they were condemned by the chancellor, who first endeavored 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 into the hands of the high-sheriff for the county of Suffolk.

On the 21st of May, 1556, these three 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 devoutly prayed, and repeated the articles of their faith. When they came to that article concerning the holy Catholic 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 Catholic church; this is the best expression I ever heard from you yet."

To this Poole answered, "that though they believed the *Catholic* church, yet they believed not in their *popish* church, which is no part of Christ's Catholic 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 our martyrs, disregarding their malice, boldly confessed the truth with their latest breath, dying, as they had lived, in certain hopes of a resurrection to life eternal.

MARTYRDOMS OF THOMAS HARLAND, JOHN OSWALD, THOMAS ABINGTON, AND THOMAS READ; ALSO OF THOMAS WOOD, THOMAS MILLS, AND OTHERS.

The popish emissaries having laid informations against the first four persons, they were all apprehended on suspicion of heresy, and immediately sent to London, to be examined by Bonner, bishop of that diocese, relative to their faith.

THOMAS HARLAND being first examined, the bishop objected to his conduct in not attending his parish church: to which he answered, that since the mass was restored, he never chose to hear the same, because it was in Latin, which he did not understand, and, therefore, could not reap any benefit thereby.

JOHN OSWALD refused to answer any objection, till his accusers were brought face to face before him; nevertheless, he declared that "he was not to be awed into any concessions by the fear of fire and fagot; but as those who had faithfully administered the gospel of Christ, during the reign of king Edward VI., had suffered and gone before him, he was ready to suffer and follow after them, and would count it his glory and honor so to do."

The other two, ABINGTON and READ, said, they abjured all popish superstitions and errors, and that they would ever hold fast to the faith, as it was in the pure gospel of Christ.

The bishop finding them all resolute, and that they were determined to adhere to their religious opinions, after endeavoring 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 all 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 most holy word.

On the 20th of the same month, two other persons suffered at the same place, namely, the Rev. THOMAS WOOD, and THOMAS MILLS; who 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.

On the 24th of the same month likewise, William Adderhall, minister, died in the prison of the King's Bench, and was buried in the back-yard: also John Clement, wheelwright, dying in the said prison, was buried in like manner upon the dunghill in the back-yard, on the 25th day of June.

A pious young man, a merchant's servant, for his adherence to the truth, suffered cruel persecution from the papists, and was burnt at Leicester, June 26, 1556.

MARTYRDOMS OF H. WYE, W. HOLLYWELL, R. JACKSON, L. PERN, J. DERIFALL, T. BOWYER, G. SEARLS, L. COUCH, H. ADLINTON, J. ROUTH, E. HURST, ELIZ. PEPER, AND AGNES GEORGE.

These thirteen persons were apprehended in the different places where they lived, the greater part of them being inhabitants of the county of Essex; and were sent, at various times, up to London, to be examined by bishop Bonner concerning their religious principles.

On the 9th of June they were all brought together before Dr. Darbyshire, the bishop's chancellor, who, in form of law, administered to them the following articles:

1. That there is on earth a Catholic 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.

That they were baptized in the faith of the Catholic 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 Catholic 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.

One of them said, the mass was of such a nature, that he could not, in his own conscience, believe it to be authorized from God. Another observed, that for nine or ten years past he could not approve the mass, nor the sacrament of the altar, because they could not be proved from the scripture of truth; declaring, at the same time, that at the age of fourteen he had taken an oath against the authority of the papal see, and would, by the grace of God, abide firmly by the same.

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, disapproving 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.

8. This article related to their being brought before the commissioners, and by them sent to the bishop of London; to which they answered in the following manner:

Edmund Hurst, Ralph Jackson, and George Searls, answered in the affirmative.

Henry Wye said, that he was brought before several justices of peace in Essex, concerning one Highted, his late master, and thereupon committed to Colchester castle, and from thence sent to London to bishop Bonner, for farther examination.

William Hollywell made the like confession, excepting the circumstance of Highted.

John Derifall said, he was called before the lord Rich and Mr. Mildway, of Chelmsford, and by them sent to the bishop of London to be farther examined.

Thomas Bowyer said, he was brought before one Mr. Wiseman, of Falstead, and by him sent to Colchester castle, and from thence to the bishop of London, to be farther examined.

Lyon Couch said, that he was three times brought before the king and queen's commissioners, and by them sent to the bishop of London.

Henry Adlinton said, that coming to Newgate to speak with one Gratwick, prisoner there for the testimony of Jesus Christ, he was apprehended and brought before Dr. Story, and by him sent to the bishop of London.

Agnes George said, that she was committed to prison in Colchester by Mr. Maynard, an alderman of the town, for refusing to go to church, and was by him sent to the bishop of London.

Elizabeth Peper said, that she was apprehended by two constables and an alderman, for refusing to come to church, and by them sent to the bishop of London to be farther examined.

9. That they believed the premises to be *true, as confessed above, and that they* were of the diocese of London.

This was generally agreed to. Elizabeth Peper added, she was of the town of Colchester; and Agnes George said, she was of the parish of Barefold.

These thirteen persons 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, 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. Feckham, 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 Antichrist, 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 them to confirm that faith they *had professed, and to which they had* so strenuously adhered.

On their arrival at the destined 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 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 done before, 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.

These thirteen stedfast believers in Christ were chained to different stakes, but all burnt together in one fire, showing such love to each other, and firm faith in their Savior and Redeemer Jesus Christ, that the concourse of spectators assembled on the occasion, were astonished at the undaunted behavior of so many poor innocents, who thus patiently endured the acutest torments, rather than comply with the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome.

MARTYRDOMS OF ROBERT BERNARD, ADAM FOSTER, AND ROBERT LAWSON.

The first of these martyrs was a poor laborer, and lived in the parish of Frasden, in the county of Suffolk. Being apprehended by the constable of the parish for not going to church, he was brought before Dr. Hopton, bishop of Norwich, who inquired of him whether he had been with a priest at Easter to confess, or whether he had received the sacrament of the altar.

To these questions Bernard frankly replied, "No, I have not been with the priest, nor confessed myself unto him: but I have confessed my sins unto Almighty God, and I trust he hath forgiven me; wherefore I need not go to the priest for such matters, as he cannot forgive his own sins."

The bishop, after using various arguments to induce him to go to confession, without effect, pronounced him a heretic; on which Bernard said, "My lord, it grieveth me not one whit to be called a heretic by you, for so your forefathers called the prophets and apostles of Christ, long before this time."

Incensed at this bold reply, the bishop arose, and bid Barnard follow him. He then went to the sacrament of the altar, to which he kneeled and prayed, and severely reproved Bernard for not doing the same: but our martyr told him, he found no authority for such behavior in the word of God.

The bishop then addressing him, pointed to the pix over the altar, in which the wafer, or host, is kept, and said, "Why, lewd fellow, whom seest thou yonder?"—"Nobody, my lord," replied Bernard.—"Seest thou not thy Maker, varlet?" demanded the prelate.—"My Maker!" returned the countryman; "no; I see nothing but a few clouts hanging together in a heap."

This answer so irritated the bishop, that he commanded the jailer to "take him away, and lay irons enough on him," declaring he would reduce him to subjection, before he had done with him.

The next day he was again brought before the bishop, who asked him if he retained the same opinions as he professed yesterday. To which Bernard replied, "Yes, my lord, I remember myself well, for I am the same man to-day that I was yesterday, and hope I shall remain stedfast to the end of my life in the principles I have professed."

One of his lordship's attendants being desirous of examining Bernard himself, advised the bishop not to give himself any farther trouble, but to commit his examination to him. Having obtained his request, he took Bernard to an inn, where several popish emissaries were assembled. They first used many fair words, and alluring promises, to persuade him to abjure what they called his heretical opinions. This, however, not taking effect, they threatened him with whipping, the stocks, and burning; but all to no purpose. He told them, "Friends, I am not better than my master, Christ, and the prophets, whom your forefathers served after this sort; and I, for his sake, am content to suffer the like at your hands, if God should so permit, trusting that he will strengthen me in the same, according to his promise, and that of all his ministers."

After this declaration they took him back to the bishop, who, according to the usual form of proceeding in the court, condemned him as a heretic, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

Adam Foster lived in the parish of Mendlesham, in the county of Suffolk. He was apprehended in his own house by two constables, at the command of a neighboring justice, for absenting himself from mass, and not receiving the sacrament at Easter. Being taken before the bishop of Norwich, he examined him concerning his religious principles, and finding him stedfast in his faith, according to the doctrines set forth in the days of king Edward VI., he condemned him as a heretic, and he was delivered to the secular power, to be proceeded against according to law.

Robert Lawson, by trade a linen-draper, was apprehended on the same account as the two former; and being brought before Sir John Tyrrel, he committed him to the prison of Eye, in Suffolk. After lying there a short time, he was conducted to the bishop of Norwich for examination, when, holding fast to the principles he had professed, and withstanding every effort made use of by the bishop to bring him to recant, he was pronounced an obstinate heretic,

Thirteen Protestant Martyrs, consisting of eleven men and two women, burnt together, in one fire, at Stratford, in Essex.

The burning of Julius Palmer, John Gwin and Thomas Askine, at Newbury, in Berkshire, A.D. 1556.

received sentence of death, and was delivered into the hands of the sheriff, in order for execution.

On the 30th of June, 1556, these three soldiers of Christ were conducted to Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, where, being all fastened to one stake, they died in full assurance of happiness hereafter, giving glory to that God who had enabled them to undergo their sufferings for his name's sake.

JOHN FORTUNE.

About the same time that these three suffered, there was one JOHN FORTUNE, a blacksmith, of the parish of Mendlesham, in Suffolk, who was several times examined by the bishop of Norwich, and others, respecting the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and other points of the Romish religion, which he refuted by texts quoted from scripture. His sentence of condemnation is recorded in the bishop's register; but whether it was ever carried into execution we are not informed; if not burnt, however, he most probably died in prison, as the unrelenting persecutors very seldom allowed their victims to escape.

The following account of his examinations was written by himself.

HIS FIRST EXAMINATION BEFORE DR. PARKER AND MR. FOSTER.

First, Dr. Parker asked me how I believed in the Catholic faith.

And I asked him which faith he meant; whether the faith that Stephen had, or the faith of them that put Stephen to death.

Dr. Parker, being moved, said, What an impudent fellow is this! You shall soon see anon, he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Then said Mr. Foster, I know you well enough. You are a busy merchant. How sayest thou by the blessed mass?

And I stood still, and made no answer.

Then said Foster, Why speakest thou not, and makest the gentleman an answer?

And I said, Silence is a good answer to a foolish question.

Then said Dr. Parker, I am sure he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar also.

And I answered, I know none such, but only the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

Then said Dr. Parker, You deny the order of the seven sacraments. And why dost not thou believe in the sacrament of the altar?

And I answered, Because it is not written in God's book.

Then, said he, you will not believe unwritten veritics?

And I answered, I will believe those unwritten verities that agree with the written verities, to be true: but those unwritten verities that are of your own making, and inventions of your own brain, I do not believe.

Well, said Mr. Foster, you shall be whipped and burned for this gear.

Then answered I, If you knew how these words do rejoice my heart, you would not have spoken them.

Then said Mr. Foster, Away, thou fool, dost thou rejoice in whipping?

Yes, answered I, for it is written in the scriptures, and Christ saith, Thou shalt be whipped for my name's sake: and since the sword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that were whipped. Happy were I, if I were the first to suffer this persecution.

Away with him then, said he, for he is ten times worse than Samuel: and so I was carried to prison again.

HIS SECOND EXAMINATION, BEFORE THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.

When I came before the bishop, he asked me if I did not believe in the Catholic church.

I answered, I believe that church whereof Christ is the head.

Then said the bishop, Dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the church?

And I answered, No; Christ is the head of the true church.

Bishop. So do I believe also; but the pope is God's vicar upon earth, and the head of the church, and I believe that he hath power to forgive sins also.

Fortune. The pope is but a man, and the prophet David saith, "That no man can deliver his brother, nor make agreement unto God for him;" for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that he must let that alone for ever.

And the bishop again fetching about a great circumstance, said, Like as the bell-wether weareth the bell, and is the head of the flock of sheep, so is the pope our head. And as the hives of bees have a master-bee that bringeth the bees to the hive again; so doth our head bring us home again to our true church.

Then I asked him, whether the pope were a spiritual man. And he said, Yea. And I said again, They are spiteful men; for in seventeen months there were three popes, and one poisoned another for that presumptuous seat of Antichrist.

Bishop. It is maliciously spoken, for thou must obey the power, and not the man. Well, what sayest thou to the ceremonies of the church?

And I answered, "All things that are not planted by my heavenly Father, shall

be plucked up by the roots," saith our Savior: for they are not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end.

Bishop. They are good and godly, and necessary to be used.

Fortune. St. Paul calleth them weak and beggarly.

Bishop. No; that is a lie.

I, hearing that, said, that St. Paul writeth thus in the fourth chapter to the Galatians, "You foolish Galatians (saith he) who hath bewitched you, that ye seek to be in bondage to these weak and beggarly ceremonies?" Now which of you doth lie, you, or St. Paul? And also it is said, That works instituted, and enjoined without the commandment of God, pertain not to the worship of God, according to the text, Matt. xv. "In vain do men worship me with men's traditions and commandments." And St. Paul, "Wherefore do ye carry us away from the grace of Christ to another kind of doctrine?" And Christ openly rebuked the scribes, lawyers, pharisees, doctors, priests, bishops, and other hypocrites, for making God's commandments of none effect, to support their own tradition.

Bishop. Thou liest, there is not such a word in all the scriptures, thou impudent heretic* Thou art worse than all other heretics; for Hooper and Bradford allow them to be good, and thou dost not. Away with him.

HIS THIRD EXAMINATION.

The next day I was brought before the said bishop again, where he preached a sermon upon the sixth chapter of St. John's gospel, from Christ's words, "I am the bread that came down from heaven," &c. And thereupon had a great bibble-babble to no purpose. So in the end I was called before him, and he said to me:

Bishop. How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar? Dost thou not believe that, after the consecration, there is the real substance of the body of Christ?

Fortune. That is the greatest plague that ever came into England.

Bishop. Why so?

Fortune. If I were a bishop, and you a poor man as I am, I would be ashamed to ask such a question: for a bishop should be apt to teach, and not to learn.

Bishop. I am appointed by the law to teach; you are not.

Fortune. Your law breaketh out very well: for you have burned up the true bishops and preachers, and maintained liars in their stead.

Bishop. Now you may understand that he is a traitor; for he denieth the higher powers.

Fortune. I am no traitor; for St. Paul saith, "All souls must obey the higher powers," and I resist not the higher powers concerning my body, but I must resist your evil doctrine wherewith you would infect my soul.

Then said a doctor, My lord, you do not well: let him answer shortly to his articles.

Bishop. How sayest thou? make an answer quickly to these articles.

Fortune. St. Paul saith, Heb. x. "Christ did one sacrifice once for all, and sat him down at the right hand of his Father," triumphing over hell and death, making intercession for sins.

Bishop. I ask thee no such question, but make answer to this article.

Fortune. If it be not God before the consecration, it is not God after: for God is without beginning and without ending.

Bishop. Lo, what a stiff heretic this is! He hath denied altogether! How sayest thou? Is it idolatry to worship the blessed sacrament or no?

Fortune. God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth.

Bishop. I ask thee no such question: answer me directly.

Fortune. I answer, that this is the God Mauzzim, that robbeth God of his honor.

Bishop. It is pity that the ground beareth thee, or that thou hast a tongue to speak.

Then said the scribe, Here are a great many articles.

Then said the bishop, Away with him! for he hath spoken too much.

HIS LAST EXAMINATION.

When I came to mine examination again, the bishop asked me if I would stand upon mine answers that I made before: and I said, Yea; for I had spoken nothing but the truth. And after that he made a great circumstance upon the sacrament.

Then I desired him to stand to the text, and he read the gospel on Corpus Christi day, which said, "I am the bread which came down from heaven:" believest thou not this? And I said, Yea, truly.

And he said, Why dost thou deny the sacrament?

Because your doctrine is false, said I.

Then said he, How can that be false which is spoken in the scripture?

* If this *worthy* prelate had been as conversant with the scriptures as he ought to have been, he would have known that "a bishop must be blameless, not *self-willed*, not *soon angry*;" and he would have found that he has other, and very different, duties than persecuting and reviling the advocates of the gospel.

And I answered, Christ said, "I am the bread;" and you say the bread is he. Therefore your doctrine is false.

And he said, Dost thou not believe that the bread is he? I answered, No.

Bishop. I will bring thee to it by the scriptures.

Fortune. Hold that fast, my lord: for that is the best argument that you have had yet.

Bishop. Thou shalt be burned like a heretic.

Fortune. Who shall give judgment upon me?

Bishop. I will judge a hundred such as thou art, and never be shriven upon it.

Fortune. Is there not law for the spirituality, as well as for the temporalty?

And Sir Clement Higham said, Yes; what meanest thou by that?

Fortune. When a man is perjured by the law, he is cast over the bar, and sitteth no more in judgment. And the bishop is a perjured man, and ought not to sit in judgment.

Bishop. How provest thou that?

Fortune. Because you took an oath in king Henry's days to resist the pope. So both spiritual and temporal are perjured, that here can be no true judgment.

Bishop. Thinkest thou to escape judgment by that? No: for my chancellor shall judge thee. He took no oath, for he was then out of the realm.

Sir C. Higham. It is time to weed out such fellows as you are, indeed.

Bishop. Good fellow, why believest thou not in the sacrament of the altar?

Fortune. Because I find it not in God's book, nor yet in the doctors. If it were there, I would believe it with all my heart.

Bishop. How knowest thou it is not there?

Fortune. Because it is contrary to the second commandment; and seeing it is not written in God's book, why do you then rob me of my life?

Then the bishop having no more to say, commanded the bailiff to take him away; and after this we find no further mention of him in the register of Norwich, except that his sentence of condemnation was drawn and registered, but whether it were pronounced or not is uncertain.

SUFFERINGS AND DEATH OF JOHN CARELESS, IN THE KING'S BENCH.

About the first of July, 1556, John Careless, of Coventry, weaver, died in the King's Bench prison: who though he were by the secret judgment of Almighty God prevented by death, so that he came not to the full martyrdom of his body, yet is he no less worthy to be counted in honor and place of Christ's martyrs, than others that suffered most cruel torments; as well because he was for the same truth's sake a long time imprisoned, as also for his willing mind and the zealous affection he had thereunto, if the Lord had so determined it, as may well appear by his examination before Dr. Martin, of which examination we shall give some particulars, omitting those parts, in which the scurrility of the popish priest is, as usual, much more observable than the strength of his reasoning.

First, Dr. Martin calling John Careless to him in his chamber, demanded what was his name? To whom when the other had answered, that his name was John Careless, then began Dr. Martin to descant at his pleasure upon that name, saying, that it would appear by his condition, by that time he had done with him, that he would be a true careless man indeed. And so after a deal of unnecessary talk there spent about much needless matter, then he asked him where he was born.

Forsooth, said Careless, at Coventry.

Martin. At Coventry? What, so far, man? How camest thou hither? Who sent thee to the King's Bench prison?

Careless. I was brought hither by a writ, I think; what it was I cannot tell. I suppose master Marshal can tell you.

Marshal. In good faith I cannot tell what the matter is; but indeed my lord chief justice sent him from the bar.

Martin. Well, Careless, I would thou shouldst play the wise man's part. Thou art a handsome man, and it is a pity but thou shouldst do well, and save that which God hath brought.

Careless. I thank your good mastership most heartily: and I put you out of doubt, that I am most sure and certain of my salvation by Jesus Christ; so that my soul is safe already, whatsoever pains my body suffer here for a little time.

Martin. Yea marry, you say truth. For thou art so predestinate to life, that thou canst not perish in whatsoever opinion thou dost die.

Careless. That God hath predestinated me to eternal life in Jesus Christ, I am most certain, and even so am I sure that his Holy Spirit (wherewith I am sealed) will preserve me from all heresies and evil opinions, that I shall die in none at all.

Martin. Go to, let me hear thy faith in predestination. For that shall be written also.

Careless. Your mastership shall pardon me herein. For you said yourself ere now, that you had no commission to examine my conscience. I will trouble myself with

answering no more matters than I needs must, until I come before them that shall have more authority further to examine me.

Martin. I tell thee then I have a commission and commandment from the council to examine thee: for they delivered me thy articles.

Careless. Yea, I think indeed that your mastership is appointed to examine me of my articles, which you have there in writing, and I have told you the truth. I do confess them to be mine own fact and deed: but you do now examine me of predestination, whereof my articles speak nothing at all.

Martin. I tell thee yet again, that I must also examine thee of such things as be in controversy between thee and thy fellows in the King's Bench, whereof predestination is a part, as thy fellow N—— hath confessed, and thyself dost not deny it.

Careless. I do not deny it. But he that first told you that, might have found himself much better occupied.

Martin. Why, what if he had not told me, thinkest thou that I would not have known it? Yes, or else thou shouldst have withstood my commission. For I tell thee the truth, I may now examine thee of the blessed sacrament, or any other thing that I like, but that I will show thee favor, and not be too hasty with thee at the first.

Marshal. Yea indeed, Careless, Mr. Doctor hath a commission to examine you or any other of your fellows.

Martin. Yea, marry, that I have, I tell thee the truth of it.

Careless. Then let your scribe set his pen to the paper, and you shall have it roundly, even as the truth is. I believe that Almighty God, our most dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness, did elect in Christ

Martin. Tush! what need of all that long circumstance? Write, I believe God elected; and make no more ado.

Careless. No, not so, Mr. Doctor: it is a high mystery, and ought reverently to be spoken of. And if my words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not speak at all.

Martin. Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more business than needeth.

Careless. I believe that Almighty God, our most dear and loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness (through Jesus Christ), did elect and appoint in him, before the foundation of the earth was laid, a church or congregation, which he doth continually guide and govern by his grace and Holy Spirit, so that not one of them shall ever finally perish.

When this was written, Mr. Doctor took it in his hand, and read it, saying;

Why, who will deny this?

Careless. If your mastership do allow this, and other learned men when they shall see it, I have my heart's desire.

Martin. And do you hold no otherwise than is here written?

Careless. No verily, nor never did.

Martin. Write what he saith, Otherwise he holdeth not. So that was written.

Martin. It was told me also, that thou dost affirm, That Christ did not die effectually for all men.

Careless. Whatsoever hath been told you, it is not much material unto me. Let the tellers of such tales come before my face, and I trust to make them answer. For indeed I do believe that Christ did effectually die for all those that do effectually repent and believe, and for no other. So that was written also.

Martin. Now, sir, what is Trew's faith of predestination? He believeth that all men are predestinate, and that none shall be damned, doth he not?

Careless. No forsooth, that he doth not.

Martin. How then?

Careless. Truly I think he doth believe as your mastership and the rest of the clergy do believe of predestination, that we are elected in respect of our good works, and so long elected as we do them, and no longer.

Martin. Write what he saith, That his fellow Trew believeth of predestination as the papists do believe.

Careless. Ah, master Doctor, did I so term you? Seeing that this my confession shall come before the council, I pray you place my terms as reverently as I speak them.

Martin. Well, well, write that Trew is of the same faith as the Catholics be.

Careless. I did not so call you neither; I wonder what you mean.

Martin. You said the clergy, did you not?

Careless. Yes, forsooth did I. So then it was written "of the clergy."

Martin. Now, sir, what say you more?

Careless. Forsooth I have no further to say in this matter.

Martin. Well, Careless, I pray thee prove thyself a wise man, and do not cast away thy life wilfully.

Careless. Now the Lord he knoweth, good Mr. Doctor, I would full gladly live, so that I might do the same with a safe conscience. And your mastership shall right well perceive that I will be no wilful man, but in all things that I stand upon I will have sure ground.

Martin. Now the Lord knoweth, good Careless, that I would gladly make some means to preserve thy life. But thou

speakest so much of the Lord, the Lord! Wilt thou be content to go with my lord Fitzwater into Ireland! Methinks thou art a handsome fellow, and would do the queen a service there. What sayest thou?

Careless. Verily, Mr. Doctor, whether I be in Ireland, France, or Spain, or any place else, I am ready to do her grace the best service that I can, with body, goods, and life, so long as it doth last.

Martin. That is honestly said; I promise thee every man will not say so. How say you, Mr. Marshal? This man is meet for all manner of service. Indeed thou art worthy, Careless, to have the more favor.

Careless. Indeed, sir, I hope to be meet and ready unto all things that pertain unto a true Christian subject to do. And if her grace or her officers under her do require of me to do any thing contrary to Christ's religion, I am ready also to do my service in Smithfield for not observing it, as my bed-fellow and other worthy brethren have done, praised be God for them.

Martin. By my troth thou art as pleasant a fellow as ever I talked with, of all the Protestants, except it were Tomson. I am sorry that I must depart from thee so soon; but I have such business now, that I can tarry with thee no longer. Well, yet thou canst not deny, but you are at variance among yourselves in the King's Bench, and it is so throughout all your congregation; for you will not be at church.

Careless. No, master Doctor, that is not so. There is a thousand times more variety in opinions among your doctors, which you call of the Catholic church, yea, and that in the sacrament, for which there is so much blood shed now-a-days, I mean of your latter doctors and new writers; as for the old, they agree wholly with us.

Martin. No, Careless, this is not so: there thou art deceived.

Careless. Verily it is so, master Doctor; I am not deceived therein any thing at all, as it hath been, and is, evidently proved by such as God hath endued with great learning.

Then he turned to the marshal, and whispered with him a while.

Turning to me again, he said, Farewell, Careless; for I can tarry no longer with thee now, my business is such.

Careless. God be with you, my good master Doctor, the Lord give your mastership health of body and soul.

Martin. God have mercy, good Careless, and God keep thee from all errors, and give thee grace to do as well as I would wish myself.

Careless. I thank your good mastership; pray God I may do always that which is acceptable in his sight. Whereunto they all said Amen. And so I departed with a glad heart; God only have the whole praise, Amen.

It appears that Careless had suffered two years' imprisonment at Coventry, which much distressed his wife and children, who depended on him for support.

After that, being brought to London, he was endued with such patience and constant fortitude, that he longed for nothing more earnestly, than to die in the fire for the profession of his faith; but it pleasing God to prevent him by death in the prison, he was buried under a dunghill in the fields, by order of the persecutors.

While he was prisoner in the King's Bench, he was much troubled in conscience, whereupon he wrote to Mr. Philpot, then in bishop Bonner's coal-house; upon which Mr. Philpot sent him an epistle of consolation, and Careless returned the following answer.

A faithful friend is a strong defence; whoso findeth such a one, findeth a treasure.
A faithful friend hath no peer; the weight of gold and silver is not to be compared to the goodness of his faith.
A faithful friend is a medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord shall find him, Eccles. vi.

The Father of mercy and God of all consolation, comfort you with his eternal Spirit, my most dear and faithful loving friend, good Mr. Philpot, as you have comforted me by the mighty operation of the same; the everlasting God therefore be praised for ever, Amen.

Ah, my dear heart, and most loving brother, if I should do nothing else day and night, so long as the days of heaven do endure, but kneel on my knees, and read psalms, I can never be able to render unto God sufficient thanks, for his great mercy, fatherly kindness, and most loving compassion extended unto me, most vile, sinful, wicked, and unworthy wretch. O that the Lord would open my mouth, and give me a thankful heart, that from the bottom of the same might flow his continual praise. O that my sinful flesh (which is the cause of sorrow) were clean separated from me, that I might sing psalms of thanksgiving unto the Lord's name for ever; that with good Samuel's mother, I might continually record this noble verse following, which by the good experience I have found most true, praised be my God therefor.

"The Lord (saith that good woman) killeth and maketh alive; he bringeth down to hell, and fetcheth up again. Praised be the Lord for ever, yea, and praised be his name, for that he hath given me true experience and lively feeling of the same.

Blessed be the Lord God, whose mercy endureth for ever, which hath not dealt with me according to my deserts, nor destroyed me in his displeasure when I had justly deserved it. Oh, what reward shall I give again unto the Lord for all the great benefits that he hath done for my soul! I will gladly receive the cup of salvation at his hand, and will worship his name with prayer and with praise."

Ah, my dear heart, yea most dear to me in the Lord, think not this sudden change in me to be some fickle fantasy of my foolish head, (as indeed some others would surely suspect it to be) for doubtless it is the marvellous doing of the Lord, most merciful unto me, his unworthy creature. God, for his great mercy's sake, give me grace to be more thankful unto him than I heretofore have been, and keep me that I never fall from his favor again.

And now, my dear brother, and most blessed messenger of the Lord, whose beautiful feet have brought many glad tidings to my soul, what shall I do or say unto you, in the least part to recompense the fatherly affection and godly care that you continually keep for me? O that God would give me the spirit of fervent prayer, that I might yet that way supply some little part of my duty toward you. Ah my true loving friend, how soon did you lay aside all other business, to make a sweet plaster for my wounded conscience, yea, and that out of a painful pair of stocks, which place must needs be uneasy to write in; but God hath brought you into a strait place, that you might set my soul at liberty. Out of your pinching and painful seat, you have pleutifully poured upon me your precious ointment, the sweet savor whereof hath greatly refreshed my tired soul. The Lord likewise refresh you, both body and soul, by pouring the oil of his gracious Spirit into your sweet heart.

Ah, good Jeremy, hath Phassor put thee into the stocks? why, now thou hast the reward of a prophet. Thy glory never began to appear until now. I doubt not but shortly, instead of Ahikam, the son of Shapham, JESUS, the Son of the living God, will come and deliver thee forth of the hands of all thine Antichristian synagogue, all the words that thou hast spoken in his name. The Lord hath made thee this day a strong defenced tower, an iron pillar, and a brazen wall, against the whole rabble of Antichrist; and though they fight against thee ever so fiercely, yet shall they not overcome thee, for the Lord himself is with thee to help and deliver thee: and he will rid thee out of the hands of the wicked, and will deliver thee out of the hands of the tyrants. And in that you are not busy in casting pearls before swine, nor in giving the holy things unto dogs, you are much to be commended, in my simple judgment. And sure I am, that your circumspect and modest behavior hitherto hath been as much to God's glory, and to the shame and confusion of your enemies, as any men's doings that are gone before you.

Wherefore my advice and most earnest desire is, with all other of your loving friends, that you still keep that order with those bloodthirsty sheep-biters, bishops I should say, that you have begun. For though in conclusion they will surely have your blood, yet shall they come by it with shame enough, and to their perpetual infamy, whilst the world doth endure. They would indeed condemn you in private, to darken God's glory, if it might be: but Satan's thoughts are not unknown to you, and the depth of his subtlety is by you well foreseen. Therefore let them do whatsoever God shall suffer them to do: for I know all things shall turn to your benefit. Though you lie in the dark, sullied with the bishop's black coal-dust, yet shall you be shortly restored to the heavenly light, and be made as white as snow in Salmon, as the wings of a dove that is covered with silver wings, and her feathers like gold. You know the vessel, before it is made bright, is soiled with oil and other things, that it may scour the better.

O happy be you that you be now in the scouring-house; for shortly you shall be set upon the celestial shelf as bright as angels. Therefore, my dear heart, I will now, according to your loving request, cast away all care, and rejoice with you, and praise God for you, and pray for you day and night; yea, I will now, with God's grace, sing psalms of praise and thanksgiving with you. For now my soul is turned to her old rest again, and hath taken a sweet nap in Christ's lap. I have cast my care upon the Lord, who careth for me, and will be careless, according to my name, in that respect you would have me. I will leave out my unseemly addition as long as I live: for it can take no place where true faith and hope are resident. So soon as I had read your most godly and comfortable letter, my sorrows vanished away, as smoke in the wind, my spirit revived, and comfort came again, whereby I am sure the Spirit of God was the author of it.

O my good Mr. Philpot, which art a principal *pot** indeed, filled with most pre-

*The metaphorical language, and far-fetched conceits, with which this letter, (as well as many other productions of that age) is filled, although unpleasing, and sometimes almost ridiculous, to the more refined taste of modern readers, were then admired, as ornamental to the style, and illus-

cious liquor, as it appeareth by the plenteous pouring forth of the same: O pot most happy, of the high Potter ordained to honor, which dost contain such heavenly treasure in the earthen vessel: O pot thrice happy, in whom Christ hath wrought a great miracle, altering thy nature, and turning water into wine, and that of the best, whereout the master of the feast hath filled my cup so full, that I am became drunken in the joy of the Spirit through the same. When martyrdom shall break thee, O vessel of honor, I know the fragrant savor of thy precious ointment will much rejoice the heavy hearts of Christ's true members, although the Judases will grudge and murmur at the same; yea, and burst out into words of slander, saying, It is but loss and waste.

Be not offended, dear heart, at my metaphorical speech; for I am disposed to be merry, and with David to dance before the ark of the Lord: and though you play upon a pair of organs not very comely or easy to the flesh, yet the sweet sound that comes from the same, causeth me thus to do. O that I were with you in body, as present I am in spirit, that I might sing all care away in Christ; for now the time of comfort is come, I hope to be with you shortly, if all things happen right; for my old friends of Coventry have put the council in remembrance of me, not six days ago, saying, I am more worthy to be burned than any that was burned yet. God's blessing on their hearts for their good report. God make me worthy of that dignity, and hasten the time that I may set forth his glory.

Pray for me, dear heart, I beseech you, and desire all your company to do the same, and I will pray God for you all, so long as I live. And now farewell in Christ, thou blessed of God's own mouth. I will for a time take my leave, but not my last farewell. Blessed be the time that ever I came into the King's Bench, to be joined in love and fellowship with such dear children of the Lord. My good brother Bradford shall not be dead while you are alive: for verily the spirit of him doth rest on you in a most ample manner. Your letters of comfort unto me in each point do agree, as though the one were a copy of the other. He hath planted in me, and you do water, the Lord give good increase. My dear brethren and fellow-prisoners here, have them humbly and heartily commended unto you and your company, mourning for your misery, but yet rejoicing for your plenteous consolation and comfort in Christ. We are all cheerful and merry under our cross, and do lack no necessaries, praised be God for his providence and great mercy towards us for evermore, Amen.

Mr. Careless wrote many other letters while in prison, of which the following is

TO HIS WIFE.

As by the great mercy of God, at the time of his good will and providence appointed, my dearly beloved wife, you and I were joined together in the holy and Christian state of godly matrimony, as well to our great joy and comfort in Christ, as also to the increase of his blessed church and faithful congregation, by having lawful children by and in the same, with which God of his mercy hath blessed us, praised be his name therefor! even so now, by his merciful will and divine ordinance, the time is come (so far as I can perceive) wherein he will, for his glory and our eternal comfort, dissolve the same, and separate us asunder again for a time. Wherefore I thought it good, yea, and my bounden duty, by this simple letter to provoke, stir, and admonish you, to behave yourself in all your doings, sayings, and thoughts, most thankfully unto our good God for the same. And, therefore, my dear wife, as you have heartily rejoiced in the Lord, and oftentimes given God thanks for his goodness, in bringing us together in his holy ordinance; even so now I desire you, when this time of our separation shall come, to rejoice with me in the Lord, and to give him most hearty thanks, that he hath (to his glory and our endless advantage) separated us again for a little time, and hath mercifully taken me unto himself, out of this miserable world into his celestial kingdom; believing and hoping also assuredly, that God of his goodness, for his Son Christ's sake, will shortly bring you, and your dear children, thither to me, that we may most joyfully together sing praises unto his glorious name for ever. And yet once again I desire you, for the love of God, and as ever you loved me, to rejoice with me, and to give God continual thanks for doing his most merciful will upon me.

I hear say, that you do oftentimes repeat this godly saying, "The Lord's will be fulfilled." Doubtless it rejoiceth my poor heart to hear that report of you; and, for the Lord's sake, use that godly prayer continually: teach your children and family to say the same, day and night; and not only say it with your tongues, but also with your heart and mind, and joyfully submit your will to God's will in very deed, knowing and believing assuredly, that nothing shall come to you, or any of your's, otherwise than it shall be his Almighty and

trative of the subject, alike of the preacher, the poet, and the historian.

fatherly good will and pleasure, and for your eternal comfort and advantage. Which thing to be most true and certain, Christ testifieth in his holy gospel, saying, "Are not two little sparrows sold for a farthing? and yet not one of them shall perish without the will of our heavenly Father." And he concludeth, saying, "Fear not ye, therefore, for ye are better than many sparrows." As though he should have said, If God have such respect and care for a poor sparrow, which is not worth one farthing, that it shall not be taken in the lime-twig, net, or pitfall, unless it be his good will and pleasure; you may be well assured, that not one of you (whom he so dearly loveth, that he hath given his only Son for you) shall perish, or depart out of this miserable life, without his Almighty good-will and pleasure.

Therefore, dear wife, put your trust and confidence wholly and only in him, and ever pray that his will be fulfilled, and not your's, except it be agreeable to his will; which I pray God it may ever be, Amen. And as for worldly things, take you no care, but be you well assured the Lord, your dear God and Father, will not see you nor your's lack, if you continue in his love and childly fear, and keep a clear conscience from all kind of idolatry, superstition, and wickedness, as my trust is that you will do, although it be with the loss and danger of this temporal life. And, good Margaret, fear not them that can but kill the body (and yet can they not do that until God give them leave), but fear to displease Him that can kill both body and soul, and cast them into hell-fire. Let not the remembrance of your children keep you from God. The Lord himself will be a father and a mother, better than ever you or I could have been unto them. He himself will do all things necessary for them. He hath given his angels charge over them; therefore commit them unto him. But if you may live with a clear conscience, (or else I would not have you to live), and see the bringing up of your children yourself, look that you nurture them in the fear of God, and keep them far from idolatry, superstition, and other kind of wickedness; and, for God's sake, help them to some learning, if it be possible, that they may increase in virtue and godly knowledge, which shall be a better dowry to marry them withal, than any worldly substance; and when they come to age, provide them such husbands as fear God, and love his holy word. I charge you take heed that you match them not with papists; and if you live, and marry again yourself, (which thing I would wish you to do if need require, or else not), good wife, take heed how you bestow yourself, that you and my poor children be not compelled to wickedness. But if you shall be well able to live God's true widow, I would counsel you to live so still, for the more quietness of yourself and your poor children. Take heed, Margaret, and play the wise woman's part. You have warning by others, if you will take an example. And thus I commit you and my sweet children unto God's most merciful defence. The blessing of God be with you, and God send us a merry meeting together in heaven. Farewell in Christ, farewell mine own dear hearts all. Pray, pray.

PERSECUTIONS AND SUFFERINGS OF JULIUS PALMER, FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD; JOHN GWIN, AND THOMAS ASKINE, WHO SUFFERED MARTYRDOM, AT NEWBURY, IN BERKSHIRE.

JULIUS PALMER was the son of a reputable merchant, and born in the city of Coventry. He received his first education at the free-school of that place; after which he was sent to Oxford, where, in process of time, he obtained a fellowship in Magdalen college, in that university.

As he was brought up a zealous papist, he refused to conform to the service of the church, as practised in the time of king Edward VI.; for which he was expelled the college, and for some time kept a school in the city of Oxford.

On the accession of queen Mary, the visitors went to Magdalen college, to displace such as refused to be of the popish religion. Mr. Palmer availed himself of this opportunity, and, by close application himself, joined to the interests of his friends, was reinstated in his fellowship.

During the time of his expulsion from the college, he used frequently to converse with some of his acquaintance who were Protestants; and being by them advised to study the scriptures, he began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of several Romish doctrines, and would often ask questions on that subject.

His sincere attachment to the principles he professed (though opposite in their nature at different periods), was the cause of his expulsion in the days of king Edward VI., and of his troubles in the reign of queen Mary; for, had he been a dissembler, he might have retained his fellowship under the reign of the former, and escaped death under that of the latter.

When the persecution raged in the beginning of the reign of Mary, he inquired, very particularly, into the cause of persons being apprehended, the nature of the articles upon which they were condemned, the manner of their treatment, and their beha-

vior at the time of their suffering. Nay, so desirous was he of knowing this, that he sent one of his pupils from Oxford to Gloucester, to see the whole form of bishop Hooper's execution, and bring him a minute account of the bloody transaction.

Before he had imbibed well-grounded notions of the gospel of Christ, and the pure incorruptible worship of God, he was inclined to think that very few would undergo the fiery trial for the sake of their profession; but, when experience proved to him the cruelties which the papists inflicted, and the Protestants endured; when he had been present at the examination of bishops Ridley and Latimer, and had been an eye-witness of their faith, patience, and fortitude, even unto death, these scenes converted him absolutely from popery; and on his return from the execution, he was heard to utter these expressions, "O raging cruelty! O barbarous tyranny!"

From that very day he applied himself most assiduously to learn the truth of God's word; and, to that end, borrowed Peter Martyr's Commentary on the Corinthians, and read many other well-written treatises on religion, till, at length, he became as zealous an asserter of the Protestant cause, as he before had been an obstinate opposer of it.

He now began to absent himself from mass, and other popish services and ceremonies; but finding that his absence on these occasions incurred the suspicions of many, and the disapprobation of the president of the college, to avoid expulsion, which might be attended with danger, and to preserve his conscience inviolate, he resigned his fellowship.

On his leaving the college, his friends 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 the salary that was due to him.

Being thus destitute of a livelihood, he went to Evesham, in Worcestershire, where his mother lived, in order to obtain from her a legacy, which his father had bequeathed him four years before.

As soon as he saw his mother, he implored her blessing, on his bended knees; but she having been informed, by his brother, of the cause of his resignation, and the business of his visit, hastily exclaimed, "Thou shalt have Christ's curse and mine, whithersoever thou goest."

Julius, at first, was amazed at so unexpected and heavy a curse from his own mother; but after he had recollected himself a little, he said, "O mother, your own curse you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved; but God's curse you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me."

His bigoted mother said, "Thou wentest from God's blessing when thou wast banished for a heretic from thy fellowship at Oxford, and for the like knavery hast thou been expelled from Reading too."

"Alas! mother," returned Julius, "my case has been misrepresented to you, for I was not expelled from the college at Oxford, but freely I resigned my fellowship there. Heretic I am none, for I oppose not the true doctrine of Christ, but defend it to my utmost power."

His mother then vehemently declared, that he believed not as his father and forefathers had done, but according to the new doctrine taught and set forth in the days of king Edward VI., which was damnable heresy.

In answer to this he confessed, that he believed the doctrine publicly set forth in the reign of king Edward VI. He also affirmed it to be truth, and that, instead of being new, it was as old as Christ and his apostles.

His mother, incensed at this frank declaration of his principles, ordered him to depart the house, nor ever more esteem her as his mother, informing him, at the same time, that he had no property there, either in money or goods, as his father bequeathed nothing to heretics.

Our martyr, as became a true follower of the blessed Jesus, when he was reviled, reviled not again, but committed his cause to Him who judgeth righteously. On leaving his bigoted mother, he thus addressed her: "Mother, you have cursed me, I beseech God to bless you, and prosper your undertakings as long as you live."

This pathetic address, attended with flowing tears, in some degree moved her

compassion; and, on his leaving the room, she threw a piece of gold after him, saying, "Keep that to make thee a true man."

Mr. Palmer, being thus repulsed by his mother, on whom he relied as his only friend, as well as disregarded by his brother, was destitute of all help, and knew not what steps to take in order to obtain subsistence.

At length, he thought of returning privately to Magdalen college, depending on the confidence of a few friends he had in that house. He accordingly went thither, and, through the interest of Mr. Allen Cope, a fellow of the same, he obtained a recommendation to a school in Gloucestershire.

He had not proceeded far on his journey to that place before he altered his resolution, and determined to go privately to Reading, to try if he could obtain the salary due to him, and at the same time dispose of the goods he had left there.

No sooner had he arrived at Reading, than his old enemies became acquainted with it, and consulted in what manner they should proceed against him.

In a short time it was concluded amongst them, that one Mr. Hampton, who had formerly professed himself a Protestant, (but who was, in reality, a time-server), should visit him, under color of friendship, to learn the cause of his return.

Hampton traitorously went, when Palmer, with his usual sincerity, and openness of soul, disclosed his whole design, which the other immediately related to the confederates, who caused him to be apprehended that very night, by the officers appointed for that purpose.

Mr. Palmer was then carried to prison, where he remained ten days in 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 Knolles, and others, resorting to his lectures, fell out among them, and had almost committed murder; therefore he was a sower of sedition, and a procurer of unlawful assemblies.

4. That his landlady had written a letter to him, which 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 this 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 villain 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 public shame, the mayor sent for him, to answer for himself, concerning what was laid to his charge.

He fully overthrew all the evidence, by proving the letter said to have been written to him by his landlady, to be of their own forging; and in the most 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 persecutor; and though he did not choose to discharge him immediately, yet he thought of doing it as soon as a convenient opportunity should offer.

While Mr. Palmer was in prison, he was visited by one John Galant, a true professor of the gospel, who said to him, "O Palmer! thou hast deceived many men's expectations, for we hear that you suffer not for righteousness' sake, but for thy own demerits."

Palmer replied, "O brother Galant, these be the old practices of that fanatical brood: but be you well assured, and God be praised for it, I have so purged myself and detected their falsehood, that from henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith."

When his enemies found they had miscarried in their plot against him, they determined to accuse him of heresy. This was accordingly done, in consequence of which he was taken before the mayor, and Mr. Bird, the bishop of Salisbury's official, in order to give an account of his faith, and to answer to such information as might be laid against him.

In the course of his examination they gathered from him sufficient grounds to proceed against him. Articles were accordingly drawn up, and sent to Dr. Jeffrey at Newbery, who was to hold his visitation there on the Thursday following.

The next day Palmer was conducted to Newbery, together with one THOMAS ARKINE, who had been for some time imprisoned on account of his religion. Immediately on their arrival they were committed to the Blind-house prison, where they found one

JOHN GWIN, who was confined there for professing the truth of the gospel.

On Tuesday, July 10, 1556, a place being prepared in the parish church of Newbery to hold the consistory court, Dr. Jeffrey, representative of the bishop of Sarum; Sir Richard Abridge, John Winchom, Esq. and the minister of Inglefield, repaired thither, as commissioners appointed for the purpose.

After the prisoners were produced, the commission read, and other things done according to the usual form, Dr. Jeffrey, in the presence of several hundred spectators, called to Palmer, and asked if he was the writer of a two-penny pamphlet that had been lately published?

Having some altercation about this affair, in which Palmer answered in his own behalf with great force and propriety, the doctor, rising from his seat, said to him, "Mr. Palmer, we have received certain writings and articles against you from the right worshipful the mayor of Reading, and other justices, whereby we understand, that being brought before them, you were convicted of certain heresies.

"1. That you deny the supremacy of the pope's holiness.

"2. That you affirm there are but two sacraments.

"3. You say that the priest showeth up an idol at mass, and therefore you went to no mass since your first coming to Reading.

"4. You hold there is no purgatory.

"5. You are charged with sowing sedition, and seeking to divide the unity of the queen's subjects."

Several books and pamphlets were then produced, and Palmer being asked if he was the author of them, replied in the affirmative, declaring, at the same time, that they contained nothing but what was founded on the word of God.

Jeffrey then reviled him, declaring that such opinions were dictated by no good spirit, and that he was very wicked in slandering the dead, and railing at a Catholic and learned man living.

Mr. Palmer replied, "If it be a slander, he slandered himself, for I do but report his own writings, and expose absurdities therein contained: and I esteem it not railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiaphas, being dead."

The doctor, incensed at this reply, assured him, that he would take such measures as should compel him to recant his damnable errors and heresies; but Palmer told him, that although of himself he could do nothing, yet if he, and all his enemies, both bodily and ghostly, should exert their efforts, they would not be able to effect what they desired, neither could they prevail against the mighty powers of divine grace, by which he understood the truth, and was determined to speak it boldly.

After much farther discourse, the minister of 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 Palmer.

The priest then upbraided him as a vile heretic, 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 this the court was adjourned, when one of the justices took Palmer aside, and in the presence of several persons exhorted him to revoke his opinions, and thereby preserve his life; promising him, at the same time, if he would conform to the church, to take him into his family as his chaplain, and give him a handsome salary, or, if he chose not to resume the clerical function, to procure him an advantageous farm.

Mr. Palmer heartily thanked him for his kind offer, but assured him that he had already renounced his living in two places, for the sake of Christ and his gospel, and was ready to yield up his life in defence of the same, if God, in his providence, should think fit to call him to it.

When the justice found he could by no means bring him to a recantation, he said, "Well, Palmer, I perceive that one of us two must be damned, for we are of two faiths, and there is but one faith that leads to life and salvation."

Palmer observed, that it was possible they might both be saved, for that as it had pleased a merciful God to call him at the third hour of the day, that is in the prime of life, at the age of twenty-four years, so he trusted that, in his infinite goodness, he would graciously call the other at the eleventh hour of his old age, and give him an eternal inheritance among the saints in light.

After much conversation had passed, and many efforts were tried in vain, Palmer was remanded back to prison; but the other men, John Gwin and Thomas Askine, were brought into the consistory court, received

their definitive sentence, and were delivered over to the secular power, to be burned as heretics.

Though the particular examinations and answers of these two martyrs are not recorded, there is no doubt but they were of the same faith, and equally stedfast in it, as their fellow-sufferer Palmer; but they were very illiterate, from whence it is supposed their examination was short, they not being capable of making any defence.

The next morning the commissioners required Julius Palmer to subscribe to certain articles, which they had gathered from his answers, but which they described by those odious epithets and terms, horrid, heretical, damnable, and execrable; this, when he had read, he refused to subscribe, affirming, that the doctrine which he held and professed was not such, but agreeable to, and founded on, the word of God.

Jeffrey being now greatly incensed, Palmer consented to subscribe, provided they would strike out those odious epithets; upon which they gave him a pen, and bid him do as he pleased, when he made such alterations as he thought proper, and then subscribed.

Having thus set his hand to the articles which they had drawn up, they asked him if he would recant; but he peremptorily refusing, they pronounced sentence against him, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

While he was in prison he gave great comfort to his two fellow-sufferers, and strongly exhorted them to hold fast to the faith they had professed. On the day of their execution, about an hour before they were led to the stake, he addressed them in words to the following effect:

"Brethren, be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not; remember the words of our Savior Christ, who saith, 'Happy are ye when men shall revile and persecute you for my sake: rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven.' Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to hurt the soul; God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are able to bear. We shall end our lives in the fire, but we shall exchange them for a better life: yea, for coals we shall receive pearls; for God's Spirit certifieth our spirit, that he hath prepared for us blissful mansions in heaven for his sake, who suffered for us."

These words not only strengthened and confirmed the resolution of his two weak brethren, but drew tears from many of the multitude.

When they were brought by the high-sheriff and constables of the town to the sand-pits, (the place appointed for their execution) they fell on the ground, and Palmer, with an audible voice, repeated the thirty-first psalm: but the other two made their prayers secretly to Almighty God.

When Palmer arose from prayer, there came behind him two popish priests, exhorting him to recant, and save his soul.

Our martyr exclaimed, "Away, away, and tempt me no longer! away! I say, from me, all ye that work iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears."

When they were chained to the stake, Palmer thus addressed the spectators:—"Good people, pray for us, that we persevere to the end, and for Christ's sake beware of popish teachers, for they deceive you."

As he spoke this, one of the attendants threw a fagot at him, which striking him on the face, caused the blood to gush out from several places; but this cruel behavior escaped not the notice or resentment of the sheriff, who not only upbraided his cruelty, but manfully retaliated the injury on the man, who had thus insulted suffering innocence.

When the fire was kindled, and began to reach their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and cheerfully, as though they felt not much pain, said, "Lord Jesu, strengthen us! Lord Jesu, assist us! Lord Jesu, receive our souls!" and thus they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and sometimes beating upon their breasts, and calling on the name of Jesus, till they ended their mortal lives, and exchanged a scene of exquisite pain, for an everlasting habitation in those heavenly mansions, where their Almighty Father reigns, encompassed by ten thousand times ten thousand blissful spirits.

MARTYRDOM OF THREE WOMEN AND AN INFANT, IN GUERNSEY.

Of all the singular and tragical histories in this book, nothing can be more barbarous, if any thing can equal, the inhumanity of this execution upon three women and an infant, whose names were Catherine Cawches, the mother; Guillemine Gilbert, and Perotine Massey, her daughters; and an infant, the son of Perotine.

These innocent victims of popish cruelty owed their suffering to the following circumstances. A woman, named Gosset, having stolen a cup, took it to Mrs. Massey, who lived with her mother and sister, and requested of her to lend her six-pence upon it. The latter, suspecting the theft, at first refused; but thinking she would return it to the owner, whom she knew, in order to prevent Gosset's taking it else-

where, gave her the six-pence, and made known the affair to the owner, who charging the offender with her crime, she confessed, and the cup was, accordingly, restored. On a pretended suspicion, however, that Mrs. Massey, with her mother and sister, was a sharer in the crime, they were accordingly imprisoned and brought to trial, when it evidently appeared that they were perfectly innocent. It was found, however, that they did not attend the *church*, and on further investigation, they were discovered to be, in the judgment of the papists, heretics; and they were, consequently, condemned to be burnt.

After sentence was pronounced, the hapless women appealed to the king, queen, and council, saying, "That against reason and right they were condemned, and for that cause they made their appeal;" their persecutors, however, refused to receive their appeal, but delivered them to the officers, for execution, according to their sentence.

The day being come when these innocents should suffer, July 18, 1556, in the place where they stood to consummate their martyrdom were three stakes set up. To the middle post the mother was bound, the eldest daughter on the right hand, and the youngest on the left. They were first strangled, but, the rope breaking before they were dead, they fell into the fire. Perotine, who was then in a very advanced stage of pregnancy, fell on her side, and her womb bursting asunder, by the vehemency of the flame, the infant, being a male, fell into the fire, and being immediately taken out by one W. House, was laid upon the grass.

Then was the child carried to the provost, and from him to the bailiff, who gave order that it should be carried back again and cast into the fire. And so the infant, baptized in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent saints, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind a spectacle wherein the whole world may see the Herodian cruelty of this graceless generation of popish tormentors, to their perpetual shame and infamy.

"Now," says Mr. Fox, "as this story, perhaps, for the horrible strangeness of the fact, will be hardly believed by some, but rather thought to be forged, or else more amplified by me than truth will bear me out, therefore, to discharge my credit herein, I will not only mention that I received this story by the faithful relation both of the French and English, of them which were there present witnesses and lookers-on, but also have hereto annexed the true supplication of the said inhabitants of Guernsey, and of the brother of the said two sisters, complaining to queen Elizabeth, and her commissioners, concerning the horribleness of the act."

Then follows the petition, which, after stating the cruelty of the case, solicits the restoration of the property of the martyrs, which had been confiscated, to him, as the rightful heir.

This being presented to the queen's commissioners, in the year 1562, such order therein was taken, that the matter being further examined, the dean who had been instrumental in the tragical event, was committed to prison, and dispossessed of all his livings. So that in conclusion, both he, and all other partakers of that most bloody and barbarous murder, either by conscience, or for fear of the law, were driven to acknowledge their trespass, and to submit themselves to the queen's mercy.

THREE MARTYRS, BURNT AT GRINSTEAD IN SUSSEX.

Near about the same time that these three women, and the infant, were burnt at Guernsey, three othe persons suffered at Grinstead, in Sussex, two men and one woman; the names of whom were Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and Mary Tree, who for righteousness' sake gave themselves to death amidst the torments of the fire, patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could say or work against them; and so ended their lives on the 18th of July, in the year 1556.

MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS MOOR, AT LEICESTER.

As the bloody rage of this persecution spared neither man, woman nor child, lame nor blind, and as there was no difference either of age or sex considered, so neither was there any condition or quality respected of any person; but whosoever he were that believed not as the papists did, concerning the pope and the sacrament of the altar, were he learned or unlearned, wise or simple, all went to the fire. Thus this poor simple man named Thomas Moor, a servant in the town of Leicester, about 24 years of age, for merely expressing his belief that "his Maker was in heaven, and not in the pix," was thereupon apprehended and brought before his ordinary, when he was first asked, "Whether he did not believe his Maker to be there?" pointing to the high altar. Which he denied.

"How then," said the bishop, "dost thou believe?"

The young man answered, "As my creed doth teach me."

Then said the bishop, "And what is yonder that thou seest above the altar?"

He answered, "Forsooth, I cannot tell what you would have me to see. I see there fine clothes, with golden tassels, and other gay matters hanging about the pix: what is within I cannot see."

"Why," said the bishop, "dost thou not believe Christ to be there, flesh, blood, and bone?"

"No, that I do not," replied Moor.

Whereupon the ordinary making short with him, read the sentence, and so condemned this faithful servant of Christ to death; he was accordingly burnt, and suffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom for the testimony of righteousness, at Leicester, about the 26th day of June, 1556.

EXAMINATION OF JOHN JACKSON, MARCH 11, 1556.

There is so much Christian boldness and becoming spirit in the answers of John Jackson, on his examination by Dr. Cook, as related by himself, that we give them, although we have no certain account of his ultimate fate.

"First, when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me heretic.

I answered and said, I am no heretic.

Cook. Yes, thou art. For Mr. Read told me, that thou wert the rankest heretic of all of them in the King's Bench.

Jackson. I know him not.

Cook. No? Yes, he examined thee at the King's Bench.

Jackson. He examined five others, but not me.

Cook. Then answer me: what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Tell me.

Jackson. It is a vague question to ask me at the first setting off.

Cook. What a heretic is this!

Jackson. It is easier to call a man heretic, than to prove him one.

Cook. What church art thou of?

Jackson. What church! I am of the same church that is built on the foundation of the prophets and the apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone.

Cook. Thou art a heretic.

Jackson. How can that be, seeing that I am of that church? I am sure that you will not say that the prophets and apostles were heretics.

Cook. No. But what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar, again? Tell me.

Jackson. I find it not written.

Cook. No? Keeper, away with him.

Yet I tarried there long, and did talk with him; and I said, Sir, I am content to be tractable, and obedient to the word of God.

Dr. Cook answered, and said to me, that I knew not what the word of God meant, nor yet whether it were true or not.

Jackson. Yea, that I do.

Cook. Whereby?

Jackson. Hereby, said I. Our Savior Christ saith, 'Search the scriptures; for in them you think to have eternal life. For they be they that testify of me.'

Cook. That is a wise proof.

Jackson. Is it so? What say you then to these words, that the prophet David said? 'Whatsoever he be that feareth the Lord, He will show him the way that he hath chosen: his soul shall dwell at ease, and his seed shall possess the land. The secrets of the Lord are among them that fear him, and he showeth them this covenant.'

Cook. Well, you shall be rid shortly, one way or other.

Jackson. My life lieth not in men's hands, therefore no man shall do more unto me than God will suffer him.

Cook. No? Thou art a stubborn and naughty fellow.

Jackson. You cannot so judge of me, except you did see some evil by me.

Cook. No? Why may not I judge thee, as well as thou and thy fellows judge us, and call us papists?

Jackson. Why, that is no judgment: but Christ saith, 'If you refuse me, and receive not my word, you have one that judgeth you. The word that I have spoken unto you now, shall judge you in the last day.'

Cook. I pray thee tell me, who is the head of the congregation?

Jackson. Christ is the head.

Cook. But who is head on earth?

Jackson. Christ hath members here on earth.

Cook. Who are they?

Jackson. They that are ruled by the word of God.

Cook. You are a good fellow.

Jackson. I am that I am.

Then Dr. Cook said to my keeper, Have him to prison again.

I am contented with that, said I; and so we departed.

I answered no further in this matter, because I thought he should not have my blood in a corner. But I hope, in the living God, that when the time shall come, before the congregation I shall shake their building after another manner of fashion. For they build but upon the sand, and their walls are daubed with untempered mortar, and therefore they cannot stand long.

Therefore, good brothers and sisters, be of good cheer: for I trust in my God, I and my other fellow-prisoners shall go joyfully

before you, praising God most heartily, that we are counted worthy to be witnesses of his truth. I pray you accept my simple answer at this time, committing you unto God."

MARTYRDOM OF JOAN WASTE, A POOR BLIND WOMAN, AT DERBY.

This poor woman, during the time of king Edward VI., used to frequent the church to hear divine service in the vulgar tongue, together with homilies and sermons, by which means she became confirmed and established in the principles of the reformed religion.

Having purchased a New Testament in English, she applied to an old man, whom she paid for reading such passages as she directed him; by which means she became so well versed in the holy scriptures, that she could repeat entire chapters by heart, and, by citing proper texts of scripture, would reprove the errors in religion, as well as the vicious customs and practices that prevailed in those days.

Thus did this pious woman increase in the knowledge of God's word, leading a life of exemplary godliness, without molestation, or any kind of interruption, during the reign of king Edward.

But on his death, and the reintroduction of popery, on the accession of queen Mary, because she continued stedfast in the profession of that faith she had embraced from a knowledge of the divine word, and refused to communicate with those who maintained contrary doctrines, she was brought before Dr. Ralph Bayn, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and Dr. Draycott, the chancellor, as one suspected of heresies, and by them committed to the prison of Derby.

She was several times privately examined by Peter Finch, the bishop's official; and afterwards brought to public examination before the bishop, his chancellor, and several more of the queen's commissioners; when the following articles were alleged against her:

1. That she held the sacrament of the altar to be only a memorial, or representation of Christ's body, and material bread and wine; and that it ought not to be reserved from time to time, but immediately received.

2. That she held, that in the receiving the sacrament of the altar she did not receive the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered on the cross, for the redemption of mankind.

3. That she held, that Christ, at his last supper, did not only bless the bread which he had then in his hands, but was blessed himself; and that, by virtue of the words of consecration, the substance of the bread and wine was not converted, nor turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

4. That she granted she was of the parish of Alhallows, in Derby, and that all and singular the premises were true.

To these respective articles she answered, that she believed just as much as the holy scriptures taught her, and according to what she had heard preached by many pious and learned men; some of whom had suffered imprisonment, and others death, for the same doctrine.

Among others, she mentioned Dr. Taylor, and asked, if they would follow his example in testimony of their doctrine? which, unless they were willing to do, she desired, for God's sake, they would not trouble her, (being a poor, blind, and illiterate woman), declaring, at the same time, she was ready to yield up her life in defence of that faith she had publicly professed.

The bishop, and his chancellor, urged many arguments in proof of the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, demanding why Christ was not as able to make bread his body, as to turn water into wine, to raise Lazarus from the dead, and the like, threatening her, at the same time, with imprisonment, torments, and death.

The poor woman, terrified at these threatenings, told the bishop, if he would, before that company, take it upon his conscience, that the doctrine which he would have her to believe, concerning the sacrament, was true, and that he would, at the awful tribunal of God, answer for her therein, (as Dr. Taylor, in several sermons, had offered), she would then 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 heretic."

The bishop, struck by this interposition of the chancellor, demanded of the woman, whether she would recant or not, and told her she should answer for herself.

This honest Christian finding, at length, they 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 reconducted her to the prison.

On the 1st of August, 1556, the day appointed for her execution, she was led to

the stake. Immediately on her arrival at the fatal spot, she knelt down, and, in the most fervent manner, repeated several prayers, desiring the spectators to pray also for her departing soul. Having finished her prayers, she arose, and was fastened to the stake; when the fagots being lighted, she called on the Lord to have mercy on her, and continued so to do, till the flames deprived her both of speech and life. And thus did this poor woman quit this mortal stage, to obtain a life of immortality, the sure and certain reward of all those who suffer for the sake of the true gospel of their blessed Redeemer.

VARIOUS MARTYRDOMS.

On the 8th of September, 1556, one EDWARD SHARP was burnt at Bristol; and on the 25th of the same month, a young man, by trade a carpenter, suffered at the same place.

The day preceding the last martyrdom, JOHN HART, a shoemaker, and THOMAS RAVENDALE, a currier, were burnt at Mayfield, in Sussex. And,

On the 27th of the same month, one JOHN HORN, and a woman, whose name is unknown, suffered at Wooton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire.

All these martyrs submitted to their fate with the most Christian fortitude, giving glory to God for having numbered them among the followers and advocates of his most holy gospel.

FIVE PERSONS STARVED TO DEATH.

The last on record, who suffered for the truth of the gospel in the bloody year 1556, were five persons, (confined, with many others, in Canterbury castle) who were cruelly starved to death. Their names were as follow:—WILLIAM FOSTER, ALICE POTKINS, and JOHN ARCHER, who had been condemned; JOHN CLARK, and DUNSTAN CHITTENDEN, who had not been condemned.

The cruel usage these unhappy persons suffered from their unfeeling persecutors, is displayed in a letter written by one of them, and thrown out of the window of the prison; of which the following is an exact copy:—

"Be it known unto all men that shall read, or hear read, these our letters, that we the poor prisoners of the castle of Canterbury, for God's truth, are kept, and lie in, cold irons, and our keepers will not suffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheese, or any other food, the said keeper will charge them that so bring us any thing, except money or raiment, to carry it them again; or else, if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it, so that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us: insomuch, that there are four of us prisoners there for God's truth famished already; and thus it is his mind to famish us all: and we think he is appointed thereunto by the bishops and priests, and also of the justices, so to famish us; and not only us of the said castle, but also all other prisoners, in other prisons, for the like cause to be also famished: notwithstanding, we write not these our letters, to that intent we might not afford to be famished for the Lord Jesus's sake, but for this cause and intent, that they, having no law to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers' hearts should be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what church they are, and who is their father.—Out of the castle of Canterbury."

Among the others confined with these five were ten men, who having been examined by Dr. Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, were sentenced to be burnt. They had been confined a considerable time, but their sentence was, at length, put into execution; and they were the first who opened the bloody transactions of the year 1557. Their names were as follow:—STEPHEN KEMP, of Norgate; WILLIAM WATERER, of Beddingden; W. PROWTING, of Thornham; W. LOWICK, of Cranbroke; THOMAS HUDSON, of Salenge; WILLIAM HAY, of Hithe; THOMAS STEPHENS, of Beddingden; JOHN PHILPOT, NICHOLAS FINAL, and MATTHEW BRADBRIDGE, all of Tenterden.

The six first were burnt at Canterbury on the 15th of January, 1557; Stephens and Philpot suffered the next day at Wye; and Final and Bradbridge the day after, at Ashford.

They all bore their sufferings with Christian fortitude, rejoicing that their troubles were drawing to an end, and that they should leave this world, for that where the weary are at rest.

FURTHER PERSECUTIONS.

Notwithstanding the numerous sacrifices that had been made in various parts of the kingdom, since the accession of queen Mary, in order to gratify the barbarous bigotry of that infatuated princess, yet they were far from being at an end. Naturally disposed to tyranny, and encouraged in her bloodthirsty principles by that monster in human form, Bonner, bishop of London, she

determined to compel all her subjects, who differed from herself in religious sentiments, either to submit to her maxims, or fall victims to her insatiable vengeance.

To facilitate this horrid intention, in the beginning of February, 1557, she issued the following proclamation, which was, in a great measure, promoted by bishop Bonner, whose diabolical soul, in conjunction with hers, thirsted after the blood of those who worshipped God in purity of heart.

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, &c. To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor Thomas, bishop of Ely, and to our right trusty and well-beloved William Windsore, knight, lord Windsore; Edward North, knight, lord North; and to our trusty and well-beloved counsellor J. Bourn, knight, one of our chief secretaries, J. Mordaunt, knight, Francis Englefield, knight, master of our wards and liveries, Edward Walgrave, knight, master of our great wardrobe, Nicholas Hare, knight, master of the rolls, Thomas Pope, knight, Roger Cholmley, knight, Richard Rede, knight, Rowland Hill, knight, William Rastal, serjeant at law, Henry Cole, clerk, dean of Paul's, William Roper, and Ralph Cholmley, esquires, William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of the law, greeting.

"Forasmuch as divers devilish and slanderous persons have not only invented, bruited, and set forth divers false rumors, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown divers heresies, and heretical opinions, and set forth divers seditious books within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only amongst our loving subjects, but also betwixt us and our said subjects, with divers other outrageous misdemeanors, enormities, contempts, and offences, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people: we, minding the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such like offences, enormities, and misbehaviors from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelities, wisdoms, and discretions, have authorized, appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners; and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you, to inquire, as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses, and all other means and politic ways you can devise, of all and singular heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false rumors, tales, seditious and slanderous words or sayings, raised, published, bruited, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any county, key, bowing, or other place or places, within this our realm of England, or elsewhere, in any place, or places, beyond the seas, and of the bringers-in, utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of any such letter, book, rumor, and tale; and of all and every their coadjutors, counsellors, comforters, procurers, abettors and maintainers, giving unto you, and three of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to search out, and take into your hands and possessions, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings, wheresoever they, or any of them, shall be found, as well in printers' houses and shops as elsewhere, willing you, and every of you, to search for the same in all places, according to your discretions.

"And also to inquire, hear, and determine, all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviors, and negligences committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm; and also for and concerning the taking away, or withholding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, stocks of money, or other things belonging to every of the same churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the same.

"And also to inquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or to come to their parish churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine service; and all such as refuse to go on procession, to take holy bread or holy water, or otherwise, do misuse themselves in any church, or other hallowed places, wheresoever any of the same offences have been, or hereafter shall be committed, within this our said realm.

"Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as any person or persons, hereafter being called or convened before you, do obstinately persist, or stand in any manner of heresy, or heretical opinion, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order, that the same person, or persons, so standing, or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws.

"And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority, to inquire and search out all vagabonds, and masterless men, barrotors, quarrellers, and suspected persons, abiding within our city of

London, and ten miles compass of the same, and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city and compass.

"And further, to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages, in the diocese of the same, being within this realm, giving you, and every of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your wisdoms, consciences, and discretions, willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such politic ways and means, for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary: and upon inquiry, and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses before you, or three of you, concerning the premises, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise; and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you, shall be thought meet and convenient.

"Further willing and commanding you, and every three of you, in case you shall find any person, or persons, obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment, or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments, in any thing or things, touching the premises, or any part thereof, to commit the same person, or persons, so offending, to ward, there to remain, till by you, or three of you, he be discharged, or delivered, &c."

ACCOUNT OF TWENTY-TWO PERSONS APPREHENDED AT COLCHESTER, AND BROUGHT TO LONDON, FOR EXAMINATION BY BONNER.

The proclamation which we have given above, was issued on the 8th of February, 1557, and gave the new inquisition an opportunity of extending their horrid ravages; so that persecution universally prevailed, and most of the jails in the kingdom were crowded with prisoners, for the true faith.

The rage of persecution was particularly prevalent in and about the town of Colchester, insomuch that twenty-three persons were apprehended together, of which number one only escaped; the others being sent up to London, in order to abide by the award of the bloody tribunal. These poor people consisted of fourteen men and eight women, who were fastened together, with a chain placed between them, each person being at the same time tied separately with a cord round the arm. On their entrance into the city they were pinioned, and in that manner conducted to Newgate.

Before we proceed to relate farther particulars relative to these innocent victims of persecution, it may not be improper, in order to give the reader a just idea of that miscalled *religion* which can justify such horrid cruelty and injustice, to lay before our readers the popish commissary's letter to bishop Bonner on this occasion. It was as follows:

"After my duty done in receiving and accomplishing your honorable and most loving letters, dated August 7, be it known unto your lordship, that the 28th of August, the lord of Oxenford, lord Darcy, H. Tyrel, A. Brown, W. Bendelows, E. Tyrel, R. Weston R. Appleton, published their commission, to seize the lands, tenements, and goods of the fugitives, so that the owners should have neither use nor advantage thereof, but by inventory remain in safe keeping, until the cause were determined.

"And also there was likewise proclaimed the queen's warrant for the restitution of the church goods within Colchester, and the hundreds thereabout, to the use of God's service. And then were called the parishes particularly, and the heretics partly committed to my examination. And that divers persons should certify me of the ornaments of their churches, betwixt this and the justices' next appearance, which shall be on Michaelmas next. And the parishes, which had presented at two several times, to have all ornaments, with other things, in good order, were exonerated for ever, till they were warned again, and others to make their appearance from time to time. And those names blotted in the indenture, were indicted for treason, fugitives, or disobedients, and were put forth by Mr. Brown's commandment. And before the sealing, my lord Darcy said unto me apart, and Mr. Bendelows, that I should have sufficient time to send unto your lordship; yea, if need were, the heretics to remain in durance till I had an answer from you, yea, till the lord legate's grace's commissioners come into the country.

"And Mr. Brown came unto my lord Darcy's house and parlor, belonging unto Mr. Barnaby, before my said lord, and all the justices, and laid his hand on my shoulder, with a smiling countenance, and desired me to make his hearty commendations to your good lordship, and asked me if I would: and I said, Yea, with a good

will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought that I should not have been charged with so sudden carriage.

"But after dinner, the justices counselled with the bailiffs, and with the jailers, and then after took me unto them, and made collation of their indentures, and sealed them; and then Mr. Brown commanded me this afternoon, being the 30th of August, to go and receive my prisoners by and by. And then I said, It is an unreasonable commandment, for that I have attended on you here these three days, and this Sunday early I have sent home my men. Wherefore, I desire you to have a convenient time appointed, wherein I may kpow, whether it will please my lord, my master, to send his commissioners hither, or that I shall make carriage of them unto his lordship. Then Mr. Brown said, We are certified that the council have written to your master to make speed, and to rid these prisoners out of hand: therefore go receive your prisoners in haste. I answered, Sir, I shall receive them within these ten days. Then Mr. Brown said, The limitation lieth in us, and not in you, wherefore get you hence.

"I replied, Sir, ye have indicted and delivered me by this indenture, whose faith or opinions I knew not, trusting that ye will grant me a time to examine them, lest I should punish the Catholics. Well, said Mr. Brown, for that cause ye shall have time betwixt this and Wednesday. And I say unto you, Mr. bailiff, if he do not receive them at your hands on Wednesday, set open your door, and let them go.

"Then I said, My lord, and masters all, I promise to discharge the town and country of these heretics within these ten days. The lord Darcy answered, Commissary, we do and must all agree in one. Wherefore do ye receive them on or before Wednesday.

"To which I replied, My lord, the last I carried, I was going betwixt the castle and St. Catherine chapel two hours and a half, and in great press and danger; wherefore this may be to desire your lordship, to give in commandment unto Mr. Sayer, my bailiff here present, to aid me through his liberties, not only with men and weapons, but that the town-clerk may be ready there with his book to write the names of the most busy persons, and this upon three hours' warning; all which both my lord and Mr. Brown commanded.

"The 31st of August, William Goodwin of Muchbirch, husbandman, this bringer, and Thomas Alsey of Copford, your lordship's apparitor of your consistory in Colchester, covenanted with me, that they should hire two other men at the least, whereof one should be a bowman, to come to me the next day, about two of the clock in the afternoon, so that I might recite this bargain before Mr. Archdeacon; and pay the money, that is, forty-six shillings and eight pence. Wherefore they should then go forth with me unto Colchester, and on Wednesday, before three of the clock in the morning, receive there at my hand, within the castle and mote-hall, fourteen men and eight women, bound with cords and fetters, and drive, carry, or lead, and feed with meat and drink, as heretics ought to be found continually, unto such time that the said Goodwin and Alsey shall cause the said two-and-twenty persons to be delivered unto my lord of London's officers, and within the safe keeping of my said lord, and then to bring unto me again the said fetters, with a perfect token of or from my said lord, and then this covenant is void, or else, &c.

"Mr. Bendelows said unto me in my lord of Oxenford's chamber at the King's-head, after I had said mass before the lords, that on the morrow after Holy-Rood day, when we shall meet at Chelmsford for the division of these lands, I think, Mr. Archdeacon, you, and Mr. Smith, shall be fain to ride with certain of the jury to those portions and manors in your part of Essex, and in like case divide yourselves, to tread and view the ground with the quest, or else I think they will not labor the matter, and so do you say unto Mr. Archdeacon.

"Alice, the wife of William Walley, of Colchester, hath submitted herself, abjured her erroneous opinions, asked absolution, promised to do her solemn penance in her parish church at St. Peter's on Sunday next, and to continue a Catholic and a faithful woman, as long as God shall send her life. And for these covenants her husband standeth bound in five pounds. Which Alice is one of the nine women of this your indenture, and she is big with child. Wherefore she remaineth at home, and this done in the presence of the bailiffs, aldermen, and town-clerk. And because Mr. Brown was certified there was no curate at Lexdon, he inquired who was the former: the answer was made, Sir* Francis Jobson. Who is the parson? they of the questmen answered, Sir Roger Ghostlow. When was he with you? Not these fourteen years. How is your cure served? Now and then. Who is the patron? My lord of Arundel. And within short time after, Sir Francis Jobson came with great courtesy unto my lord Darcy's place. And of all gentlemen about us, I saw no more come in.

* Clergymen were formerly called *Sir*, as a title of respect, derived from Senior, or Father.

"Sir Robert Smith, priest, some time canon of Bridlington, now canon of Appledoore in the wild of Kent, came to Colchester the 28th day of August, with his wife big with child, of late divorced, taken on suspicion, examined by the lords, and Mr. Brown told me that they have received letters from the detachment of certain persons, especially of one priest, whose name is Pullen, (but his right name is Smith) doubting this priest to be the said Pullen, although neither he nor his wife would confess the same.

"Wherefore he lieth still in prison, but surely this is not Pullen. If it please your lordship to have in remembrance, that the householder might be compelled to bring every man his own wife to her own seat in the church in time of divine service, it would profit much.

"And also there be yet standing hospitals, and others of like foundation about Colchester, which I have not known to appear at any visitation, as masters and lazars of St. Mary Magdalene in Colchester, the proctor of St. Catherine's chapel in Colchester, the hospital or bread-house of the foundation of the lord H. Harney in Laremarny, the hospital and beadman of Little Horsley.

"Thus presuming on your lordship's goodness, I am more than bold to trouble you with this worldly business, beseeching Almighty God to send your honorable lordship a condign reward.*

"*From Eastthrop this present thirtieth day of August.*

"We found a letter concerning the marriage of priests in the hands of the aforesaid Sir Robert Smith. Also I desired Mr. Brown, the doer of all things, to require the audience to bring in their unlawful writings and books; who asked me, if I had proclaimed the proclamation? I said yea. Then he said openly on the bench, that they should be proclaimed once every quarter. And then take the constables and officers, and they alone take and punish the offenders accordingly.

"By your poor Beadman,

"JOHN KINGSTON, Priest."

The twenty-two prisoners, beforementioned, sent from Colchester to London, were, at length, brought before bishop Bonner, who examined them separately with respect to their faith; but he did not choose to proceed against them, till he had sent the following letter to cardinal Pole:

"May it please your grace, with my most humble obedience, reverence, and duty, to understand, that going to London upon Thursday last, and thinking to be troubled with Mr. German's matter only, and such other common matters as are accustomed, enough to weary a right strong body, I had the day following, to comfort my stomach withal, letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the day following, I should have sent thence twenty-two heretics, indicted before the commissioners; and indeed so I had, and compelled to bear their charges, as I did of the others, a sum of money that I thought full evil bestowed. And these heretics, notwithstanding they had honest Catholic keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and in all the way from Colchester to Stratford Bow, did go quietly and obediently, yet coming to Stratford they began to take heart of grace, and to do as they pleased themselves, for they began to have their guard, which generally increased till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged, Friday night.

"And albeit I took order, that the said heretics should be with me early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come, and be examined by me; yet it was between ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and no way would they take but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with a thousand persons. Which thing I took very strange, and spake to Sir John Gresham, then being with me, to tell the mayor and the sheriffs that this thing was not well suffered in the city. These naughty heretics, all the way they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort from the promiscuous multitude; and being entered into my house, and talked withal, they showed themselves desperate, and very obstinate: yet I used all the honest means I could, both of myself and others, to have won them, causing divers learned men to talk with them; and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulness, I thought to have them all hither to Fulham, and here to give sentence against them. Nevertheless, perceiving, by my last doing, that your grace was offended, I thought it my duty, before I any farther proceeded herein, to advertise first your grace hereof, and know your good pleasure, which I beseech your grace I may do by this trusty bearer. And thus, most humbly, I take my leave of your good grace, beseeching

* His lordship has, no doubt, long since received his "*condign reward*;" that reward which is appointed by Eternal Justice for those who, under the mask of religion, perpetrate crimes and outrages which would disgrace the most savage and bloodthirsty of barbarians.

Almighty God always to preserve the same. At Fulham, anno 1557.

"Your grace's most bounden beadsman, and servant,

"EDMUND BONNER."

From the contents of this letter may evidently be seen the persecuting spirit of the bloodthirsty Bonner, who was manifestly desirous of glutting himself with the massacre of those innocent persons.

Cardinal Pole, though a papist, was a man of moderation and humanity, as appears, not only by his endeavor to mitigate the fury of Bonner, but also by several of his letters directed to archbishop Cranmer, as well as many complaints alleged against him to the pope, for his lenity towards the heretics.

Nay, so incensed was his holiness by his mild and merciful disposition, that he ordered him to Rome, and would have proceeded against him most rigorously, had not queen Mary interposed in his behalf, and warded off the danger that threatened him, and which would otherwise have fallen very heavily on him, for it was shrewdly suspected by the pope and his court, that the cardinal, a short time before his coming from Rome to England, began to favor the opinion and doctrine of Luther.

But to return to the account of our martyrs, who would certainly have all suffered had it not been for the interposition of cardinal Pole; it would exceed the limits of our work, and be tedious to the reader, were we minutely to relate the articles that were respectively administered to each, and their several answers to the same. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to that of the Lord's Supper, on which they were principally examined, and give their

GENERAL CONFESSION CONCERNING THAT SACRAMENT.

"Whereas Christ, at his last Supper, took bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, *Take, eat, this is my body.* And likewise took the cup and thanked, &c. We do understand it to be a figurative speech, as the common manner of his language was in parables, and dark sentences, that they which were carnally-minded should see with their eyes, and not understand; signifying this, that as he did break the bread among them, being but one loaf, and they all were partakers thereof, so we, through his body in that it was broken and offered upon the cross for us, are all partakers thereof; and his blood cleanseth us from our sins, and hath pacified God's wrath towards us, and made the atonement between God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light even as he is in the true light.

"And that he said further, *Do this in remembrance of me:* it is a memorial and token of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ: and he commanded it for this cause, that the followers of Christ should come together to show his death, and to thank him for his benefits, and magnify his holy name; and so to break bread, and drink the wine, in remembrance that Christ had given his body, and shed his blood for us.

"Thus you may well perceive though Christ called the bread his body, and wine his blood, yet it followeth not, that the substance of his body should be in the bread and wine, as divers places in scripture are spoken by the apostles in like phrase of speech, as in John xv. *I am the true vine.* Also in John x. *I am the door.* And as it is written in the ninth chapter to the Hebrews, and in Exodus xxiv. how Moses took the blood of calves, and sprinkled both the book and all the people, saying, *This is the blood of the covenant or testament.* And also in the fifth chapter of Ezekiel, how the Lord said unto him concerning the third part of his hair, saying, This is Jerusalem, &c.

"Thus we see how the scriptures speak in figures, and ought to be spiritually examined, and not as they would have us to say, that the bodily presence of Christ is in the bread, which is a blasphemous understanding of the word, and contrary to the holy scriptures.

"Also, we see that great idolatry is sprung out of the misunderstanding of the words of Christ, *This is my body*, and yet daily springeth to the great dishonor of God; so that men worship a piece of bread for God; yea, and hold that to be their maker."

After this confession of their faith and doctrine was written and exhibited, they also drew up a letter in the form of a short supplication, or rather an admonition to the judges and commissioners, requiring that justice and judgment, after the rule of God's word, might be administered unto them. This letter was as follows:

"A SUPPLICATION OF THE PRISONERS TO THE JUDGES.

"To the right honorable audience, before whom our writings and the confession of our faith shall come; we poor prisoners being fast in bonds upon the trial of our faith, which we offer to be tried by the scriptures, pray most heartily, that forasmuch as God hath given you power and

strength over us as concerning our bodies, under whom we submit ourselves as obedient subjects in all things, ye, being officers and rulers of the people, may execute true judgment, keep the laws of righteousness, govern the people, and defend the cause of the poor and helpless.

"God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, give you the wisdom and understanding of Solomon, David, Hezekiah, Moses, with divers other most virtuous rulers, by whose wisdom and godly understanding, the people were justly ruled and governed in fear of God, all wickedness was by them overthrown and beaten down, and all godliness and virtue did flourish and spring. O God, which art the most high, the creator and maker of all things, and of all men, both great and small, and carest for all alike, who dost try all men's works and imaginations, before whose judgment-seat shall come both high and low, rich and poor; we most humbly beseech thee to put into our rulers' hearts the pure love and fear of the name, that even as they themselves would be judged, and as they shall make answer before thee, so they may hear our causes, judge with mercy, and read over these our requests and confessions of our faith, with deliberation and a godly judgment.

"And if any thing here seemeth to you to be erroneous or disagreeing with the scripture, if it shall please your lordships to hear us patiently, which do offer ourselves to be tried by the scriptures, thereby to make answer; and, in so doing, we poor subjects being in much captivity and bondage, are bound to pray for your noble estate and long preservation."

Notwithstanding the request of these men was so just, and their doctrine so sound, yet the bishop, and the other judges, would have passed sentence on them, had it not been for cardinal Pole, and some others, who thought the putting to death of so many at one time, would produce a great disturbance among the people. It was therefore decreed, that they should make a submission, or confession, and, thereupon, be discharged. This they readily agreed to; and the following paper was drawn up and signed by them.

"BECAUSE our Savior at his last supper took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his disciples, and said, 'Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me;' therefore, according to the words of our Savior Jesus Christ, we do believe in the sacrament to be spiritually Christ's body. And likewise he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "This is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many;' therefore likewise we do believe that it is spiritually the blood of Christ, according as his church doth administer the same. Unto which Catholic church of Christ we do, like as in all other matters, submit ourselves, promising therein to live as it becometh good Christian men, and here in this realm to behave ourselves as becometh faithful subjects unto our most gracious king and queen, and to all other superiors both spiritual and temporal, according to our bounden duties."

The whole twenty-two persons brought from Colchester respectively subscribed their names to this submission; as did also six others who had been apprehended in London, and were brought up with them at the same time for examination. The names of the whole were as follow:

John Atkyn, Allen Sympson, Richard George, Thomas Firefanne, William Munt, Richard Joly, Richard Gratwick, Thomas Winssey, Richard Rothe, Richard Clarke, Stephen Glover, Robert Colman, Thomas Merse, William Bongeor, Robert Bercock, Margaret Hyde, Elyn Euring, Christian Pepper, Margaret Field, Alice Munt, Joan Winsley, Cicely Warren, Rose Allen, Ann Whitlocke, George Barker, John Saxby, Thomas Locker, and Alice Locker.

In consequence of their submission, they were all immediately set at liberty; though several of them were afterwards apprehended, and put to death. One of the women, Margaret Hyde, escaped their resentment but a short time, being one in the list we have next to bring forward, of those who suffered for the truth of the gospel.

MARTYRDOMS OF THOMAS LOSEBY, HENRY RAMSEY, THOMAS TIBERTEIL, MARGARET HYDE, AND AGNES STANLEY.

The popish emissaries having laid information against these five persons, they were all apprehended, and being examined by several justices of the county of Essex, in which they resided, were by them sent up to the bishop of London, for examination. On their arrival the bishop referred them to the chancellor, who, after questioning them on the articles usual on such occasions, committed them all to Newgate.

After being imprisoned nearly three months, by order of the chancellor, they were summoned to appear before the bishop himself, when the following singular articles were exhibited against them.

"I. That they thought, believed, and declared, within some part of the city and

diocese of London, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service here observed and kept, as it is in the realm of England, was not a true and laudable faith, religion, and service, especially concerning the mass and the seven sacraments, nor were they agreeable to God's word; and that they could not, without grudging and scruple, receive and use it, nor conform themselves unto it, as other subjects of this realm customarily have done.

"2. That they 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 Catholic in all points, and that it alone ought, here in this realm, to be received, used, and practised, and none other.

"3. That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound to their parish church, and there to be present at matins, mass, even-song, and other divine service.

"4. That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound to come to procession to the church, upon times appointed, and to go in the same with others of the parish, singing or saying the accustomed prayers used in the church, nor to bear a taper, or candle, on Candlemas-day, nor take ashes on Ash-Wednesday, nor bear palms on Palm-Sunday, nor to creep to the cross 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 Catholic 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 baptized, and therefore saved, except they are arrived to years of discretion to believe themselves, and willingly accept, or refuse, baptism at their pleasure.

"8. That they had thought, &c. that prayers to saints, or prayers for the dead, were not available, nor allowable, by God's word, and that souls departed this life do immediately go to heaven or hell, or else 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 heretics, were no heretics, but faithful, sincere Christians; especially Barnes, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Cranmer, Ridley, &c. and that they did allow and approve all their opinions, and disapproved their condemnations and burnings.

"10. That they had thought, &c. that fasting and prayers used in the church of England, and the appointing a day for fasting, and abstaining from flesh upon fasting days, especially in the time of Lent, is not laudable nor allowable, by God's word, and that men ought to have liberty, at all times, to eat all kind of meats.

"11. That they had thought, &c. that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and to reserve, keep, and honor 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 articles, they granted in general, excepting that they denied "that souls departed do sleep till the day of judgment," as mentioned in the eighth article.

With respect to the sixth article objected to them, they thought themselves bound to believe the true Catholic church, so far as it instructed them according to God's holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the superstitious church of Rome.

Concerning the eighth and twelfth articles, they denied that they ever maintained any such absurd opinions, but granted that man of himself, without the aid and assistance of God's spirit, had no power to do any thing acceptable in the sight of God.

To the tenth article they answered, that true fasting and prayer, used according to God's word, was allowable, and approved in his sight; and that, by the same word, every faithful man may eat all meats at all times, with thanksgiving to God for the same.

Having given these answers, they were dismissed, and conveyed to their respective places of confinement, where they remained till they were again brought before the bishop, who made no other inquiry, than whether they would abjure their heretical

opinions; and on their refusal, again dismissed them.

At length they were brought into the public consistory court at St. Paul's, and severally asked what they had to allege, why sentence of condemnation should not be pronounced against them.

Thomas Loseby being first questioned, thus replied, "God give me grace to withstand you, your sentence, and your law, which devours the flock of Christ, for I perceive death is my certain portion, unless I will consent to believe in that accursed idol the mass."

Thomas Thyrtell being next examined, said, "My lord, if you make me a heretic, you make Christ and the twelve apostles all heretics, for I hold one and the same faith with them, and I will abide in that faith, being assured that it will obtain for me everlasting life."

Henry Ramsey being required to recant, answered, "My lord, would you have me abjure the truth, and, for fear of death here, forfeit eternal felicity hereafter?"

Margaret Hyde being questioned, replied, "My lord, you have no cause to pronounce sentence against me, for I am in the true faith, nor will ever forsake it; and I wish I was more confirmed in it than I am."

Agnes Stanley, the last examined, said, "My lord, I would suffer every hair of my head to be burned, before I would renounce the faith of Christ, and his holy gospel."

The court now broke up, but was convened again in the afternoon, when the prisoners were brought in, and were again examined.

Thomas Loseby being first called upon, his articles and answers were read; after which many attempts were made to bring him to a recantation, but he persisted in his faith, declaring, that "he hoped he had the spirit of God, which had led him into all truth:" his sentence of condemnation was therefore pronounced, and he was delivered to the custody of the sheriff, in order for execution.

Various arguments were used by the bishop to bring over Margaret Hyde; but she declared she would not depart from what she had said upon any penalty whatever; and added, that she would gladly hear his lordship instruct her from some part of God's word, and not talk to her concerning holy bread and holy water, which was no part of God's word.

The bishop, finding her resolute, pronounced sentence on her, and she was delivered over to the secular power.

Agnes Stanley was also admonished to return to the communion of the holy mother church, but she continued stedfast in her faith, declaring she was no heretic, and that those who were burned, as the papists said, for heresy, were true martyrs in the sight of God. In consequence of this she likewise received sentence of death, and was committed to the care of the sheriff.

Thomas Thyrtelf being asked what he had to allege, answered, "My lord, I will not hold with those idolatrous opinions you would inculcate; for I say the mass is idolatry, and I will abide by the faith of Christ as long as I live."

He was then sentenced in the same manner as the former.

Henry Ramsey, who was last called, being asked whether he would stand by his answers, as the rest had done, or recant and become a new member of the church, replied, "I will never abjure my religion, in which I will live, and in which I will die."

Their examinations being closed, and sentence of death passed on them all, they were immediately conducted to Newgate, where they continued till the 12th of April, 1557. On the morning of that day they were led to Smithfield, the place appointed for their execution, where, being fastened to two stakes, they were burnt in one fire, praising God as long as they had the power of speech, and cheerfully giving up their lives in testimony of the truth of the gospel.

MARTYRDOM OF STEPHEN GRATWICK, WILLIAM MORANT, AND JOHN KING.

Stephen Gratwick being informed against by the popish emissaries, on a suspicion of heresy, was apprehended, and being carried before a justice of peace, was committed to the Marshalsea prison, where he continued for a considerable time.

At length he was brought before Dr. White, bishop of Winchester, in St. George's church, Southwark, to answer such questions as he should be asked, relative to his religious opinions.

The bishop first asked him if he would revoke the heresies which he had maintained and defended; when Mr. Gratwick answering in the negative, he administered the usual articles, desiring him to give an explicit answer to each.

The articles being read, Mr. Gratwick replied, "My lord, these articles are of your making, and not of mine, nor have I had any time to examine them; therefore I desire the liberty of lawful appeal to mine ordinary, having no concern with you."

During his examination, the bishop of Rochester, and the archdeacon of Canterbury arrived, when, on a consultation about the present case, it was agreed to introduce

a person to represent the ordinary, which being done, Gratwick desired leave to depart, but the counterfeit ordinary insisted on his being detained, saying, that he was justly summoned before those lords, and him, on trial of his faith; and that, if he confessed the truth, he should be quietly dismissed, and allowed full liberty.

Gratwick told him, that "he would turn his own argument upon him, for Christ came before the high-priest, scribes, and pharisees, bringing the truth with him, being the very truth himself; yet both he and his truth were condemned, and had no avail with them; the apostles likewise, and all the martyrs that died since Christ, did the same.

The bishop of Winchester then asked his opinion concerning the sacrament of the altar; to which he replied, "My lord, I do verily believe, that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, truly administered in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, unto the worthy receiver, he eateth mystically, by faith, the body and blood of Christ."

The bishop of Rochester observed, that this definition was a mere evasion of the principal points, for that he separated the sacrament of the altar from the Supper of the Lord, intimating thereby, that the former was not the true sacrament; and also condemned their method of administering it in one kind, as well as hindered the unworthy receiver to eat and drink the body and blood of Christ, which, if duly weighed, were points of the highest importance, though he had craftily evaded them.

Having entered into closer examination concerning this matter, the counterfeit ordinary ordered the articles to be read again, and Gratwick refusing to make any reply, was threatened with excommunication: on which he thus addressed himself to his examiners:

"Since ye thirst for my blood, before ye are glutted with the same, permit me to say a word in my own cause. On Sunday, my lord of Winchester, I was before you, when you took occasion to preach from these words of St. James: 'If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain.' From these words, my lord, by wrested inferences, you slander us poor prisoners, upbraiding us with the title of Arians, Herodians, Sacramentaries, and Pelagians. When we stood up to speak in vindication of ourselves, you threatened to cut out our tongues, and caused us to be dragged out of the church by violence; nevertheless I will abide by the truth to the end of my life."

The incensed prelate, after various endeavors, by threats and promises, to bring him to a recantation, finding that vain, pronounced sentence of condemnation upon him, and he was delivered over to the sheriff, who immediately conducted him to the Marshalsea prison. Here he remained till the latter end of May, 1557, when he was brought to the stake in St. George's Fields, and there cheerfully resigned up his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

Two persons, named WILLIAM MORANT, and JOHN KING, suffered with him; but we have no account on record relative to their examinations.

MARTYRDOM OF FIVE WOMEN AND TWO MEN AT MAIDSTONE, JUNE 18, 1557.

We have stated that after the proclamation in February, 1557, the storm of persecution began in all places to rage anew, but nowhere more than in the diocese of Canterbury, as the inquisition was there under the direction of Richard Thornton, bishop of Dover, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, who were so furious against the harmless flock of Christ, that they needed not the proclamation to stir up the coals of their burning cruelty, but yet were enabled by it to gratify to a greater extent their diabolical matters against the believers. We have already given several instances of the furious persecutions in this diocese, and we have now to add the following, wherein seven innocents were committed to the flames by these monsters, under the pretence of *religion*! We shall give the account in the original words of the Martyrologist, as they are curious and interesting.

In the next month following, being the 18th day of June, were seven Christian and faithful martyrs of Christ burned at Maidstone, whose names here follow:

Joan Bradbridge, of Staplehurst;
Walter Appleby, of Maidstone;
Petronil, his wife;
Edmund Allin, of Frytenden;
Catherine, his wife;
John Manning's wife, of Maidstone;
Elizabeth, a blind maiden.

As concerning the general articles commonly objected to them in the public consistory, and the order of their condemnation, it differeth not much from the usual manner expressed before, neither did their answers in effect much differ from the others that suffered under the same or-

dinary in the aforesaid diocese of Canterbury.

Now as touching their answers and manner of apprehension, and their private conflicts with their adversaries, I find no great matter coming to my hands, save only of Edmund Allin some intimation is given me, how his troubles came, what was his cause and answers before the justices, as here consequently you shall understand.

THE EXAMINATION OF EDMUND ALLIN.

This Allin was a miller, of the parish of Frytenden, in Kent, and in a dear year when many poor people were like to starve, he fed them, and sold his corn cheaper by half than others did; he also fed them with the food of life, reading to them the scriptures, and interpreting them. This being known to the popish priests dwelling thereabouts, by the procurement of two of them, namely of John Taylor, parson of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, he was soon complained of to the justices, and brought before Sir John Baker, knight, who committed both him and his wife to prison, but soon after they were let out, I know not how, and went to Calais; where continuing some time, he began to be troubled in conscience, and meeting with one John Webb, from Frytenden (who had likewise fled from the tyranny of Sir John Baker and parson Taylor), said unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatsoever the cause was; "for God," said he, "had something for him to do in England:" and shortly after he returned to Frytenden, where was cruel Taylor.

This parson being informed that Edmund Allin and his wife were returned, and were not at mass-time in the church; as he was the same time in the midst of his mass, upon a Sunday, a little before the elevation (as they term it), even almost at the lifting up of his Romish god, he turned to the people in a great rage, and commanded them with all speed to go unto their house, and apprehend them, and he would come unto them as soon as he could. Which promise he well performed, for he had no sooner made an end of *Ite, missa est*, and the vestments off his back, but presently he was at the house, and there laying hands on the said Allin, caused him again to be brought to Sir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the scriptures to the people; and so he and his wife were sent to Maidstone prison. Witnessed by Richard Fletcher, vicar of Crambroke, and John Webb, of Frytenden.

No sooner were they in prison, but Sir John Baker immediately sent certain of his men to their house, namely, John Doye, Thomas Best, Thomas Linley, Percival Barber, with the aforesaid John Taylor, parson of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, to take an inventory of all the goods that were in the house: where they found in the bed-straw a little chest locked with a padlock, wherein they found a sackcloth bag of money, containing the sum of thirteen or fourteen pounds, partly in gold, and partly in silver; which money, after being told and put in the bag again, they carried away with them.

Besides also they found there certain books, as psalters, bibles, and other writings: all which books, with the money, were delivered to the aforesaid priest, Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, and afterwards, in the fifth year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, it was by right law recovered from him again, as in records remaineth to be seen.

Thus good Edmund Allin and his wife, being maliciously accused, wrongfully imprisoned, and cruelly robbed and spoiled of all their goods, were brought, as is aforesaid, before Sir John Baker, the justice, to be examined; who taunting and reviling him without all mercy and pity, asked him if those were the fruits of his gospel, to have conventicles, to gather people together, to make conspiracies, to sow sedition and rebellion? and thus he began to reason with him.

Baker. Who gave thee authority to preach and interpret? Art thou a priest? Art thou admitted thereunto? Let me see thy license.

Collins, Sir John Baker's school-master, said, Surely he is an arrant heretic, and worthy to be burned.

Allin. If it pleases your honor to permit me to answer in the cause of my faith, I am persuaded that God hath given me this authority, as he hath given to all other Christians. Why are we called Christians, if we do not follow Christ, if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others that have not so much understanding? Is not Christ our Father? Shall not the son follow the father's steps? Is not Christ our master? and shall the scholar be inhibited to learn and preach his precepts? Is not Christ our Redeemer, and shall we not praise his name, and serve him who hath redeemed us from sin and damnation? Did not Christ, when but twelve years of age, dispute with the doctors, and interpret the prophet Isaiah? and yet, notwithstanding, he was neither of the tribe of Levi, which were priests, but of the royal tribe of Judah, neither had taken any outward priesthood; wherefore, if we be Christians, we must do the same.

Collins. Please your honor, what a

knave is this, that compareth himself with Christ!

Baker. Let him alone, he will pump out presently an infinite number of heresies. Hast thou any more to say for thyself!

Allin. Yea, that I have. Adam was licensed of God, and Abraham was commanded to teach his children and posterity, and so David teacheth in divers Psalms: and Solomon also preached to the people, as the book of the Preacher very well proveth, where he teacheth that there is no immortal felicity in this life, but in the next. And Noah taught them that were disobedient in his days, and therefore is called "The eighth preacher of righteousness," in the second epistle of Peter. Also, in the 11th chapter of Numbers, where Moses had chosen seventy elders to help him to teach and rule the rest, Eldad and Medad preached in the tents, wherefore Joshua being offended, complained to Moses, that Eldad and Medad did preach without license. To whom Moses answered, and wished that all the people could do the like. Why should I be long! most of the priests were not of the tribe of Levi and Aaron.

Collins. These are authorities of the Old Testament, and therefore abrogated; but thou art a fool, and knowest no schoolpoints. Is not the law divided into the law ceremonial and judicial?

Allin. I grant that the ceremonies ceased when Christ came, as St. Paul proveth to the Hebrews, and to the Colossians, where he saith, "Let no man judge you in any part of the Sabbath-day, new moon, or other ceremonies, which are figures of things to come: for Christ is the body."

Collins. And are not the judicials abrogated by Christ?

Allin. They are confirmed both by Christ in the fifth chapter of Matthew, and by Paul in the first epistle to Timothy. The law, saith he, is not yet set forth for the virtuous and godly, but for manslayers, perjurers, adulterers, and such like.

Collins. Thou art a heretic. Wilt thou call the judicials of Moses again? Wilt thou have adultery punished with death? disobedient children to their parents to be stoned? wilt thou have *Legem Talionis?* But thou art an ass. Why should I speak Latin to thee, thou erroneous rebel? shall we now smite out eye for eye, tooth for tooth? *Thou art worthy to have thy teeth and tongue plucked out.**

Allin. If we had that law, we should neither have disobedient children, neither false witness-bearers, nor ruffians.

*This very *appropriate* conclusion to a speech reprobating *cruelty* of punishment, shows the innate barbarity of this mercy-preaching priest's heart.

Baker. Master Collins, let us return to our first matter. Why did you teach the people, whom you said you had fed both bodily and spiritually, being no priest?

Allin. Because that we are all kings to rule our affections, priests to preach out the virtues and word of God, as Peter writeth, and lively stones to give light to others. For as out of flint-stones cometh forth that which is able to set the world on fire, so out of Christians should spring the beams of the gospel, which should inflame all the world. If we must give a reckoning of our faith to every man, and now to you demanding it, then must we study the scriptures, and practise them. What availeth it a man to have meat, and will eat none; or apparel, and will wear none; or to have an occupation, and to teach none; or to be a lawyer, and to utter none? Shall every artificer be suffered, yea and commended to practise his faculty and science, and the Christian forbidden to exercise his? Doth not every lawyer practise his law? Is not every Christian a follower of Christ? Shall ignorance, which is condemned in all sciences, be practised by Christians? Doth not St. Paul forbid any man's spirit to be quenched! Doth he prohibit any man that hath any of these gifts, which he repeateth, 1 Cor. xiv. to practise the same? Only he forbiddeth women, but no man. The Jews never forbad any. Read the Acts of the apostles. And the restraint was made by Gregory, the ninth pope of that name, as I heard a learned man preach in king Edward's days.

Collins. This villain, please your honor, is mad. By my priesthood I believe that he will say that a priest hath no more authority than another man! Doth not a priest bind and loose?

Allin. No, my sin bindeth me, and my repentance looseth. God forgiveth sin only, and no priest. For every Christian, when he sinneth, bindeth himself, and when he repenteth, looseth himself. And if any other be loosed from his sin by my exhortation, I am said to loose him; and if he persevere in sin notwithstanding my exhortation, I am said to bind him, although it is God that bindeth, and looseth, and giveth the increase. Therefore, saith Christ, Matth. xviii. "Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them; and, whose soever sins they forgive, they are forgiven, and whose soever they retain they are retained." Neither hath the pope any keys, save the keys of error; for the key that openeth the lock to God's mysteries and salvation, is the key of faith and repentance. And as I have heard learned men reason, St. Austin, Origen, and others, are of this opinion.

Then they reviled him, and laid him in the stocks all night: wherewith some that were better minded, being offended with such extremity, desired Allin to keep his conscience to himself, and to follow Baruch's counsel, in the sixth chapter, "Wherefore when ye see the multitude of people worshipping them, behind and before, say ye in your hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought only to be worshipped."

Wherewith he was persuaded to go to hear mass the next day, and suddenly before the sacring, went out and considered in the church-yard with himself, that such a little cake between the priest's fingers could not be Christ, nor a material body, neither to have soul, life, sinews, bones, flesh, legs, head, arms, nor breast, and lamented that he was seduced by the words of Baruch, which his conscience told him was no scripture, or else had another meaning: after this he was brought again before Sir John Baker, who asked why he refused to worship the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Allin. It is an idol.

Collins. It is God's body.

Allin. It is not.

Collins. By the mass it is.

Allin. It is bread.

Collins. How provest thou that?

Allin. When Christ sat at his supper, and gave them bread to eat.

Collins. Bread, knave?

Allin. Yes, bread, which you call Christ's body. Sat he still at the table, or was he both in their mouths and at the table? If he was in their mouths, and at the table, then had he two bodies, or else he had a fantastical body, which is an absurdity.

Baker. Christ's body was glorified, and might be in more places than one.

Allin. Then he had more bodies than one, by your own placing of him.

Collins. Thou ignorant ass, the schoolmen say, that a glorified body may be everywhere.

Allin. If his body was not glorified till it rose again, then was it not glorified at his last supper; and therefore was not at the table, and in their mouths, by your own reason.

Collins. A glorified body occupieth no place.

Allin. That which occupieth no place, is neither God nor any thing else. If it be nothing, then is your religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one Trinity, which is the person of the Father, of the Son, of the Holy Ghost, and the human nature of Christ. If Christ be nothing, which you must needs confess, if he occupieth no place, then is our study vain, our faith frustrate, and our hope without reward.

Collins. This rebel will believe nothing but Scripture! How knowest thou that it is the Scripture but by the church? and so saith St. Austin.

Allin. I cannot tell what St. Austin saith, but I am persuaded that it is Scripture, by divers arguments: First, that the law worketh in me my condemnation. The law telleth me, that of myself I am damned; and this damnation, Mr. Collins, you must find in yourself, or else you shall never come to repentance. For as this grief and sorrow of conscience, without faith, is desperation; so is a glorious and Romish faith, without the lamentation of a man's sins, presumption.

The second is the gospel, which is the power and Spirit of God. "This Spirit (saith St. Paul) certifieth my spirit that I am the Son of God, and that these are the Scriptures."

The third are the wonderful works of God, which cause me to believe that there is a God, though we glorify him not as God, Rom. i. The sun, the moon, the stars, and other his works (as David discourseth in Psalm xix.) declare that there is a God, and that these are the Scriptures, because that they teach nothing else but God, and his power, majesty, and might; and because the Scripture teacheth nothing disagreeing from this prescription of nature. And, fourthly, because that the word of God gave authority to the church in paradise, saying, that the seed of the woman shall break down the serpent's head. This seed is the gospel; this is all the Scriptures, and by this we are assured of eternal life; and by these words, "The seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head," gave authority to the church, and not the church to the word.

Baker. I heard say that you spake against priests and bishops.

Allin. I spake for them; for now they have so much living, and especially bishops, archdeacons, and deans, that they neither can nor will teach God's word. If they had a hundred pounds apiece, then would they apply to their study; now they cannot, for their affairs.

Collins. Who will then set his children to school?

Allin. Where there is now one set to school for that end, there would be forty: because that one bishop's living divided into thirty or forty parts, would find so many men, as well learned as the bishops now are, who have all this living; neither had Peter or Paul any such revenue.

Baker. Let us dispatch him, he will mar all.

Collins. If every man had a hundred pounds, as he saith, it would make more learned men.

Baker. But our bishops would be angry, if that they knew it.

Allin. It would be for the common good to have such bishoprics divided, for the further increase of learning.

Baker. What sayest thou to the sacrament?

Allin. As I said before.

Baker. Away with him.

Then he was carried to prison and afterward burned. And thus much concerning the particular story of Edmund Allin and his wife; who, with the five other martyrs above named, being seven, were burned at Maidstone, the 18th of June, 1557.

MARTYRDOMS OF ALICE BENDON, JOHN FISHCOCK, NICHOLAS WHITE, NICHOLAS PARDUE, BARBARA FINALL, MARY BRADBRIDGE, AND AMOS WILSON.

Alice Bendon was 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, she was asked why she absented herself from church? To which she replied, "Because there was much idolatry practised there, against the honor 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 did not give a 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 application for her discharge to the bishop of Dover; but in this he failed, the bishop telling him, she was a most obstinate, irreclaimable heretic, 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 diligently 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 public manner, he found a method of conveying to her some money and sustenance, by means of a long stick, with which he reached the window of the prison.

In this dungeon she continued nine weeks, without seeing any one but her keeper, lying in her clothes upon straw, and having but three-farthings-worth of bread, a day, allowed for her subsistence, with no other 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 lothesome prison, the bishop summoned her before him, and asked if she would go to church, promising her great favors 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 be 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 from thence 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 the rest of the prisoners, being brought before the commissioners, were severally examined; and on persisting in those principles which their persecutors called heresy, they received sentence of excommunication, were delivered to the sheriff, and sent back to prison.

Here they continued till the 19th of June, when they were all seven brought to the place of execution.

Alice Bendon conducted herself with remarkable courage 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.

We have not any particular account of the examinations and sufferings of the other six martyrs; but the following anecdote is related of one of them: Mary Bradbridge had two daughters, the one named Patience and the other Charity; and when she was condemned to be burnt, she desired the bishop to "take Patience and Charity (meaning her children) and keep them."—"Nay," cried the prelate, with *involuntary sincerity*, "I have nothing to do with either of them."

TROUBLES AND EXAMINATIONS OF MATTHEW PLAISE.

MATTHEW PLAISE, of the parish of Stone, in the county of Kent, weaver, and a faithful Christian, being apprehended, and imprisoned in the castle of Canterbury, was brought to examination, in the year 1557, before Thornton, bishop of Dover, archdeacon, Harpsfield, commissary Collins, and other inquisitors, when the bishop began by asking him,

"Art thou of the diocese of Canterbury, and where dwellest thou?"

Plaise. I am of the parish of Stone, in Kent, and subject to the king and queen of England.

Bishop. Thou wert indicted by twelve men, at the sessions of Ashford, for heresy.

Plaise. That is sooner said than proved.

Bishop. I have spoken the truth, and can prove it.

Plaise. I desire to hear it, and then I will answer to it.

Bishop. No, no; you shall answer to the article, yea or nay.

Plaise. You cannot prove it; for I was not at Ashford, and therefore you have nothing to lay to my charge; but now I perceive you go about to lay a net to have my blood.

Harpsfield. Peace, peace; we do not desire thy blood, but we are glad to hear thou art no heretic; yet thou art suspected of heresy; and if thou wilt be content to confess how thou dost believe concerning these articles, we shall gladly teach thee.

Plaise. I do not think so, for I talked with one of your doctors, and after long talk, he would needs know how I believed in the sacrament, and I recited unto him the text, and because I would not make my exposition to him upon it, he would teach me nothing: yet I prayed him, for my instruction, to write his mind, and if it were truth I would believe him; and this I desired of him, for the love of God, but it would not be.

Harpsfield. I dare swear upon a book, that it is not so.

Plaise. Nay, I can prove it to be true.

Harpsfield. I will tell thee the truth, [and he stood up, and made a long speech, in the usual strain of his party]; I am sure that the same doctor doth believe as I do.

Plaise. How do you know that? seeing St. Paul doth say, That no man knoweth what is in man, but the Spirit which dwelleth in him: but if you knew what Christ meant by these words, "I require mercy and not sacrifice," Matthew xii., you would not kill innocents.

Bishop. I charge thee, in the name of the king and queen, and the lord cardinal, to answer yea or nay to the articles.

Plaise. I command you, in the name of Him who shall come in flaming fire, with his mighty angels, to render vengeance to the disobedient, and to all those that believe not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting damnation, that you shall speak nothing but the truth grounded upon Christ and his apostles, and then I will answer you, or else not.

Bishop. Unless thou wilt answer to every article, I will immediately condemn thee.

Plaise. Well, if you do, you shall be guilty of my blood, and prove yourself a murderer.

Then the archdeacon took the articles in his hand, and read the second article, which was, That I was a Christian man, and did believe in their mother the Catholic church, and the determination thereof.

Plaise. I am a Christian man indeed, and therefore you have nothing against me.

Harpsfield. What sayest thou to the Catholic church, which hath so long continued, except it were nine or ten years, that this heresy hath sprung up in this realm?

Plaise. No man can accuse me of any thing spoken against the Catholic church of Christ.

Bishop. Dost thou not believe the creed?

Plaise. Yes, verily, I believe my creed, and all that is written in the Testament of Christ, with the rest of the Scriptures.

Bishop. Thou dost confess that there is a Catholic church; I am glad of that; but, tell me, are the king and queen of that church, or no?

Plaise. Well, now I perceive you go about to be both mine accuser and also my judge, contrary to all right. I confess Christ hath a church upon earth, which is built upon the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head thereof; and as touching the king and queen, I answer, I have nothing to do with any man's faith but mine own; neither came I hither to judge, for I judge not myself, but the Lord must judge me.

Bishop. Is there no part of that church here in England?

Plaise. Well, I perceive you would fain have something to lay to my charge. I will tell what Christ saith; Where two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he in the midst of them.

Then the archdeacon stood up with his mocks, to put me out of countenance, and said to the people that I had no wit, but that I thought all they were deceived so long time, and that half a dozen of us should have the truth in a corner, and that all they should be deceived, with such like taunts and mocks; but would not suffer me to speak one word. Then he read the article of the sacrament, and said I denied the real presence to be in the sacrament after it was once consecrated, and that I said, Christ's body was in heaven, and nowhere else, and that the bread was nothing but a sign, token, or remembrance.

Plaise. You have to show me where and what my words were.

Hereof we talked a good while.

At last the bishop was so angry, that he charged me, in the names of the king, queen, and cardinal, before the mayor and his brethren, taking them to witness, if I did not say yea, or nay, he would condemn me.

Then said I, Seeing you have nothing to accuse me of, why should I answer?

Then the archdeacon said I was guilty, and that I was like a thief at the bar, who would not confess his fault because his accusers were not present; with a great many more words, and would not let me open my mouth against him.

Then I saw whereabouts they went, gathering to answer them by the word, or else I think they would have condemned me for holding of my peace; and this was my beginning; I believe that Christ took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me."

Harpsfield. Dost thou believe that Christ meant even as he said?

Plaise. Christ was no dissembler, but he spake the very truth.

Harpsfield. Thou hast very well said; we will take no advantage of thy words.

A long dispute then took place, in the course of which, the archdeacon said, "he marvelled why I would not believe them, seeing this learning had continued fifteen hundred years: neither yet did say, as others had before, how Christ did call it his body."

Plaise. When Cranmer, who was here bishop, was in authority, he said, he held the truth, and commanded us to believe him, and hath given his life for his opinion, and would you have me believe you, because you say you hold the truth? That which makes me believe chiefly, is the Scripture, which I am sure is the truth indeed.

Bishop. I have spoken the truth, and you will not believe.

Plaise. If you do not now speak the truth, I am sure you have spoke the truth: [for he had before preached doctrine contrary to this.]

Then the rest of my articles were read; which I answered, and in every article he had up this breaden god. And they sent for a lighted candle, and I thought they would have condemned me, but God would not suffer their cruel hearts to have their pleasure then: blessed be his name for evermore, Amen.

Then the archdeacon was angry, and began to chide me, because I would not desire a day of the bishop, and said, I was a naughty stubborn fellow, and that it had been my duty to have desired him to have been good to me, that I might have a day.

Plaise. I have spoken the truth; and therefore will not ask him for a day, except he would give me a day of his own mind.

Then the commissary said, Dost thou not think that thou mayest be deceived, seeing he may be deceived that hath gone to study all the days of his life?

Plaise. Yea, I might be deceived in that I was a man; but I was sure God's word could not be deceived.

Then the commissary prayed me to be content, and to confess that I might learn; and said, they would be glad to teach me.

Plaise. I will be as glad to learn as any man.

And thus they rose up, and went away, saying nothing.

What became of this Matthew Plaise afterwards, whether he died in prison, or was executed, or delivered, we have no certain account.

MARTYRDOMS OF RICHARD WOODMAN, GEORGE STEPHENS, WILLIAM MAYNARD, ALEXANDER HOSMAN, THOMASIN WOOD, MARGERY MORIS, JAMES MORIS, DENNIS BURGESS, ANN ASHDON, AND MARY GROVES.

Though these ten persons all suffered together, yet we do not find any particulars relative to any of them, except Richard Woodman, who was a considerable merchant in the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex, and whose troubles arose from the following incident:

There was one Fairbank, who for some time had been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton, where he urgently persuaded the people not to credit any doc-

trine but that which he preached, and which was then taught and set forth in the days of Edward the Sixth; but in the beginning of the reign of Mary, Fairbank deserted the reformed principles, and favored 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.

This open and frank behavior irritated the apostate so much that he caused Woodman to be apprehended, and being brought before several of the justices of peace for the county of Sussex, he was committed to the King's Bench prison, where he remained a considerable time.

At length he 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 Catholic 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 demonstration of his adherence to the Protestant faith, 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 arrested him in her majesty's name, and told him he must go with them before the lord chamberlain.

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 superiors.

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 fears arose from the frailty of human nature, his attachment to his worldly possessions, and his love to his wife and children.

But when, on 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 wherefore he was apprehended, 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," said he, "that 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 time they searched his house several times, but could not find him.

Mr. Woodman, finding his enemies thus resolved on his destruction, prepared himself a convenient cottage in a wood, near his house, where he had pen and ink, and a bible; and such necessaries as he had occasion for, were daily brought to him.

His absence 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 liking to be so far 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 of his brothers, (whom he had told of his hiding-place, and who had great part of his property in their hands, which they basely sought to secure to themselves by sacrificing him) his house was beset in the night, which as soon as he discovered, he ran out barefoot, 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 in his present circumstances, 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 situation, nor think himself wiser than all the realm, assuring him that he wished 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 neighbors, he had ever endeavored 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 things unjustly 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 give 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 Montague'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 brought before the bishop of Winchester, in St. George's church, Southwark, where several gentlemen and clergy were present, and he was then examined 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 behavior, 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. Savior's church, Southwark, in the presence of the archdeacon 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 any articles which that prelate 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 that he was surprised he should charge him with heresy, as my lord of London had discharged him of all matters that were laid against him on that head."

The bishop then observed, "that at the time he was released, perhaps those things were not laid to his charge; and that, therefore, they were now objected to him, because he was suspected of being a heretic."

Mr. Woodman, at length, consented to answer to the several articles exhibited against them, 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 Savior, 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 Catholic

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, together with his fellow martyrs, concerning whose examination (as we have already observed) there is not any thing recorded, except that they had been all condemned for heresy a few days after their apprehension.

On the 22d of July, 1557, these ten stedfast believers in Christ were 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."

MARTYRDOM OF THE REV. JOHN HULLIER, CAMBRIDGE.

John Hullier was descended of reputable parents, who, after giving him a liberal education at a private school, sent him to Eton college, from 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 Babram, 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, who reporting his principles to Dr. Thurlby, bishop of the diocese, he 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 Edward VI.

His examination being finished, he was required to recant what they termed 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, (being Maundy Thursday) 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 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 reproved the mayor for giving him liberty to speak. Of this our martyr took no notice; but being chained to the stake, he 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 Hullier 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 exclaimed, "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.

MARTYRDOMS OF SIMON MILLER AND ELIZABETH COOPER, AT NORWICH.

Simon Miller was an eminent merchant in the town of Lynn-Regis. He was a godly man, zealous for the truth of the gospel, and consequently opposed to the popish religion.

Having occasion to go to Norwich on business, while there 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 agreeably 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 Miller remaining inflexible in his faith and profession, was condemned as a heretic, and delivered over to the secular power.

ELIZABETH COOPER (his fellow martyr) 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 publicly revoked her recantation. For this she was immediately apprehended, and committed to prison. The next day she was brought before the bishop, when persisting in her faith, he condemned her as a relapsed heretic, and delivered her to the sheriff for execution.

On the 30th of July, 1557, they were both led to the stake, in a hollow without the city, near Bishopsgate. When the fagots were lighted, Elizabeth Cooper expressed some fear; but being encouraged by the advice and example of her fellow martyr, she recovered her fortitude, and they both cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of their Almighty Father.

MARTYRDOMS OF WILLIAM BONGEOR, THOMAS BENHOTE, WILLIAM PURCHASE, AGNES SILVERSIDE, HELEN EWRING, ELIZABETH FOLK, WILLIAM MUNT, JOHN JOHNSON, ALICE MUNT, AND ROSE ALLEN, AT COLCHESTER.

It will be recollected that in a preceding page we gave an account of twenty-two persons who were brought from Colchester to London, and there discharged, on signing a confession.

Among these persons were William Munt, of Muchbentley, Alice, his wife, and Rose Allen, her daughter; who coming home again, not intimidated by the danger from which they had so recently escaped, absented themselves from the idolatrous service of the popish church, and frequented the company of pious men and women, who employed themselves diligently in reading the word of God, and calling on his name, through Christ. This conduct gave so much offence to the wicked priest of the town, called Sir Thomas Tye, and others of the bigoted papists, that they made a supplication to the lord Darcy, in the name of the whole parish, which was as follows:

"PLEASETH your honorable lordship to be advertised, that we confess whilst your good lordship lay here in the country, the people were stayed in good order, to our great comfort: but since your lordship's departure they have made digression from good order in some places, and, namely, in the parish of Muchbentley, by reason of three seditious persons, William Munt, and his wife, and Rose, her daughter, who by their feigned submission (as doth appear) were dismissed and sent down from the bishop of London; and since their coming home they have not only in their own persons made manifest their disobedience, in not coming to the church, nor yet observing other good orders, but also most maliciously and seditiously have seduced many from coming to the church, and from obeying all other good orders; mocking also those that frequent the church, and calling them church-owls, and blasphemously calling the blessed sacrament of the altar a blind god, with divers such like blasphemies. In consideration whereof, may it please your honor, (for the love of God, and for the tender zeal your good lordship beareth to justice, and the common peace and quietness of the king and queen's majesty's loving subjects) to award out your warrant for the said William Munt, his wife, and Rose her daughter, that they being attached, and brought before your good lordship, we trust the rest will fear to offend (their ringleaders of sedition being apprehended) the quietness of their obedient subjects.

"Your daily orators, the parishioners of Muchbentley, Thomas Tye, priest; John Castor, Thomas Chandler, John Barker, Richard Mere, J. Painter, Will. Harris, John Richard, and others."

This being done, Tye employed himself and his spies in finding out the secret places where the Protestants assembled for praying and reading the Scriptures; and having formerly pretended to be of the reformed religion himself, he was acquainted with many of them; after making what discove-

ries he could, he communicated his *pious* fears and wishes to Bonner in the following letter:

"RIGHT honorable lord; after my bounden duty done in most humble wise, these shall be to signify unto your lordship the state of our parts concerning religion. And first, since the coming down of the twenty-two rank heretics dismissed from you, the detestable sort of schismatics were never so bold since the king and queen's majesty's reign, as they are now at this present. In Muchbentley, where your lordship is patron of the church, since William Munt, and Alice, his wife, with Rose Allen, her daughter, came home, they do not only absent themselves from the church and service of God, but do daily allure many others away from the same, which before did outwardly show signs and tokens of obedience.

"They assemble together upon the Sabbath-day, in the time of divine service, sometimes in one house, sometimes in another, and there keep their private conventicles and schools of heresy. The jurates say, the lords' commission is out, and they are discharged of their oath. The questmen in your archdeacon's visitation alleged, that forasmuch as they were once presented and now sent home, they have no more to do with them or any other. Your officers say, namely, Mr. Boswel, that the council sent them not home without great consideration. I pray God some of your officers prove not favorers of heretics. The rebels are stout in the town of Colchester.

"The ministers of the church are hemmed at in the open streets, and called knaves. The blessed sacrament of the altar is blasphemed and railed upon in every house and tavern. Prayer and fasting is not regarded. Seditious talks and news are rife both in town and country, in as ample and large a manner, as though no honorable lords and commissioners had been sent for reformation thereof. The occasion riseth partly by reason of John Love, of Colchester Heath, (a perverse place), which John Love was twice indicted of heresy, and thereupon fled with his wife and household, and his goods seized within the town of Colchester, to the king and queen's majesty's use. Nevertheless, the said John is come home again, and nothing said or done to him. Whereupon the heretics are wonderfully encouraged, to the great discomfort of good and Catholic people, which daily pray to God for the profit, unity, and restoration of his church again: which thing shall come the sooner to pass through the travail and pains of such honorable lords and reverend fathers as your lordship is, unto whom I wish long life and continuance, with increase of much honor. From Colchester, December 18.

"Your humble beadsman,

"THOMAS TYE, Priest."

When this wicked priest had thus wrought his malice against the people of God, such a strong persecution was raised against these poor people, as compelled them for a while to withdraw from its rage; after a short time, however, lulled into security by its apparent cessation, they returned to their house, where they had not long been, when, on the 7th of March, 1557, about two o'clock in the morning, Edmund Tyrrel, (a descendant of the person who murdered king Edward V., in the Tower of London), assisted by the bailiff of the hundred, two constables, and a great number of other attendants, came to the door, 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 was much indisposed in consequence of the cruel treatment she had before received from the popish party; but after she had a little recovered herself, she desired of Tyrrel that her daughter might be permitted to fetch her something to drink before she went with him. This being granted, Tyrrel 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 Catholic church; to which she replied. "Sir, they have a better instructor than me. For the Holy Ghost doth teach them, I hope, which I trust will not suffer them to err."

Tyrr. Why, art thou still in that mind, thou naughty housewife? marry, it is time to look upon such heretics indeed.

Rose. Sir, with what you call heresy, do I worship my Lord God; I tell you truth.

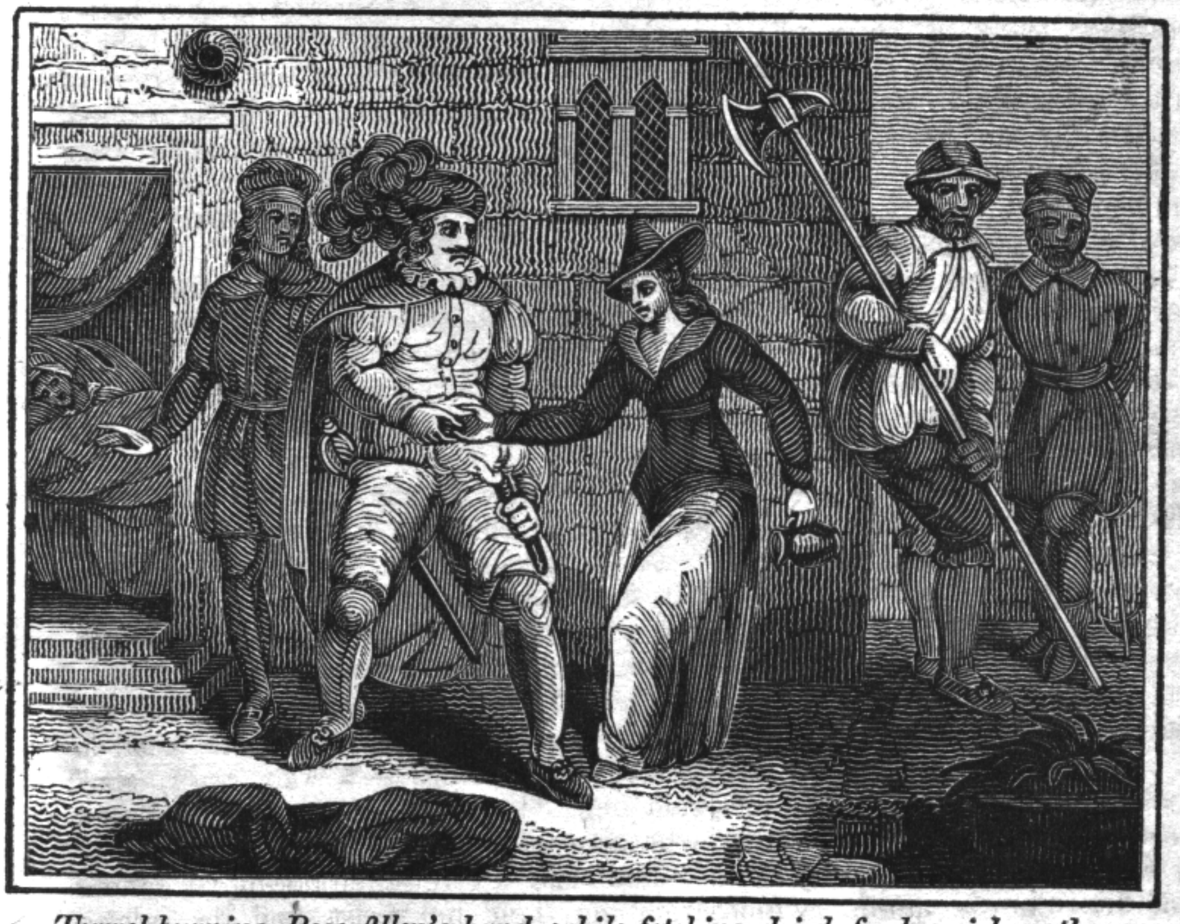
Tyrr. Then I perceive you will burn, gossip, with the rest, for company's sake.

Rose. No, sir, not for company's sake, but for Christ's sake, if so I be compelled, and I hope in his mercy, if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.

Then Tyrrel, turning to his company, said, "Sirs, this gossip will burn: what do you think of her?"—"Why truly, sir," said one, "prove her, and you shall see what she will do by and by."

The cruel Tyrrel, then taking the candle from her, held her wrist, and the lighted candle under her hand, burning it across the back, till the sinews cracked; during which barbarous operation he said often to

Inhuman Execution of a Mother, her two Daughters, and an Infant, at Guernsey, July 18, 1556.



Tyrrel burning Rose Allen's hand, while fetching drink for her sick mother.

her, "Why, w——, wilt thou not cry? thou young w——, wilt thou not cry?" To which she constantly answered, that "she thanked God she had no cause, but rather to rejoice. But," she said, "he had more cause to weep than she, if he considered the matter well." At last he thrust her violently from him, with much scurrilous language; of which she took no other notice than by inquiring, "Sir, have you done what you will do?" To which he replied, "Yea, and if you think not well of it, then mend it."

Rose. "Mend it? nay, the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be his will; and now, if you think it good, begin at the feet, and burn the head also: for he that set you on work, shall pay you your wages one day, I warrant you:" and so went and carried her mother drink as she was commanded.

Tyrrel then seized William Munt, his wife, and Rose Allen, her daughter, and immediately conducted them to Colchester castle, together with John Johnson, whom they took in their way, in consequence of an information against him for heresy.

They also the same morning apprehended six others, namely, William Bongeor, Thomas Benhote, William Purchase, Agnes Silverside, Helen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folk; but not choosing to place those with the rest, they sent them prisoners to Motehill.

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 on 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 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 to a holy use, and both bread and wine merely 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 pageantry, absurdities, and superstitions of the church of Rome, which was the church of Antichrist.

Helen Ewring also renounced all the unscriptural doctrines and practices of the church of Rome.

Elizabeth Folk being asked, whether she believed 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 remaineth 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 confession to a priest, going to church to hear mass, 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 up 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 stedfast 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 Antichrist, and would have the reward of Antichrist if they repented not."

In consequence of this, sentence was read against her, and she and her compan-

ions 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 for their happy dissolution.

Bishop Bonner having an account transmitted to him of the condemnation of these ten innocent persons, sent down a warrant for their being burned, and fixed the day for 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, Helen 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 barbarous catastrophe.

When our martyrs arrived at the spot, they kneeled down, and humbly addressed themselves to Almighty God, though they were interrupted by their popish enemies.

Having concluded their prayers, they arose, were fastened to the stakes, and all 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 them after 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 martyrs had suffered in the morning. As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot, 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 testified their faith in Christ crucified, whom to know is eternal life, and for whom to die is the glory of all his chosen people.

MARTYRDOM OF RICHARD CRASHFIELD.

The popish emissaries having laid an information against this pious man, who resided at Wymondham, in Norfolk, he was apprehended on suspicion of heresy, and being brought before chancellor Dunning, was 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 answered, 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 the usual 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 a 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 heretic.

Mr. Crashfield 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, at Norwich, 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 most holy word, and in the sure and certain hope of enjoying an everlasting habitation in the heavenly mansions.

MARTYRDOM OF MRS. JOYCE LEWIS, AT LICHFIELD.

In the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, Mrs. Lewis went to church, heard

mass, was confessed, and observed 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 Laurence Saunders, a faithful servant of God at Coventry, which we have described in a preceding page. She inquired into the cause of that cruel punishment, and being told it was because he would not receive the mass, she began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of a religion which sanctioned such barbarities, and accordingly applied for satisfaction to one Mr. Glover, who had himself suffered much for his stedfast attachment to the truth of the gospel.

This good man pointed out to her the errors of the Romish church, proving them to be antiscriptural and antichristian, and advising her to make the word of God her constant study, and to 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 divine grace, both to do and to believe as much and no more than she was enjoined by the word of God.

Being one day urged by her husband to go to church, when the holy water was sprinkled about, she turned her back towards it, and strongly expressed her displeasure. This being observed by several of the congregation, an accusation was, the next day, laid against her before the bishop of Lichfield, for despising the sacrament of the church.

The bishop sent an officer to summon her to appear before him; but when he delivered the citation to her husband, he threatened the officer, and holding a dagger to his breast, compelled him to *eat* the paper, before he suffered him to depart.

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 violent conduct, and offered forgiveness to the wife 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 the matter, binding her husband in one hundred pounds, 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 a 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 lothesome prison.

She was several times examined by the bishop, who reasoned with her on her not coming to mass, nor receiving the sacrament according to the rituals of the holy church; to this she replied, that "she found not those things in God's word, 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."

His lordship told her, "if she would believe no more than was in Scripture, she was a damnable heretic;" and after much farther discourse with her, pronounced sentence against her as irreclaimable.

The concluding scene of this pious woman's life is narrated with so much interesting simplicity by the Martyrologist, that we give it in his own words.

In the evening before her suffering, two of the priests of the close of Lichfield, came to the under-sheriff's house, where she lay, and sent word to her by the sheriff, that "they were come to her confession, for they would be sorry she should die without." She sent them word again, "she had made a confession to Christ her Savior, at whose hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. As concerning the cause for which she should die, she had no cause to confess that, but rather to give most humble praise to God, that he had made her worthy to suffer death for his word: and as concerning that absolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the pope, she did defy the same, even from the bottom of her heart."

Which when the priests heard, they said to the sheriff, "Well, to-morrow her stoutness will be proved and tried: for although perhaps she hath now some friends that whisper in her ears, to-morrow we will see who dare be so hardy as to come near her:" and so they went their ways with anger, that their confession and absolution was naught set by.

All that night she was wonderfully cheerful and merry, with a certain gravity, insomuch that the majesty of the Spirit of God did manifestly appear in her, who did expel the fear of death out of her heart, spending

the time in prayer, reading and talking with them that were purposely come unto her, to comfort her with the word of God.

About three o'clock in the morning, Satan, (who never sleepeth, especially when death is at hand) began to bestir himself busily, shooting at her that fiery dart, which he is wont to do against all that are at defiance with him, by questioning her, how she could tell that she was chosen to eternal life, and that Christ died for her. "I grant that he died, but that he died for thee, how canst thou tell?" Whilst she was troubled with this suggestion, they that were about her counselled her to follow the example of Paul, Gal. ii, where he saith, "Which hath loved me, and given himself for me." Also, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God's word, was a manifest token of God's love, and desire towards God working in her heart, that love and desire towards God, to please him, and to be justified by him through Christ, &c. By these and like persuasions, and especially by the comfortable promises of Christ, brought out of the Scripture, Satan was put to flight, and she comforted in Christ.

About eight o'clock, Mr. Sheriff came into her chamber, saying these words, "Mrs. Lewis, I am come to bring you tidings of the queen's pleasure, which is, that you shall live but one hour longer in this world: therefore it behoveth you to prepare yourself for it." At which words, being so grossly uttered, and so suddenly, by such an officer as he was, made her somewhat cast down. Wherefore one of her friends and acquaintance standing by, said these words: "Mrs. Lewis, you have great cause to praise God, who has vouchsafed so soon to take you out of this world, and made you worthy to be a witness of the truth, and to bear record unto Christ, that he is the only Savior."

After which words, she said, "Mr. Sheriff, your message is welcome to me, and I thank my God that he has made me worthy to offer my life for his service." At which words the sheriff departed: but in the space of an hour he came back again, with swords and clubs; and when he came up into her chamber, one of her friends desired him to give him leave to go with her to the stake, and to comfort her, which the sheriff granted at that time; but afterwards, when she was dead, he was sore troubled for the same.

Now when she was brought through the town by a number of bill-men, a great number of people being present, she was led by two of her friends, namely, Mr. Michael Reniger, and Mr. Augustine Bernher, and so brought to the place of execution: and because the place was far off, and the throng of the people great, and she not acquainted with the fresh air, (being so long in prison) one of her friends sent a messenger to the sheriff's house for some drink: and after she had prayed three several times, in which prayers she desired God most instantly to abolish the idolatrous mass, and to deliver this realm from popery (at the end of which prayers most part of the people cried, "Amen!" yea, even the sheriff that stood hard by her, ready to cast her into the fire for not allowing the mass, at this her prayer said with the rest of her people, "Amen!"); when she had thus prayed, she took the cup into her hands, saying, "I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the gospel of Jesus Christ, and wish for the abolishment of popery." When she had drunk, they that were her friends drank also. After that a great number, especially the women of that town, drank with her, who afterwards were put to open penance in the church by the cruel papists, for drinking with her.

When she was chained to the stake, she showed much cheerfulness, that it passed man's reason, being so well colored in her face, and being so patient, that most of them that had honest hearts were moved and even with tears bewailed the tyranny of the papists. When the fire was set to her, she made no other resistance than by lifting up her hands towards heaven, being dead very soon: for the under-sheriff, at the request of her friends, had provided such stuff, that she was suddenly dispatched out of this miserable world.

This, amongst other things, is not to be forgotten, that the papists had appointed some to rail upon her, and to revile her, both as she went to the place of execution, as also when she went to the stake. Amongst others there was an old priest, who had a pair of writing tables, wherein he set down the names of those women that drank of the cup (as before mentioned), and also described her friends by their apparel, for he could not presently learn their names, and afterwards inquired for them: and so immediately after process was sent for them, both to Coventry and other places: but God, whose providence sleeps not, did defend them from the hands of these cruel tyrants. Unto which God, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be honor and glory for ever, Amen.

MARTYRDOMS OF RALPH ALLERTON, JAMES AWSTOO, MARGERY AWSTOO, AND RICHARD ROTH, AT ISLINGTON.

Mr. Ralph Allerton, being informed against by several bigoted papists in the neighborhood where he lived, was appre-

hended 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, at Colchester, who accused him not only of 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 nor 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, lord Darcy sent him to London to the 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 so weakly revoked, till Thomas Tye, priest of the parish, (who had formerly been a professor of the truth, but was now a persecutor) caused him to be apprehended, and again brought to the bishop of London, on the 8th of April, 1557, when the following examination took place.

Bonner. Ah, sirrah! how, chanceth it that you are come hither again on this fashion? I dare say thou art accused wrongfully.

Ralph. Yea, my lord, so I am! For if I were guilty of such things as I am accused then I would be very sorry.

Bonner. Go on, let me hear thee; for I did not believe the tale to be true.

Ralph. My lord, who did accuse me? I pray you let me know, that I may answer thereunto.

Bonner. If thou hast not dissembled, then thou needest not be afraid, nor ashamed to answer for thyself. But tell me in faith, hast thou not dissembled?

Ralph. If I cannot have mine accusers to accuse me before you, my conscience doth constrain me to accuse myself: for I have grievously offended God in my dissimulation, at my last being before your lordship, for which I am very sorry.

Bonner. Wherein, I pray thee, didst thou dissemble, when thou wast before me?

Ralph. Forsooth, my lord, if your lordship remember, I did set my hand to a certain writing, the contents whereof (as I remember) were, That I believe in all things as the Catholic church teacheth, &c. In which I did not disclose my mind, but shamefully dissembled, because I made no difference between the true church and the untrue church.

Bonner. That is well said of thee. For if thou hadst allowed the church of heretics, I would have burned thee with fire for thy labor. But which is the Catholic church?

Ralph. Even that which hath received the wholesome sound, spoken of by Isaiah, David, Malachi, and Paul, with many other more. Which sound hath gone throughout all the earth, and unto the ends of the world.

Bonner. Yea, thou sayest true before God. For this is the sound that hath gone throughout all Christendom, and he that believeth not the sound of the holy church, as St. Cyprian saith, doth err.

Ralph. My lord, if you remember, I spake of all the world, as it is written, and not of all Christendom only, as methinks your lordship takes it, which kind of speaking you do not find in all the Bible. For I am sure, that the gospel hath been both preached and persecuted in all lands. For true it is that the church which you call Catholic, is none otherwise Catholic than was figured in Cain, observed of by Jeroboam, and others of that description.

Bonner. Now, by the blessed sacrament of the altar, he is the rankest heretic that ever came before me.

Ralph. My lord, there are in England three religions; as you have said, there are more of my opinion.

Bonner. Sayest thou so? Which be these three?

Ralph. The first is that which you hold; the second is clean contrary to the same: and the third is a neuter, being indifferent: that is to say, observing all things that are commanded outwardly, as though he were of your part, his heart being set wholly against the same.

Bonner. And of these three which art thou? For now thou must needs be of one of them.

Ralph. Yea, my lord, I am of one of them; and that which I am of, is even that which is contrary to that which you teach to be believed under pain of death.

The bishop was incensed at this reply, and immediately committed Allerton to the prison called Little-Ease, at Guildhall, London, where he remained all night, and the next morning being again brought before the bishop, the dean of St. Paul's, and the chancellor of the diocese, some writings which he had signed were brought forward, and Bonner asked him, "Is not this your hand, and this, and this?"

Allerton. Yea, they are my hand all of them; I confess the same; neither yet will I deny any thing that I have set my hand unto. And I believe the Scripture to be true, and in defence of the same I intend to give my life, rather than I will deny any part thereof, God willing.

Bonner. Is not this thine own hand?

Allerton. Yes, my lord, it is mine own hand, neither am I ashamed thereof, because my confession is agreeable to God's word.

Tye, (*the Priest.*) My lord, he is a very seditious fellow, and persuadeth other men to do as he himself doth, contrary to the order appointed by the queen's highness and the clergy of this realm.

Allerton. As I said before, so say I now again; thou art not of the church of Christ, and that I will prove, if I may be suffered. You commanded the constable to apprehend me, contrary to the laws of this realm, having neither treason, felony, nor murder to lay to my charge: no, neither had you precept, process, nor warrant to serve on me; and therefore I say, without a law was I apprehended. And whereas you seek to trouble the constable, because he kept me not in the stocks three days and three nights, it doth show in part what you are. And if I had run away, then you would surely have laid somewhat to his charge.

Bonner. Thou knowest Richard Roth, dost thou not? Is he of the same mind that thou art of, canst thou tell?

Allerton. He is of age to answer, let him speak for himself, for I hear say that he is in your house.

Bonner. Tell me then, briefly, at one word, wilt thou be contented to go to Fulham with me, and there to kneel down at mass, showing thyself outwardly as though thou didst it with a good will? Come, speak.

Allerton. I will not say so.

Bonner. Away with him, away with him!

He was then remanded to prison, and on the second of May was brought again before the bishop, and three noblemen of the council, when Bonner asked, "Doth not Christ say, This is my body? How sayest thou? Wilt thou deny these words of our Savior Christ? Or was he a dissembler, speaking one thing and meaning another?"

Allerton. My lord, I marvel why you leave out the beginning of the institution of the supper of our Lord. For Christ said, "Take ye, and eat ye, this is my body." And if it will please you to join the former words to the latter, then shall I make you an answer. For sure I am, that Christ was no dissembler, neither did he say one thing, and mean another.

Bonner. Why, then must thou needs say that it is his body; for he saith it himself, and thou confessest that he will not lie.

Allerton. No, my lord; he is true, and all men are liars. Let these words go before, "Take ye, and eat ye;" without which words the rest are not sufficient; but when the worthy receivers do take and eat, even then are fulfilled the words of our Savior unto him, or every of them that so receiveth.

The bishop, after severely reprimanding him, dismissed him for the present, and he was reconducted to prison.

On the 15th of May he was again brought before 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 heretic.

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 sacra-

ments, 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 were 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 receive 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 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;" confessing, at the same time, that he had neither fasted nor prayed as frequently as it was his duty to have done.

Many arguments were used by Dr. Darbyshire, the bishop's chancellor, and others, to bring him to a recantation; but all proving ineffectual, he was sent back to prison.

A few days after, he, with his fellow-prisoner, were ordered to appear before bishop Bonner, at Fulham, where, in his private chapel, he judicially propounded to them various articles, the particulars of which were addressed to 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 willingly 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 Antichrist, a persecuting church, and the church militant."

This was the cause of his being apprehended, and sent to the bishop of London.

He was also charged with writing several letters, and other papers, 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 who 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 to them. He granted, indeed, that he disapproved of the mass, and other ceremonies, which 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 heretic, 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 he was condemned as a heretic, and immediately delivered over to the secular power.

JAMES AWSTOO, and MARGERY his wife, were next examined, when the bishop, among other things, asked the former if he had been confessed in Lent, and had received the sacrament at Easter?

Mr. Awstoo 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 Mrs. Awstoo, if she approved of the religion then used in the church of England? She replied in the negative, declaring it to be corrupt and antiscriptural; and that those who conformed to it were influenced rather by fear, than by 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 declared 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 he could devise to induce them to recant; but they both persisted in their faith and profession, renouncing all popish doctrines and practices; in consequence of which they received sentence of condemnation, and were delivered into the hands of the sheriff, in order for execution.

RICHARD ROTH, the last person examined, was strongly urged by the bishop to acknowledge the seven sacraments, and the corporeal presence in the eucharist. But he briefly replied, that if these doctrines were taught in the holy Scriptures, he would believe them; being 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 that 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 heretics, and that he had written letters to certain persons, who were burnt at Colchester; the latter of which charges he frankly acknowledged.

Being asked his opinion of Ralph Allerton, he answered, that he esteemed him 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 for execution.

On the 17th of September, 1557, these four stedfast believers in Christ were conducted to Islington, (the place appointed for their execution) where they were fastened to two stakes, and consumed in one fire. They all behaved in a manner truly consistent with their situation, and becoming of the real followers of Jesus Christ, cheerfully resigning up their souls in testimony of the truth of his most holy word.

The following are among the letters which Allerton and Roth were charged with having written:

FROM RALPH ALLERTON UNTO AGNES SMITH, WIDOW.

Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, with the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, and the abundant health both of soul and body, I wish unto you, as to my own soul, as God knoweth, who is the searcher of all secrets.

Forasmuch as it pleaseth Almighty God, of his infinite mercy, to call me to the state of grace, to suffer martyrdom for Jesus Christ's sake, although heretofore I have most negligently dallied therewith; and therefore far unworthy I am of such a high benefit, to be crowned with the most joyful crown of martyrdom: nevertheless, it hath pleased God not so to leave me, but hath raised me according to his promise, which saith, "Although he fall, yet shall he not be cast down; for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand," Psalm xxxvii. Wherefore we perceive God's election to be most sure, for undoubtedly he will preserve all those that are appointed to die. And as he hath begun this work in me, even so do I believe that he will finish the same, to his great glory, and to my wealth, through Jesus Christ, so be it.

Dearly beloved sister, (I am constrained so to call you, because of your constant faith and love unfeigned) consider, that if we be the true servants of Christ, then may not we in any wise make agreement with his enemy, Antichrist. For there is no

concord and agreement between them, saith the Scriptures; and a man cannot serve two masters, saith Christ. And also it is prefigured unto us in the old law, where the people of God were most straitly commanded that they should not mingle themselves with the ungodly heathen, and were also forbidden to eat, drink, or to marry with them. For as often as they did either marry unto their sons, or take their daughters unto them, or to their sons, even so often came the great and heavy wrath of God upon his own people, to overthrow both them and all their cities, with the holy sanctuary of God; and brought in strange princes to rule over them, and wicked rulers to govern them, so that they were sure of hunger, sword, pestilence, and wild beasts to devour them. Which plagues never ceased, until the good people of God were clean separated from the wicked idolatrous people.

Oh, dearly beloved, this was written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope. And is it not in like case happened now in this realm of England? For now are the people of God had in derision, and trodden under foot, and the cities, towns, and houses where they dwelt, are inhabited by them that have no right thereunto, and the true owners are spoiled of their labors; yea, and the holy sanctuary of God's most blessed word is laid desolate and waste, so that the very foxes run over it, &c.; yet is it the food of our souls, the lantern of our feet, and the light unto our paths; and where it is not preached, the people perish. But the prophet saith, "He that refraineth from evil, must be spoiled," Isai. lix. Why should men then be ashamed to be spoiled, seeing that it is told to us before, that it must so happen unto them that refrain from evil? And thus I bid you farewell in God.

RALPH ALLERTON.

TO RICHARD ROTH, HIS FELLOW MARTYR.

The angel of God pitch his tent about us, and defend us in all our ways, Amen, Amen.

O dear brother, I pray for you; for I hear say that you have been divers times before my lord in examination. Wherefore take heed for God's sake what the wise man teacheth you, and shrink not away when you are enticed to confess an untruth, for hope of life, but be ready always to give an answer of the hope that is in you. For whosoever confesseth Christ before men, him will Christ also confess before his Father. But he that is ashamed to confess him before men, shall have his reward with them that do deny him. And, therefore, dear brother, go forward: you have a ready way, so fair as ever had any of the prophets or apostles, or the rest of our brethren, the holy martyrs of God. Therefore covet to go hence with the multitude, while the way is full. Also (dear brother) understand that I have seen your letter, and, although I cannot read it perfectly, yet I partly perceive your meaning therein, and very gladly I would copy it out, with certain comfortable additions thereunto annexed. The which as yet will not be brought to pass for lack of paper, until my lord be gone from hence, and then your request shall be accomplished, God willing, without delay. Thus fare you well in God. Our dear brother and fellow in tribulation, Robert Allin, saluteth you, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you, Amen.

RALPH ALLERTON.

P. S. Do you suppose that our brethren and sisters are not yet dispatched out of this world? I think that either they are dead, or shall be within these two days.

FROM RICHARD ROTH TO HIS FRIENDS AT COLCHESTER.

O dear brethren and sisters, how much reason have you to rejoice in God, that he hath given you such faith to overcome this bloodthirsty tyrant thus far! And no doubt he that hath begun that good work in you, will fulfil it unto the end. O dear hearts in Christ, what a crown of glory shall ye receive with Christ in the kingdom of God O that it had been the good will of God that I had been ready to have gone with you. For I lie in my lord's Little-Ease in the day, and in the night I lie in the Coal-house, from Ralph Allerton, or any other: and we look every day when we shall be condemned. For he said that I should be burned within ten days before Easter; but I lie still at the pool's brink, and every man goeth in before me; but we abide patiently the Lord's leisure, with many bonds, in fetters and stocks; by which we have received great joy of God. And now fare you well, dear brethren and sisters, in this world, but I trust to see you in the heavens, face to face.

O, brother Munt, with your wife and my sister Rose, how blessed are you in the Lord, that God hath found you worthy to suffer for his sake! with all the rest of my dear brethren and sisters, known and unknown. O be joyful, even unto death. Fear it not, saith Christ, for I have overcome death. O dear hearts, seeing that Jesus Christ will be our help, O, tarry you the Lord's leisure. Be strong, let your hearts be of good comfort, and wait you still for the Lord. He is at hand. Yea,

the angel of the Lord pitcheth his tent round about them that fear him, and delivereth them which way he seeth best. For our lives are in the Lord's hands; and they can do nothing unto us before God suffer them. Therefore give all thanks to God.

O dear hearts, you shall be clothed in long white garments upon the mount of Sion, with the multitude of saints, and with Jesus Christ our Savior, which will never forsake us. O blessed virgins, ye have played the wise virgins' part, in that you have taken oil in your lamps, that ye may go in with the bridegroom when he cometh, into the everlasting joy with him. But as for the foolish, they shall be shut out, because they made not themselves ready to suffer with Christ, neither go about to take up his cross. O, dear hearts, how precious shall your death be in the sight of the Lord! For dear is the death of his saints. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

Written by me, with my own blood.

RICHARD ROTH.

MARTYRDOM OF AGNES BONGEOR AND MARGARET THURSTON, AT COLCHESTER.

In a preceding page we have given an account of ten persons who suffered martyrdom at Colchester; two other women, Margaret Thurston and Agnes Bongeor, were likewise condemned, at the same time and place, and for the same cause. But Margaret Thurston, on the morning that she should have suffered with the others, was for that time deferred, by the following circumstances, which she afterwards related to Joan Cook, a fellow-prisoner, a few hours before her death. This woman having asked Margaret why she should be reserved, when the others suffered? she answered, "That it was not for any fear of death; but being prepared, as the rest were that suffered the same day, she was taken with a great shivering and trembling of the flesh; whereupon, forsaking the company, she went aside to pray; and whilst she was praying, she thought she was lifted up by a mighty wind that came round about her. Even at that instant came in the jailer and company with him, and whilst she turned herself to fetch her psalter, they took the other prisoners and left her alone. Shortly after she was moved out of the castle, and put into the town prison, where she continued until Friday sevennight after her company was burnt." That day, not two hours before her death, she was brought to the castle again, where she told this to the said Joan Cook.

The other woman, named Agnes Bongeor, who should have suffered in like manner with the six that went out of Mote-hall, was also kept at that time, because her name was wrongly spelled in the writ.

The following is the Martyrologist's account of the closing scenes of this good woman's life:

The same morning, the second of August, that the said six in Mote-hall, were called out to go to their martyrdom, Agnes Bongeor was also called with them, by the name of Agnes Bower. Wherefore the bailiffs, understanding her to be wrong named within the writ, commanded the said Agnes Bongeor to prison again, and so that day sent her from Mote-hall to the castle, where she remained till her death.

But when she saw herself separated from her fellow-prisoners in such a manner, oh! what piteous complaints that good woman made; how bitterly she wept: what strange thoughts came into her mind, how naked and desolate she esteemed herself, and to what a plunge of despair and care her poor soul was brought, it was both sad and moving to behold; and all because she went not with them to give up her life for the cause of Christ: for of all things in the world, life was the least thing that she expected. For the morning, on which she was kept back from burning, she had put on a smock that she had prepared only for that purpose. And also having a child, a little young infant suckling on her, who she kept with her tenderly all the time she was in prison, that day. likewise did she send away to another nurse, and prepared herself presently to give herself for the testimony of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ. So little did she look for life, and so greatly did God's gifts work in her above nature, that death seemed much better welcome than life. But this took not effect at that time, as she thought it would, and therefore, (as I said) she was greatly troubled.

But in this great perplexity of mind, a friend of her's came to her, and required to know whether Abraham's obedience was accepted before God, for that he did not sacrifice his son Isaac, or in that he would have offered him? Unto which she answered thus:

"I know," said she, "that Abraham's will before God was allowed for the deed, in that he would have done it, if the angel of the Lord had not stayed him: but I," said she, "am unhappy; the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity, and therefore Abraham's case and mine are not alike."

"Why then," said her friend, "would you not willingly have gone with your company, if God should so have suffered it?"

"Yes," said she, "that I would, with all

my heart, and because I did not, it is now my chief and greatest grief."

"Then," said her friend, "my dear sister, I pray thee consider Abraham and thyself well, and thou shalt see thou dost nothing differ with him in will at all."

"Alas!" said she, "there is a far greater matter in Abraham than in me; for Abraham was tried with the offering of his own child, but so am not I; and therefore our cases are not alike."

"Good sister," said her friend, "weigh the matter but indifferently. Abraham, I grant, would have offered his son: and have not you done the like in your little sucking babe? But consider further than this, my good sister, where Abraham was commanded but to offer his son, you are heavy and grieved because you offer not yourself, which goeth somewhat more near you than Abraham's obedience did; and therefore before God, assuredly, is no less accepted and allowed in his holy presence; which further the preparing of your shroud also doth argue full well," &c. After which talk between them, she began a little to stay herself, and gave her whole exercise to reading and prayer, wherein she found a great deal of comfort.

During the time that these aforesaid two good women were prisoners, one in the castle, and the other in Mote-hall, God by a secret means called the said Margaret Thurston unto his truth again; who having her eyes opened by the working of his Spirit, did greatly sorrow and lament her backsliding before, and promised faithfully to the Lord, in hope of his mercies, never more while she lived to do the like again, but that she would constantly stand to the confession of the same, against all the adversaries of the cross of Christ. After which promise made, came in a short time a writ from London for the burning of them, which was accordingly executed the 17th day of September, in the year aforesaid.

Now when these aforesaid women were brought to the place at Colchester, where they should suffer, they fell down upon their knees, and made their humble prayers to God, which being done, they rose and went to the stake joyfully, and were immediately chained thereto, and after the fire had encompassed them about, they with great joy and glorious triumph gave up their souls, spirits, and lives, into the hands of the Lord, under whose government and protection, for Christ's sake, we beseech him to grant us his holy defence and help for evermore, Amen.

About the same time, a shoemaker, named JOHN KURDE, was burnt at Northampton, and died with the same stedfastness and hope as the other martyrs in the same glorious cause.

MARTYRDOM OF JOHN NOYES, OF LAXEFIELD, IN SUFFOLK.

About the same time as those persons whose fate we have just recorded, suffered JOHN NOYES, and his apprehension and death were brought about in the following manner:

Some bigoted papists, who dwelt in the neighborhood, knowing him to be a professor of the true faith, and a despiser of the mass, and other Romish superstitions, determined to bring him to punishment; and accordingly, three of them, named Thomas Lovel, Wolfren Dowsing, and Nicholas Stannard, beset his house, and he attempting to go out, Nicholas Stannard called to him and said, "Whither goest thou?" to which he replied, "To see some of my neighbors." Stannard then said, "Your master hath deceived you; you must go with us now." To which Noyes answered, "No, but take you heed your master deceive not you." And so they took him and carried him before the justices the next day. After several matters had been alleged against him, he was conducted to a dungeon at Eye, where he was confined for some time, and was then carried from thence to Norwich, and before the bishop, where he was interrogated on the following subjects:

1. Whether he believed that the ceremonies used in the church were good and godly, to stir up men's minds to devotion.

2. Whether he believed the pope to be supreme head of the church here on earth.

3. Whether he believed the body of our Lord Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, after the words of consecration.

To which he replied with great courage denying the pope's supremacy, the use of ceremonies, and Christ's real presence in the sacrament.

Upon this, sentence was read by the bishop against him, in the presence of Dr. Dunning, his chancellor, Sir W. Woodhouse, Sir Thomas Woodhouse, and several other gentlemen.

No further particulars of his examination are known; but we have the following account of his subsequent conduct and execution, from which we learn, in some measure, what took place on his appearance before the bishop:

In the mean time his brother-in-law, Nicholas Fisk, of Dinnington, going to comfort him at such time as he remained in the Guildhall of Norwich, after Christian exhor-

tation, asked him if he did fear death when the bishop gave judgment against him, considering the terror of the same; and the said Noyes answered, he thanked God he feared death no more at that time, than he or any other did, being at liberty. Then the said Nicholas required of him to show the cause of his condemnation. Upon which request the said John Noyes wrote with his own hand as follows:

I said, That I could not believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there is the natural body of Christ, that same body that was born of the virgin Mary. But I said, that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is received by Christian people in the remembrance of Christ's death, as a spiritual food, if it be ministered according to Christ's institution.

But they said, That I could not tell what spiritual meant.

The bishop said, That the sacrament was God, and must be worshipped as God. So said the chancellor also.

Then answered I, and said, My lord, I cannot so believe.

Then said the bishop, Why? Then say what thou dost believe. Notwithstanding, these collusions could not prevail.

Now being condemned, he was sent again from Norwich to Eye-prison; and about the 21st day of September, about midnight, he was brought from Eye to Laxefield, to be burned; and on the next morning was brought to the stake, where were waiting for his coming, the aforesaid justice, Mr. Thurston, one Mr. Waller, being then under-sheriff, and Mr. Thomas Lovel, high constable, as is before expressed; who commanded men to make ready all things meet for this sinful purpose. Now the fires in most houses of the street were put out, saving that a smoke was espied by the said Thomas Lovel, proceeding out from the top of a chimney, to which house the sheriff and Grannow his man went, and broke open the door, and thereby got fire, and brought the same to the place of execution. When John Noyes came to the place where he should be burned, he kneeled down and said the 50th Psalm, with other prayers, and then they making haste bound him to the stake, and being bound, the said John Noyes said, "Fear not them that can kill the body, but fear him that can kill both body and soul, and cast it into everlasting fire."

When he saw his sister weeping and making moan for him, he told her that she should not weep for him, but weep for her sins.

Then one Nicholas Cadman brought a fagot and set against him; and the said John Noyes took up the fagot and kissed it, and said, Blessed be the time that ever I was born to come to this.

Then he delivered his psalter to the under-sheriff, desiring him to be good to his wife and children, and to deliver to her that same book; and the sheriff promised him that he would, notwithstanding he never performed his promise. Then the said John Noyes said to the people, "They say they can make God of a piece of bread; believe them not."

Then said he, "Good people, bear witness that I do believe to be saved by the merits and passion of Jesus Christ, and not by mine own deeds." And so the fire was kindled, and burning about him, he then said, "Lord, have mercy upon me! Christ, have mercy upon me! Son of David, have mercy upon me!"

And so he yielded up his life, and when his body was burned, they made a pit to bury the coals and ashes, and amongst the same they found one of his feet that was unburned, whole up to the ankle, with the hose on, and that they buried with the rest.

Now while he was burning, there stood by one John Jarvis, a servant in the same town, a plain fellow, who said, "Good Lord, how the sinews of his arms shrink up!" And there stood behind him Grannow and Benet, the sheriff's men, and they told their master, that John Jarvis said, "What villanous wretches are these!" And their master ordered them to apprehend him, and they took him and pinioned him, and carried him before the justice that same day, and the justice did examine him of the words aforesaid, but he denied them, and answered that he said nothing but this, "Good Lord, how the sinews of his arms shrink up!" But for all this the justice did bind his father and his master in five pounds apiece, that he should be forthcoming at all times. And on the Wednesday following, he was brought again before the justices, Mr. Thurston and Mr. Kene sitting at Fresingfield, Hoxton Hundred; and there they did appoint and command, that the said John Jarvis should be set in the stocks the next market-day, and whipped about the market naked. But his master, one William Jarvis, did after crave friendship of the constables, and they did not set him in the stocks till Sunday morning, and in the afternoon they did whip him about the market with a dog-whip, having three cords, and so they let him go.

The following letter was written by Noyes to his wife, while he lay in prison.

WIFE, you desired me that I would send you some tokens that you might remember me. As I did read in the New Testament, I thought it good to write unto you certain

places of the Scripture for a remembrance. St. Peter saith, 1 Pet. iv., "Dearly beloved, be not troubled with this heat that is come among you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice, insomuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when his glory appeareth ye may be merry and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the Spirit of glory, and the Spirit of God, resteth upon you.

"It is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well doing than for evil doing.

"See that none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or an evil doer, or as a busy body in other men's matters; but if any man suffer as a Christian man, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God in this behalf; for the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God. If it first begin with us, what shall the end of them be, that believe not the gospel of God? Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit their souls unto him in well doing."

St. Paul saith, 2 Tim. iii., "all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution."

St. John saith, 1 John ii., "See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world, which vanisheth away and the lust thereof, but he that fulfilleth the will of God abideth for ever."

St. Paul saith, Col. iii. "If ye be risen again with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things that are above, and not on things which are on earth."

Our Savior Christ saith, Matt. xviii. "Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the sea."

The prophet David saith, Psal. xxxiv. "Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all.

"Fear the Lord, ye saints: for they that fear him lack nothing.

"When the righteous cry, the Lord heareth them, and delivereth them out of all their troubles; but misfortune shall slay the ungodly, and they that hate the righteous shall perish.

"Hear, O my people. I assure thee, O Israel, if thou wilt hearken unto me, there shall no strange God be in thee, neither shalt thou worship any other God. Oh that my people would obey me: for if Israel would walk in my ways, I should soon put down their enemies, and turn mine hand against thine adversaries."

Our Savior Christ saith, "The disciple is not above the master, nor yet the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple to be as his master is, and that the servant be as his lord is. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household so! fear not them therefore."

St. Paul saith, 2 Cor. iv., "Set yourselves there at large, and bear not a stranger's yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? what company hath light with darkness? or what part hath the believer with the infidel?" &c. Wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves now (saith the Lord), and touch no unclean thing; so will I receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

"For neither eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man what good things the Lord hath prepared for them that love him." 1 Cor. ii.

"Ye are bought neither with silver nor gold, but with the precious blood of Christ." 1 Pet. i.

"There is none other name given to men wherein we must be saved," Acts iv.

So fare ye well, wife, and children: and leave worldly care, and see you be diligent to pray.

"Take no thought, (saith Christ, Matt. vi.) saying, What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed? (for after all these things seek the Gentiles) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things, but seek ye first the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be ministered unto you."

MARTYRDOM OF CICELY ORMES, AT NORWICH.

About the 23d of September, shortly after the others above-mentioned, Cicely Ormes, wife of Edmund Ormes, suffered at Norwich; she was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper, whom we have already mentioned, and her offence was, having said that "she would pledge them of the same cup that they drank of." For so saying, one Mr. Corbet, of Sprowson, near Norwich, sent her to the chancellor. When she came before him, he asked her what she said unto the sacrament of Christ's body? And she said,

"she did believe that it was the sacrament of the body of Christ."—"Yea," said the chancellor, "but what is that that the priest holdeth over his head?" She answered him and said, "It is bread: and if you make it any better, it is worse." At which words the chancellor sent her to the bishop's prison, with many threatenings and hot words, being in a great rage.

On the 23d of July she was called before the chancellor again, who sat in judgment with Mr. Bridges and others. The chancellor offered her, "if she would go to the church and keep her sentiments to herself, she should be set at liberty, and believe as she would." But she told him "she would not consent to his wicked desire therein, do with her what he would: for if she should, God would surely plague her." Then the chancellor told her, "he had showed more favor to her, than ever he did to any, and that he was loth to condemn her, considering she was an ignorant, unlearned, and foolish woman." On this she told him, "if he thought her such, he should not be so desirous of her sinful flesh, as she would (by God's grace) be content to give it in so good a quarrel." He then read the sentence of condemnation against her, and delivered her to the care of the sheriffs of the city, who immediately carried her to the Guildhall in Norwich, where she remained until her death.

"This Cicely Ormes was a very simple woman, but yet zealous in the Lord's cause, being born in East Dereham, and was the daughter of one Thomas Haund, tailor. She was taken the 5th day of July, and did for a twelve-month before she was taken recant, but never after was she quiet in conscience, until she was utterly driven from all their popery. Between the time that she recanted, and that she was taken, she had got a letter written to give to the chancellor, to let him know that she repented her recantation from the bottom of her heart, and would never do the like again while she lived. But before she exhibited her bill, she was taken and sent to prison as is before said. She was burnt the 23d of September, between seven and eight in the morning, the two sheriffs being there, and to the number of two hundred people. When she came to the stake, she kneeled down, and made her prayers to God: that being done, she rose up and said, 'Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God.

"'This do I not, nor will I recant; but I recant utterly from the bottom of my heart the doings of the pope of Rome, and all his popish priests I utterly refuse, and never will have to do with them again by God's grace. And, good people, I would you should not think of me, that I believe to be saved in that I offer myself here unto the death of the Lord's cause, but I believe to be saved by the death and passion of Christ; and this my death is and shall be a witness of my faith unto all here present. Good people, as many of you that believe as I believe, pray for me.'

"Then she came to the stake, and laid her hand on it, and said, 'Welcome the cross of Christ.' Which being done, she looked on her hand, and seeing it blacked with the stake, she wiped it upon her smock, for she was burnt at the same stake that Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper were. Then after she had touched it with her hand, she came and kissed it, and said, 'Welcome the sweet cross of Christ,' and so gave herself to be bound thereto. After the tormenters had kindled the fire to her, she said, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Savior: and in saying so she set her hands together right against her breast, casting her eyes and head upward, and so stood heaving up her hands by little and little, till the very sinews of her arms did break asunder, and then they fell; but she yielded up her life unto God, as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, or as one feeling no pain; so wonderfully did the Lord work with her: his name therefore be praised for evermore. Amen."

FURTHER PERSECUTIONS.

Nearly at the same period as the martyrdoms we have just related, many others took place in various parts of the kingdom, but the want of authentic records prevents our laying the particulars before our readers: as we are resolved never to impose upon them by fictitious or doubtful accounts, but to state nothing which is not confirmed by the strongest testimony. The features of popery are hideous enough, without the assistance of artificial horrors; why, therefore, need we blacken a monster,

"Which to be hated, needs but to be seen?"

In the diocese of Chichester, especially, many were condemned and martyred for the true testimony of righteousness, among whom we find the following persons named, although we have no particulars of their examinations, &c.; John Foreman, of East Grinstead; John Warner, of Berne; Christian Grover, of the archdeaconry of Lewes; Thomas Athoth, priest; Thomas Avington, of Erdingly; Dennis Burgis, of Buxstead; Thomas Ravensdale, of Rye; John Milles, of Hellingley; Nicholas Holden, of Withiam; John Hart, of Withiam; Margery

Morice, of Hethfield; Anne Try, of East Grinstead; John Oseward, of Woodmancote; Thomas Harland, of Woodmancote; James Morice, of Hethfield; Thomas Dougate, of East Grinstead; and John Ashedon, of Katherfield.

The greatest persecutors against these faithful martyrs were these: Christopherson, bishop of Chichester; Richard Briesley, doctor of law, and chancellor of Chichester; Robert Taylor, bachelor of law, his deputy; Thomas Piccard, civilian; Anthony Clarke, Albane, and Longdale, bachelors of divinity, &c.

MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS SPURDANCE, AT BURY ST. EDMUND'S.

The following account of his examinations is given by himself:

The bishop's chancellor asked me, if I had been before the priest, and confessed my sins unto him?

And I said, No, I had confessed my sins to God, and God saith, in what hour soever a sinner repenteth and is sorry for his sins, and asketh forgiveness, willing no more so to do, he will no more reckon his sin unto him; and that is sufficient for me.

Then said the chancellor, Thou deniest the sacrament of penance.

I said, I deny not penance, but I deny that I should show my sins to the priest.

Then said the chancellor, That is denying of the sacrament of penance.

Write this article.

Have you received the blessed sacrament of the altar (said he) at this time of Easter?

And I said, No.

And why have you not? said he.

I said, I dare not meddle with you in it, as you use it.

Why, do we not use it truly? said he.

I said, No: for the holy supper of the Lord serveth for the Christian congregation and you are none of Christ's members; and therefore I dare not meddle with you, lest I be like unto you.

Why are we none of Christ's members? said the chancellor.

I said, Because you teach laws contrary to God's laws.

What laws are those? said he.

I said, These three articles, that you swear the people unto here, be false and untrue, and you do evil to swear the people unto them.

Then said he, Good people, take no heed unto his words, for he is a heretic, and teacheth you disobedience: and so he would no more speak of that matter.

Then said he, How believest thou in the blessed sacrament of the altar: dost thou not believe that after it is consecrated, it is the very same body that was born of the Virgin Mary?

I said, No, not the body in substance: for the same body hath a substance in flesh, blood, and bones, and was a bloody sacrifice, and this is a dry sacrifice.

And I said, Is the mass a sacrifice?

Unto which a doctor answered that sat by him, It is a sacrifice both for the quick and the dead.

Then said I, No, it is no sacrifice; for St. Paul saith that Christ made one sacrifice once for all; and I do believe in none other sacrifice, but only in that one sacrifice that our Lord Jesus Christ made once for all.

Then said the doctor, That sacrifice that Christ made was a wet sacrifice, and the mass is a dry sacrifice.

Then said I, That same dry sacrifice is a sacrifice of your own making, and it is your sacrifice, it is none of mine.

Then said the chancellor, He is a heretic, he denieth the sacrament of the altar.

Then said I, Will ye know how I believe in the holy supper of the Lord?

And he said, Yes.

Then said I, I believe that if I come rightly and worthily, as God hath commanded me, to the holy supper of the Lord, I receive him by faith, as by believing in him. But the bread being received is not God, and the bread that is yonder in the pix is not God. God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither will he be worshipped with the works of men's hands. And therefore you do very evil to cause the people to kneel down and worship the bread; for God did never bid you hold it above your heads, neither had the apostles such use.

Then said the chancellor, He denieth the presence in the sacrament. Write this article also. He is a very heretic.

Then said I, The servant is not greater than his master. For your predecessors killed my master Christ, the prophets and apostles, and holy virtuous men, and now you also kill the servants of Christ, so that all the righteous blood that hath been shed, even from righteous Abel, until this day, shall be required at your hands.

Well, said the chancellor, have him away.

SECOND EXAMINATION OF SPURDANCE, BEFORE THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.

Bishop. Sirrah, dost thou not believe in the Catholic faith of the holy church?

Spurd. I believe Christ's Catholic church.

Bishop. Yea, in Christ's church, of which

the pope is head? Dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the Catholic church?

Spurd. No; I believe not that he should be above the apostles, if he takes them to be his predecessors. For when there came a thought among the apostles, who should be the greatest when their master was gone, Christ answered them unto their thoughts, "The kings of the earth bear dominion above each other; but ye shall not do so, for he that will be greatest among you shall become servant unto you all." How is it then (said I) that he will climb so high above his fellows? And also we were sworn in my master king Henry's time, that we should, to the utmost of our power, never consent to him again. And therefore, as he hath nothing to do here in England, so neither hath he in his own country more than a bishop hath in his diocese.

Bishop. Yea, what of that? We were then in error and sin, now we are in the right way again, and therefore thou must home again with us, and acknowledge thy fault, and become a Christian man, and be sworn unto the pope as our supreme head. Wilt thou be sworn unto the pope? How sayest thou?

Spurd. No, I warrant you, by the grace of God, not as long as I live. For you cannot prove by the Scripture that the pope is head of the church, and may do therein what he listeth.

Bishop. No? yes, I trow; for as the bell-wether which weareth the bell, is head of the flock of sheep, even so is the pope the head of the church of Christ. And as the bees in the hive have a master bee, when they are gone out, to bring them home to the hive; even so the pope, when we be gone astray, and wandered from the fold, from the hive, &c. then is ordered our head by succession of Peter to bring us home again to the true church; as thou now, my good fellow, hast long wandered out of the way, like a scattered sheep, &c. hear therefore that bell-wether, the master bee, &c. and come home with us again to thy mother the church.

Spurd. My lord, all this is but natural reason, and no Scripture: but since you cannot prove the pope to be authorized by Scripture, you answer me not as I thought you would.

Bishop. Ha! I see well you will be stout, and will not be answered: therefore you shall be compelled by law, whether you will or no.

Spurd. My lord, so did your forefathers treat Christ and his apostles. They had a law, and by their law they put him to death; and so likewise you have a law, which is tyranny, and by that you would enforce me to believe as you do: but the Lord, I trust, will assist me against all your beggarly ceremonies, and make your foolishness known to all the world.

Bishop. When were you at church, or joined in the procession, and did the ceremonies of the church?

Spurd. Never since I was born.

Bishop. No? How old are you?

Spurd. I think about forty.

Bishop. Why, how did you use yourself at church twenty years ago?

Spurd. As you do now.

Bishop. And even now, you said you did not use the ceremonies since you were born?

Spurd. No more I did, since I was born anew; as Christ said unto Nicodemus, "Except ye be born anew, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Then said a doctor that sat by, "He is a very Anabaptist: for that is their opinion plain."

Spurd. No, sir, you say falsely, for I am no Anabaptist: for they deny children to be baptized, which I do not.

Bishop. Well, why dost thou not go to church, and do the ceremonies?

Spurd. Because they are contrary to God's word and laws, as you yourself have taught; but now you say it is good again: and I think if there were a return to-morrow, you would say that was false again which you hold now. Therefore, I may well say, there is no truth in you.

Bishop. Then thou art a stubborn fellow, and a heretic, and a traitor.

Spurd. No, I am no traitor, for I have done, I think, better service for the crown imperial of England than you.

Bishop. If you had done such good service, you would be obedient to the laws of the realm.

Spurd. So I am. There is no man alive, I thank God, that can accuse me justly that ever I was disobedient to any civil laws. But you must consider, my lord, that I have a soul and body, and my soul is none of the queen's, but my body and my goods are the queen's. And I must give God my soul, and all that belongeth unto it, that is, I must do the laws and commandments of God; and whosoever commandeth laws contrary to God's laws, I may not do them for losing of my soul, but must rather obey God than man.

Bishop. Why dost thou not these laws then? Are they not agreeable to God's laws?

Spurd. No, you cannot prove them to be God's laws?

Bishop. Yes, that I can.

Spurd. Then if you can prove by the

word of God, that you should have any graven images made to set in your churches for laymen's books, or to worship God by them, or that you should have the ceremonies in your church as you have, prove them by the word of God, and I will do them.

Bishop. Then it is a good and decent order to furnish the church: as when you shall go to dinner, you have a cloth upon the table to furnish the table before the meat shall come upon it; so are these ceremonies a comely, decent order to be in the church among Christian people.

Spurd. These are inventions and imaginations out of your own brain, without any word of God to prove them. For God saith, Look what you think good in your own eyes, if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my sight. And these ceremonies are against God's laws. For St. Paul saith, they be weak and beggarly, and rebuketh the Galatians for doing them.

Bishop. Well, if you will not do them, seeing they be the laws of the realm, you are a heretic and disobedient: and therefore come home again and confess your faults with us, that you have been in error, &c. Will you do so?

Spurd. No, I have been in no error: for the spiritual laws were never more truly set forth than in my master king Edward's time, and I trust unto God I shall never leave them while I live.

Then came a gentleman to me and said, Are you wiser than all men? and have you more knowledge than all men? Will you cast away your soul willingly? My lord, and other men also, would fain you would save yourself: therefore choose some man where you will, either spiritual or temporal, and take a day, my lord will give it you.

Spurd. If I save my life, I shall lose it; and if I lose my life for Christ's sake, I shall find it in life everlasting. And if I take a day, when the day cometh, I must say then even as I do now, except I will lie, and therefore that needeth not.

"Well then, have him away," said the bishop; and he was accordingly carried back to prison, where he lay till the month of November, when he was brought to the stake, and died in the constant profession of his belief in the doctrines of the reformed church.

He had been one of queen Mary's servants, and was taken by two of his fellow-servants, named John Haman, and George Looson, both of Codman, in the county of Suffolk, who carried him to one Mr. Gosnal, dwelling in the same place, by whom he was sent to Bury, where he remained in prison till his death.

PERSECUTION AND MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HALLINGDALE, WILLIAM SPARROW, AND RICHARD GIBSON.

Informations having been laid against these three persons, as being suspected of heresy, they were apprehended, and after being confined for some time, were, at length, brought together to be examined before bishop Bonner, when articles were exhibited against each separately, and their respective answers thereto were required.

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 nowise 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 sacrament 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, when his wife, called Alice, was brought to bed of a man-child, caused the said 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 Hallingdale acknowledged to be true; and 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 of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of our Savior Christ, or not? To which Hallingdale replied, 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 in no other place.

He likewise said, that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and many others, who had been lately burned for heretics, 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 found in the antichristian church, by which is understood, that church whereof the pope is head.

After this examination he was reconducted to prison, and the next day again brought before the bishop, who used his utmost endeavors to prevail on him to recant; but finding them all ineffectual, he read the sentence of condemnation, and Hallingdale was immediately delivered over to the secular power.

WILLIAM SPARROW was next brought up for examination, and the following articles were exhibited against him:

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, errors, 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, errors, 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, errors, and unlawful opinions, and thine offences and transgressions 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 Catholic church observed and kept here in this realm of England, and in nowise fall again into heresies, errors, or unlawful opinions.

5. That thou, since thy said submission, hast willingly fallen into certain heresies and errors, and hast holden and set forth 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 Catholic 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 Sparrow gave the following answers:

To the first, second, third, and fourth articles, he answered affirmatively, and confessed the charges therein alleged to be true.

To the fifth article he answered, that if he had spoken against the sacrament of the altar, &c. he had spoken no more than the truth.

To the sixth he answered, that he granted it; adding, that he did sell the ballads then shown 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 said, that he went to church, and there was confessed, and heard mass.

This Sparrow also acknowledged, but added, "that it was with a troubled conscience; for," said he, "that which you call the truth I do believe to be heresy."

Bonner then charged him with the fifth

article; to which he answered, that he had done as was contained in that article, and would do so 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 endeavored 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 heretic; after which he was delivered into the hands of the sheriff, and by him again conducted to prison.

RICHARD GIBSON was then brought forward. The misfortunes of this good Christian arose from his performance of an act of the most generous friendship to a person with whom he was particularly acquainted. This man was arrested for debt, when Gibson becoming surety for him, his pretended friend treacherously fled, and he 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 of heresy against him, to the bishop of London, because he had never confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, while 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 Poultry, 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 Catholic 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 Catholic 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 Catholic church.

3. That the said Richard Gibson hath commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, and also other heretics here in this realm of England, according to the ecclesiastical laws condemned for heretics; and also liked all their heretical, erroneous, damnable, and wicked opinions, especially against the sacrament 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, heretics and erroneous persons, or at least suspected and informed of heresies and errors condemned by the Catholic church, to continue in their heretical and erroneous opinions aforesaid, favoring 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, here 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 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 Catholic 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 laudable, 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.

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 to answer to any of them, 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? On which he told the bishop, that he could not allege any thing against him for which he might be justly 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, his 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 faithful servants of Christ were conducted, under a 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 heavenly Father, trusting that, as they had borne the cross for his sake, he would reward them with "a crown of glory which fadeth not away."

MARTYRDOMS OF THE REV. JOHN ROUGH, AND OF MARGARET MARING.

Mr. John Rough was a native of Scotland, the son of reputable and pious parents. Being deprived of his right of inheritance to certain lands by some of his kindred, he was so irritated that, though only seventeen years of age, he entered himself a member of the order of Black Friars, at Stirling, in Scotland.

Here he continued upwards of sixteen years, when the earl of Arran, (afterwards duke of Hamilton,) then regent of Scotland, having a partiality for him, applied to the archbishop of St. Andrew's to dispense with his professed order, that he might serve him as his chaplain.

The archbishop readily granting the request of the regent, Mr. Rough was disengaged from his monastic order, and continued chaplain to his patron about a year; when it pleased God to open his eyes, and give him some knowledge of the truth of the gospel.

At this time the earl sent him to preach in the county of Ayr, where he continued about four years, during which time he discharged the duties of his office with the strictest diligence.

On the death of the cardinal of Scotland, he was sent for to officiate at St. Andrew's, for which he had a pension of twenty pounds per annum allowed him by king Henry VIII.

After being some time in this situation, he began to abhor the idolatry and superstition of his own country; and when he found that, on the accession of Edward VI. there was free possession of the gospel in England, he left St. Andrew's, and went first to Carlisle, and afterwards waited on the duke of Somerset, then protector, by whom he was appointed preacher, with an annual allowance of twenty pounds, to serve in Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

A short time after this he married, and the archbishop of York gave him a benefice near the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, which he enjoyed till the death of the king.

On the accession of queen Mary, when the true religion was superseded by the false, and persecution took place in all parts of the kingdom, Mr. Rough fled with his wife into the Low-Countries, and took up his residence at a place called Norden. Here he maintained himself by knitting and selling caps and hose, till the month of October, 1557, when, wanting yarn and other necessaries for his trade, he embarked for England, and arrived in London on the 10th of November following.

Soon after his arrival, he was informed that there was a private congregation of religious people in a certain part of the city, upon which he joined them, and was elected their minister.

In this office he continued some time, till, at the instigation of Roger Serjeant, a hypocrite and false brother, on the 13th of December, he, together with one Cuthbert

Simson, deacon of the aforesaid congregation, were apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's household, at the Saracen's Head, in Islington, where the congregation had assembled for the purpose of performing their usual worship; although, to avoid suspicion, it had been given out that their meeting was to hear a play.

Mr. Rough and Mr. Simson were both conducted, by the vice-chamberlain, to the queen's council, by whom they were charged with assembling to celebrate the Communion, or Lord's Supper. After a long examination Simson was, for the present, dismissed, but Rough was sent prisoner to Newgate.

On the 18th of December, bishop Bonner ordered Rough to be brought before him at his palace in London, for examination concerning his religious faith; 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 Catholic church; and also didst reprove and condemn the sacrament 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 by him (the minister of Christ) for sins, is not necessary nor available in any wise.

"2. Thou hast misliked and reproved 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 succored, 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 apostolic 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 about 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 license to have and use their stews, 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 tailor, Hugh, a hosier, and divers others there assembled, under the color 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 replied, that he had spoken against the number of the said sac-

raments, being fully persuaded that there are only two, 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, (or 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 doth remain in that sacrament, without any change being made in it by consecration.

Concerning the confession of sins to a priest, 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, who was not injured; but to endeavor to obtain a proper reconciliation with the party offended.

To the second article he answered, that he now did, and had before misliked the order of the Latin service then used; and also did approve of the service used in the latter part 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.

The third article he granted, saying, that he had approved the doctrine of the parties mentioned, as agreeable to God's word; and that they were godly, learned men, and such as, through grace, had perfect understanding in divine things.

To the fourth article he answered, that he liked the communion used in king Edward's days; but that he had not ministered nor received the same in England since the queen's reign, nor yet knew many, in this country, 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 he denied the remaining contents of the article.

Both the sixth and seventh articles he acknowledged to be 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 tailor, 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 articles exhibited against him, he was reconducted to his place of confinement.

On the 20th of December he was brought to the consistory court at St. Paul's, before Bonner, bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, and others, in order to undergo a final examination.

After various methods had been used by the court to persuade him to recant, without effect, Bonner read the articles, with his answers, beforementioned: he then charged him with marrying, after having received priestly orders; and that he had refused to consent to the Latin service then used in the church.

Mr. Rough answered, their orders were of no effect, and that the children he had by his wife were legitimate. With respect to the Latin service then used, he said, he utterly detested it, and that, were he to live as long as Methuselah, he would never go to church to hear the abominable mass.

In consequence of this declaration the bishop proceeded to the ceremony of degradation; after which he read the sentence of condemnation, and Mr. Rough being delivered to the sheriff, was by him reconducted to Newgate, there to remain till the time appointed for his execution.

EXAMINATION OF MARGARET MARING.

This woman belonged to a private congregation in London, where Mr. Rough used to officiate. She was suspected by him, and some others, of not being sincere in the religion she professed; but the event showed that their suspicions were ill-founded.

An information being laid against her before the bishop of London, he sent an officer to her house near Mark-lane, in the

city, to apprehend her; which being done, she was immediately brought before his lordship, who, after a short examination, sent her to Newgate.

On the 18th of December she was again brought before the bishop, at his palace in London, in order to undergo a thorough examination, relative to her religious principles. The usual articles being exhibited against her, she answered each respectively as follows.

1. That there is here on earth a Catholic church, and there is the true faith of Christ observed and kept in the same church.

2. That there are only two sacraments in the church, namely, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of Baptism.

3. That she was baptized in the faith and belief of the said church, renouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil, and all his works.

4. That when she came to the age of fourteen years, she did not know what her true belief was, because she was not then of discretion to understand the same, neither yet was taught it.

5. That she had not gone from the Catholic faith at any time; but she said that the mass was abominable in the sight of God, and all true Christian people.

6. Concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said, she believed there was no such sacrament in the Catholic church: that she utterly abhorred the authority of the bishop of Rome, with all the religion observed in his antichristian church.

7. That she had refused to come to her parish church, because the true religion was not then used in the same; and that she had not come into the church for the space of one year and three quarters, neither did mean to come any more to the same, in these idolatrous days.

8. She acknowledged that she was apprehended, and brought before the bishop of London.

These answers being registered by the bishop's official, she was, for the present, remanded to prison.

On the 20th of December she was again brought before the bishop at his consistory court, where her articles and answers were again read to her; after which they asked her if she would stand to the same as they were registered? She answered, that she would stand to the same to her death; "for the very angels in heaven," said she, "laugh you to scorn, to see the abomination 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 reconducted her to Newgate.

Two days after this, on the 22d of December, 1557, she, with her fellow-martyr John Rough, were conducted, by the proper officers, to Smithfield, where they were both fastened to one stake, and burnt in the same fire. They both behaved themselves with Christian fortitude, and cheerfully gave up their lives in testimony of the truth of that gospel, which was given to man by him from whom they hoped to receive an eternal reward in his heavenly kingdom,

The following letters were written by Mr. Rough during his confinement:

TO HIS FRIENDS, CONFIRMING AND STRENGTHENING THEM IN THE TRUTH.

The comfort of the Holy Ghost make you able to give consolation to others in these dangerous days, when Satan is let loose, but to the trial only of the chosen, when it pleaseth our God to sift his wheat from the chaff. I have not leisure and time to write the great temptations I have been under. I speak to God's glory; my care was to have the senses of my soul open, to perceive the voice of God, saying, Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father and his angels. And to save the life corporal, is to lose the life eternal. And he that will not suffer with Christ, shall not reign with him. Therefore, most tender ones, I have, by God's Spirit, given over the flesh, with the fight of my soul, and the spirit hath the victory. The flesh shall now, before it be long, leave off to sin, the spirit shall reign eternally. I have chosen death to confirm the truth by me taught. What can I do more? Consider with yourselves, that I have done it for the confirmation of God's truth. Pray that I may continue unto the end. The greatest part of the assault is past, I praise my God. I have in all my assaults felt the present aid of my God, I give him most hearty thanks therefor. Look not back, nor be ye ashamed of Christ's gospel, nor of the bonds I have suffered for the same, thereby you may be assured it is the true word of God. The holy ones have been sealed with the same mark. It is no time, for the loss of one man in the battle, for the camp to turn back. Up with men's hearts, down with the daubed walls of heresy. Let one take the banner, and the other the trumpet; I mean not to make corporal resistance, but pray, and ye shall have Elias's defence, and Elizeus's company to fight for you. The cause is the Lord's. Now, my brethren, I can write no more,

time will not suffer, and my heart with pangs of death is assaulted; but I am at home with my God, yet alive. Pray for me, and salute one another with the holy kiss. The peace of God rest with you all, Amen. From Newgate prison in haste, the day of my condemnation.

JOHN ROUGH.

TO HIS CONGREGATION, TWO DAYS BEFORE HE SUFFERED.

The Spirit of consolation be with you, aid you, and make you strong to run to the fight that is laid before you, wherewithal God in all ages hath tried his elect, and hath found them worthy of himself, by coupling to their head Jesus Christ; in whom, whoso desireth to live godlily, the same must needs suffer persecution. For it is given unto them, not only to believe, but also to suffer. And the servant or scholar cannot be greater than his lord and master: but by the same way the head is entered, the members must follow: no life is in the members which are cut from the body: likewise we have no life but in Christ: for by him we live, move, and have our being. My dear sons, now departing this life to my great advantage, I make change of mortality with immortality, of corruption to put on incorruption, to make my body like unto the corn cast into the ground, which except it die first, it can bring forth no good fruit. Wherefore death is to me great advantage: for thereby the body ceaseth from sin, and after turneth into the first original; but after shall be changed, and made brighter than the sun or moon. What shall I write of this corporal death, seeing it is decreed of God, that all men should once die? Happy are they that die in the Lord, which is to die in the faith of Christ, professing and confessing the same before many witnesses. I praise my God I have passed the same journey by many temptations; the devil is very busy to persuade the world, to entice with promises and fair words; which I omit to write, lest some might think I did hunt after vain-glory, which is farthest from my heart. Lastly, the danger of some false brethren, who before the bishop of London purposed to confess an untruth to my face: yet the God that ruled Balaam, moved their hearts; where they thought to speak to my accusation, he made them speak to my purgation. What a journey (by God's power) I have made these eight days before this day, it is above flesh and blood to fear: but, as St. Paul saith, I may do all things in him which worketh in me, Jesus Christ. My course, brethren, have I run, I have fought a good fight, the crown of righteousness is laid up for me, my day to receive it is at hand. Pray, brethren, for the enemy doth yet assault. Stand constant unto the end, then shall you possess your souls. Walk worthily in that vocation wherein you are called. Comfort the brethren. Salute one another in my name. Be not ashamed of the gospel of the cross, by me preached, nor yet of my suffering; for with my blood I affirm the same. I go before, I suffer first the baiting of the butchers' dogs; yet I have not done what I should have done; but my weakness, I doubt not, is supplied in the strength of Jesus Christ; and your wisdom and learning will accept the small talent, which I have distributed unto you (as I trust) as a faithful steward; and what was undone, impute that to frailty and ignorance, and with your love cover that which is and was naked in me. God knoweth ye are all tender unto me, my heart bursteth for the love of you,

Ye are not without your great pastor of your soul, who so loveth you, that if men were not to be sought out, (as God be praised there is no want of men) he would cause stones to minister unto you. Cast your care on that rock, the wind of temptation shall not prevail: fast and pray, for the days are evil. Look up with your eyes of hope, for the redemption is not far off (but my wickedness hath deserved that I shall not see it.) And also that which is behind of the blood of our brethren, which shall also be laid under the altar, shall cry for your relief. Time will not now suffer me to write long letters. The Spirit of God guide you in and out, rising and sitting, cover you with the shadow of his wings, defend you against the tyranny of the wicked, and bring you happily unto the port of eternal felicity, where all tears shall be wiped from your eyes, and you shall always abide with the Lamb.

JOHN ROUGH.

MARTYRDOM OF CUTHBERT SIMSON, HUGH FOX, AND JOHN DAVENISH.

These three persons were apprehended together at Islington, at the same time with Mr. Rough, and being brought before the council, were committed to different prisons.

CUTHBERT SIMSON, who was 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 one Mr. Cholmley, who commanded him to declare what persons he had 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 lay, in great agonies, upwards of three hours. While 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 released 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 more, and then again conducted him to his dungeon.

About ten days after this the lieutenant again asked him 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 London.

2. That thou, within the city and diocese of London, hast uttered many times, and spoken deliberately, the 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, and thoughtest, 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 hast affirmed, and spoken deliberately, that there be not in the Catholic 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 Savior Jesus Christ.

6. That thou hast been, and to thy power art, at this present, a favorer of all those that either have been here in this realm, heretofore, called heretics, 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 that thou hast thought, and so thinketh, and hast spoken, that the said English service, and communion-book, and all things contained in either of them, were 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, were next examined; and the usual articles being administered to them, they answered as follows:

To the first, concerning the Catholic 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 replied, that in Christ's Catholic 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 Catholic church.

They likewise answered affirmatively to the fourth article, and said that they continued in the said faith till they arrived at the age of fourteen years, without having any dislike to the same.

To the fifth article they answered, that they had spoken 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 written down, were afterwards read to them; when they persisting, and continuing stedfast 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 heretic, 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."

On the 28th of March, 1558, these three stedfast 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 truly Christian fortitude to the last, praising and glorifying God, that he had enabled them to go through the horrid punishment allotted them, for no other reason but their strict adherence to the truth of his most holy gospel.

About this time one WILLIAM NICOLL, of Haverford-West, in Pembrokeshire, was apprehended for speaking disrespectfully of the church of Rome; and being condemned as a heretic, was burnt in the above town, on the 9th of April, 1558. We have not any particulars of his examination, &c.

MARTYRDOMS OF WILLIAM SEAMAN, THOMAS CARMAN, AND THOMAS HUDSON.

WILLIAM SEAMAN was a husbandman, 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 neighbor; and being taken before Sir John Tyrrel for examination, was asked, why he would not go to mass, receive the sacrament, and conform himself to the 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 Tyrrel, 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 was by trade a glover, and 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 called *religion*, under 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, where he remained 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, inquired 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 heretic.

When Hudson was informed of their

great desire to apprehend him, his zeal for the glory of God, and the honor 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 faithful adherents to the truth of the gospel.

Information of this being given to a magistrate by one of his neighbors, 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, who was 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 to the bishop, who was then at Norwich, and 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, these three stedfast believers in Christ were conducted to the place appointed for their execution, called Lollards' Pit, without Bishop's-gate, at Norwich. As soon as they arrived at the appointed spot, they all knelt down, and 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 blessing 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 Savior. 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 ecstasy of joy, as a man changed from death unto 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 resigned their souls into the hands of that God who had protected and supported them under their sufferings for his name's sake.

MARTYRDOM OF WILLIAM HARRIS, RICHARD DAY; AND CHRISTIAN GEORGE.

In the same month of May, WILLIAM HARRIS, RICHARD DAY, and a woman named CHRISTIAN GEORGE, suffered at Colchester, and there joyfully and fervently made their prayers to God.

Being chained to the stake, with the fire flaming fiercely round about them, they, like constant Christians, triumphantly praised God within the same, and offered up their bodies a lively sacrifice unto his holy Majesty, in whose habitation they have now their everlasting tabernacles.

The husband of Christian George had already had one wife burnt, whose name was Agnes George, and of whom we have already given an account. After the death of Christian, he married another honest godly woman, with whom he was at last apprehended, and laid in prison, where they remained till the death of queen Mary, and at last were delivered by queen Elizabeth.

PERSECUTION AND SUFFERINGS OF WILLIAM FETTY, A BOY, WHO WAS BARBAROUSLY SCOURGED TO DEATH.

If dying innocently in the cause of Christ, and his religion, constitute a martyr, no one can be better entitled to a place in our catalogue than this youth, 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 this lad. 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 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 wicked woman wrought upon the magistrates, so that, for the preservation and support of her and her children, they discharged him, with an order that he should continue in his own house.

Notwithstanding the ingratitude of his wife, he provided for her in such a manner, that within three weeks, she had, in some measure, recovered her senses. But such was the disposition of this woman, that, notwithstanding this 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 examination, he was sent to Lollards' 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 fifteen days (the greatest part of which time he was kept in the stocks, sometimes by one leg, and sometimes by 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 Lollards' Tower, intimating, that he was there confined.

The chaplain then told him his father was a heretic; to which the boy (who was of a bold and forward spirit, and had been instructed by his father in the reformed religion) answered, "My father is no heretic; but you have Balaam's mark."

On this the incensed priest took the boy by the hand, and dragged him to a large room in the palace, where, after stripping him, 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 the child saw his father, he fell on his knees, and craved his blessing. The poor man, beholding his son in so dreadful a situation, exclaimed, with great grief, "Alas! 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, took 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 them both. 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 string 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 heretic, and said, "I will burn thee, or I will spend all that I

* Lollards' Tower, which we have had frequent occasion to mention in the course of this volume, was a large, detached room, belonging to bishop Bonner's palace, in London, and formed a prison of the most gloomy nature. It was set apart for the punishment of Protestants, (formerly called Lollards), 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, setting them in the stocks, in which some were fastened by the hands, and others by the feet. They were, in general, permitted to sit on a stool, but to increase their punishment, some were deprived of that indulgence, so that, lying with their backs on the ground, as represented in our engraving, their situation was exceedingly painful. In this dungeon, and under these tortures, they were kept, some for several days, others for weeks, without any other sustenance than bread and water; and, to aggravate their sufferings, they were prohibited from being seen by their relations, or friends. Many of those who had tender constitutions, died under these inhuman inflictions; but those who were otherwise, survived to execrate the name of their barbarous persecutor.

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 deep sense he had of the divine protection.

MARTYRDOMS OF ROBERT MILLS, STEPHEN COTTON, ROBERT DINES, STEPHEN WIGHT, JOHN SLADE, AND WILLIAM PIKES.

These six men were apprehended, with several others, in a close near Islington, where they had assembled to pay their devotions to their Maker; and being taken before a magistrate were committed to prison as heretics.

A few days after their apprehension, they were brought before Dr. Thomas Darbyshire, the bishop of London's chancellor, for examination; when the usual articles were exhibited against them, to which they answered as follows:

The first article they all granted. Robert Mills and Stephen Wight said, they had not been at church for three quarters of a year; Stephen Cotton not for a 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 rites, ceremonies, and customs of the then church were against the word of God, so they would not observe any part of the same.

The seventh article they all granted in every part.

To the eighth article they likewise unanimously agreed; but Robert Mills added, that he would not come to church, nor approve of their religion, so long as the cross was crept to and worshipped, and images kept in the church.

John Slade affirmed, in effect, the same as Robert Mills, adding farther, that there were not seven sacraments, but two, namely, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

Stephen Cotton and Robert Dines would no farther allow the popish religion than it agreed with God's word.

To the ninth and tenth articles Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton, answered, that they did not allow the popish service then set forth, because it was against the truth, and in a language which the common people did not understand.

Robert Dines, and William Pikes, would neither allow nor disallow the Latin service, because they did not understand it.

Stephen Wight would not make any answer to either of these two articles, neither to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth articles; but the rest of his fellow prisoners answered as follows:

To the eleventh article Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton, answered, that concerning the books, faith, and religion, specified in this article, they did allow them, so far as they agreed with God's word.

Robert Dines would not make any answer to this, saying, he did not understand it; and William Pikes said, that he would abide by the service, faith, and religion, as set forth in the days of king Edward VI.

To the twelfth article they said, they would agree to it, provided they might receive the sacrament as administered in the reign of king Edward.

The thirteenth and fourteenth articles they granted to be true in every part.

After they had been all examined, they were reconducted to prison, but ordered to appear on the 11th of July at the consistory court at St. Paul's. Accordingly, on that day, they were brought before the bishop and his chancellor, by the latter of whom they were asked, if they would turn from their opinions against the holy mother church; and if not, whether they could show cause why sentence of condemnation should not be pronounced against them. To this they all answered, that they would not depart from the truth, nor any part of the same, on any conditions whatever.

The chancellor then dismissed them, but ordered that they should appear again before him the next day in the afternoon, to hear their definitive sentence pronounced, agreeably to the ecclesiastical law then in force.

They were accordingly brought at the time appointed, when the chancellor sat as judge, accompanied by Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis. The chancellor used his utmost endeavors to prevail on them to recant, but all proved ineffectual. He therefore read the sentence of condemnation, and they were delivered over to the sheriffs, who conducted them to prison, in order for execution.

The chancellor, having condemned these six innocent persons, sent a certificate of their condemnation to the lord chancellor's office, from whence, the next day, a writ

was issued for their being burnt at Brentford.

On the 14th of July, 1558, they were conducted, by the sheriffs and their attendants, from Newgate, to the place appointed for their execution. As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot, they all knelt down, and, for some time, prayed in the most fervent manner. After this they arose, and undressing themselves, went cheerfully to the stakes, of which there were three; though all were consumed in one fire. Being bound to the stakes, and the fagots being lighted, they all calmly and joyfully yielded up their souls to that God, for whose gospel they suffered, and whose heavenly mansions they were in hopes of inheriting.

MARTYRDOMS OF HENRY POND, RAINHOLD EASTLAND, ROBERT SOUTHAM, MATTHEW RICARBY, JOHN FLOYD, JOHN HOLIDAY, AND ROGER HOLLAND.

A few days after the execution of the beforementioned six martyrs at Brentford, seven others, who were apprehended with them at the same time and place, were burnt in Smithfield. Their names we have given above.

The particular examinations of these persons are not recorded, except that of Roger Holland, which, together with his story, we give at length, as being both interesting and edifying.

HISTORY, EXAMINATION, AND CONDEMNATION OF ROGER HOLLAND.

This Roger Holland, a merchant tailor of London, was first an apprentice with Mr. Kempton, at the Black Boy in Watling-street, where he served his apprenticeship with much trouble to his master, in breaking him of the licentious liberty which he had before been trained and brought up in, giving himself to riot, as dancing, fencing, gaming, banqueting, and wanton company; and besides all this, an obstinate papist, unlike to come to any such end as God called him unto.

His master, notwithstanding his lewdness, trusted him with his accounts; and on a time he received the sum of thirty pounds for his master, and falling into ill company, lost every groat at dice; being past all hope which way to answer it, and therefore he purposed to convey himself beyond the seas.

Having determined with himself thus to do, he called betimes in the morning on a servant in the house, an ancient and discreet maid, whose name was Elizabeth, who professed the gospel, with a life agreeing unto the same, and at all times much rebuking the wilful and obstinate papistry, as also the licentious living of this Roger Holland. To whom he said, Elizabeth, I would I had followed thy gentle persuasions and friendly rebukes; which if I had done, I had never come to this shame and misery which I am now fallen into; for this night I have lost thirty pounds of my master's money, which to pay him and make up my accounts I am not able. But this much, I pray you, desire my mistress, that she would entreat my master to take this note of my hand, that I am thus much indebted to him, and if I am ever able, I will see him paid; desiring him that the matter may pass with silence, and that none of my kindred and friends may ever understand this my lewd part.

The maid considering that it might be his utter ruin, Stay, said she; and having a sum of money by her, which was left her by a kinsman at his death, who was thought to be Dr. Redman, she brought unto him thirty pounds, saying, Roger, here is thus much money, I will let thee have it, and I will keep this note. But since I do thus much for thee, to help thee, and to save thy honesty, thou shalt promise me to refuse all lewd and wild company, all swearing and ribaldry talk; and if ever I know thee to play one twelve-pence at either dice or cards, then will I show this thy note unto thy master. And furthermore thou shalt promise me to resort every day to the lecture at All-hallows, and the sermon at St. Paul's every Sunday, and to cast away all thy books of popery and vain ballads, and get thee the Testament and book of service, and read the Scriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God still for his grace to direct thee in his truth. And pray fervently to God, desiring him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the sins of thy youth; and ever be afraid to break his laws, or offend his majesty.

After this time, within one half year, God had wrought such a change in this man, that he was become an earnest professor of the truth, and detested all popery and ill company; so that he was in admiration to all that had seen his former life.

Then he repaired to his father in Lancashire, and brought divers good books with him, and bestowed them among his friends, so that his father and others began to taste the sweetness of the gospel, and to detest the mass, idolatry, and superstition; and in the end his father gave him fifty pounds to begin the world withal.

Then he came to London again, and went to the maid that lent him the money to pay his master withal, and said unto her, Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed

of thee, and for the friendship, good-will, and good counsel I have received at thy hands, to recompense thee I am not able, otherwise than by making thee my wife; and soon after they were married, which was in the first year of queen Mary. And having a child by her, he caused Mr. Rose to baptize it in his own house. Notwithstanding he was betrayed to the enemies, and he being gone into the country to convey the child away, that the papists should not have it in their anointing hands, Bonner caused his goods to be seized on, and most cruelly used his wife.

After this he remained closely in the city, and in the country, in the congregations of the faithful, until the last year of queen Mary. Then he, with the six others before-named, were taken, in or not far from St. John's wood, and so brought to Newgate upon May-day in the morning, 1558.

Then being called before the bishop, Dr. Chedsey, both the Harpsfields, and certain others, after many other fair and crafty persuasions of Dr. Chedsey, thus the bishop began with him:

Holland, I for my part do wish well unto thee, and the more for thy friend's sake. And as Dr. Standish telleth me, you and he were both born in one parish, and he knoweth your father to be a very honest Catholic gentleman; and Mr. Doctor told me that he talked with you a year ago; and found you very wilfully addicted to your own conceit. Divers of the city also have showed me of you, that you have been a great procurer of men's servants to be of your religion, and to come to your congregations; but since you be now in the danger of the law, I would wish you to act a wise man's part: so shall you not want any favor I can do or procure for you, both for your own sake, and also for your friends, who are men of worship and credit, and wish you well, and by my troth, Roger, so do I.

Then said Mr. Eglestone, a gentleman of Lancashire, and near kinsman to Roger, being there present, I thank your good lordship; your honor meaneth good unto my cousin: I beseech God he have the grace to follow your counsel.

Holland. Sir, you crave of God you know not what. I beseech God to open your eyes to see the light of his word.

Eglestone. Roger, hold your peace, lest you fare the worse at my lord's hands.

Holland. No, I shall fare as it pleaseth God, for man can do no more than God doth permit him.

Then the bishop and the doctors, with Johnson, the register, casting their heads together, in the end saith Johnson, Roger, how sayest thou? wilt thou submit thyself unto my lord, before thou be entered into the book of contempt?

Holland. I never meant but to submit myself unto the magistrates, as I learn of St. Paul to the Romans, chap. xiii.: and so he recited the text.

Chedsey. Then I see you are no Anabaptist.

Holland. I mean not yet to be a papist; for they and the Anabaptists agree in this point, not to submit themselves to any other prince or magistrate, than those that must first be sworn to maintain them and their doings.

Chedsey. Roger, remember what I have said, and also what my lord hath promised he will perform with further friendship. Take heed, Roger, for your ripeness of wit hath brought you into these errors.

Holland. Mr. Doctor, I have yet your words in memory, though they are of no such force to prevail with me.

Then they whispered together again, and at last Bonner said, Roger, I perceive thou wilt not be ruled by good counsel, for any thing that either I or your friends can say.

Holland. I may say to you, my lord, as Paul said to Felix and to the Jews, as doth appear in the 22d of the Acts, and in the 15th of the first epistle to the Corinthians. It is not unknown unto my master to whom I was apprentice withal, that I was of your blind religion, having that liberty under your auricular confession, that I made no conscience of sin, but trusted in the priest's absolution, he for money doing also some penance for me: which after I had given, I cared no further what offences I did, no more than he minded after he had my money, whether he tasted bread and water for me, or no; so that lechery, swearing, and all other vices, I accounted no offence of danger, so long as I could for money have them absolved. So straitly did I observe your rules of religion, that I would have ashes upon Ash-Wednesday, though I had used ever so much wickedness at night. And albeit I could not of conscience eat flesh upon the Friday, yet in swearing, drinking, or dicing all the night long, I made no conscience at all. And thus I was brought up, and herein I have continued till now of late, that God hath opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repentance of my former idolatry and wicked life; for in Lancashire their blindness and whoredom is much more than may with chaste ears be heard. Yet these my friends, which are not clear in these notable crimes, think the priest with his

mass can save them, though they blaspheme God, and keep concubines besides their wives as long as they live.

Mr. Doctor, now to your antiquity, unity, and universality, (for these Dr. Chedsey alleged as notes and tokens of their religion) I am unlearned. I have no sophistry to shift my reasons withal; but the truth I trust I have, which needeth no painted colors to set her forth. The antiquity of our church is not from pope Nicholas, or pope Joan, but our church is from the beginning, even from the time that God said unto Adam, that the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head; and so to faithful Noah; to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to whom it was promised, that their seed should multiply as the stars in the sky; and so to Moses, David, and the holy fathers that were from the beginning unto the birth of our Savior Christ. All they that believed these promises were of the church, though the number was oftentimes but few and small, as in Elias's days, when he thought there was none but he that had not bowed their knees to Baal, when God had reserved seven thousand that never had bowed their knees to that idol: as I trust there be seven hundred thousand more than I know of, that have not bowed their knees to the idol your mass, and your God Maozim; the upholding whereof is your bloody cruelty, while you daily persecute Elias and the servants of God, forcing them (as Daniel was in his chamber) closely to serve the Lord their God; and even as we by this your cruelty are forced in the fields to pray unto God, that his holy word may be once again truly preached amongst us, and that he would mitigate and shorten these idolatrous and bloody days wherein all cruelty reigneth. Moreover, of our church have been the apostles and evangelists, the martyrs and confessors of Christ, that have at all times and in all ages been persecuted for the testimony of the word of God. But for the upholding of your church and religion, what antiquity can you show? Yea, the mass, that idol and chief pillar of your religion, is not yet four hundred years old, and some of your masses are younger, as that of St. Thomas Becket, the traitor, wherein you pray, That you may be saved by the blood of St. Thomas. And as for your Latin service, what are we of the laity the better for it? I think he that should hear your priests mumble up their service, although he did well understand Latin, yet should he understand few words thereof, the priests do so champ them and chew them, and post so fast, that they neither understand what they say, nor they that hear them; and in the mean time the people, when they should pray with the priest, are set to their beads to pray our Lady's psalter. So crafty is Satan to devise these his dreams (which you defend with fagot and fire), to quench the light of the word of God; which, as David saith, should be a lantern to our feet. And again, wherein shall a young man direct his ways but by the word of God? And yet you will hide it from us in a tongue unknown. St. Paul had rather have five words spoken with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue; and yet will you have your Latin service and praying in a strange tongue, whereof the people are utterly ignorant, to be of such antiquity!

The Greek church, and a good part of Christendom besides, never received your service in an unknown tongue, but in their own natural language, which all the people understand, neither yet your transubstantiation, your receiving in one kind, your purgatory, your images, &c.

As for the unity which is in your church, what is it else but treason, murder, poisoning one another, idolatry, superstition, and wickedness? What unity was in your church, when there were three popes at once? Where was your head of unity when you had a woman pope?

Here he was interrupted, and could not be suffered to proceed.

The bishop then said, Roger, these thy words are downright blasphemy, and by the means of thy friends thou hast been suffered to speak, and art over-malapert to teach any here. Therefore, keeper, take him away.

THE SECOND EXAMINATION OF ROGER HOLLAND

The day that Henry Pond and the rest were brought forth to be again examined, Dr. Chedsey said, Roger, I trust you have now better considered of the church than you did before.

Holland. I consider thus much: that out of the church there is no salvation, as divers ancient doctors say.

Bonner. That is well said. Mr. Eglestone, I trust your kinsman will be a good Catholic man. But, Roger, you mean, I trust, the church of Rome.

Holland. I mean that church which hath Christ for her head; which also hath his word and his sacraments according to his word and institution.

Then Chedsey interrupted him, and said, Is that a Testament you have in your hand?

Holland. Yea, Mr. Doctor, it is a New Testament. You will find no fault with

the translation, I think. It is your own translation; it is according to the great Bible.

Bonner. How say you? How do you know that it is the Testament of Christ, but only by the church? For the church of Rome hath and doth preserve it, and out of the same hath made decrees, ordinances, and true expositions.

No (saith Roger), the church of Rome hath and doth suppress the reading of the Testament. And what a true exposition, I pray you, did the pope make thereof, when he set his foot on the emperor's neck, and said, "Thou shalt walk upon the lion and the asp; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy foot?" Psalm xci.

Then said the bishop, Such unlearned wild heads as thou and others, would be expositors of the Scripture. Would you then the ancient learned (as there are some here as well as I) should be taught of you?

Holland. Youth delighteth in vanity. My wildness hath been somewhat the more by your doctrine, than ever I learned out of this book of God. But (my lord) I suppose some old doctors say, if a poor layman bring his reason and argument out of the word of God, he is to be credited before the learned, though they be ever such great doctors. For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned doctors, and given to poor fishermen. Notwithstanding, I am ready to be instructed by the church.

Bonner. That is very well said, Roger. But you must understand that the church of Rome is the Catholic church. Roger, for thy friends' sake, (I promise thee) I wish thee well, and I mean to do thee good. Keeper, see he want nothing. Roger, if thou lackest any money to-pleasure thee, I will see thou shalt not want. This he spake unto him alone, his companions being apart, with many other fair promises, and so he was sent to prison again.

HIS LAST EXAMINATION.

The last examination of Roger Holland was when he with his fellow prisoners were brought into the consistory, and there all excommunicated, except Roger, and ready to have their sentence of judgment given, with many threatening words to affright them withal: the lord Strange, Sir Thomas Jarret, M. Eglestone, Esq.; and divers others of worship, both of Cheshire and Lancashire, that were Roger Holland's kinsmen and friends, being there present, who had been earnest suitors to the bishop in his favor, hoping for his safety of life. Now the bishop hoping yet to win him with his fair and flattering words, began after this manner.

Bonner. Roger, I have divers times called thee before me at my own house, and have conferred with thee, and being not learned in the Latin tongue, it doth appear unto me that thou hast a good memory, and very sensible in talk, but something over-hasty, which is a natural impediment incident to some men. And surely they are not the worst-natured men. For I myself am now and then too hasty, but mine anger is soon over. So, Roger, surely I have a good opinion of you, that you will not with these fellows cast yourself headlong from the church of your parents and your friends that are here, very good Catholics (as it is reported to me). And as I mean thee good, so, Roger, play the wise man's part, and come home with the lost son, and say, I have run into the church of schismatics and heretics, from the Catholic church of Rome: and you shall, I warrant you, not only find favor at God's hands, but the church, that hath authority, shall absolve you, and put new garments upon you, and kill the fatling to make thee good cheer withal; that is, in so doing, as meat doth refresh and cherish the mind, so thou shalt find as much quietness of conscience in coming home to the church, as did the hungry son that had been fed before with the hogs, as you have done with these heretics that sever themselves from the church. But, Roger, if I did not bear thee and thy friends good-will, I would not have said so much as I have done, but I would have let mine ordinary alone with you.

At these words his friends there present thanked the bishop for his good-will, and for the pains he had taken in his and their behalf.

Then the bishop proceeded, saying, Well, Roger, how say you? Do you not believe, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ really and corporeally, under the forms of bread and wine? I mean the self-same body as was born of the virgin Mary, that was crucified upon the cross, that rose again the third day.

Holland. Your lordship saith, the same body which was born of the virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the cross, which rose again the third day: but you leave out, which ascended into heaven; and the Scripture saith, he shall there remain until he come to judge the quick and the dead. Then he is not contained under the forms of bread and wine, by *Hoc est corpus meum*, &c.

Bonner. Roger, I perceive my pains and good-will will not prevail, and if I should argue with thee, thou art so wilful, (as all

thy fellows be, standing in thine own singularity and foolish conceit), that thou wouldst still talk to no purpose this seven years, if thou mightest be suffered. Answer whether thou wilt confess the real and corporeal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, or wilt not.

Holland. My lord, although God by his sufferance hath here placed you, to set forth his truth and glory in us, his faithful servants, notwithstanding your meaning is far from the zeal of Christ; and, for all your words, you have the same zeal that Annas and Caiaphas had, trusting to their authority, traditions, and ceremonies, more than to the word of God.

Bonner. If I should suffer him, he would fall from reasoning to raving, as a frantic heretic.

Roger (said the lord Strange), my lord would have you tell him, whether you will submit yourself, or no.

Yea, said Bonner, and confess this presence that I have spoken of.

With this Roger turned to the lord Strange, and the rest of his kinsmen and friends, and kneeling down upon his knees, said, God, by the mouth of his servant Paul, hath said, "Let every soul submit himself unto the higher powers, and he that resisteth, receiveth his own damnation:" and as you are a magistrate appointed by God, so I submit myself unto you, and to all such as are appointed for magistrates.

Bonner. That is well said; I see you are no Anabaptist. How say you then to the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar?

Holland. I say, and beseech you all to mark and bear witness with me (for so you shall do before the judgment-seat of God), what I speak; for here is the conclusion: and ye, my dear friends, (turning to his kinsmen), I pray you show my father what I do say, that he may understand that I am a Christian man. I say and believe, and am therein fully persuaded by the Scriptures, that the sacrament of the supper of our Lord, ministered in the holy communion according to Christ's institution, I being penitent and sorry for my sins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and so coming worthily unto God's board in perfect love and charity, do there receive, by faith, the body and blood of Christ. And though Christ in his human nature sit at the right hand of his father, yet (by faith I say) his death, his passion, his merits, are mine, and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the mass, transubstantiation, and the worshipping of the sacrament, they are mere impiety and horrible idolatry.

I thought so much, said Bonner, (suffering him to speak no more), how he would prove a very blasphemous heretic as ever I heard. How irreverently doth he speak of the blessed mass! And so he read his sentence of condemnation, adjudging him to be burned.

All this while Roger was very patient, and when he should depart, he said, My lord, I beseech you suffer me to speak two words. The bishop would not hear him, but bade him away. Notwithstanding, being requested by his friends, said, Speak, what hast thou to say?

Holland. Even now I told you that your authority was from God, and by his sufferance: and now I tell you God hath heard the prayer of his servants, which hath been poured forth with tears for his afflicted saints whom you daily persecute, as now you do us. But this I dare be bold in God to say, (by whose Spirit I am moved), that God will shorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time you shall not molest his church. And this you shall in a short time well perceive, my dear brethren, to be most true. For after this day, in this place there shall not be any by him put to the trial of fire and fagot: [and after that day there were none that suffered in Smithfield for the truth of the gospel.]

Then said Bonner, Roger, thou art, I perceive, as mad in these thy heresies as ever was Joan Boucher. In anger and fume thou wouldst become a railing prophet. Though thou and all the rest of you would see me hanged, yet I shall live to burn, yea, and I will burn all the sort of you that come into my hands, that will not worship the blessed sacrament of the altar, for all thy prattling: and so he went his way.

Then Roger Holland began to exhort his friends to repentance, and think well of them that suffered for the testimony of the gospel, and with that the bishop came back, charging the keeper that no man should speak to them without his license, and if they did, they would be committed to prison. In the mean time Henry Pond and Roger spake still unto the people, exhorting them to stand firm in the truth: adding moreover, that God would shorten these cruel and evil days for his elect's sake.

The day they suffered, a proclamation was made, that none should be so bold as to speak or talk any word unto them, or receive any thing of them, or to touch them, upon pain of imprisonment, without either bail or mainprize; with other cruel, threatening words, contained in the same proclamation. Notwithstanding, the people cried out, desiring God to strengthen them: and they likewise still prayed for the people,

and the restoring of his word. At length Roger, embracing the stake and the reeds, said these words:

"Lord, I most humbly thank thy Majesty, that thou hast called me from the state of death, unto the light of thy heavenly word, and now unto the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing and say, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts. And, Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord, bless these thy people, and save them from idolatry." And so he ended his life, looking up unto heaven, praying to, and praising God, with the rest of his fellow saints. For whose joyful constancy the Lord be praised.

SCOURGING OF THOMAS HINSHAW, BY BONNER.

When bishop Bonner found that his examinations, persuasions, threats, and imprisonments, were to no purpose with Thomas Hinshaw, one of those who had been apprehended at Islington, he took him to Fulham, where, immediately after his coming, he was set in the stocks, remaining there all the first night, with no other refreshment than bread and water.

The next morning the bishop came and examined him himself, and perceiving no yielding in his mind, he sent Mr. Harpsfield to talk with him; who, after a long dispute, at last fell into a passion, calling Hinshaw, "peevish boy," and asking him "whether he thought he went about to damn his soul, or no?" &c. To all this Hinshaw answered, "That he was persuaded that they labored to maintain their dark and devilish kingdom, and not for any love of truth." Harpsfield, being greatly incensed, told the bishop of this; who was thereat in as great a rage as himself, and, although scarce able to speak for anger, cried out, "Dost thou answer my archdeacon so, thou naughty boy? I shall handle thee well enough, be assured." He then sent for a couple of rods, and causing Hinshaw to kneel against a long bench in an arbour in his garden, severely scourged him with his own hands, till he was compelled to desist, from fatigue.

After this scourging, Hinshaw was several times examined; and at last being brought before the bishop in his chapel at Fulham, articles were exhibited against him, which the young man denied, and would not affirm, or consent to any of their interrogatories.

Being remanded to prison, about a fortnight after he fell sick of an ague, whereupon he was delivered, after much entreaty, to his master, Martin Pugson, in St. Paul's church-yard; for the bishop thought he was more likely to die than to live; indeed his sickness continued a twelve-month or more, so that in the mean time queen Mary died. He shortly after recovered his health, and thus escaped the death designed for him by the persecutors.

SCOURGING OF JOHN WILLES, BY BONNER.

We have an account of another person who was also scourged by Bonner; he was named John Willes, "a right faithful and true honest man, in all his dealings and conditions." He had been apprehended at Islington, with the company before mentioned, and being committed to the Coal-house, with Thomas Hinshaw, remained one night there in the stocks.

The account then goes on to state that, "from the Coal-house he was sent to Fulham, where he, with the said Hinshaw, remained eight or ten days in the stocks; during which time he sustained divers conflicts with the said Bonner, who had him often in examination, urging him, and with a stick which he had in his hand, often rapping him on the head, and flirting him under the chin, and on the ears, saying he looked down like a thief. Moreover, after he had essayed all manner of ways to make him recant, and could not, at length taking him to his orchard, there within a little arbour, with his own hands beat him first with a willow rod, and that being worn well-nigh to the stumps, he called for a birch rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber. The cause why he so beat him was this: Bonner asked him when he had crept to the cross. He answered, Not since he came to years of discretion, neither would, though he should be torn by wild horses. Then Bonner desired him to make a cross on his forehead, which he refused to do. Whereupon he had him immediately to his orchard, and there calling for rods, showed his cruelty upon him, as he had done upon Thomas Hinshaw.

"This done, he had him immediately to the parish church of Fulham, with the said Thomas Hinshaw, and Robert Willes; to whom there, being severally called before him, he ministered certain articles, asking if he would subscribe to the same. To which he made his answer according to his conscience, denying them all, except one article, which was concerning king Edward's service in English. Shortly after this beating, Bonner sent a certain old priest lately come from Rome, to him in prison, to conjure out the evil spirit from him, who laying his hand upon his head, began with certain words pronounced over him, to conjure as he had been wont before to do. Willes marvelling at what the old man was about, said, I trust no evil spirit is in me; and laughed him to scorn.

"As this John Willes was divers times

called before Bonner, so much communication passed between them as is too tedious to recite. It is enough to make the reader laugh to see the blind and unsavory reasons with which that bishop endeavored to delude the ignorant, some of which were in the following manner: Bonner going about to persuade Willes not to meddle with matters of Scripture, but rather to believe other men's teaching, who had more skill in the same, asked him first if he did believe the Scripture: Yea, said he, that I do. Then (quoth the bishop) St. Paul saith, If the man sleep, the woman is at liberty to go to another man. If thou wert asleep having a wife, wouldst thou be content that thy wife should take to another man? And yet this is the Scripture.

"Also, if thou wilt believe Luther, Zuinglius, and such, then thou canst not go right; but if thou wilt believe me, &c. thou canst not err; and if thou shouldst err, yet thou art in no danger, thy blood should be required at our hands. As if thou shouldst go to a far country, and meet with a fatherly man, as I am (these were his words), and ask the way to the city, and he should say, This way, and thou wilt not believe him, but follow Luther, and other heretics of late days, and go to a contrary way; how wilt thou come to the place thou askest for? So if thou wilt not believe me, but follow the leading of other heretics, thou shalt be brought to destruction, and burn both body and soul.

"As truly as thou seest the bodies of them in Smithfield burnt, so truly their souls do burn in hell, because they err from the true church.

"Oft-times speaking to the said John Willes, he would say, They call me bloody Bonner. A vengeance on you all! I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. But if I might have my will, I would sew up your mouths, and put you in sacks, and drown you.

"The same day that he was delivered, Bonner came to the stocks where he lay, and asked him how he liked his lodging, and his fare.

"Well (said Willes), if it would please God, I might have a little straw to lie or sit upon.

"Then (said Bonner) thou wilt show no token of a Christian man. And upon this his wife came in unknown to him, being very great with child, every hour expecting her labor, and entreated the bishop for her husband, saying, that she would not go from thence, but that she would there stay, and be delivered in the bishop's house, unless she had her husband with her. How sayest thou (quoth Bonner to Willis), if thy wife miscarry, or thy child, or children, if she be with one or two, should perish, the blood of them would he require at thy hands. Then to this agreement he came, that she should hire a bed in the town of Fulham, and her husband should go home with her the morrow after, upon this condition, that his kinsman there present (one Robert Rouse) should bring the said Willes to his house at St. Paul's the next day.

"To which Willes would not agree, but insisted upon going then. At length, his wife being importunate for her husband, and Bonner seeing she would not stir without him, fearing belike the rumor that might come upon his house thereby, and also probably fearing to be troubled with a lying-in-woman, bade Willes make a cross, and say, *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti*, Amen.

"Then Willes began to say, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. No, no (saith Bonner), say it me in Latin. Willes understanding the matter of that Latin to be good, said the same, and so went home with his wife, his aforesaid kinsman being charged to bring him the next day to St. Paul's; else, said Bonner, if thou dost not bring him, thou art a heretic as well as he. Notwithstanding, the charge being no greater, his kinsman did not bring him, but he of his own accord came to the bishop within a few days after, where he put to him a certain writing in Latin, to subscribe unto, containing, as it seemed to him, no great matter, that he needed greatly to stick at, although, what the bill was, he could not certainly tell: so he subscribed to the bill, and returned home. And thus much concerning the twenty-two taken at Islington."

HISTORY OF RICHARD YEOMAN.

"Richard Yeoman, a devout old man, was Dr. Taylor's curate, at Hadley, and well versed in the Scriptures, and giving godly exhortations to the people: with him Dr. Taylor left his cure at his departure. But as soon as Mr. Newall had gotten the benefice, he put out Mr. Yeoman, and set in a popish curate to maintain and continue their Romish religion, which now they thought fully established. Then he wandered from place to place, exhorting all men to stand faithfully to God's word, earnestly to give themselves unto prayer, with patience to bear the cross now laid upon them for their trial, with boldness to confess the truth before their adversaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the crown and reward of eternal felicity. But when he perceived his adversaries to lie in wait for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pins and points, and

such like things, and selling them, by that shift subsisted himself, his wife and children.

"At last justice Moyle, of Kent, took Mr. Yeoman and set him in the stocks a day and a night, but having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So he came secretly again to Hadley, and tarried with his poor wife, who kept him secretly in a chamber of the town-house, commonly called the Guildhall, more than a year. All which time the good old father abode in a chamber, locked up all the day, and spent his time in devout prayer, and reading the Scriptures, and in carding of wool which his wife did spin. His wife did also go and beg bread and meat for herself and her children, and by such poor means they sustained themselves. Thus the saints of God sustained hunger and misery, while the prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and were costly pampered at Jezebel's table.

"At last parson Newall (I know not by what means) perceived that Richard Yeoman was so kept by his poor wife, and taking with him the bailiff's deputies and servants, came in the night-time, and broke open five doors to get at Yeoman, whom he found in bed with his wife and children; whom when he had so found, he angrily cried, I thought I should find a harlot and a strumpet together. And he would have plucked the clothes off from them: but Yeoman held fast the clothes, and said unto his wife, Wife, arise, and put on thy clothes. And unto the parson he said, Nay, parson, no harlot, nor strumpet, but a married man and his wife, according to God's ordinance, and blessed be God for lawful matrimony. I thank God for this great grace, and I defy the pope and all his popery. Then they led Richard Yeoman unto the cage, and set him in the stocks until it was day.

"There was then also in the cage an old man named John Dale, who had sat there three or four days, because when he said parson Newall with his curate used the Romish service in the church, he spake openly unto him, and said, O miserable and blind guides, will ye ever be blind leaders of the blind? will ye never amend? will ye never see the truth of God's word? will neither God's threats nor promises enter into your hearts? will the blood of martyrs nothing mollify your stony stomachs? O obdurate, hard-hearted, perverse, and crooked generation! O damnable sort, whom nothing can do good unto!

"These, or the like words, he spake in fervency of spirit against the superstitious religion of Rome. Wherefore parson Newall caused him forthwith to be attached and set in the stocks in a cage. So was he kept there till Sir Henry Doyle, a justice, came to Hadley.

"When poor Yeoman was taken, the parson called earnestly upon Sir Henry Doyle to send them both to prison. Sir Henry Doyle earnestly entreated the parson to consider the age of the men, and their mean condition; they were neither persons of note nor preachers; wherefore he would desire him to let them be punished a day or two, and so let them go, at least John Dale, who was no priest: and therefore seeing he had so long sat in the cage, he thought it punishment enough for this time. When the parson heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great rage called them pestilent heretics, unfit to live in the commonwealth of Christians. Wherefore I beseech you, sir, (quoth he) according to your office, defend holy church, and help to suppress these heresies, &c. which are false to God, and thus boldly set themselves, to the evil example of others, against the queen's gracious proceedings. Sir Henry Doyle, seeing he could do no good in this matter, and fearing also the danger of meddling too much in it, made out the writ, and caused the constables to carry them to Bury jail. For now, all the justices, though ever so many, were afraid of a shaven crown, and stood in as much awe of them, as Pilate did of Annas and Caiaphas, and the pharisaical brood, who cried, 'Crucify him, crucify him; if thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend.'

"Wherefore whatsoever their consciences were, yet (if they would escape danger) they must needs be the popish slaves and vassals. So they took Richard Yeoman and John Dale pinioned, and bound them like thieves, set them on horseback, and bound their legs under the horses' bellies, and so carried them to Bury jail, where they were laid in irons: and because they continually rebuked popery, they were thrown into the lowest dungeon, where John Dale, through sickness of the prison, and evil keeping, died in prison, whose body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the fields. He was a man of forty-six years of age, a weaver by his occupation, well learned in the holy Scriptures, faithful and honest in all his conversation, stedfast in confession of the true doctrine of Christ set forth in king Edward's time.

"After that John Dale was dead, Richard Yeoman was removed to Norwich prison, where, after strait and evil keeping, he was examined of his faith and religion. Then he boldly and constantly confessed himself to be of the faith and confession that was set forth by king Edward VI. and

from that he would in nowise vary. The chief articles objected to him, were his marriage and the mass sacrifice. Wherefore when he continued stedfast in confession of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but most cruelly tormented in the fire. So he ended his poor and miserable life, and entered into the blessed bosom of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus the comfortable quietness that God hath prepared for his elect saints."

STORY OF JOHN ALCOCK.

"This young man was by occupation a shearman, and came to Hadley to seek work; he being in church one Sunday, and parson Newall coming by with the procession, would not once move his cap, nor show any sign of reverence, but stood behind the font. The parson perceiving this, when he was almost out of the church door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the constable.

"Then came Robert Rolfe, with whom this young man had wrought, and said, What hath he done, Mr. Parson, that you are in such a rage with him?

"He is a heretic and traitor (quoth the parson), and despiseth the queen's proceedings. Wherefore I command you in the queen's name, have him to the stocks, and see he be forthcoming.

"Well, (quoth Rolfe) he shall be forthcoming; proceed in your business, and be quiet.

"Have him to the stocks, quoth the parson.

"I am constable, quoth Rolfe, and I may bail him, and will bail him; he shall not be put in the stocks, but he shall be forthcoming; so the *good* parson went forth with his holy procession, and so to mass.

"In the afternoon Rolfe said to this young man, I am sorry for thee, for truly the parson will seek thy destruction, if thou take not heed what thou answerest him.

"The young man said, Sir, I am sorry that it is my hap to be a trouble to you. As for myself, I am not sorry, but I commit myself into God's hands, and I trust he will give me mouth and wisdom to answer according to right.

"Well, quoth Rolph, yet beware of him, for he is malicious and a blood-sucker, and beareth an old hatred against me, and he will handle you the more cruelly, because of displeasure against me.

"I fear not, quoth the young man: he shall do no more to me, than God will give him leave; and happy shall I be if God will call me to die for his truth's sake.

"Then they went to the parson, who at the first asked him, Fellow, what sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?

"I say, quoth he, as ye use the matter, ye make a shameful idol of it, and ye are false idolatrous priests, all the sort of you.

"I told you (quoth the parson) he was a stout heretic.

"So, after long talk, the parson committed him to prison, and the next day he rode up to London, and carried the young man with him; and so the young man came no more to Hadley, but after a long imprisonment in Newgate, where after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish religion, he was cast into the lower dungeon, where with ill keeping and sickness of the house, he died in prison. Thus died he a martyr of God's truth, which he heartily confessed, and received the garland of a well-fought battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out and buried in a dunghill; for the papists would in all things be like themselves; therefore they would not so much as suffer the dead bodies to have convenient burial."

MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS BENBRIDGE.

This gentleman, although he might have lived in the enjoyment of a plentiful fortune, yet, for Christ's sake, chose rather to enter through the strait gate of persecution, to the heavenly possession of life in the Lord's kingdom, than in this world to enjoy present pleasures with unquietness of conscience. Wherefore manfully standing against the papists for the defence of the true doctrine of Christ's gospel, he spared not himself to confirm the truth of the same. For which cause he being apprehended as an adversary to the Romish religion, was brought for examination before the bishop of Winchester, where he sustained sundry conflicts for the truth against the bishop and his colleague; in the end of which he was condemned, and some time after brought to the place of martyrdom, by Sir Richard Pecksal, sheriff.

"When standing at the stake, he began to untie his points, and to prepare himself; then he gave his gown to the keeper, being belike his fee. His jerkin was laid on with gold lace fair and brave, which he gave to Sir Richard Pecksal, the high-sheriff. His cap of velvet he took off from his head and threw it away. Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his prayers.

"That done, being now fastened to the stake, Dr. Seaton willed him to recant, and he should have his pardon; but when he saw it prevailed not to speak, the said dreaming doctor willed the people not to

y for him unless he would recant, no ore than they would pray for a dog.

"Mr. Benbridge, standing at the stake with his hands together in such manner as the priest holdeth his hands in his Memento, the said Dr. Seaton came to him again and exhorted him to recant; unto whom he said, Away, Babylonian, away!

"Then said one that stood by, Sir, cut out his tongue! and another, being a temporal man, railed on him worse than Dr. Seaton did, who (as is thought) was set on by some other. *

"Thus when they saw he would not yield, they bade the tormenters to set to fire, and yet he was nothing like covered with fagots. First the fire took away a piece of his beard, whereat he did not shrink at all. Then it came on the other side and took his legs; and the nether stockings of his hose being leather, made the fire to pierce the sharper, so that the intolerable heat thereof made him to cry, I recant! and suddenly he thrust the fire from him. And having two or three of his friends by that wished his life, they stepped to the fire, and helped to take it from him also, who for their labor were sent to prison. The sheriff also, of his own authority, took him from the stake, and sent him to prison again, for which he was sent unto the Fleet, and lay there some time. But before he was taken from the stake, the said Dr. Seaton wrote articles to have him subscribe unto them, as touching the pope, the sacrament, and such other trash. But the said Mr. Benbridge made such ado before he would subscribe them, insomuch that Dr. Seaton ordered them to set to fire again. Then with much pain and grief of heart he subscribed to them upon a man's back.

"That being done, he had his gown given him again, and so was led to prison. Being in prison he wrote a letter to Dr. Seaton, and recanted those words he spake at the stake, unto which he had subscribed; for he was grieved that ever he subscribed unto them. Whereupon expressing his conscience, he was the same day sevennight after burnt indeed, while the vile tormentors did rather broil than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance."

MARTYRDOM OF JOHN COOKE, ROBERT MILES (ALIAS PLUMMER), ALEXANDER LANE, AND JAMES ASHLEY.

The examination of the four above-mentioned persons, who were all poor laboring men, but firm believers in Christ's pure doctrines, took place before the bishop of Norwich, Sir Edward Walgrave, and others, and was principally upon the following articles.

First, Sir Edward Walgrave called John Cooke to him, and said, How doth it happen that you go not to your church?

Cooke. I have been there.

Sir Edw. What is the cause that you go not thither now in these days?

Cooke. Because the sacrament of the altar is an abominable idol, and the vengeance of God will come upon all them that do maintain it.

Sir Edw. O thou rank traitor, if I had as good commission to cut out thy tongue, as I have to sit here this day, thou shouldst be sure to have it done.*

Then he commanded the constable to take him away, saying, he was both a traitor and a rebel.

He then called Robert Miles, and said, How happeneth it, that you will not go to church?

Miles. Because I will follow no false gods.

Then said the bishop, Who told thee that it is a god?

Even you, quoth Miles, and such as you are.

Then the bishop commanded him to be put aside, and to appear before him the next day.

Then he called Alexander Lane before him, and asked him how it chanced, that he would not go to the church.

He said, that his conscience would not serve him so to do.

Sir Edward asked, How dost thou believe?

Lane answered, Even as it is written in God's book.

Then Sir Edward commanded him to say his belief.

Then Lane being somewhat abashed, said his belief to these words, which he missed unawares, "Born of the virgin Mary."

Then said Sir Edward, What, was he not born of the virgin Mary?

* There can be no doubt of this *worthy* knight's *benevolent* intentions, any more than there can be, that such intentions and wishes were not, and are not, confined to himself. Popery cannot bear the disclosure of the truth; and her advocates would therefore gladly "*cut out the tongues*," or effectually stop the mouths, of all those who expose her monstrous crimes and enormities. They are now seeking, by clamor, falsehood, and misrepresentation, to "*stop* OUR *mouths*," to represent us as a "band of incendiaries," wishing to take advantage of popular feelings, and to create or augment unfounded prejudices against them and their *religion*. But we are not to be deterred from the discharge of our duty by the calumnies of an enraged adversary; we have, we believe, "chosen the good part," and, by divine permission, "it shall not be taken away from us."

Yes, said Lane, I would have said so.

Nay, cried Sir Edward, you are one of Cooke's scholars; and so commanded him to be taken away, and to come before him the next day.

After the like manner they passed also with James Ashley, whom they warned the next day likewise to appear before them again. On which second appearance they received their condemnation. And thus these four blessed martyrs innocently suffered together at Bury St. Edmund's about the beginning of August, not long before the last sickness of queen Mary.

MARTYRDOM OF ALEXANDER GOUCH, AND ALICE DRIVER.

Mr. Noone, a justice in Suffolk, dwelling in Marthelsham, hunting after good men to apprehend them, (as he was a bloodthirsty tyrant in the time of trial) at length received intelligence that two godly persons, namely, one Alexander Gouch, of Woodbridge, and Alice Driver of Grosborough, were at that place together, a short distance from his house, and immediately took his men with him, went thither, and made diligent search for them; when the poor man and woman were compelled to hide themselves in a hay-loft. The persecutors, at length, came to search the hay for them, and by driving their pitchforks in various parts of it, at last found them: so they took them and led them to Melton jail, where after remaining a good while, they at last were carried to Bury, to the assizes, and being there examined of matters of faith, did boldly confess Christ crucified, defying the pope and his papistical trash. Among other things, Mrs. Driver likened queen Mary, in her persecution, to Jezebel; and so in that sense called her Jezebel; which so much enraged Sir Clement Higham, the chief judge there, that he ordered her ears immediately to be cut off, which was accordingly done, and she joyfully yielded herself to the punishment, thinking herself happy that she was counted worthy to suffer any thing for the name of Christ.

After the assizes they were carried to Melton jail again, where they remained a time, and were then taken to Ipswich, where they were examined. Mrs. Driver's examinations are given as follows:

HER FIRST EXAMINATION BEFORE DR. SPENSER, CHANCELLOR OF NORWICH.

First, she coming into the place where she should be examined, with a smiling countenance, Dr. Spenser said, Why, woman, dost thou laugh us to scorn?

Mrs. D. Whether I do or no, I might well enough, to see what fools ye be.

Then the chancellor asked her wherefore she was brought before him, and why she was laid in prison.

Dri. Wherefore? I think I need not tell you, for you know it better than I.

Spenser. No, by my troth, woman, I know not why.

Dri. Then have you done me much wrong thus to imprison me, and know no cause why; for I know no evil that I have done, I thank God, and I hope there is no man can accuse me of any notorious fact that I have done, justly.

Spenser. Woman, woman, what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Dost thou not believe that it is very flesh and blood, after the words be spoken of consecration?

Driver's wife at those words held her peace, and made no answer. Then a great chuff-headed priest that stood by, spake, and asked her why she made not the chancellor answer. With that the said Driver's wife looked upon him austerely, and said, Why, priest, I come not to talk with thee, but I come to talk with thy master: but if thou wilt I shall talk with thee, command thy master to hold his peace. And with that the priest put his nose in his cap, and spake never a word more. Then the chancellor bid her make answer to that he demanded of her.

Dri. Sir, pardon me though I make no answer, for I cannot tell what you mean thereby; for in all my life I never heard nor read of any such sacrament in all the Scripture.

Spens. Why, what Scriptures have you read, I pray you?

Dri. I have (I thank God) read God's book.

Spens. Why, what manner of book is that you call God's book?

Dri. It is the Old and New Testament. What call you it?

Spens. That is God's book indeed, I cannot deny.

Dri. That same book have I read throughout, but yet never could find any such sacrament there; and for that cause I cannot make you answer to that thing I know not. Notwithstanding, for all that, I will grant you a sacrament, called the Lord's supper: and therefore seeing I have granted you a sacrament, I pray you show me what a sacrament is.

Spens. It is a sign. And one Dr. Gascoin being by, confirmed the same, that it was the sign of a holy thing.

Dri. You have said the truth, sir. It is a sign indeed, I must needs grant it: and

therefore seeing it is a sign, it cannot be the thing signified also. Thus far we do agree; for I have granted your own saying.

Then stood up the said Gascoin, and made an oration with many fair words, but little to the purpose, being both offensive and odious to the minds of the godly. In the end of which long tale, he asked her if she did not believe the omnipotency of God, and that he was almighty, and able to perform that he spake. She answered, Yes; and said, I do believe that God is almighty, and able to perform that he spake and promised.

Gascoin. Very well. Then he said to his disciples, "Take, eat, this is my body;" ergo, it was his body. For he was able to perform that he spake, and God useth not to lie.

Dri. I pray you did he ever make any such promise to his disciples, that he would make the bread his body?

Gasc. Those be the words. Can you deny it?

Dri. No, they be the very words indeed, I cannot deny it: but I pray you, was it not bread that he gave them?

Gasc. No, it was his body.

Dri. Then was it his body that they did eat over-night?

Gasc. It was his body.

Dri. What body was it then that was crucified the next day?

Gasc. It was Christ's body.

Dri. How could that be, when the disciples had eaten him over-night? except he had two bodies, as by your argument he had; one they did eat over-night, and he was crucified the next day. Such a doctor, such doctrine! Be you not ashamed to teach the people, that Christ had two bodies? In the 22d of Luke, "He took bread and brake it to his disciples, saying, Take, &c. and do this in remembrance of me." St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. xi. "Do this in remembrance of me: for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come:" and therefore I marvel you blush not before all this people, to lie so manifestly as you do.

With that Gascoin held his peace, and made her no answer; for, as it seemed, he was ashamed of his doings. Then the chancellor lift up his head off from his cushion, and commanded the jailer to take her away.

Dri. Now ye be not able to resist the truth, ye command me to prison again. Well, the Lord in the end shall judge our cause, and to him I leave it. So away she went with the jailer.

HER SECOND EXAMINATION.

The next day she came before them again, and the chancellor then asked her, what she said to the blessed sacrament of the altar?

Dri. I will say nothing to it: for you will neither believe me nor yourselves: for yesterday I asked you what a sacrament was, and you said it was a sign; and I agreed thereto, and said it was the truth, confirming it by the Scriptures, so that I went not from your own words; and now you come and ask me again of such a sacrament as I told you I never read of in the Scriptures.

Spens. Thou liest, naughty woman, we did not say that it was a sign.

Dri. Why, masters, be ye not the men that you were yesterday? Will ye eat your own words? Are ye not ashamed to lie before all this multitude here present, who heard you speak the same?

Then stood up Dr. Gascoin, and said, she was deceived; for there are three churches, the malignant church, the church militant, and the church triumphant. So he would fain have made matter, but he could not tell which way.

Dri. Sir, is there mention made of so many churches in the Scripture?

Gasc. Yea.

Dri. I pray you where find you this word [church] written in the Scripture?

Gasc. It is written in the New Testament.

Dri. I pray you, sir, show the place where it is written.

Gasc. I cannot tell the place, but there it is. With that she desired him to look in his Testament: then he fumbled and sought about him for one; but at that time he had none, and that he knew well enough, though he seemed to search for it. At last she said, Have you none here, sir?

Gasc. No.

Dri. I thought so much indeed, that you were little acquainted withal. Surely you are a good doctor. You say you sit here to judge according to the law, and how can you give judgment, and have not the book of the law with you? At which words Dr. Gascoin was out of countenance, and asked her if she had one.

No, said she.

Then, said he, I am as good a doctor as you.

Dri. Well, sir, I had one, but you took it from me (as you would take me from Christ, if you could), and since you would not suffer me to have any book at all; so burning is your charity. But you may

well know (I thank God), that I have exercised the same; else I could not have answered you (to God's glory be it spoken) as I have. Thus she put them all to silence, so that one looked on another, and had not a word to speak.

Dri. Have you no more to say? God be honored. You be not able to resist the Spirit of God in me, poor woman. I was an honest poor man's daughter, never brought up in the university as you have been, but I have driven the plow before my father many a time; yet notwithstanding, in the defence of God's truth, and in the cause of my master Christ, by his grace I will set my foot against the foot of any of you all, in the maintenance and defence of the same; and if I had a thousand lives, they should go for payment thereof.—So the chancellor rose up, and read the sentence of condemnation in Latin, and committed her to the secular power; and so she went to prison again, as joyful as the bird of day, praising the name of God.

ALEXANDER GOUGH was examined on the same day, and by the same persons, concerning 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 stedfastness in this his faith and opinion, he received sentence of condemnation as a heretic, and was delivered to the secular power to be put to death.

On the 4th of November, 1558, both these persons were taken from Melton jail 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 sheriff was so offended, that he ordered the bailiffs to interrupt them, and desire they would make an end.

Then Gough stood up and said unto the sheriff, I pray you, Mr. Sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here.

Then said the bailiff, Come off, have them to the fire.

Then the said Gough, and Alice Driver, said, Why, Master Sheriff, and Master Bailiff, will you not suffer us to pray?

Away, said Sir Henry, to the stake with them.

Gough answered, Take heed, Mr. Sheriff, if you forbid prayer, the vengeance of God hangeth over your heads. Then they being tied to the stake, and the iron chain being put about Alice Driver's neck, O! said she, here is a goodly handkerchief, blessed be God for it! Then divers came and took them by the hands as they were bound standing at the stake. The sheriff cried, Lay hands on them, lay hands on them! With that a great number ran to the stake. The sheriff seeing that, let them all alone, so that there was not one taken.

MARTYRDOM OF PHILIP HUMPHRY, JOHN DAVID, AND HENRY DAVID, HIS BROTHER.

About the same time, and for the same cause, the three men above-mentioned were burned at Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk; but the particular account of their examinations and deaths is not recorded.

SUFFERINGS AND MARTYRDOM OF ELIZABETH PREST.

This poor woman was the wife of a laboring man, and lived at a small village near the town of Launceston, in Cornwall. Her husband, and three children, were zealous papists, and she would frequently rebuke them for their superstition; but her husband being a morose man, forced her sometimes to go to church, to follow in procession, and conform to the Romish ceremonies.

Being greatly afflicted at the thoughts of doing that which was so much against her conscience, she prayed to God for his assistance, took courage, and left her husband and family.

For some time she travelled from one place to another, maintaining herself by labor and spinning. But, at length, she returned to her husband; a few days after which she was accused of heresy by some of her neighbors, and being apprehended, was sent to Exeter, to be examined by Dr. Troublevile, then bishop of that see.

The following account of what passed at her examination, and subsequently, was given by some persons who were at that time residing at Exeter.

Bishop. Thou foolish woman, I hear say, that thou hast spoken certain words against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ. Fy for shame! thou art an unlearned person, and a woman; wilt thou meddle with such high matters, which all the doctors of the world cannot define? Wilt thou talk of such high mys-

teries? Keep thy work, and meddle with that thou hast to do. It is no woman's matter, at cards and tow to be spoken of. And if it be as I am informed, thou art worthy to be burned.

Woman. My lord, I trust your lordship will hear me speak.

Bishop. Yea, marry, for that cause I sent for you.

Woman. I am a poor woman, and do live by my hands, getting a penny truly, and of what I get, I give part to the poor.

Bishop. That is well done. Art thou not a man's wife?

And here the bishop entered into conversation about her husband. To whom she answered again, declaring that she had a husband and children; and had them not. So long as she was at liberty, she refused neither husband nor children: but now standing here as I do, said she, in the cause of Christ and his truth, where I must either forsake Christ, or my husband, I am contented to stick only to Christ, my heavenly spouse, and renounce the other.

And here she making mention of the words of Christ, "He that leaveth not father or mother, sister or brother, husband," &c. the bishop inferred, that Christ spake that of the holy martyrs, who died because they would not sacrifice to the false gods.

Woman. Surely, sir, and I will rather die than I will do any worship to that idol, which with your mass you make a god.

Bishop. What, heretic! will you say that the sacrament of the altar is a foul idol?

Woman. Yes, truly, there was never such an idol as your sacrament is made by your priests, and commanded to be worshipped of all men, with many fond fantasies, where Christ did command it to be eaten and drank in remembrance of his most blessed passion for our redemption.

Bishop. See this prattling woman! Dost thou not hear, that Christ did say over the bread, "This is my body," and over the cup, "This is my blood?"

Woman. Yes, forsooth, he said so, but he meant that it is his body and blood, not carnally, but sacramentally.

Bishop. Lo, she hath heard prating among these new preachers, or heard some peevish book. Alas, poor woman, thou art deceived.

Woman. No, my lord, what I have learned was of godly preachers, and of godly books which I have heard read. And if you will give me leave, I will declare a reason why I will not worship the sacrament.

Bishop. Marry, say on, I am sure it will be goodly gear.

Woman. Truly such gear as I will lose this poor life of mine for.

Bishop. Then you will be a martyr, good wife.

Woman. Indeed, if the denying to worship that bready god be my martyrdom, I will suffer it with all my heart.

Bishop. Say thy mind.

Woman. You must bear with me, a poor woman.

Bishop. So I will.

Woman. I will demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which doth say, That Christ doth perpetually sit at the right hand of his Father, both body and soul, until he come again; or whether he be there in heaven our Advocate, and to make prayer for us unto God his Father? If it be so, he is not here on earth in a piece of bread. If he be not here, and if he do not dwell in temples made with hands, but in heaven, what, shall we seek him here? If he did offer his body once for all, why make you a new offering? If with once offering he made all perfect, why do you with a false offering make all imperfect? If he be to be worshipped in Spirit and in truth, who do you worship a piece of bread? If he be eaten and drank in faith and truth, if his flesh be not profitable to be among us, why do you say you make his flesh and blood, and say it is profitable for body and soul? Alas, I am a poor woman, but rather than I will do as you, I would live no longer. I have said, sir.

Bishop. I promise you, you are a jolly Protestant. I pray you, in what schools have you been brought up?

Woman. I have upon the Sundays visited the sermons, and there have I learned such things as are so fixed in my breast, that death shall not separate them.

Bishop. O foolish woman, who will waste his breath upon thee, or such as thou art! But how chanceth it that thou wentest away from thy husband? if thou wert an honest woman, thou wouldst not have left thy husband and children, and run about the country like a fugitive.

Woman. Sir, I labored for my living; and as my master Christ counselleth me, when I was persecuted in one city, I fled into another.

Bishop. Who persecuted thee?

Woman. My husband and my children. For when I would have them to leave idolatry, and to worship God in heaven, he would not hear me, but he with his children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for whoredom, nor for theft, but because I would be no partaker with him and his, of that foul idol the mass; and wheresoever I was, as oft as I could, I made excuses not to go to the popish church.

Bishop. Belike then you are a good housewife, to fly from your husband and the church.

Woman. My housewifery is but small; but God give me grace to go to the true church.

Bishop. The true church! what dost thou mean?

Woman. Not your popish church, full of idols and abominations, but where two or three are gathered together in the name of God, to that church will I go, as long as I live.

Bishop. Belike then you have a church of your own. Well, let this mad woman be put down to prison till we send for her husband.

Woman. No, I have but one husband, who is here already in this city, and in prison with me (from whom I will never depart). And so their communication, for that time, brake off. Blackstone and others persuaded the bishop that she was not in her right senses, (which is no new thing for the wisdom of God to appear foolishness to the carnal men of this world), and therefore they consulted together, that she should have liberty to go at large. So the keeper of the bishop's prison had her home to his house, where she fell to spinning and carding, and did work as a servant in the said keeper's house, and she went about the city when and where she pleased, and many people took great delight in talking with her: and all her discourse was about the sacrament of the altar, which of all things they could least abide.

Then her husband was sent for, but she refused to go home with him, with the blemish of the cause and religion, in defence whereof she there stood before the bishop and the priests. Then divers of the priests endeavored to persuade her to leave her "wicked opinion" about the sacrament of the altar, the natural body and blood of our Savior Christ. But she made them answer, that it was nothing but very bread and wine, and that they might be ashamed to say, that a piece of bread should be turned by a man into the natural body of Christ, which bread doth corrupt, and mice oftentimes do eat it, and it doth mould, and is burned: God's body will not be so handled, nor kept in prison, or boxes, or aumbries. Let it be your god, it shall not be mine; for my Savior sitteth on the right hand of God, and doth pray for me. And to make that sacramental or significative bread instituted for a remembrance, the very body of Christ, and to worship it, is very foolishness and devilish deceit.

Now truly, said they, the devil hath deceived thee.

No, said she, I trust the living God hath opened mine eyes, and caused me to understand the right use of the blessed sacrament, which the true church doth use, but the false church doth abuse.

Then stepped forth an old friar, and asked her what she said of the holy pope.

I say, said she, that he is Antichrist, and the devil.

Then they all laughed.

Nay, said she, you have more need to weep than to laugh, and to be sorry that ever you were born, to be the chaplains of that whore of Babylon. I defy him and all his falsehood; and get you away from me, you do but trouble my conscience. You would have me follow your doings; I will first lose my life. I pray you depart.

Why, thou foolish woman, said they, we come to thee for thy profit and soul's health.

O Lord God! said she, what profit ariseth by you, that teach nothing but lies for truth! how save you souls, when you preach nothing but damnable lies, and destroy souls!

How provest thou that? said they.

Do you not damn your souls, said she, when you teach the people to worship idols, stocks, and stones, the works of men's hands? and to worship a false god of your own making of a piece of bread, and teach that the pope is God's vicar, and hath power to forgive sins! and, that there is a purgatory, when God's Son hath by his passion purged all? and say, you make God, and sacrifice him, when Christ's body was a sacrifice once for all? Do you not teach the people to number their sins in your ears, and say they be damned, if they confess not all; when God's word saith, Who can number his sins? Do you not promise them trentals and dirges, and masses for souls, and sell your prayers for money, and make them buy pardons, and trust to such foolish inventions of your own imaginations? Do you not altogether against God? Do you not teach us to pray upon beads, and to pray unto saints, and say they can pray for us? Do you not make holy water and holy bread to fray* devils? Do you not a thousand more abominations? And yet you say, you come for my profit, and to save my soul. No, no, One hath saved me. Farewell, you with your salvation. Much other talk there was between her and them, which were too tedious to express.

In the month's liberty which was granted her by the bishop, as is before mentioned, she went into St. Peter's church, and there found a cunning Dutchman, that had made new noses to certain fine images which were disfigured in king Edward's time; to

* To frighten, or scare away.

whom she said, What a madman art thou to make them new noses, which within a few days shall all lose their heads! The Dutchman accused her, and laid it hard to her charge. And she said unto him, Thou art accursed, and so are thy images. Then she was sent for and clapped fast, and from that time she had no liberty.

During the time of her imprisonment, divers resorted to visit her, some sent by the bishop, some of their own voluntary will; amongst whom was one Daniel, a great preacher of the gospel in the days of king Edward, in those parts of Cornwall and Devonshire: whom after that she perceived by his own confession to have revolted from what he preached before, through the grievous imprisonments, as he said, and fear of persecution which he had partly sustained by the cruel justices in those parts, earnestly she exhorted him to repent with Peter, and to be more constant in his profession.

Moreover, there resorted to her a certain worthy gentlewoman, the wife of one Walter Rauly, a woman of noble wit, and of a good and godly opinion; who coming to the prison, and talking with her, she said her creed to the gentlewoman; and when she came to the article, He ascended, there she staid, and bid the gentlewoman to seek his blessed body in heaven, not on earth, and told her plainly that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, and the sacrament to be nothing else but a remembrance of his blessed passion; and yet, said she, as they now use it, it is but an idol, and far wide from any remembrance of Christ's body; which, said she, will not continue, and so take it, good mistress. So that as soon as she came home to her husband, she declared to him, that in her life she never heard a woman (of such simplicity to look on) talk so godly, so perfectly, so sincerely, and so earnestly; insomuch, that if God were not with her, she could not speak such things.

Also there came to her one William Kede, and John his brother, not only brethren in the flesh, but also in the truth, and men in that country of great credit, whose father, R. Kede, all his life suffered nothing but trouble for the gospel. These two good brethren were present with her, both in the hall, and at the prison, and (as they said) they never heard the like woman, of so godly talk, so faithful or so constant.

Thus this good matron was by many ways tried, by hard imprisonment, threatenings, taunts and scorns, called an Anabaptist, a mad woman, a drunkard, a runagate. She was proved by liberty to go whither she would; she was tried by flattery, with many fair promises; she was tried with her husband, her goods and children; but nothing could prevail; her heart was fixed, she had cast anchor, utterly contemning this wicked world.

Although she was of such simplicity, and unskilled in the knowledge of this world, you could declare no place of Scripture, but she would tell you the chapter; yea, she would recite you the names of all the books of the Bible. For which cause one Gregory Basset, a rank papist, said she was out of her wits, and talked of the Scripture as a dog rangeth far off from his master when he walketh in the fields, or as a stolen sheep out of his master's hands, she knew not whereat, as all heretics do; with many other taunts, which she utterly defied.

At last when they could neither by imprisonment nor liberty, by menaces nor flattery, win her to their vanities and superstitious doings, then they cried out, Anabaptist, an Anabaptist! Then in one day they brought her from the bishop's prison to the Guild-hall, and after that delivered her to the temporal power, according to their custom, where she was by the gentlemen of the country exhorted yet to call for grace: "and go home to thy husband," said they, "thou art an unlearned woman, thou art not able to answer such high matters."

"I am not," said she; "yet with my death I am content to be a witness of Christ's death."

During the time that this good woman was thus under these priests' hands, she sustained many baitings and sore conflicts. But in fine, (after many combats and scoffing persuasions), when they had played the part of the cat with the mouse, they at length condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power.

Then the sentence being given, That she should go to the place from whence she came, and from thence to the place of execution, there to be burned with flames, till she be consumed; she lifted up her voice and thanked God, saying, "I thank thee, my Lord, my God; this day have I found that which I have long sought." And yet this favor they pretended after her judgment, that her life should be spared, if she would turn and recant. "Nay, that I will not," said she: "God forbid that I should lose the life eternal for this carnal and short life."

Then was she delivered to the sheriff, innumerable people beholding her, and led by the officers to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Southernhay, where again these superstitious priests assaulted her; and she prayed them to have no more talk with her, but cried still, "God be merciful to me, a sinner."

And so while they were tying her to a stake, thus still she cried, and would give no answer to them, but with much patience took her cruel death, and was with flames of fire consumed; and so ended this mortal life, as constant a woman in the faith of Christ, as ever was upon the earth.

MARTYRDOM OF JOHN CORNEFORD, CHRISTOPHER BROWNE, JOHN HERST, ALICE SNOTH, AND CATHERINE KNIGHT, (ALIAS TINLEY).

These five persons were the last who suffered in queen Mary's reign for the testimony of that word for which so many had died before, and gave up their lives meekly and patiently, suffering the violent malice of the papists.

The matter why they were judged to the fire was, for believing the body not to be in the sacrament of the altar, unless it be received:

For confessing that an evil man does not receive Christ's body:

That it is idolatry to creep to the cross, and that St. John forbiddeth it, saying, "Beware of images:"

For confessing that we should not pray to saints, because they be not omnipotent.

For these and other similar articles of Christian doctrine, they were committed to the flames. Notwithstanding the sickness of queen Mary, whereof they were not ignorant, the archdeacon and others of Canterbury, hastened to dispatch the martyrdom of these persons, before her death, which was daily expected, should deprive them of the power.

In so doing this archdeacon proved himself more bigoted and bloodthirsty than even Bonner, who, notwithstanding he had some at the same time under his custody, yet did not hurry them to the stake, as appears by several persons who, being then in his prison, were delivered by the death of queen Mary.

We have not any particulars relative to the examinations, &c. of the five persons above named, but the following anecdotes of two of them are given by the Martyrologist.

Catherine Tinley was the mother of one Robert Tinley, dwelling in Maidstone, which Robert was in trouble all queen Mary's time. To whom his mother coming to visit him, asked him how he took this place of Scripture which she had seen, not by reading of the Scripture (for she had yet in manner no taste of religion), but had found it by chance in a book of prayers, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants and upon the maids in those days will I pour my Spirit," &c. Which place after that he had expounded to her, she began to take hold on the gospel, growing more and more in zeal and love thereof, and so continued unto her martyrdom.

Among such women as were burned at Canterbury, it is recorded of a certain maid, and supposed to be this Alice Snoth mentioned in this story, or else to be Agnes Snoth, of whom an account is given in a preceding page, that when she was brought to be executed, she being at the stake, called for her godfathers and godmothers. The justice hearing her, sent for them, but they durst not come. Notwithstanding the justices willed the messenger to go again, and to show them that they should incur no danger thereof.

Then they hearing that, came to know the matter of their sending for. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her, and so she immediately rehearsed her faith, and the commandments of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promised in her behalf; and they said, No.

Then, said she, I die a Christian woman, bear witness of me; and she was consumed in fire, and gave up her life joyfully for the testimony of Christ's gospel, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and also to the stopping of the slanderous mouths of such as falsely do quarrel against the faithful martyrs, for going from that religion wherein by their godfathers and godmothers they were at first baptized.

CONDEMNATION OF JOHN HUNT AND RICHARD WHITE, WHO ESCAPED THE FIRE BY THE DEATH OF QUEEN MARY.

Several others were imprisoned in various places, whereof some were but lately taken and not examined, some were examined but not condemned, and others had been both examined and condemned, but the warrants for their execution not being signed, they escaped. Nay, of some the writ had been brought down for their burning, and yet by the death of the chancellor, the bishop, and of queen Mary, happening about one time, they most happily and miraculously were preserved, and lived many years after. Of these were JOHN HUNT, and RICHARD WHITE, imprisoned at Salisbury, of whom the history is given as follows:

"These two good men had been in prison at Salisbury, and other places thereabouts, more than two years; were often called to examination, and manifold ways impugned

John Fetty cruelly beaten in Lollard's Tower, by order of Bishop Bonner, while his son is scourged to death in an adjoining Dungeon.

Martyrdom of Five Persons at Canterbury.

by the bishops and priests. As a specimen we shall give the examination of Richard White, before Dr. Capon, the bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Brookes, the bishop of Gloucester, with Dr. Geoffrey, the chancellor, and other priests, with whom first the bishop of Gloucester, who had the examination of him, began thus:

"On being interrogated for what cause he came hither, White answered that he desired to know the cause, and referred to the Register as to his examination at Marlborough. After some irrelevant matter he was asked his opinion of the sacrament of the altar, when they stumbled upon the very definition of a sacrament, a word first framed by St. Augustine, and not to be found in Scripture; and White declared that Christ and his sacraments are alike, and that in both are two natures; in the one, a divine and human nature, in the other, an external and an internal; the external being the element of bread and wine, and the internal the invisible grace. He afterwards observed that Christ, as God, is in all places; but as man, only in one place. After some other questions, equally appropriate, and answers not more satisfactory to his persecutors, he was ordered away to the Lollards' Tower. They were sent for to be condemned by the chancellor, who delivered them to the sheriff in order to execution.

"The sheriff, Sir Anthony Hungerford, being advised by his son-in-law, Mr. Clifford, of Bosco, (perhaps Boscomb) in Wilts, deferred their execution, until he received the writ *De comburendo;* and was supported therein by Mr. Justice Brown, on which he left the town, and the chancellor rode after him, to know why he had not seen them executed.

"The sheriff hearing the chancellor's words, and seeing him so urgent upon him, told him again that he was no babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any writ to warrant and discharge him in burning those men, then he knew what he had to do; but if you have no other writ but that which you signed, I tell you, I will neither burn them for you, nor any of you all.

"Where note again (good reader) how by this it may be thought and supposed, that the other poor saints and martyrs of God, such as had been burned at Salisbury before, were burned belike without any authorized or sufficient writ from the superiors, but only from the information of the chancellor and of the close.

"Dr. Geoffrey, the chancellor, thus sent away from the sheriff, went home, and there fell sick upon the same.

"The under-sheriff to this Sir Anthony Hungerford, above named, was one Mr. Michell, a godly man. So that not long after this came down the writ to burn the above-named Richard White and John Hunt; but the under-sheriff said, I will not be guilty of these men's blood: and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within four days after, the chancellor died; concerning whose death this cometh by the way to be noted, that these two aforesaid, John Hunt, and Richard White, being at the same time in a low and dark dungeon, suddenly fell to such a weeping (but how they could not tell) that they could not pray one word; the first word they heard in the morning was, that the chancellor was dead, which happened the same hour when they fell into such a sudden weeping. Richard White and John Hunt, after the death of the chancellor, the bishop also being dead a little before, continued still in prison till the happy coming in of queen Elizabeth; and so were set at liberty."

DEATH OF QUEEN MARY.

Happy are we to say, that the five persons mentioned above completed the number of human sacrifices in this island. They were the last who fell victims to gratify the malevolent heart of Bonner, and the bigoted zeal of the unfeeling and relentless Mary.

The queen's health had been long declining. She had, for some time, been afflicted with the dropsy, the consequence of a false conception, and of the improper regimen which she pursued. Her malady was greatly augmented by the anxiety of her mind, which was a prey to the most painful reflections. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects; the mortification of being childless; the fear of leaving her crown to a sister, whom she detested; the approaching ruin that threatened the Catholic religion in England on her death; the indifference of her husband, (Philip of Spain) who, never having loved her, had now ceased to treat her even with the outward show of affection, and had retired into his own country in disgust: all these painful circumstances preyed upon her mind, and at length threw her into a slow fever, of which she died on the 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 valuable lives sacrificed through her arbitrary mandates, we are naturally led to condemn her, first, as a fellow-creature, and next, as a sovereign; but more particularly in the latter character, because, as Providence had placed her in so distin-

guished a rank, she should have held out the arm of protection to her subjects, instead of the sword of destruction. But the whole progress of her reign does not furnish us with a single instance of merit in her, either as a woman or a sovereign. On the contrary, all her actions were of the most horrid and gloomy cast; and the barbarities she committed, during her reign, were such as to exceed description. With her the practice of religion became the trade of murder, and the care of her people the exercise of her cruelty; while all her views for their happiness, terminated in punishments for their virtues. Her bigotry infected every branch of government, and weakened every band of society. She had not any thing engaging, either in her person, her behavior, or her address: her understanding was confined within very narrow limits, and her temper was morose and gloomy; while obstinacy, bigotry, violence, malignity, revenge, and tyranny, directed all her actions.

The death of queen Mary revived the drooping spirits of the long-oppressed Protestants. They now anticipated the peaceful period, when they should no longer be persecuted for their religion; and when their virtues would not expose them to the rage of ignorance and bigotry.

Nor were they mistaken: Elizabeth was as strong an advocate for the Protestant religion, as her predecessor had been inveterate against it. No sooner did she ascend the throne, than her attention was directed to the protection of the professors of the reformed religion; but she did this in so wise and prudent a manner, as to prevent any disturbance from the opposite party. By her distinguished management, in a short time, she fixed the Protestant religion on so solid a basis, as to prevent its being again overthrown, and ever since her reign, though various attempts have been made to destroy it, they have all terminated in the defeat of the conspirators, and the ruin of their projects. That they may always so terminate, should be the fervent prayer of every one who prefers purity to corruption, and the decent ritual of the reformed church, to the frivolous ceremonies and pompous nothingness of the Popish worship.

SECTION XVII.

"A Treatise concerning those that were scourged by the Papists, for the cause of the Gospel, and those, who, after various Sufferings, escaped.

THE following "Treatise" concerning those persons who, though not actually put to death, were yet persecuted and cruelly treated by the enemies of the gospel, is so interesting, and so worthy of preservation on many accounts, that we should consider our work very incomplete, and we doubt not our readers would be of the same opinion, were we to omit it; we therefore give it entire, and wish to direct particular attention to that part which relates to the marvellous preservation of many of those whom the agents of Antichrist had devoted to destruction; from this a consoling reflection may be drawn,—that, however desperate our condition may seem in the eyes of the world, there is One who can assist us; and, however we may be surrounded, "shot at, and sore grieved, by the archers," He who smote the army of Sennacherib, as it were with a whirlwind, will deliver us, in his good time, from the malice of our enemies, and become the tower of our refuge and the rock of our salvation.

After this bloody slaughter of God's saints and servants thus ended and discussed, let us now proceed (by God's assistance) to treat of such as for the same cause of religion have been, though not put to death, yet whipped and scourged by the enemies of God's word, first beginning with Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax, who, about the time of Anne Askew, were miserably rent and tormented with scourges and stripes, for their faithful standing to Christ and his truth, as by the story and examination of them both may appear.

THE SCOURGING OF RICHARD WILMOT AND THOMAS FAIRFAX.

After the first recantation of Dr. Crome, for his sermon which he made the fifth Sunday in Lent, at St. Thomas Acres, being the Mercers' chapel, his sermon was on the Epistle of the same day, written in the tenth chapter to the Hebrews; wherein he very learnedly proved by the same place of Scripture and others, that Christ was the only and sufficient sacrifice unto God the Father for the sins of the whole world, and that there was no more sacrifice to be offered for sin by the priests, forasmuch as

Christ had offered his body on the cross, and shed his blood for the sins of the people, and that once for all. For which sermon he was apprehended by Bonner, and brought before Stephen Gardiner and others of the council, where he promised to recant his doctrine at St. Paul's Cross, the second Sunday after Easter. And accordingly he was there and preached, Bonner with all his doctors sitting before him: but he so preached and handled his matter, that he rather verified his former saying, than denied any part of that which he before had preached, For which the Protestants praised God, and heartily rejoiced.

Bishop Bonner and his champions were not at all pleased therewith, but yet notwithstanding they took him home with them, and he was so handled among the wolfish generation, that they made him come to the Cross again the next Sunday.

And because the magistrates should now hear him, and be witnesses of this recantation, which was most blasphemous, to deny Christ's sacrifice to be sufficient for penitent sinners, and to say that the sacrifice of the mass was good, godly, and a holy sacrifice, propitiatory and available both for the quick and the dead: because (I say) that they would have the nobles to hear this blasphemous doctrine, the viperous generation procured all the chief of the council to be there present.

Now to come to our matter: at this time, the same week, between his first sermon and the last, and while Dr. Crome was in durance, one Richard Wilmot, being apprentice in Bow-lane, of the age of 18 years, and sitting at work in his master's shop, in the month of July, one Lewis, a Welchman, being one of the guard, came into the shop, having things to do for himself.

One asked him what news at the court, and he answered, that the old heretic, Dr. Crome, had recanted now indeed before the council, and that he should on Sunday next be at St. Paul's Cross again, and there declare it.

Then Wilmot sitting at his master's work, and hearing him speak these words, and rejoicing in the same, began to speak unto him, saying, that he was sorry to hear this news: for (said he) if Crome should say otherwise than he hath said, then is it contrary to the truth of God's word, and contrary to his own conscience, which shall before God accuse him.

Lewis answered and said, that he had preached and taught heresy; and therefore it was meet that he should in such a place revoke it.*

Wilmot told him that he would not so say, neither did he hear him preach any doctrine contrary to God's written word, but that he proved his doctrine, and that sufficiently, by the Scriptures.

Lewis then asked him how he knew that?

Wilmot answered, by the Scriptures of God, wherein he shall find God's will and pleasure, what he willeth all men to do, and what not to do; and also by them he shall prove and try all doctrines, and the false doctrine from the true.

Lewis said, it was never well since the Bible was translated into English; and that he was both a heretic and a traitor that caused it to be translated into English; (meaning Cromwell), and therefore was rewarded according to his deserts.

Wilmot answered again, What his deserts and offences were to his prince a great many do not know, neither is it of any force whether they do or no; since he was sure he lost his life for offending his prince, and the law did put it in execution; adding moreover, concerning that man, that he thought it pleased God to raise him from a low estate, and to place him in high authority, partly unto this, that he should do that which all the bishops in the realm yet never did, in restoring again God's holy word, which being hid long before from the people in a strange tongue, and now coming abroad amongst us, will bring our bishops and priests, said he, in less estimation among the people.

Lewis asked, Why so?

Wilmot said, Because their doctrine and living is not agreeable to his word.

Then said Lewis, I never heard but that all men should learn of the bishops and priests, because they are learned men, and have been brought up in learning all the days of their lives. Wherefore they must needs know the truth, and our fathers did believe their doctrine and learning, and I think they did well, for the world was far better then than it is now.

Wilmot answered, I will not say so: for we must not believe them because they are bishops, neither because they are learned, neither because our forefathers did follow their doctrine. For I have read in God's book, how that bishops and learned men have taught the people false doctrine, and likewise the priests from time to time, and indeed those people our forefathers believed as they taught, and as they thought, so thought the people. But for all this Christ calleth them false prophets, thieves, and murderers, blind leaders of the blind, willing the people to make heed of them, lest they should both fall into the ditch.

Moreover we read, that the bishops, priests, and learned men have been commonly resisters of the truth from time to

time, and have always persecuted the prophets in the old law, as their successors did persecute our Savior Christ and his disciples in the new law. We must take heed therefore that we credit them no further than God will have us, neither follow them nor our forefathers otherwise than he commandeth us. For Almighty God hath given to all people, as well to kings and princes, as bishops, priests, learned and unlearned men, a commandment and law, unto which he willeth all men to be obedient. Therefore if any bishop or priest preach or teach, or prince or magistrate command any thing contrary to his commandment, we must take heed how we obey them. For it is better for us to obey God than man.

Marry, sir, quoth Lewis, you are a holy doctor indeed. By God's blood, if you were my man, I would set you about your business a little better, and not suffer you to look upon books, and so would your master if he were wise. And with that in came his master, and a young man with him, who was a servant to Mr. Daubney, in Watling-street.

His master asked him what was the matter.

Lewis said, that he had a knavish boy here to his servant, and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him than keep him in his house.

Then his master being somewhat moved, asked his fellows what the matter was.

They said, they began to talk about Dr. Crome.

Then his master asked what he had said, swearing a great oath, that he would make him tell him.

He said, That he trusted he had said nothing, wherewith either he or Mr. Lewis might justly be offended. I pray (quoth Wilmot), ask him what I said.

Marry (said Lewis), this he said, That Dr. Crome did preach and teach nothing but the truth, and how that if he recanted on Sunday next, he should be sorry to hear it, and that if he do, he is made to do it against his conscience. And more he saith, that we must not follow our bishops' doctrine and preaching: for, saith he, they be hinderers of God's word, and persecutors of that; and how Cromwell (that traitor) did more good in setting forth the Bible, than all our bishops have done these hundred years: thus reporting the matter worse than it really was.

His master hearing this, was in a great fury, and rated him, saying, that either he would be hanged or burned, swearing that he would take away all his books and burn them.

The young man (Mr. Daubney's servant) standing by, hearing this, began to speak on his part unto Lewis, and his talk confirmed all the sayings of the other to be true.

This young man was learned, his name was Thomas Fairfax. Lewis hearing this man's talk as well as the other's, went his way in a rage to the court.

On the next day they heard, that the said Wilmot and Fairfax were sent for to come to the lord mayor. The messenger was Mr. Smart, the sword-bearer of London. They came before dinner to the mayor's house, and were commanded to sit down to dinner in the hall; and when dinner was done, they were both called into a parlor, where the mayor and Sir Roger Cholmley was, who examined them severally, the one not hearing the other.

The effect of their discourse was this: Sir Roger Cholmley said to Wilmot, that my lord mayor and he had received a commandment from the council, to send for him and his company, and to examine them of certain things which were laid to their charge.

Then said Cholmley to him, Sirrah, what countryman art thou? He answered That he was born in Cambridgeshire, and in such a town. Then he asked him how long he had known Dr. Crome. He said, about two years. Then he called him a lying boy, and said that he (the said Wilmot) was his son.

The other said unto him, That was unlike, for that he never saw his mother nor she him. Cholmley said he lied. Wilmot said he could prove it to be true. Then he asked him how he liked his sermon that he made at St. Thomas Acres chapel in Lent. He said that indeed he heard him not. He said yes, and the other nay. Then said he, What say you to this sermon made at the Cross the last day, heard you not that?

Wilmot. Yes, and in that sermon he deceived a great number of people.

Cholmley. How so?

Wilmot. For that they looked that he should have recanted his doctrine that he taught before, and did not, but rather confirmed it.

Cholmley. Yea, sir, but how say you now to him? For he hath recanted before the council; and hath promised on Sunday next to be at the Cross again: how think you of that?

Wilmot. If he so did, I am the more sorry to hear it; and said, he thought he did it for fear and safeguard of his life.

Cholmley. But what say you? Was his first sermon heresy or not?

Wilmot. No, I suppose it was no heresy. For if it were, St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews was heresy, and Paul a heretic that preached such doctrine; but God for-

bid that any Christian man should so think of the holy apostle; neither do I so think.

Cholmley. Why, how knowest thou that St. Paul wrote those things that are in English now, to be true, whereas Paul never wrote English or Latin?

Wilmot. I am certified that learned men of God, that did seek to advance his word, did translate the same out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and English, and that they durst not presume to alter the sense of the Scripture of God, and last will and testament of Christ Jesus.

Then the lord mayor, being in a great fury, asked him what he had to do to read such books, and said, that it was a pity that his master did suffer him so to do, and that he was not set better to work; and in fine said unto him, that he had spoken evil of my lord of Winchester, and bishop Bonner, those reverend and learned fathers and counsellors of this realm, for which his act he saw no other but he must suffer, as was due to the same. And Sir R. Cholmley said, Yea, my lord, there is such a sort of heretics and traitorous knaves taken now in Essex by my lord Rich, that it is too wonderful to hear. They shall be sent to the bishop shortly, and shall be hanged and burned all.

Wilmot. I am sorry to hear that of my lord Rich, for that he was my godfather, and gave me my name at my baptism.

Cholmley asked him when he spake with him. He said, not these twelve years.

Cholmley. If he knew that you were such a one, he would do the like by you, and in so doing he should do God great service.

Wilmot. I have read the same saying in the gospel that Christ said to his disciples, "The time shall come," saith he, "that whosoever killeth you, shall think that he shall do God good service."

Well, sir, said Cholmley, because you are so full of your Scripture, and so well learned, we consider you lack a quiet place to study in. Therefore you shall go to a place where you shall be most quiet, and I would wish you to study how you will answer to the council of those things which they have to charge you with, for else it is like to cost you your best joint. I know my lord of Winchester will handle you well enough, when he heareth thus much. Then was the officer called in to have him to the Compter, in the Poultry, and the other to the other Compter, not one of them to see another; and thus they remained eight days. In which time their masters made great suit to the lord mayor, and to Sir Roger Cholmley, to know their offences, and that they might be delivered.

At length they procured the wardens of the company of Drapers to labor with them in their suit to the mayor. The mayor went with them to the council: but at that time they could find no grace at Winchester's hand, and Sir Antony Browne's, but that they had deserved death, and that they should have the law.

At length, through much entreaty, he granted them this favor, that they should not die as they had deserved, but should be tied to a cart's tail, and be whipped three market-days through the city. Thus they came home that day, and went another day, and the master and wardens of the company petitioned on their knees to have this open punishment released, forasmuch as they were servants of so worshipful a company, and that they might be punished in their own hall, before the wardens, and certain of the company, which at length was granted.

The next day they appeared before the masters in the hall, their own masters being there, where they were charged with heresy and treason, for which, they were told, they deserved death, and this was declared, with a long process, by Mr. Brookes, the master of the company, declaring what labor and suit the mayor and wardens had made for them, to save them from death, which they (as he said) had deserved, and from open shame, which they should have had, being judged by the council to have been whipped three days through the city, at a cart's tail, and from these two dangers they had labored to deliver them, but not without great trouble and charge. For (said he) the company hath promised to the council for this their mercy towards them, a hundred pounds: notwithstanding, we must see them punished in our hall, within ourselves, for those their offences. After these, and many other words, he commanded them to prepare themselves to receive their punishment.

Then they were put asunder, and stripped from the waist upward, one after another, and were had into the midst of the hall, where they were wont to make their fire; there was a great ring of iron, to which there was a rope, tied fast, and one of their feet tied fast to that.

Then came down two men disguised in mummers' apparel, with visors on their faces, and they beat them with great rods till the blood flowed out of their bodies. As for Wilmot, he could not lie in his bed for six nights after, for Brookes played the tyrant with them; so that, with the pain and fear, they were never in health afterwards, as the said Wilmot with his mouth hath credibly informed us, and we can do no less than testify the same.

Thus have we briefly declared this little

tragedy, wherein we may note the malice of the enemies at all times to those who profess Christ, and take his part, of what estate or degree soever they be, according to the apostle's saying, "It is given unto you not only to believe, but also to suffer with him." To whom be honor and glory, Amen.

THE SCOURGING OF THOMAS GREEN, PRINTER, WRITTEN BY HIS OWN HAND.

In the reign of queen Mary, I, Thomas Green, being brought before Dr. Story, by my master, whose name is John Wayland, a printer, for a book called Antichrist, which had been distributed to certain honest men; he asked me where I had the book, and said I was a traitor. I told him I had the book of a Frenchman. Then he asked me more questions, but I told him I could tell him no more. Then he said, it was no heresy, but treason, and that I should be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and so he called for Cluny, the keeper of the Lollards' Tower, and bid him set me fast in the stocks; and he took me out, and carried me to the Coal-house, and there I found a Frenchman lying in the stocks, and he took him out, and put a bolt and a fetter on my right leg, and another on my left hand, and so he set me cross-fettered in the stocks, and took the Frenchman away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after, he came and said, Let me shift your hand and your leg, because you shall not be lame; and he made as though he pitied me, and said, Tell me the truth, and I will be your friend.

And I said, I had told the truth, and could tell no otherwise. Then he put only my leg in the stocks, and so went his way, and there I remained six days, and would come to no answer.

Then Dr. Story sent for me, and asked me whether I would tell him the truth, where I had the book. I said I had told him, of a Frenchman. He asked me where I came acquainted with the Frenchman, where he dwelt, and where he delivered me the book. I said, I came acquainted with him in Newgate, I coming to my friends who were put in for God's word and truth's sake, and the Frenchman coming to his friends: also there we talked together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eat and drink together there, with our friends, in the fear of God.

Then Story scoffed at me, and said, Then there was brother in Christ, and brother in Christ; and reviled me, and called me a heretic, and asked me if I had the book of him in Newgate. I said, No; and I told him, as I went on my business in the street, I met him, and he asked me how I did, and I him also; so falling into discourse, he showed me that book, and I desired him that he would let me have it.

In this examination Story said, it was a great book, and asked me whether I bought it, or had it given me. I told him I bought it. Then he said, I was a thief, and had stolen my master's money. And I said, a little money served, for I gave him but four-pence, but I promised him, that at our next meeting I would give him twelve-pence more. And he said, that was boldly done, for such a book as spake both treason and heresy.

Then Story required me to bring him two sureties and watch for him that I had the book of, and I should have no harm. I made him answer, I would bring no sureties, nor could I tell where to find them. Then said he, This is but a lie; and so called for Cluny, and bid him lay me fast in the Coal-house, saying, he would make me tell another tale at my next coming; and so I lay in the stocks, day and night, but only when I eat my meat, and there remained ten days before I was called for again.

Then Dr. Story sent for me again, and asked if I would yet tell him the truth; I said, I neither could nor would tell him any other truth than I had done already. And while I was there standing, there were two brought, which I took to be prisoners.

Then Mrs. Story fell in a rage, and sware a great oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of these heretic knaves in a house, and I myself (said she) would set it on fire! So I was committed to prison again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no answer.

Then Story sent for me again, and called me into the garden, where I found with him my lord of Windsor's chaplain, and two gentlemen more, and he told them all what they had said and done. They said, the book was a wondrous evil book, and had both treason and heresy in it. They then asked me what I said of the book. And I said, I knew no evil by it.

At which words Story chafed, and said he would hang me up by the hand with a rope; and said also, he would cut out my tongue, and mine ears also from my head. After this they alleged two or three things unto me out of the book. And I answered, I had not read the book throughout, and therefore could give no judgment of it.

Then my lord of Windsor's chaplain and the other two gentlemen took me aside, and entreated me very gently, saying, Tell us where you had the book, and of whom, and we will save you harmless. I made them answer, that I had told all I could to

Dr. Story, and began to tell it them again: but they said, they knew that already; so they left that talk, and went again with me to Story.

Then Story burdened me with my faith, and said I was a heretic. Whereupon the chaplain asked me how I did believe. Then I began to rehearse the articles of my belief, but he bid me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Christ. I made him answer, that I believed in Christ, who died, and rose again the third day, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father.

Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, What is the right hand of God? I made him answer, I thought it was his glory. Then said he, So they say all. And he asked me, when he would be weary of sitting there? Then interfered my lord of Windsor's chaplain, asking me what I said to the mass. I said, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I understood it not, because I never learned any Latin, and since the time I had any knowledge, I had been brought up in nothing but in reading of English, and with such men as have taught the same; with many more questions, which I cannot rehearse.

Moreover, he asked me if there were not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, in the mass, after the priest had consecrated it. And I made him answer, As for the mass, I cannot understand it; but in the New Testament I read, that as the apostles stood looking after the Lord when he ascended up into heaven, an angel said to them, "Even as ye see him ascend up, so shall he come again." And I told them another sentence, where Christ saith, "The poor shall you have always with you, but me ye shall not have always."

Then Mr. Chaplain put many more questions to me, to which I made no answer. Among others, he brought Chrysostom and St. Hierome, for his purpose. To whom I answered, that I neither minded nor was able to answer their doctors, neither knew whether they alleged them right, or no, but to that which is written in the New Testament I would answer. Here they laughed me to scorn, and called me fool, and said, they would reason no more with me.

Then Dr. Story called for Cluny, and bid him take me away, and set me fast, and let no man speak with me. So I was sent to the Coal-house; where I had not been a week, but there came in fourteen prisoners: but I was kept still alone without company, in a prison called Salt-house, having upon my leg a bolt and a fetter, and my hands manacled together with irons, and there continued ten days, having nothing to lie on, but bare stones or a board.

On a time whilst I lay there in prison, the bishop of London coming down a pair of stairs on the back-side undrest, in his hose and doublet, looked through the grate, and asked wherefore I was put in, and who put me in.

I made him answer, that I was put in for a book called Antichrist, by Dr. Story. And he said, You are not ashamed to declare wherefore you were put in! and said it was a very wicked book, and bid me confess the truth to Story. I said, I had told the truth to him already, and desired him to be good unto me, and help me out of prison, for they had kept me there a long time. And he said he could not meddle with it; Story had begun, and he must end it.

Then I was removed out of the Salt-house to give place to two women, and carried to the Lollards' Tower, and put in the stocks; and there I found two prisoners, one called Lion, a Frenchman, and another with him: and so I was kept in the stocks more than a month both day and night, and no man suffered to come to me, or to speak with me, but only my keeper.

Thus we three being together, Lion, the Frenchman, sung a psalm in the French tongue, and we sang with him, so that we were heard down in the street, and the keeper coming up in a great rage, sware that he would put all in the stocks, and so took the Frenchman, and commanded him to kneel down upon his knees, and put both his hands in the stocks, where he remained all that night till the next day.

After this, I being in Lollards' Tower seven days, since my last being with Story, he sware a great oath, that he would rack me, and make me tell the truth. Then Story sending for me, commanded me to be brought to Walbrook, where he and the commissioners dined; and by the way the keeper told me that I should go to the Tower to be racked. So when they had dined, Story called for me in, and so there I stood before them, and some said I was worthy to be hanged for having such heretical books. After I had staid a little while before them, Story called for the keeper, and commanded him to carry me to the Lollards' Tower again, and said he had other matters of the queen's to do with the commissioners, but he would find another time for me. Whilst I lay yet in the Lollards' Tower the woman which brought me the books over, was taken, and her books were put in the Clink, in Southwark, by Hussey, one of the arches; and I Thomas Green do testify before God, now, that I

neither discovered the man nor the woman of whom I had the books.

"Then I lying in the Lollards' Tower, being sent for before Mr. Hussey, he required of me, wherefore I was put into the Lollards' Tower, and by whom. To whom I answered, that I was put there by Dr. Story, for a book called Antichrist. Then he made as though he would be my friend, and said he knew my friends, and my father and mother, and bid me tell him of whom I had the book, and said, Come on, tell me the truth. I told him as I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he was angry, and said, I love thee well, and therefore I send for thee, and looked for a further truth: but I could tell him no other; whereupon he sent me again to the Lollards' Tower. At my going away he called me back again, and said, that Dixon gave me the books, being an old man, dwelling in Birchin-lane; and I said he knew the matter better than I. So he sent me away to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained seven days and more.

Then Mr. Hussey sent for me again, and required of me to tell him the truth. I told him I could tell him no other truth than I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he began to tell me of Dixon, of whom, he said, I had the books, who had made the matter manifest before; and he told me of all things touching Dixon and the books, more than I could myself, insomuch that he told me how many I had, and that he had a sack full of them in his house, and knew where the woman lay, better than myself. Then I saw the matter so open and manifest before my face, that it signified nothing for me to stand in it. He asked me what I had done with the books, and I told him I had but one, and that Dr. Story had. He said I lied, for I had three at one time, and he required me to tell him of one.

Then I told him of one that John Beane had of me, being apprentice with Mr. Tottle. So he promised me before and after, and as he should be saved before God, that he should have no harm. And I kneeling down upon my knees, desired him to take my blood, and not to hurt the young man. Then he said, Because you have been so stubborn, the matter being made manifest by others and not by you, being so long in prison, tell me if you will stand to my judgment. I said, Yea, take my blood, and hurt not the young man.

Then he told me, I should be whipped like a thief and a vagabond: and so I thanked him, and went my way with the keeper to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained two or three days, and so was brought by the keeper, Cluny, by the commandment of the commissioners, to Christ's Hospital, sometime the Gray-Friars, and accordingly had there for that time the correction of thieves and vagabonds; and so was delivered to Triniah, the porter, and put into a stinking dungeon.

And after a few days, I finding friendship, was let out of the dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yard by the dungeon in the day-time, and so remained prisoner a month and more.

At length Dr. Story came, and two gentlemen with him, and called for me, and I was brought before them. Then he said to the gentlemen, Here cometh this heretic, of whom I had the book called Antichrist; and began to tell them how many times I had been before him, and said, I have entreated him very gently, and he would never tell me the truth, till he was found out by others. Then said he, It were a good deed to cut out thy tongue, and thy ears off thy head, to make thee an example to all other heretic knaves. And the gentlemen said, Nay, that were pity. Then he asked if I would not become an honest man: and I said, Yes, for I have offended God many ways. Whereupon he burdened me with my faith; I told him that I had made him answer of my faith before my lord Windsor's chaplain as much as I could.

So in the end he commanded me to be stripped, he standing by me, and called for two of the beadles and the whips to whip me; and the two beadles came with a cord, and bound my hands together, and the one end of the cord to a stone pillar. Then one of my friends, called Nicholas Priestman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundle of rods, which seemed something to pacify the mind of his cruelty; and they scourged me with rods. But as they were whipping of me, Story asked me if I would go unto my master again, and I said nay. And he said, I perceive now he will be worse than ever he was before; but let me alone (quoth he,) I will find him out if he be in England. And so with many other things, which I cannot rehearse, when they had done whipping of me, they bid me pay my fees, and go my ways.

Dr. Story commanded that I should have a hundred stripes, but the gentlemen so entreated, that I had not so many, Story saying, If I might have my will, I would surely cut out his tongue.

A LETTER FROM STEPHEN COTTON, WHO WAS BEATEN TWICE BY BISHOP BONNER, BEFORE HE WAS BURNT AT BRENTFORD.

Brother, in the name of the Lord Jesus, I commend me unto you, and I do heartily thank you, for your godly exhortation and

counsel in your last letter declared to me. And albeit I do perceive by your letter, you are informed, that as we are divers persons in number, so we are of contrary sects, conditions, and opinions, contrary to the good opinion you had of us at your last being with us in Newgate; be you most assured, good brother, in the Lord Jesus, we are all of one mind, one faith, one assured hope in the Lord Jesus, whom I trust we altogether with one spirit, one brotherly love, do daily call upon for mercy and forgiveness of our sins, with earnest repentance of our former lives, and by whose precious blood-shedding we trust to be saved only, and by no other means. Wherefore, good brother, in the name of the Lord, seeing these impudent people, whose minds are altogether bent to wickedness, envy, uncharitableness, evil speaking, do go about to slander us with untruth, believe them not, neither let their wicked sayings once enter into your mind. And I trust one day to see you again, although now I am in God's prison, which is a joyful school for them that love their Lord God, and to me, being a simple scholar, most joyful of all.

Good brother, once again I do, in the name of our Lord Jesus, exhort you to pray for me, that I may fight strongly in the Lord's battle, to be a good soldier to my captain Jesus Christ our Lord, and desire my sister also to do the same, and do not ye mourn or lament for me, but be ye glad and joyful at this my trouble: for I trust to be loosed out of this dungeon shortly, and to go to everlasting joy, which never shall have end. I heard how ye were with the commissioners. I pray you, sue no more for me, good brother. But one thing I shall desire you, to be at my departing out of this life, that you may bear witness with me that I shall die, I trust in God, a true Christian, and, I hope, all my companions in the Lord our God: and therefore believe not these evil-disposed people, who are the authors of all untruths. Thus fare you all. From the Coal-house, this present Friday.

Your brother,

STEPHEN COTTEN.

THE SCOURGING OF JAMES HARRIS.

In this society of the scourged professors of Christ, was also one James Harris, of Billerica, in Essex, a stripling of the age of seventeen years; who being apprehended and sent up to Bonner in the company of Margaret Ellis, by Sir John Mordaunt, knight, and Edmund Tyrrel, justice of peace (as appeareth by their own letters before-mentioned,) was by Bonner divers times strictly examined. In which examinations he was charged not to have come to his parish church for the space of one year or more. Whereunto he granted, confessing therewithal, that once, for fear, he had been at the church, and there had received the popish sacrament of the altar, for which he was heartily sorry, detesting the same with all his heart.

After this, and such like answers, Bonner (the better to try him) persuaded him to go to confession. The lad, somewhat to fulfil his request, consented to go, and did. But when he came to the priest, he stood still, and said nothing. Why, quoth the priest, sayest thou nothing? What shall I say! said Harris. Thou must confess thy sins, said the priest. My sins, said he, be so many that they cannot be numbered. With that the priest told Bonner what he had said; and he, of his accustomed devotion, took the poor lad into his garden, and there, with a rod, taken from off a cherry-tree, did most cruelly whip him.

THE SCOURGING OF ROBERT WILLIAMS, A SMITH.

Robert Williams, being apprehended in the same company, was so tormented after the same manner with rods in his arbor, who there subscribing and yielding himself by promise to obey the laws, after being let go, refused so to go: whereupon he was earnestly sought for, but could not be found, for that he kept himself close, and went not abroad but by stealth: and now in the mean time of this persecution, this Robert Williams departed this life, and so escaped the hands of his enemies. The Lord therefore be honored for ever, Amen.

THE WHIPPING OF A BEGGAR AT SALISBURY.

Unto these above specified, is also to be added the miserable whipping of a poor starved beggar, who, because he would not receive the sacrament at Easter, in the town of Colingborow, was brought to Salisbury, with bills and glieves, to the chancellor Dr. Geffery, who cast him into the dungeon, and after caused him miserably to be whipped by two catch-poles. The sight whereof made all godly hearts to rue it, to see such tyranny to be showed upon such a simple and silly wretch: for they that saw him have reported, that they never saw a more simple creature. But what pity can move the hearts of merciless papists!

PERSECUTION AND DELIVERANCE OF WILLIAM LIVING, WITH HIS WIFE, AND OF JOHN LITHAL, MINISTER.

About the latter end of queen Mary's reign, she then being sick, came one Cox, a promoter, to the house of William Living, about six o'clock, accompanied with one John Launce, of the Grayhound. They being not ready, they demanded some buttons, saying, they should be as well paid for them as any: and he would come about three hours after for them again.

In the mean time he procured one Mr. Dean, the constable, and George Hancock, the beadle of that ward, and searching his books, found a book of Astronomy, called the work of Joannes de Sacro Bosco de Sphæra, with figures, some round, some triangle, some quadrangle, which book, because it was gilt, seemed to him the chief book there, and that he carried open in the street, saying, I have found him at length. It is no wonder the queen be sick, seeing there be such conjurers in privy corners; but now I trust he shall conjure no more! And so brought him and his wife from Shoe-lane through Fleet-street, into St. Paul's church-yard, with the constable, the beadle, and two others following them, till they entered into Darbyshire's house, who was bishop Bonner's chancellor; and after the constable and they had talked with Darbyshire, he came forth, and walked in his yard, and said to him,

What is your name?

Liv. William Living.

Darb. What are you? a priest?

Liv. Yea.

Darb. Is this your wife that is come with you?

Liv. That she is.

Darb. Where were you made priest?

Liv. At Obourne.

Darb. In what bishop's days?

Liv. By the bishop of Lincoln, that was king Henry's spiritual father in cardinal Wolsey's time.

Darb. You are a schismatic and a traitor.

Liv. I would be sorry that were true. I am certain I never was a traitor, but always have taught obedience according to the tenor of God's word; and when tumults and schisms have been stirred, I have preached God's word, and assuaged them, as in the time of king Edward.

Darb. What, you are a schismatic! You be not in the unity of the Catholic church: for you pray not as the church of Rome doth: you pray in English.

Liv. We are certain we be in the true church.

Darb. There be that doubt thereof, forsomuch as there is but one true church. Well, you will learn, against I talk with you again, to know the church of Rome, and to be a member thereof.

Liv. If the church of Rome be of that church whereof Christ is the head, then I am a member thereof, for I know no other church but that.

Darb. Well, Cluny, take him with thee to the Coal-house.

Then he called Cluny again, and spake secretly to him, but what he said I know not.

Then said Cluny, Wilt thou not come? And so plucked me away violently, and brought me to his own house in Paternoster-Row, where he robbed me of my purse, my girdle, and my Psalter, and a New Testament of Geneva, and then brought me to the Coal-house, to put me in the stocks, saying, Put in both your legs and your hands; and except you fine with me, I will put a collar about your neck. What is the fine? quoth I. Forty shillings, quoth he; I am never able to pay it, said I.

Then said he, You have friends that be able. I denied it; and so he put both my legs into the stocks till supper-time, which was six o'clock; and then a cousin of my wife's brought me meat, who seeing me sit there, said, I will give you forty pence, and let him go at liberty: and he took her money, and presently let me forth in her sight, to eat my supper. And at seven o'clock he put me in the stocks again, and I remained till two o'clock the next day, and so he let me forth till night. This woman above-mentioned, was Griffin's first wife, a brother dwelling then in Aldermanbury, and afterwards in Cheapside.

The Thursday following, in the afternoon, was I called to the Lollards' Tower, and there put in the stocks, having the honor to put my leg into that hole which Mr. John Philpot's leg was in, and so lay all that night, nobody coming to me either with meat or drink.

At eleven o'clock on the Friday, Cluny came to me with meat, and let me forth, and about one o'clock he brought me to Darbyshire's house, who drew forth a scroll of names, and asked me if I knew none of them: I said, I knew none of them but Foster. And so I kneeled down upon my knees, and prayed him that he would not inquire thereof any farther. And with that came forth two godly women, who said, Mr. Darbyshire, it is enough; and so became sureties for me, and paid to Cluny fifteen shillings for my fees, and bade me go with them.

And thus much concerning William

Living. After this came his wife to examination, whose answers to Darbyshire, the chancellor, here likewise follow.

EXAMINATION OF JULIAN LIVING, WIFE OF WILLIAM LIVING.

Darbyshire. Ah, sirrah; I see by your going you be one of the sisters.

Julian. I wear not my gown for sisterhood, neither for nunnery, but to keep me warm.

Darb. Nun? No, I dare say you be none: is that man your husband?

Julian. Yea.

Darb. Is he a priest?

Julian. No, he saith no mass.

Darb. What then? he is a priest. How darest thou marry him?

Then he showed me a roll of certain names of citizens.

To whom I answered, I knew none of them.

Then said he, You shall be made to know them.

Then said I, Do no other but justice and right; for the day will come, that you shall answer for it.

Darb. Why, woman, thinkest thou not that I have a soul!

Julian. Yes, I know you have a soul; but whether it be to salvation or damnation, I cannot tell.

Darb. Ho! Cluny, have her to the Lollards' Tower. And so he took me, and carried me to his house, where was one Dale, a promoter, which said to me, Alas, good woman, wherefore be you here?

What is that to you? said I.

You be not ashamed, quoth Dale, to tell wherefore you come hither.

No, quoth I, that I am not; for it is for Christ's Testament.

Christ's Testament! quoth he. It is the devil's Testament!

O Lord! quoth I, God forbid that any man should speak any such word.

Well, well, said he, you shall be ordered well enough. You care not for burning, quoth he. God's blood! there must be some other means found for you.

What, quoth I, will you find any worse than you have found?

Well, quoth he, you hope, and you hope: but your hope shall be cut off. For though the queen fail, she that you hope for shall never come at it;* for there is my lord cardinal's grace, and many more, between her and it.

Then, quoth I, my hope is in none but God.

Then said Cluny, Come with me; and so I went to the Lollards' Tower. On the next day Darbyshire sent for me again, and inquired of those citizens that he inquired of before.

I answered, I knew them not.

Where were you, quoth he, at the communion on Sunday was fortnight?

And I said, In no place.

Then the constable of St. Bride's being there, made suit for me.

And Darbyshire demanded of him, if he would be bound for me.

He answered, Yea. And so he was bound for my appearance betwixt that and Christmas.

Then Darbyshire said, You be constable, and should give her good counsel.

So I do, quoth he. For I bid her go to mass, and to say as you say. For, by the mass, if you say the crow is white, I will say so too.

And thus much concerning the examination of William Living and his wife, whom although thou seest here delivered through the request of women, his sureties, yet it was no doubt, but that the deadly sickness of queen Mary abated and bridled, in some measure, the cruelty of those papists, which otherwise would never have let them go.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TROUBLE AND DELIVERANCE OF JOHN LITHAL.

At the taking of William Living, it happened that some of his books were in the custody of one John Lithal: which known, the constable of the ward of Southwark, with other of the queen's servants, were sent to his house, who breaking open his doors and chests, took away not only the books of the said William Living, but also all his own books, writings, and bills of debts, which he never had again. All this while Lithal was not at home.

The next Saturday after, as he was returned, and known to be at home, John Avales and some of the queen's servants beset his house all the night, with such careful watch, that as he in the morning issued out of doors, thinking to escape their hands, John Avales bursting out upon him, cried, Stop the traitor, stop the traitor. Whereat Lithal being amazed, looked back.

* This was said in allusion to the expected death of Mary, and the hope of the Protestants that she would be succeeded by Elizabeth: this event, the papists knew, would deprive them of the power of persecuting the true believers, even if it did not expose them to a severe retribution on the part of their long-suffering victims; they were therefore willing to raise cardinal Pole to the throne, and had not Providence interposed to defeat their nefarious designs, would have, perhaps, deluged the country with blood, in support of the claim of a usurper.

And so John Avales came running to him, with others that were with him, saying, Ah, sirrah, you are a traitorous fellow indeed, we have had somewhat to do to get you. To whom he answered, that he was a truer man to the queen's majesty than he. For you, said he, are commanded by God to keep holy the Sabbath day, and you seek to shed your neighbor's blood on the Sabbath day. Remember that you must answer it to God. But he said, Come on, you villain, you must go before the council. So Lithal was brought into St. Paul's church-yard to the bishop's chancellor, by John Avales, saying that they had there caught the captain of these fellows, and so caused him to be called to examination before Dr. Darbyshire, who began with him in this wise:

Chan. What countryman are you?

Lith. I am an Englishman, born in Staffordshire.

Chan. Where were you brought up?

Lith. In this our country of England.

Chan. In what university?

Lith. In no university, but in a free-school.

Chan. We had certain books from your house, and writing, wherein is both treason and heresy.

Lith. Sir, there is neither treason nor heresy in them.

Then the chancellor asked for certain other men that I knew.

Lith. If you have aught to lay to my charge, I will answer it; but I will have no other man's blood upon my head.

Chan. Why come you not to the church? Of what church be you, that you come not to your own parish church?

Lith. I am of the church of Christ, the fountain of all goodness.

Chan. Have you no ministers of your church, but Christ?

Lith. We have others.

Chan. Where be they?

Lith. In the whole world, dispersed, preaching and professing the gospel and faith only in our Savior Jesus, as he commanded them.

Chan. You boast much every one of you of your faith and belief: let me hear therefore the effect how you believe.

Lith. I believe to be justified really by Christ Jesus, according to the saying of St. Paul to the Ephesians, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by man.

Chan. Faith cannot save without works.

Lith. That is contrary to the doctrine of the apostles,

Chan. John Avales, you and the keeper have this fellow to prison.

Then John Avales, and Cluny the keeper, had me into St. Paul's, and would have had me seen the apostle's mass.

Lith. I know none the apostle had, and therefore I will see none.

Cluny and John Avales: Come, and kneel down before the rood, and say a Paternoster, and an Ave in the worship of the five wounds.

Lith. I am forbidden by God's own mouth to kneel to any idol or image: therefore I will not.

Then they pulled me with great extremity, one having me by one arm, and the other by the other; but God gave me at that present time more strength than both these: his name be praised for it.

Then when they could not make me to kneel before the rood, neither to see the mass, there gathered a great company about us, and all against me. Some spit on me, and said, Fy on thee, heretic: and others said, it was a pity I was not burned already.

Then they carried me to the Lollards' Tower, and hanged me in a great pair of stocks, in which I lay three days and three nights, till I was so lame that I could neither stir nor move.

Then I offered the keeper some money and gold that I had about me, to release me out of the stocks: and he said, I would not be ruled by him, either to see mass, or to kneel before the rood, and therefore I should lie there still. But I said, I would never do the thing that should be against my conscience; and though you have lanced my body, yet my conscience is whole, I praise God for it. So shortly after he let me out of the stocks, more for the love of my money (as it may be thought), than for any other affection; and within four or five days my wife got leave of Mr. Chancellor to come to me, to bring me such things as were needful for me, and there I lay five weeks and odd days; in which time divers of my neighbors and friends made suit to the chancellor for my deliverance; the bishop, as they said, at that time being sick at Fulham. So my neighbors being there, about twenty of them, the chancellor sent for me out of Lollards' Tower to his own house, and said as follows:

Chan. Lithal, here are some of thy neighbors who have been with me to entreat for thee, and they have informed me, that thou hast been a very honest and quiet neighbor among them, and I think it be God's will that I should deliver thee before my lord come home. For if he come, and thou go home again, I shall be burned for thee; for I know his mind already in that matter.

Lith. I give you hearty thanks for your gentleness, and my neighbors for their good report.

Chan. Lithal, if thy neighbors will be

bound for thy forthcoming, whenever thou shalt be called for; and also, if thou wilt be an obedient subject, I shall be content to deliver thee.

Neigh. If it please your worship, we will be bound for him in body and goods.

Chan. I will require no such bonds of you, but that two of you will be bound in twenty pounds apiece, that he shall come to answer when he shall be called.

Lith. Where find you, Mr. Chancellor, in all the Scriptures, that the church of God did bind any man for the profession of his faith! Which profession you have heard of me, that all our justification, righteousness, and salvation, cometh only and freely by the merits of our Savior Jesus Christ; and all the inventions and works of men, be they ever so glorious, be altogether vain, as the wise man saith.

Chan. With vain-glory you rehearse much Scripture, as all the rest of you do: but you have no more understanding than my sheep. But to the purpose. Will you that your neighbors shall enter into bonds for you, or not?

Lith. By my mind they shall not. Wherefore I desire you that you would not bind me, but let me serve God with my conscience freely. For it is written, Rev. xiii. "They that lead into captivity, shall go into captivity, and they that strike with the sword, shall perish with the sword."

Also it is written in the gospel of our Savior Jesus Christ, Matt. xviii. "That whosoeth offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the depth of the sea." Of which I am assured by his holy Spirit that I am one. Wherefore be you well assured that such mercy as you show unto you shall be showed the like.

Chan. You are a madman. I would not bind you, but that I must needs have somewhat to show for your deliverance. Then he called two of his neighbors, Thomas Daniel, and Saunders Maybe, who offered themselves to be bound, and called me before them, and said, I have a letter of the hand-writing, with his name and seal at it, with a book also against the regimen of women, for which I could make him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but on my faith I will him no more hurt than I mean to my own soul.

Lith. I desire you that be my neighbors and friends, that you will not enter into bonds for me: for you know not the danger thereof, neither I myself; it goeth against my conscience that ye should so do.

Chan. Why, I will not bind you to do any thing against your conscience.

Then they made the bond, and sealed to it, and willed me that I should seal to it also: and I said that I would not, neither could I observe the bond, and therefore I would not set to my hand.

Chan. It is pity that thou hast so much favor showed thee: yet for these honest men's sakes I will discharge thee.

Notwithstanding all these dissembling words of Dr. Darbyshire, pretending for favor of his sureties to set him at liberty, it was no such thing, nor any zeal of charity that moved him so to do; but only fear of the time, understanding the dangerous and irrecoverable sickness of queen Mary, which then began somewhat to assuage the cruel proceedings of these persecutors, whereby they durst not do what they would: for else Lithal was not likely to have escaped so easily.

PERSECUTION OF ELIZABETH YOUNG.

You heard before of the scourging of Thomas Greene, how he was troubled and beaten by Dr. Story, for a certain book called Antichrist, which he received of a woman, because in no case he would detect her.

This woman was one Elizabeth Young, who coming from Embden to England, brought with her divers books, and dispersed them abroad in London; for which she being at length apprehended and laid fast, was brought to examination thirteen times before the Catholic inquisitors of heretical pravity. Some of her examinations have come to our hands, and are as follow:

FIRST EXAMINATION OF ELIZABETH YOUNG, BEFORE MR. HUSSY.

Hussy. Where was you born, and who was your father and mother?

E. Young. Sir, all this is but vain talk, and very superfluous. It is to fill my head with fantasies, that I should not be able to answer unto such things as I came for. You have not, I think, put me in prison to know who is my father and mother. But, I pray you, go to the matter I came hither for.

Hussy. Wherefore wentest thou out of the realm?

Young. To keep my conscience clean.

Hussy. When wast thou at mass?

Young. Not these three years.

Hussy. Then wast thou not there three years before that.

Young. No, sir, nor yet three years before that: for if I were I had evil luck.

Hussy. How old art thou?

Young. Forty and upwards.

Hussy. Twenty of those years you went to mass.

Young. Yea, and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wise as I went thither first, for I understand it not.

Hussy. Why wilt thou not go to the mass?

Young. Sir, my conscience will not suffer me: for I had rather all the world should accuse me, than mine own conscience.

Hussy. What if a louse or a flea stick upon thy skin, and bite thy flesh, thou must make a conscience in taking her off. Is there not a conscience in it?

Young. That is but a sorry argument to displace the Scriptures, and especially in such a part as my salvation dependeth upon: for it is but an easy conscience that a man can make.

Hussy. But why wilt thou not swear upon the evangelists before a judge?

Young. Because I know not what a book oath is.

Then he began to teach her the book oath.

Young. Sir, I do not understand it, and therefore I will not learn it.

Hussy. Thou wilt not understand it: and with that rose up and went his way.

SECOND EXAMINATION OF ELIZABETH YOUNG, BY DR. MARTIN.

Martin. Thou art come from beyond the sea, and hast brought with thee books of heresy and treason, and thou must confess to us who translated them, printed them, and who sent them over, (for I know thee to be but a messenger), and in so doing the queen's highness will be good to thee (for she hath forgiven greater things than this), and thou shalt find as much favor as is possible. But if thou be stubborn, and wilt not confess, thou wilt be very ill-handled: for we know the truth already; but this we do, only to see whether thou wilt be true to thy word or no.

Young. Sir, you have my confession, and more than that I cannot say.

Martin. Thou must say more, and shalt say more. Dost thou think that we will be fully answered by this confession that thou hast made? Thou rebellious w——, and traitorous heretic, thou dost refuse to swear upon the evangelists before a judge, I hear say. Thou shalt be racked by inch-meal, thou traitorous w—— and heretic, but thou shalt swear before a judge before thou go: yea, and thou shalt be made to confess how many books thou hast sold, and to whom.

Young. Sir, I understand not what an oath is, and therefore I will take no such thing upon me. And no man hath bought any books of me as yet, for those books that I had, your commissioners have got them all.

Martin. Thou traitorous w——, we know that thou hast sold a number of books, yea, and to whom; and how many times thou hast been here, and where thou layest, and every place that thou hast been in: dost thou think that thou hast fools in hand?

Young. No, sir, you be too wise for me; for I could not tell how many places I have been in myself; but if it were in Turkey, I should have meat, and drink, and lodging for my money.

Martin. Thou rebellious w——, thou hast spoken evil words of the queen, and thou dwellest amongst a set of traitors and rebels that cannot give the queen a good name.

Young. I am not able to accuse any man thereof, neither is there any man that can prove any such things of me as you lay to my charge. For God's word hath taught me my duty to my queen, and therefore I am sure you accuse me wrongfully.

Martin. Thou rebel and traitorous w——, thou shalt be so racked and tormented, that thou shalt be an example to all such traitorous w—— and heretics; and thou shalt be made to swear by the holy evangelists, and confess to whom thou hast sold all and every of these heretical books that thou hast sold: for we know what number thou hast sold, and to whom; but thou shalt be made to confess it in spite of thy blood.

Young. Here is my carcass: do with it what you will, and more than that you cannot have. Mr. Martin, you can have no more than my blood.

Then he raved as though he were stark mad, and said, Martin! Why callest thou me Martin?

Young. Sir, I kn w you well enough, for I have been before you ere now. You delivered me once at Westminster.

Martin. Where didst thou dwell then?

Young. I dwelt in the Minories.

Martin. I delivered thee and thy husband both; and I thought then that thou wouldst have done otherwise than thou dost now. For if thou hadst been before any other bishop in England, and said the words that thou didst before me, thou hadst fried a fagot: and though thou didst not burn then, thou art like to burn or hang now.

Young. Sir, I promised you then, that I would never be fed with an unknown tongue, and no more will I yet.

Martin. I shall feed thee well enough. Thou shalt be fed with that (I warrant thee) which will be little to thine ease.

Young. Do what God shall suffer you to do: for more you shall not. And then he arose and so departed, and went to the keeper's house, and asked his wife, whom she had suffered to come to this traitorous w——, (as he called her). Then said the keeper's wife, As God receive my soul, there came neither man, woman, nor child to ask for her.

Martin. If any man, woman, or child

come to ask for her, I charge thee on pain of death, that they be laid fast; and give her one day bread, and another day water!

Young. If you take away my meat, I trust that God will take away my hunger: and so he departed, saying, that was too good for her; and then she was shut up under two locks in the Clink, where she was before.

THIRD EXAMINATION OF MRS. E. YOUNG, BEFORE DR. MARTIN.

Martin. Elizabeth, wilt thou confess these things that thou hast been examined upon; for thou knowest that I have been thy friend, and in so doing I will be thy friend again; giving her many fair words, and then demanding of her how many gentlemen were beyond the seas.

Young. It is too much for me to tell you how many are on the other side.

Martin. No, I mean but in Frankfort and Embden, where thou hast been.

Young. Sir, I did never take account of them; it is a thing that I look not for.

Martin. When shall I have a true word come out of your mouth?

Young. I have told you the truth, but because that it soundeth not so to your mind, therefore you will not credit it.

Martin. Wilt thou yet confess? And if thou wilt, that which I have promised I will do; and if thou wilt not, I promise thee thou must go even hence to the rack, and therefore confess.

Young. I can say no more than I have said.

Martin. Well, forasmuch as she will confess no more, have her away to the rack, and then she will be marred.

Then answered a priest that sat there, and said, Woman, take an oath, and confess: wilt thou be hurt for other men?

Young. I can confess no more than I have. Do with my carcass what you will.

Martin. Did you ever hear the like of this heretic? What a stout heretic is this! We have the truth, and we know the truth, and yet look whether she will confess. There is no remedy, but she must needs to the rack, and therefore away with her. And so commanded her out of the door, and called her keeper unto him, and said to him, There is no remedy but this heretic must be racked; and talked with him more, but what it was she did not hear.

Then he called her in again, and said, Wilt thou not confess, and keep thee from the rack; I advise thee so to do; for if thou wilt not, thou knowest not the pain yet, but thou shalt do.

Young. I can confess no more; do with my carcass what you will.

Martin. Keeper, away with her. Thou knowest what I said. Let her know the pain of the rack. And so she departed, thinking no less, but that she should have gone to the rack, till she saw the keeper turn toward the Clink again. And thus did God alienate their hearts, and diminish their tyrannous power, unto the time of further examinations: for she was brought before the bishop, the dean, and the chancellor, and other commissioners, first and last, thirteen times.

FOURTH EXAMINATION OF MRS. E. YOUNG, BEFORE THE BISHOP OF LONDON, AND OTHERS.

First she being presented by Dr. Martin before the bishop of London, Dr. Martin began to declare against her, saying, The lord chancellor hath sent you here a woman who hath brought books over from Embden, where all these books of heresy and treason are printed, and hath therewith filled all the land with treason and heresy: neither yet will she confess who translated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who sent them over. Wherefore my lord chancellor committeth her unto my lord of London, to do with her as he shall think good. For she will confess nothing but that she bought these said books in Amsterdam, and so brought them over to sell for gain.

Dr. Cook. Let her head be trussed in a small line, and make her confess.

Martin. The book is called Antichrist, and so may well be called, for it speaketh against Jesus Christ, and the queen. Besides that, she hath a certain spark of the Anabaptists, for she refuseth to swear upon the four evangelists before a judge: for I myself and Mr. Hussy have had her before us four times, but we cannot bring her to swear.—Wherefore my lord chancellor would that she should abstain and fast, for she hath not fasted a great while: for she hath lain in the Clink a good while, where she had too much liberty.

Then said the bishop, Why wilt thou not swear before a judge? that is the right trade of the Anabaptists.

Young. My lord, I will not swear that this hand is mine.

No! said the bishop; and why?

Young. My lord, Christ saith, That whatsoever is more than yea, yea, or nay, nay, it cometh of evil. And moreover, I know not what an oath is: and therefore I will take no such things upon me.

Then said Cholmley, Twenty pounds it is a man in woman's clothes, twenty pounds it is a man!

Bonner. Think you so, my lord?

Cholmley. Yea, my lord.

Young. My lord, I am a woman.

Bishop. Swear her upon a book, seeing it is but a question asked.

Then said Cholmley, I will lay twenty pounds it is a man.

Then Dr. Cook brought her a book, commanding her to lay her hand thereon.

Young. No, my lord, I will not swear, for I know not what an oath is. But I say that I am a woman, and have children.

Bishop. That we know not; therefore swear.

Cholm. Thou ill-favored w——, lay thy hand upon the book; I will lay on mine; and so he laid his hand on the book.

Young. So will not I.

Then the bishop spake a word in Latin out of St. Paul, as concerning swearing.

Young. My lord, if you speak to me of St. Paul, then speak English, for I understand you not.

Bishop. I dare swear that thou dost not.

Young. My lord, St. Paul saith, that five words spoken in a language that may be understood, are better than many in a strange tongue.

Cook. Swear before us, whether thou be a man or a woman.

Young. If you will not believe me, then send for women into a secret place, and I will be searched.

Cholm. Thou art an ill-favored w——.

Bishop. How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar?

Young. If it will please you that I shall declare my faith, I will, and if it be not good, teach me a better, and I will believe it.

Cook. That is well said, declare thy faith.

She then declared her faith in the terms of our creed, and according to the doctrine of other Protestants; and after some illiberal conversation with her about Dr. Story, by whom she had been instructed, who had escaped out of England, she was ordered away, and carried into the Coal-house. She was then searched for books, and afterwards put into the stock-house, and her knife, girdle, and apron taken from her.

She was next examined by the chancellor, to whom she declared her faith, as she had done before to the bishop. She next defended her sense of Christ's body in the sacrament, and resisted all the sophistical interpretations of Christ's flesh, and eating his flesh and drinking his blood; whereas, she added, our profit that we have by Christ, is to believe that his body was broken upon the cross, and his blood shed for our sins; that is the very meaning of Christ, that so we should eat his flesh, and drink his blood, when he said, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

The chancellor then recurred to some of his former arguments and false glosses, which she equally resisted; and to his question concerning the sacrament of the altar, answered, As often as I receive the sacrament, I believe that spiritually and by faith I receive Christ.' And, after some other captious interrogatories, to which she replied with a full spirit of conviction, he felt the application of her remarks so forcibly as to be much irritated; and they soon after parted for that time.

On her next examination before the chancellor, he renewed the same subject of Christ's body and Christ's flesh. He then spoke of seven sacraments, and she maintained there were but two; and as to wedlock, she knew nothing of its being a sacrament; about priests' marrying was no part of her faith; purgatory she never heard of. After much railing against schismatics, and declaring her to be one of the rankest heretics, who would believe nothing but what is in the Scripture, and was therefore damned; she answered, I do believe all things written in the Scripture, and all things agreeable to the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghost to the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ; and shall I be damned because I will not believe an untruth?

Then the chancellor called the keeper, saying, Cluny, take her away, thou knowest what thou hast to do with her. And so she departed, and was brought again to the stock-house, and there she lay certain days, and both her hands manacled in one iron; and afterwards she was removed into the Lollards' Tower, and there she remained with both her feet in the stocks and irons till the next time of examination.

SEVENTH EXAMINATION OF MRS. YOUNG, BEFORE THE CHANCELLOR AND THE BISHOP'S SCRIBE.

Chancellor. Woman, thou hast been twice before me, but we could not agree, and here be certain articles that my lord the bishop of London would that thou shouldest make answer unto, which are these: First, how many sacraments dost thou allow?

Young. Sir, as many as Christ's church doth allow, and that is two.

Then said the scribe, Thou wast taught seven, before king Edward's days.

Chan. Which two sacraments be those that thou dost allow?

Young. The sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and the sacrament of baptism.

Chan. Dost thou not believe that the

pope of Rome is the supreme head of the church, immediately under God in earth?

Young. No, sir, no man can be the head of Christ's church: for Christ himself is the head, and his word is the governor of all that be of that church, wheresoever they be scattered abroad.

Chan. Dost thou not believe that the bishop of Rome can forgive thee all thy sins, heretical, detestable and damnable, that thou hast done from thine infancy unto this day?

Young. Sir, the bishop of Rome is a sinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my sins; but he only that is without sin, that is Jesus Christ, who died for my sins.

Chan. Hast thou not desired God to defend thee from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities?

Young. Yes, that I have.

Chan. And art thou not sorry for it?

Young. No, sir, not a whit.

Chan. Art thou not content to go to the church, and hear mass?

Young. I will not go to the church, either to hear mass or matins, till I may hear it in a tongue that I can understand: for I will be fed no longer in a strange language. And always the scribe did write every one of these articles, as they were demanded and answered unto.

Then the scribe asked her from whence she came.

The chancellor said, This is she that brought over all these books of heresy and treason.

Then the scribe said to her, Woman, where hadst thou all these books?

Young. I bought them in Amsterdam, and brought them over to sell, thinking to gain thereby.

The Scribe. What is the name of the book?

Young. I cannot tell.

Scribe. Why shouldst thou buy books, and know not their names?

Then said Cluny, the keeper, Sir, my lord bishop did send for her by name that she should come to mass, but she would not.

Chan. Yea, did my lord send for her by name, and would she not go to mass?

Young. No, sir, I will never go to mass, till I do understand it, by the leave of God.

Chan. Understand it! why, who the devil can make thee understand Latin, thou being so old?

Then the scribe commanded her to set her hand to all these things.

Then said she, Let me hear them read first.

Scribe. Master chancellor, shall she hear it read?

Chan. Ay, ay, let the heretic hear it read.

Then she heard it read, and so signed it.

EIGHTH EXAMINATION OF MRS. YOUNG BEFORE THE BISHOP.

Bishop. Is this the woman that hath three children?

Keeper. Yea, my lord.

Bishop. Woman, here is a supplication put into my hands for thee. In like case there was another supplication put up to me for thee before this, in which thou madest as though I should keep thy children.

Young. My lord, I did not know of this supplication, nor yet of the other.

Bishop. Mr. Dean, is this the woman you have sued so earnestly for?

Keeper. Yea, my lord.

Dean. Woman, what remaineth in the sacrament of the altar, when and after that the priest hath spoken the words of consecration?

Young. A piece of bread. But the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which he did institute and leave among his disciples the night before he was betrayed, ministered according to his word, that sacrament I do believe.

Dean. How dost thou believe concerning the body of Christ? where is his body, and how many bodies hath he?

Young. Sir, in heaven he sitteth on the right hand of God.

Dean. From whence came his human body?

Young. He took it of the virgin Mary.

Dean. That is flesh, blood, and bones, as mine is. But what shape hath his spiritual body? Hath it face, hands, and feet?

Young. I know no other body that he hath, but that body whereof he meant when he said, "This is my body, which is given for you; and this is my blood, which shall be shed for you." Whereby he plainly meaneth that body, and no other, which he took of the virgin Mary, having the perfect shape and proportion of a human body.

Story. Thou hast a wise body: for thou must go to the stake.

Dean. Art thou content to believe in the faith of Christ's church? But to ask of thee what Christ's church is, or where it is, I let it pass.

Young. Sir, to that church I have joined my faith, and from it I purpose never to turn, by God's help.

Dean. Wouldst thou not be at home with thy children with a good will?

Young. Sir, if it please God to give me leave.

Dean. Art thou willing to confess thy

self a foolish woman, and to believe as our holy father the pope of Rome doth, and as the lord cardinal doth, and as my lord the bishop of London thine ordinary doth, and as the king and queen, and all the nobility in England do; yea, and the emperor, and all the noble persons of Christendom?

Young. Sir, I was never wise, but in few words I shall make you a brief answer how I do believe all things that are written in the Scriptures, given by the Holy Ghost unto the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ. Hereon I ground my faith, and not on man.

Then said Story, And who shall be judge?

Young. Sir, the Scripture.

Story. And who shall read it?

Young. He unto whom God hath given the understanding.

Bishop. Woman, be reformable; for I would thou wert gone, and master dean here hath earnestly sued for thee.

Dean. Woman, I have sued for thee indeed, and I promise thee, if thou wilt be reformable, my lord will be good unto thee.

Young. I have been before my lord bishop, and before master chancellor three times, and have declared my faith.

Dean. And yet I know that master chancellor will say, that thou art a general heretic.

Story. Away with her.

Bishop. Master dean, you know that I may not tarry, nor you neither. Let her keeper bring her home to your own chamber soon, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and if that we find her reasonable, then let her go, for I would that she were gone.

Then said the dean, With a good will, my lord; and so she was sent unto the place from whence she came, until it was four o'clock in the afternoon.

NINTH EXAMINATION OF ELIZABETH YOUNG, BEFORE THE DEAN.

Dean. Art thou a fool now, as thou wert to-day?

Young. Sir, I have learnt but small wisdom since.

Dean. Dost thou think that I am better learned than thou?

Young. Yes, sir, that I do.

Dean. Thinkest thou that I can do thee good?

Young. Yea, sir, and, if it please God, that you will.

Dean. Then I will do thee good indeed. What dost thou receive when thou receivest the sacrament which Christ left among his disciples the night before he was betrayed?

Young. Sir, that that his disciples did receive.

Dean. What did they receive?

Young. Sir, that that Christ gave them, they received.

Dean. What answer is this? was Christ there present?

Young. Sir, he was there present; for he instituted his own sacrament.

Dean. He took bread and brake it, and he gave it to his disciples, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body which shall be broken for you." When thou receivest it, dost thou believe that thou receivest his body?

Young. Sir, when I receive, I believe that through faith I do receive Christ.

Dean. Dost thou believe that Christ is there?

Young. Sir, I believe that he is there to me, and by faith I do receive him.

Dean. He also took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "Drink ye all thereof; this is the cup of the New Testament, in my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." When thou dost receive it after the institution that Christ ordained among his disciples, the night before he was betrayed, dost thou believe that Christ is there?

Young. Sir, by faith I believe that he is there, and by faith I do believe that I do receive him.

Dean. Now thou hast answered me, remember what thou sayest, that when thou dost receive according to the institution of Christ, thou dost receive Christ.

Young. Sir, I believe Christ not to be absent from his own sacrament.

Dean. How long wilt thou continue in that belief?

Young. Sir, as long as I do live, by the help of God, for it is, and hath been my belief.

Dean. Wilt thou say so before my lord?

Young. Yea, sir.

Dean. Then I dare deliver thee. Why, thou calf, why wouldst thou not say so to-day?

Young. Sir, you asked me no such question.

Dean. Then you would stand in disputation how many bodies Christ had.

Young. Sir, indeed that question you did ask me.

Dean. Who shall be the sureties that thou wilt appear before my lord of London and me, upon Friday next?

Young. Sir, I have no sureties, nor know I where to have any.

Then spake the dean unto two women that stood there, who had earnestly sued for her, saying, Women, will ye be her sureties, that she shall appear before my lord of London and me, upon Friday next?

Women. Yea, sir, and it please you.

Dean. Take heed that I find you no more a babbler in the Scripture.

Young. Sir, I am no babbler in the Scripture, nor yet can any man burden me therewith.

Dean. Yes, I have heard of you well enough what you are.

Then said he to the two women, What if a man should touch your conscience, do ye not smell a little of heresy also?

Women. No, sir.

Dean. Yes, a little of the frying-pan, or else wherefore have ye two so earnestly sued for her?

The one woman answered, Because that her children were like to perish, and therefore God put me in mind to sue for her.

Then said the other woman, And I provided her child a nurse, and I am threatened to stand for the keeping of her child; and therefore it standeth me in hand to sue to have her out.

Dean. Woman, give thanks unto these honest women, who have so earnestly sued for thee, and I promise thee so have I. These great heretics will receive nothing but in spirit and faith. And so he rose and departed.

Young. Sir, God be praised, and I thank you for your goodness, and their's also. And so she went away; and upon the Friday next, because she was accused, her two sureties went thither, and were discharged.

THE PERSECUTION OF ELIZABETH LAWSON.

In the town of Bedford, in the county of Suffolk, dwelt an ancient godly matron, named ELIZABETH LAWSON, about the age of sixty years, who was apprehended as a heretic by the constables of the same town, named Robert Kitrich, and Thomas Elas, in the year 1556, because she would not go to church to hear mass, and receive the sacrament, and believe in it.

First, they laid her in a dungeon, and after that she was carried into Norwich, and from thence to Bury jail, where at last she was condemned to be burnt. In the mean time Sir John Sylliard had her home unto his house, he being high sheriff that year, where she was hardly kept, and wrapped in irons, till at length, when they could by no means move her to recant, she was sent to prison again, with shameful revilings.

Thus she continued in prison the space of two years and three quarters. In the mean time there were burnt her son and many more, whereby she would often say, "Good Lord, what is the cause that I may not yet come to thee with thy children? Well, good Lord, thy blessed will be done, and not mine."

Not long after this (most happily) followed the death of queen Mary, after whom succeeded queen Elizabeth. At which time this Elizabeth Lawson remained yet still in Bury prison, till at last she was bailed upon sureties, or else she could not be delivered. For she being a condemned person, neither the temporality, nor yet spiritual authority would discharge her without sureties. Now she being abroad, and her sureties made afraid by wicked men, said, they would cast her again in prison, except she would see them discharged.

Then she got a supplication to go unto the queen's majesty, and came to a friend of her's, to have his counsel therein; who willed her to stay awhile, because she was old, the days short, the expenses great, and weather foul, (for it was a little before Christmas), and to tarry until summer. In the mean time God broke the bond, and shortened her journey; for he took her home to himself out of this life in peace.

This good old woman, long before she went to prison, had the falling sickness, and told a friend of her's, one Simon Harlston, after she was apprehended, that she never had it more, but lived in good health and joy of heart, through our Lord Christ.

She had a very unkind husband, who, while she was in prison, sold her raiment, and would not help her; and after she was out of prison, she returned home unto him, yet would he show her no kindness, nor help her neither; and yet the house and land that he dwelt in he had by her; wherefore as long as she lived she was maintained by the congregation.

The said Elizabeth Lawson also had a sister, wife to one Robert Hollon, in Mickfield, in the same county of Suffolk, who likewise was persecuted and driven out from house to house, and a young man, her son, with her, because they would not go to the church to hear mass, and receive the sacrament of the altar.

PERSECUTION OF THOMAS CHRISTENMASS, AND WILLIAM WATS.

In this perilous age of queen Mary's reign were two men persecuted, one called THOMAS CHRISTENMASS, the other WILLIAM WATS, of Tunbridge, in Kent. As these two men travelled from place to place, not resting two nights together in one place, they happened to go to Rochester, in Kent, where they at the town's end met with a damsel of eight years of age, but whither she went they knew not. It was then night, and they being weary, were willing to lie in the same town, but could not tell where, they feared so the bloody Catholics. At last they devised to ask the damsel whether there were any heretics in the town, or no? and she said, Yea. They asked her where. She answered them, At such an inn, telling

them the name, and where the inn was. Shortly after, as they were gone from her, they bethought themselves better, and God so moving their hearts, they went to the child again, and asked her how she knew that the inn-keeper (of whom she spake before) was a heretic. Marry, quoth she, well enough, and his wife also. How knowest thou, pretty maiden? said they. I pray thee tell us. How know I? said she; marry, because they go to the church; and those that will not hold up their hands there, they will present them, and he himself goes from house to house, to compel them to come to church. When these two men heard this, they gave God praise, and avoided that house, taking the warning of that maid (of good bringing up, as it should seem) to be God's marvellous providence towards them.

In the last year but one of queen Mary's reign, William Wats lived at Seale, in Kent, where being apprehended, and brought by the constables before the bishop and justices at Tunbridge, they endeavored to persuade him to turn from the truth, but all in vain, though they spent much time, and used many flattering words.

At dinner-time the constables took Wats to a victualling-house, where, after they had well filled themselves, they fell asleep, supposing their prisoner had been sure enough under their hands. Wats's wife being in the house with her husband, and very careful for his well-doing, seeing them all fast asleep, desired her husband to go away, as God had given him an opportunity: but he refused so long that at last a stranger hearing something of the dispute, asked what the matter was, and why she was so earnest with her husband: the wife told him. Then said the stranger to Wats, Father, go thy ways, in God's name, and tarry no longer: the Lord hath opened the way unto thee. Upon which words he went his way, and his wife departed from him, and went home to her house at Seale, thinking her husband had gone another way. Now as she was going in at her door, telling her friends of his deliverance, immediately came in the said Wats also, and they all being amazed thereat, willed him in all haste to get him away; for they thought there would be search for him immediately.

Then Wats said, he would eat meat first, and also pray; which he did, and afterwards departed thence. As soon as he was out of doors, and had hid himself in a holly-bush, immediately came the said constables, with thirty persons, into the said house, to search for him, where they pierced the feather-beds, broke open his chests, and made great havoc; and as they were searching, the constable cried, I will have Wats, I will have Wats, I tell thee, I will have Wats: but God be thanked, Wats could not be found. And when they saw it needless to search for him, in the end they took his wife, and set her in a pair of stocks, where she remained two days, and she was very bold in the truth, and at last delivered through the providence of God; whose name be glorified in all his works. Amen.

MR. DABNEY.

There was at London a certain godly person, a painter, named DABNEY, whom John Avales, in the time of queen Mary, had brought before Bonner to be examined for his faith. It happened the same time, when the said Dabney was there, that the bishop was occupied with the examination of others, so that he was bid to stand by and to wait the bishop's leisure. Upon the same, or not long after, suddenly came word to the bishop to prepare him with all speed, the general procession tarried for him. The bishop hearing that, setting all business apart, bustleth himself with all possible speed to the church, there to furnish procession. By reason whereof, Dabney, who newly came to the house, was there left alone, while every man else was busied in preparing and setting themselves forward, according as the case required.

To be short, at the time called on, Bonner with his household makes all possible haste to the procession. Dabney being left alone, came down to the outward court next the gate, there walking heavily by himself, looking for nothing less than to escape that danger. The porter, who was only left at home, seeing the man walk alone, supposing he had been some citizen left there behind, and waiting for opening the gate, went and opened the wicket, asking if he would go out. Yea, said he, with a good will, if you will let me out. With all my heart, quoth the porter, and I pray you so do.

And thus the said Dabney taking the opportunity offered of God, being let out by the porter, escaped out of the wolf's mouth. The procession being done, when the bishop returned home, Dabney was gone, and could not be found; whereupon search was made, but especially John Avales laid wait for him: who, after long searching, when he could not get him, at length received fifteen crowns of his wife to let him alone when he should see him, and so that good man escaped.

ALEXANDER WIMHURST, PRIEST.

A like example of God Almighty's goodness towards his afflicted servants, in that dangerous time of persecution, may also appear evidently in one Alexander Wim-

hurst, a priest, sometime of Magdalen college, in Oxford, and then a papist, but since an earnest enemy to Antichrist, and a man better instructed, in the true fear of God. It happened that one had recommended him to bishop Bonner for religion, upon what occasion I do not understand. According to the old manner in such cases provided, he sent forth Robin Caly, otherwise called Robin Papist, one of his whelps, to bring in the game, and to cause this silly poor man to appear before him. Little Robin, like a proper man, bestirreth him in his business, and smelleth him out, and when he had taken him, bringeth him along by Cheapside, not suffering him to talk with any of his acquaintance by the way, though they were some of his old friends of Oxford that offered to speak unto him.

When they came into St. Paul's, he espied Dr. Chedsey there, walking up and down, and, because he was able in such a case to do pleasure, and for that he had been of his old acquaintance in Oxford, he was very desirous to speak to him ere he went through. Chedsey, perceiving that Robin Caly did attend upon him, said, that he durst not meddle in the matter. Yes, (said little Robin), you may talk with him, if it please you, master Doctor. To be short, Alexander opened his case, and in the end desired, for old acquaintance sake, that he would find means he might be brought before Dr. Martin to be examined, rather than any other. Nay, said he, (alleging the words of Christ unto Peter, in the last chapter of St. John), you remember, brother, what is written in the gospel: "When thou wast young, thou didst gird thyself, and wentest whither thou wouldst; but being aged, other men shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldst not." Thus abusing the Scripture to his private meaning, whereas notwithstanding he might easily have accomplished so small a request, if he had liked it. So they commanded him to prison. And now mark well the providence of God in his preservation.

He was brought into Cluny's house, in Paternoster-row, from thence to be carried to Lollards' Tower, out of hand, but that Cluny, (as it happened), his wife, and his maid, were so earnestly occupied about present business, that they had not leisure then to lock up their prisoner. In the hall where Alexander sat was a strange woman, whose husband was then presently in trouble for religion, which perceived by some occasion or other, that this man was brought in for the like cause. Alack, good man, saith she, if you will you may escape the cruel hands of your enemies, forasmuch as they be all away that should look unto you. God hath opened the way unto you for deliverance, and therefore lose not the opportunity thereof, if you be wise. Being persuaded with these and such like words, he went out of the doors, and escaped their hands.

MRS. BOSOM.

This good woman being at Richmond with her mother, was greatly urged to go to church. At length, through great importunity, she came; being in the church, and sitting with her mother in the pew, contrary in all things to the doings of the papists, she behaved herself so, that when they kneeled she stood, when they turned forward, she turned backward, &c.

This being notorious in the church, the constable and churchwarden attacked her in the queen's name, charging her and her mother to appear the next day at Kingston, which accordingly they did, and happening to meet the officers, saluted them by their names, but at that time had no power to speak to them, though afterwards they stampt and stared, and were mad with themselves for letting them pass. Whereupon the good woman taking her journey to London, escaped their cruelty.

JOHN DAVIS, A BOY.

In the year 1546, the last year of king Henry the Eighth, John Davis, a child of less than twelve years of age, who dwelt in the house of Mr. Johnson, apothecary, in the town of Worcester, his uncle, using sometimes to read in the Testament, and other English books, was complained of by his mistress, who was an obstinate person, and consulted with one Thomas Parton, and Alice Brook, wife to Nicholas Brook, organ-maker, with certain of the canons, and Mr. Johnson, chancellor to Dr. Heath, their bishop. Whereupon Thomas Parton came to apprehend him, and his uncle was forced against his will to bind the poor boy's arms behind him: and so he was brought to the officers of the town, who committed him to prison, where he lay from the 14th of August till the last day of September. He was then removed from thence to an inner prison, called Peephole, where one Joyliff and Yewer, two canons, who had his writings against the six articles, and his ballad, called, "Come down for all your shaven crown," came to see whether he would stand to that he had written. Which done, with many great, raging words, not long after sat Mr. Johnson, the chancellor, in the Guildhall, upon the poor lad. Where first were brought in his accusers, and sworn; [illegible] were sworn also twenty-four men which went on his quest, and found him guilty: but he never came before the chancellor. Upon this he

was sent to the common jail, among thieves and murderers, there to tarry the coming of the judges, and so to be had straight to execution. But the mighty mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the desolate and miserable, when all other help is past, so provided for this innocent lad, that the purpose of all his hard-hearted enemies was disappointed; for before the judges came, God took away Henry the Eighth out of this life. By reason whereof the force of the law was then stayed: however, he was nevertheless arraigned, being held up in a man's arms at the bar before the judges, who were Portman and Marven: who, when they perceived that they could not burn him, would have him presently whipped. But Mr. Bourne declared to the judges, how he had had whipping enough. After that he had lain a week more in prison, he had him home to his house, his wife anointed his legs herself with ointment, which were then stiff and numbed with irons, till at length, when Mr. Bourne and his wife saw they could not win him to the belief of their sacrament, they put him away, lest he should infect their son Anthony, as they thought, with heresy.

Thus John Davis was mercifully preserved, after he had suffered imprisonment from the 14th day of August till within seven days of Easter, who is yet alive, and a profitable minister this day in the church of England: blessed be the Lord.

MRS. ROBERTS.

Mrs. Roberts, a gentlewoman, living (as I understand) in the town of Hawkhurst, in Sussex, being earnestly addicted to the truth of the gospel, and no less constant in that which she had learned therein, so kept herself during all the brunt of queen Mary's time, that she never came to their popish service, nor polluted her conscience with their idolatrous mass. There dwelt at the same time not far off a justice, called Sir John Gilford, who being as fervent on the contrary side to set forward the proceedings of queen Mary, thought to prove masteries with this gentlewoman, by forcing her into the church. And first sending his wife, he tempted her, by fair words and gentle persuasions, to conform herself to the prince's laws, and to come, as other Christian people did, to the church. Notwithstanding, she constantly persisting in the sincerity of the truth, would by no persuasions be won to do therein against her conscience; and so kept at home a certain time, till again Mr. Gilford, thinking not to give her over so, sent his officers and servants to her, by force and power to haul her out of her house to the church, and so did. Where, by the way, she, for grief of conscience, swooned, and so of necessity was brought home again, and falling into an ague, was for that time dispensed with. When she had recovered her health again, he came in person to compel her to come to church, whether she would or no. But (as the proverb goeth) who can prevent that which God would have done? For when Mr. Gilford had purposed as pleased him, the Lord so disposed for this good woman, that as he was coming up stairs towards her chamber, suddenly his old disease, the gout, seized him, and so terribly tormented him, that he could go no further: and so he, that purposed to carry her to the church against her will, was forced himself to be carried home to his house on account of his pain, protesting and swearing that he would never from henceforth trouble that gentlewoman more; and no more he did.

MRS. ANNE LACY.

Mrs. Anne Lacy, widow, in Nottinghamshire, was in great danger in queen Mary's time, insomuch that the process was out against her, and she ready to have been apprehended, being so nearly pursued, that she was driven to hide her Bible and other books in a dunghill. Mr. Lacy, her brother, was then justice of peace; but to whom, (as I have heard) she was but very little beholden. Nevertheless, where kindred faileth, yet God's grace never faileth such as stick to him: for in this mean time, as the process came out against her, queen Mary died, and so she escaped.

MRS. CROSSMAN.

She lived at Tibnam Longrow, in Norfolk, and for not going to church was sought for at her house by the constable of the hundred, who, when he came to her house, she being at home with a child sucking in her arms, stept into a corner on one side of the chimney, and they seeking about the chambers, the child never cried (although before they came it did) as long as they were there, and so by this means the Lord preserved her.

THE CONGREGATION AT STOKE, IN SUFFOLK.

There were some likewise that avoided the violent rage of their adversaries by means only of their number, and mutual according in godliness, wherein they did so hold together, that without much ado none well could be troubled: whereof we have an example, in a certain town of Suffolk, called Stoke. After the three sharp years of queen Mary's persecution being past, yet, notwithstanding, the inhabitants of the town aforesaid, especially the women, came not to their church to receive, after the popish manner, the sacrament; who, if they had

been but few, they could by no means have escaped imprisonment. But because they were so many, the papists thought it best not to lay hands upon them. Only they appointed them sixteen days' respite after Easter, wherein, as many as would, should receive the sacrament; those that would not, should stand to the peril that would follow. Of this company, which were many, giving their hands together, the chief were these:

Eve, an old woman of sixty years of age; Alice Coker, her daughter; Elizabeth Foxe; Agnes Cutting; Alice Spencer; Henry Canker; Joan Fouke; Agnes Spaulding; John Steyre, and his brother; John Foxe.

These, after the order was taken for their not coming to the church, took counsel among themselves what was best to be done, and at length concluded by promise one to another, that they should not receive at all. Yet some of them afterwards, being persuaded with fair promises that the communion should be ministered unto them according to king Edward's book, went to the parish priest (whose name was Cotes), and asked him after which sort he would administer the sacrament. He answered to such as he favored, that he would give it after the right sort; the rest would have it after the popish manner.

To be short, none did communicate so, but only John Steyre and John Foxe; of which the one gave his wife leave to do as she thought best; the other went about with threats to compel his wife, saying, that otherwise he would divorce himself from her. As for the rest, they withdrew themselves from church, resorting to their wonted company; only Foxe's wife tarried still at home, in heaviness, whose husband practised with the curate in the mean time, that the next day after he should give her the sacrament, which was the seventeenth day after Easter. But the very same day, unknowing to her husband, she went secretly to her company, and with tears declared how violently her husband had dealt with her. The other women bade her notwithstanding to be of good cheer, and said, that they would make their most earnest prayers to God both for her and her husband: and indeed when they had so done, the matter took very good success. For the next day after Goodman Foxe came of his own accord unto them, a far other man than he was before, and bewailed his own rashness, praying them that they would forgive him, promising ever after to be more strong in faith, to the great rejoicing both of them and his wife.

About half a year after this, the bishop of Norwich sent forth certain of his officers or apparitors thither, which gave them warning every one to come to the church the next Sunday following. If they would not come, they should appear before the commissary out of hand, to render account of their absence. But the women having secret knowledge of this before, kept themselves out of the way on purpose to avoid the summons or warning. Therefore when they were not at the church on the day appointed, the commissary did first suspend them according to the bishop of Rome's law, and within three weeks after did excommunicate them. Therefore when they perceived that an officer of the town was set to take some of them, they conveying themselves privily out of the town, escaped all danger.

THE CONGREGATION IN LONDON.

No less wonderful was the preservation of the congregation in London, which from the first beginning of queen Mary, to the latter end thereof, continued, notwithstanding whatsoever the malice, device, searching, and inquisition of men, or strictness of laws could work to the contrary. Such was the merciful hand of the Lord, according to his accustomed goodness, ever working with his people. Of this bountiful goodness of the Lord, many and great examples appeared in the congregation which I now speak of. How often, and in what great danger did he deliver them!

First, in Black-friars, when they should have resorted to Sir Thomas Carden's house, private watch was laid for them, but yet through God's providence the mischief was prevented, and they delivered.

Again; they narrowly escaped from Aldgate, where spies were laid for them: and had not Thomas Simson, the deacon, espied them, and bid them disperse themselves away, they had been taken. For within two hours, the constables coming to the house after they were gone, demanded of the wife what company had been there. To whom she, to excuse the matter, made answer again, saying, that half a dozen good fellows had been there at breakfast as they went a-maying.

Another time also about the Great Conduit, they passing there through a very narrow alley, into a cloth-worker's loft, were espied, and the sheriffs sent for: but before they came, they having privy knowledge thereof, immediately shifted away out of the alley, John Avales standing alone in the mercer's chapel, staring at them.

Another like escape they made in a ship at Billingsgate, belonging to a certain good man of Leigh, where in the open sight of the people they were assembled together, and yet through God's mighty power escaped.

Betwixt Ratcliff and Redriff, in a ship called Jesus' ship, twice or thrice they as-

sembled, having there closely, after their accustomed manner, both sermon, prayer, and communion, and yet through the protection of the Lord they returned, although not unespied, yet untaken.

Moreover, in a cooper's house in Pudding Lane, so near they were to perils and dangers, that John Avales coming into the house where they were, talked with the man of the house, and after he had asked a question or two, departed; God so working that either he had no knowledge of them, or no power to take them.

But they never escaped more hardly, than once in Thames street in the night-time, where the house being beset with enemies, they were delivered by the means of a mariner, who being at that time present in the same company, and seeing no other way to avoid, pluckt off his slops and swam to the next boat, and so rowed the company over, using his shoes instead of oars; and so the jeopardy was dispatched.

What should I speak of the extreme danger which that goodly company was in at the taking of Mr. Rough, their minister, and Cuthbert Simpson, their deacon, had not God's providence given knowledge before to Mr. Rough in his sleep, that Cuthbert Simpson should leave behind him at home the book of all their names, which he was wont to carry about with him; whereof mention is made before.

In this church or congregation there were sometimes forty, sometimes a hundred, sometimes two hundred, sometimes more, sometimes less. About the latter time of queen Mary it greatly increased. From the beginning, which was about the first entry of queen Mary's reign, they had divers ministers; first, Mr. Scamler, then Thomas Foule, after him Mr. Rough, then Mr. Augustine Bernher, and lastly, Mr. Bentham; concerning the deliverance of which Mr. Bentham (being now bishop of Coventry and Litchfield), God's mighty providence most notably is to be considered. The story is thus:

On a time when seven martyrs were burnt in Smithfield, a proclamation was issued out, strictly forbidding all persons whatsoever either to salute, or pray for, the prisoners as they came to the stake: the godly people hearing this, great numbers of them assembled together, resolving to comfort and encourage them by their prayers: and when they came towards the stake, well guarded by officers armed with bills and glieves as usual, the whole congregation ran in upon them, kissing and embracing them, (not minding the officers and their weapons) and carried them to the stake, and might as well have carried them off, for aught the officers could do to prevent it.

This done, and the people giving place to the officers, the proclamation was read with a loud voice to the people in the names of the king and queen, That no man should pray for them, or once speak a word unto them. Mr. Bentham, then minister of the congregation, seeing the fire set to the martyrs, turned his eyes to the people and said, We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but say, God strengthen them: and then he boldly said, Almighty God, for Christ's sake strengthen them. With that all the people with one consent, and one voice, said, Amen, Amen. The noise whereof was so great, that the officers could not tell what to say, or whom to accuse. And thus much concerning the congregation of the faithful assembling together at London in the time of queen Mary.

Another time, as Mr. Bentham was going through St. Catherine's, intending to take a walk in the air, he was forced by two or three men to go along with them. Mr. Bentham being amazed at the suddenness of the matter, required what their purpose was, or whither they would have him go. They answered, that by the occasion of a man there found drowned, the coroner's inquest was called and charged to sit upon him, of which inquest he must of necessity be one, &c. He endeavored to excuse himself, alleging that he had no skill, and less experience in such matters; and if it would please them to let him go, they would meet with another more fit for their purpose. But when with this they would not be satisfied, he further urged that he was a scholar in the university of Oxford, and thereby was privileged from being of any inquest. The coroner demanded the sight of his privilege. He said, if he would give him leave, he would fetch it. Then said the coroner, The queen must be served without delay; and so constrained him to be at the hearing of the matter. Then a book was offered him to swear upon; upon his opening it, he found it to be a popish primer, and refused to swear thereon, and declared moreover what superstition in the book was contained. What, said the coroner, I think we shall have a heretic among us. And upon that, after much reasoning, he was committed to the custody of an officer till further examination: by occasion whereof he hardly could have escaped, had not the Lord helped where man was not able. What followed? As they were thus contending about matters of heresy, suddenly cometh the coroner of the admiralty, disannulling and repealing the

order and calling of that inquest, for that it was (as he said) pertaining to his office; and therefore the other coroner and his company in that place had nothing to do. And so the first coroner was discharged and displaced; by reason whereof Mr. Bentham escaped their hands.

EDWARD BENNET.

About the second year of queen Mary, Edward Bennet, then dwelling at Queenhithe, was desired by Mr. Tingle, then prisoner in Newgate, to bring him a New Testament. He procuring one of Mr. Coverdale's translation, wrapt it in a handkerchief, saying to George the keeper, who asked him what he had, that it was a piece of powdered beef. Let me see it, said he. Perceiving what it was, he brought him to Sir Roger Cholmley, who examined him why he did so, saying that book was not lawful, and so committed him to Woodstreet Compter, where he continued twenty-five weeks.

Dr. Story coming to the prison to examine other prisoners, this Bennet looking out at the grate, spake to him, desiring him to help him out, for he had long lain in prison. To whom Dr. Story answered, Wast thou not before me in Christ's church? Yes forsooth, said Bennet. Ah, said Story, thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar? Marry, I will help thee out; come, said he to the keeper, turn him out. I will help him; and so took Bennet with him, and brought him to Cluny, in Paternoster-row, and bade him bring him to the Coal-house, and there he was in the stocks a week.

Then the bishop sent for him to talk with him, and first asked him if he were confessed? No, said Bennet. He asked him if he would be confessed? No, said he. Then he asked him if the priest could take away his sins. No, said Bennet, I do not so believe.

Then he and Harpsfield laughed at him, and mocked him, asking him if he did not believe that whatsoever the priest here bound in earth, should be bound in heaven, and whatsoever he looseth in earth, should be loosed in heaven. No, said Bennet; but I believe that the minister of God, preaching God's word truly, and administering the sacraments according to the same, whatsoever he bindeth on earth, should be bound in heaven, and whatsoever he looseth, &c. Then the bishop putting him aside, said he should go to Fulham, and be whipped.

Mr. Buswell, a priest, then came to him, lying in the stocks, and brought Cranmer's recantation, saying, that he had recanted. My faith, said the other, lieth in no man's book, but in him which hath redeemed me. The next Saturday, Bennet with five others were called to mass in the chapel. The mass being done, five of them went to prison, and were afterwards burned. Bennet being behind and coming toward the gate, the porter opening to a company going out, asked if there were no prisoners there. No, said they. Bennet standing in open sight before him, with other serving-men who were there by reason that Bonner made many priests that day, when the gates were opened, went out amongst them, and so escaped.

JEFFERY HURST.

In the town of Shakerley, in Lancashire, dwelt one Jeffery Hurst, the son of an honest yeoman, who had besides him eleven children, the said Jeffery being the first and eldest; and their father being willing to bring them up, so that they should be able another day to help themselves, he did bind this Jeffery apprentice unto the craft of nailing, to make all kind of nails, which occupation he learned, and served out the time of seven years, which being expired he gave himself at times to learn of his other brethren which went to school; and as he was very willing to the same, so God sent him knowledge in the Scripture. After this he took to wife the sister of Mr. George Marsh, of whose martyrdom mention is made before, and being very familiar with him, did greatly amend his knowledge. Now when queen Mary was entered the first year of her reign, he kept himself away from their doings, and came not to the church: whereupon he was laid in wait for and called heretic, and Lollard; and so for fear of further danger he was compelled to leave his wife and child, and fly into Yorkshire, and there being not known, did lead his life, returning sometimes by night to comfort his wife, and bringing with him some preacher or other, who used to preach unto them so long as the time would serve, and so departed by night again. And thus in much fear did he with others lead his life, till the last year of the reign of queen Mary. Then it chanced that the said Jeffery Hurst, after the death of his father, came home and kept close for seven or eight weeks.

There dwelt not far off, at Morlese, a certain justice of the peace, and of the quorum, named Thomas Lelond, who hearing of him, appointed a time to come to his father's house where he then dwelt, to rifle the house for books, and to search for him also, and so he did. Jeffery and his company having knowledge of their coming, took the books which were in the

house, as the Bible, the Communion book, and the New Testament of Tindal's translation, and divers others, and threw them all underneath a tub of fat, conveying also the said Jeffery under the same, with a great deal of straw underneath him; for as it chanced they had the more time, because when the justice came almost to the door, he stayed and would not enter the house till he had sent for Hurst's mother's landlady, Mrs. Shakerley; and then with her consent intended to go forwards. In the mean time, Jeffery, by such as were with him, was willed to lay in his window the Testament of Tindal's translation, and a little book containing the third part of the Bible, with the book of Ecclesiasticus, to try what they would say unto them.

Now as concerning the searchers, they found nothing but Latin books, as a grammar, and such like. These be not what we look for (said they), we must see farther, and so looked into Hurst's chamber, where they found the aforesaid books. Then Sir Ralph taking up the Testament, looked on it, and smiled. His master seeing that, said, Now, Sir Ralph, what have we here? Forsooth, said he, a Testament of Tindal's translation, plain heresy, and none worse than it. Then said he, All their goods are lost to the queen, and their bodies to prison, and was wonderfully hasty; notwithstanding, through the means of Mrs. Shakerley, he was content to stay a little.

Then the priest looked on the other book. What say you to that, Sir Ralph? is that as bad as the other? 'No, said he, but it is not good that they should have such English books to look on, for this and such others may do much harm. Then he asked his mother where her eldest son was, and her daughter Alice. She answered, she could not tell; they had not been with her a long time. And he swore by God's body, he would make her tell where they were, or he would lay her in Lancaster dungeon; and yet he would have them notwithstanding too. To be short, for fear, he had his brother J. Hurst and his mother bound in a hundred pounds to bring the parties before him in fourteen days' time, and so he departed, and the priest put both the books in his bosom, and carried them away with him. Then John Hurst went after them, desiring that he might have the book which the priest found no fault with; but he said, they should answer to them both, and whichsoever was the better, neither was good.

As this passed on when the time was come that Jeffery Hurst and his sister should be examined, the justice sent for them betimes in the morning, and had prepared a mass to begin withal, asking Jeffery Hurst if he would first go and see his Maker, and then he would talk further with him. To whom Jeffery answered and said, Sir, my Maker is in heaven, and I am assured in going to your mass I shall find no edification thereby; and therefore I pray you hold me excused.

Well, well, said he, I perceive I shall find you a heretic, by God; but I will go to mass, and I will not lose it for all your prattling. Then he went into his chapel, and when mass was done he sent for them, and caused his priest to read a scroll unto them concerning the seven sacraments; and ever as he spake of the body and blood of Christ, he put off his cap, and said, Lo, you may see, you will deny these things, and care not for your prince; but you shall feel it before I have done with you, and all the faculty of you, with other talk more between them, I know not what; but in the end they were licensed to depart under sureties to appear again before him within three weeks, and then to go to Lancaster. However, in the mean time it so pleased God, that within four days of the day appointed, it was noised that the queen was dead, and within fourteen days after the said Jeffery Hurst had his two books sent home, and nothing was said unto him.

WILLIAM WOOD.

William Wood, baker, dwelling in Kent, was examined before Dr. Kenall, chancellor of Rochester, Dr. Chedsey, mayor, and Mr. Robinson, the scribe, on the 19th day of October, and in the second year of queen Mary, in St. Nicholas church in Rochester.

Scribe. William Wood, you are presented, because you will not come to the church, nor receive the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you? Have you received, or have you not?

Wood. I have not received it, nor dare I receive it, as you minister it.

Kenall. Thou heretic, what is the cause that thou hast not received the blessed sacrament of the altar? And at this word they all put off their caps, and made low obeisance.

Wood. There are three causes that make my conscience afraid that I dare not receive it. The first, Christ did deliver it to his twelve apostles and said, Take, eat, and drink ye all of this, &c. and ye eat and drink up all alone. The second cause is; you hold it to be worshipped, contrary to God's commandment, Thou shalt not bow down nor worship. The third cause is; you administer it in a strange tongue, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, I would rather have five words with understanding, than

ten thousand with tongues: by reason whereof the people be ignorant of the death of Christ.

Kenall. Thou, heretic, wilt thou have any plainer words than these, "Take, eat, this is my body?" Wilt thou deny the Scriptures?

Wood. I will not deny the holy Scriptures, God forbid; but with my heart I do faithfully believe them. St. Paul saith, "God calleth those things that are not, as though they were;" and Christ saith, "I am a vine; I am a door." St. Paul saith, "The rock is Christ;" all which are figurative speeches, wherein one thing is spoken, and another thing is understood.

Robinson. You make a very long talk of this matter: learn, Wood, learn.

Kenall. Nay, these heretics will not learn: look how this heretic glorieth in himself: thou fool, art thou wiser than the queen and her council, and all the learned men of this realm?

Wood. And please you, Mr. Chancellor, I think you would be loth to have such glory, to have your life and goods taken away, and to be thus called upon, as you rail upon me. But the servant is not greater than his master. And where you do mock me, and say that I am wiser than the queen and her council, St. Paul saith, "The wisdom of the wise of this world is foolishness before God, and he that will be wise in this world shall be accounted but a fool.

Kenall. Dost thou not believe that after these words spoken by a priest, *Hoc est corpus meum*, "this is my body;" there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very flesh and blood of Christ, as he was born of the virgin Mary, really and substantially, in quantity and quality, as he did hang upon the cross?

Wood. I pray you, Mr. Chancellor, give me leave, for my learning, to ask you one question, and I will answer you after.

Kenall. It is some wise question, I warrant you.

Wood. God spake to the prophet Ezekiel, saying, "Thou son of man, take a razor, and shave off the hair of thy head, and take one part and cast it into the air, take the second part and put it into thy coat lap; and take the third part, and cast it into the fire: and this is Jerusalem." I pray you, Mr. Chancellor, was this hair that the prophet did cast into the fire, or was it Jerusalem?

Kenall. It did signify Jerusalem.

Wood. Even so this word of Christ, "This is my body," is not to be understood, that Christ's carnal, natural and real body, the same, in quantity and quality, as it was born of the virgin Mary, and as he was crucified on the cross, is present or inclosed in the sacrament; but it doth signify Christ's body, as St. Paul saith, "So oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, you shall show forth the Lord's death till he come." What should the apostle mean by this word, "Till he come," if he were here carnally, naturally, corporally, and really, in the same quantity and quality as he was born of the virgin Mary, and as he did hang on the cross, as you say? But St. Paul saith, "You shall show the Lord's death till he come." This doth argue, that he is not here as you would have us to believe.

Chedsey. I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of bread, but not in quantity and quality.

Kenall. Yes, he is here present in quantity and quality.

Chedsey. He is here present under a form, and not in quantity and quality.

Yes, said Kenall.

No, said Chedsey.

I will prove him here in quantity and quality, said Kenall.

I will prove the contrary, said Chedsey.

And these two doctors were so earnest in this matter, the one to affirm, the other to deny, contending so fiercely one with the other, that they foamed at the mouth, and one was ready to spit in another's face, so that in great fury and rage the two doctors rose up from the judgment-seat, and Dr. Kenall departed out of the church in great rage and fury immediately.

Wood. Behold, good people, they would have us to believe, that Christ is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, present in the sacrament, and yet they cannot tell themselves, nor agree within themselves how he is there.

At these words the people made a great shout; and the mayor stood up and commanded the people to keep silence. And the God that did deliver St. Paul out of the hands of the high-priests, by the contention that was between the Pharisees and Sadducees, did even so deliver me at that time out of the mouths of the bloody papists, by means of the contention of these two doctors. Blessed be the name of the Lord, who hath promised to lay no more upon his people than he will enable them to bear, and in the midst of temptation can make a way for them (how, and when it pleaseth him) to escape out of all dangers.

CATHERINE, DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK.

Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, surmising the lady Catherine, baroness of Willoughby and Eresby, and duchess dowager of Suffolk, to be one of his ancient enemies, because he knew he had deserved no better of her, devised, in the holy time of the first Lent in queen Mary's reign, a *holy* practice of revenge, first, by touching her

in the person of her husband, Richard Berty, esquire, for whom he sent an attachment (having the great seal at his devotion) to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, with a special letter, commanding most strictly the same sheriff to attach the said Richard immediately, and without bail to bring him up to London, to his lordship. Mr. Berty being clear in conscience, and free from offence toward the queen, could not conjecture any cause of this strange process, unless it were some quarrel for religion, which he thought could not be so sore as the process pretended.

The sheriff, notwithstanding the commandment, adventured only to take a bond of Mr. Berty, with two sureties, in a thousand pounds, for his appearance before the bishop on Good-Friday following; at which day Mr. Berty appeared, the bishop then being at his house by St. Mary Overy's. Of whose pretence, when the bishop understood by a gentleman of his chamber, he came out of his gallery into his dining-chamber in a great rage, where he found a crowd of suitors, saying he would not that day hear any, but came forth only to know of Mr. Berty, how he, being a subject, durst so arrogantly set at light two former processes of the queen.

Mr. Berty answered, that notwithstanding my lord's words might seem to the rest somewhat sharp towards him, yet he conceived great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremely hard to be attached, having used no obstinacy or contumacy, now he gathered of those words, that my lord meant not otherwise but to have used some ordinary process: none, however, came to his hands.

Yea, marry, said the bishop, I have sent you two subpœnas to appear immediately, and I am sure you received them, for I committed the trust of them to no worse a man than Mr. Solicitor; and I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire for your obstinacy.

Mr. Berty denying the receipt of any subpœna, humbly prayed his lordship to suspend his displeasure and the punishment till he had good trial thereof, and then, if it please him, to double the pain for the fault, if any were.

Well, said the bishop, I have appointed myself this day (according to the holiness of the same) for devotion, and I will not further trouble myself with you; but I enjoin you in a thousand pounds not to depart without leave, and to be here again to-morrow at seven of the clock. Mr. Berty came at the time appointed, at which time the bishop had with him Mr. Serjeant Stampford, to whom he moved certain questions of the said Mr. Berty, because Mr. Serjeant was towards the lord Wriothesley, late earl of Southampton, and chancellor of England, with whom the said Mr. Berty was brought up. Mr. Serjeant gave a very friendly account of Mr. Berty, of his own knowledge, for the time of their conversation together. Whereupon the bishop caused Mr. Berty to be brought in, and first making a false train, (as God would, without fire) before he would descend to the quarrel of religion, he assaulted him in this manner.

Bishop of Winchester. The queen's pleasure is, that you shall make present payment of 4000 pounds due to her father by duke Charles, late husband to the duchess your wife, whose executor she was.

Berty. Pleaseth it your lordship, that debt is installed, and is, according to that instalment, truly answered.

Bishop. Tush, the queen will not be bound by instalments, in the time of Kett's government: for so I esteem the late government.

Berty. The instalment was appointed by king Henry the Eighth: besides, the same was, by special commissioners, confirmed in king Edward's time; and the lord treasurer being an executor also to the duke Charles, solely and wholly, took upon him, before the said commissioners, to discharge the same.

Bishop. If it be true that you say, I will show you favor. But of another thing, Mr. Berty, I will admonish you, as meaning you well. I hear evil of your religion, yet I can hardly think evil of you, whose mother I know to be as godly a Catholic as any within this land; yourself brought up with a master, whose education, if I should disallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Besides, partly I know you myself, and understand of my friends enough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you; but I pray you, if I may ask the question of my lady your wife, is she now as ready to set up the mass as she was lately to pull it down, when she caused, in her progress, a dog to be carried in a rochet, and called by my name? or doth she think her lambs now safe enough, who said to me, when I vailed my bonnet to her out of my chamber-window in the Tower, that it was merry with the lambs, now the wolf was shut up? Another time, my lord, her husband, having invited me and divers ladies to dinner, desired every lady to choose him whom she loved best, and so place themselves: my lady, your wife, taking me by the hand, for my lord would not have her to take himself, said, That; forasmuch as she could not sit down with my lord, whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom she loved worst.

Of the device of the dog, quoth Mr. Berty, she was neither the author nor the allower. The words, though in that season they

sounded bitter to your lordship, yet if it would please you, without offence, to know the cause, I am sure the one will clear the other. As touching setting up of mass which she learned, not only by strong persuasions of divers excellent learned men, but by universal consent and order, these six years past, inwardly to abhor, if she should outwardly allow, she should both to Christ show herself a false Christian, and to her prince a masquing subject. You know, my lord, one by judgment reformed, is more worth than a thousand transformed temporisers. To force a confession of religion by mouth, contrary to that in the heart, working damnation where salvation is pretended.

Yea, marry, quoth the bishop, that deliberation would do well, if she were required to come from an old religion to a new; but now she is to return from a new to an ancient religion; wherein, when she made me her gossip, she was as earnest as any.

For that, my lord, (said Mr. Berty) not long since she answered a friend of her's, using your lordship's speech, That religion went not by age, but by truth: and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion, and not by commandment.

I pray you, (quoth the bishop) think you it possible to persuade her?

Yea, verily, (said Mr. Berty) with the truth: for she is reasonable enough.

The bishop, in reply to this, said, It will be a marvellous grief to the prince of Spain, and to all the nobility that shall come with him, when they shall find but two noble personages of the Spanish race within this land, the queen and my lady your wife, and one of them gone from the faith.

Mr. Berty answered, that he trusted they should find no fruits of infidelity in her.

The bishop then persuaded Mr. Berty to labor earnestly for the reformation of her opinion, and offering large friendship, released him of his bond from further appearance.

The duchess and her husband, from the daily accounts which they received from their friends, understanding that the bishop meant to call her to an account of her faith, whereby extremity might follow, devised how they might pass the seas by the queen's license. Mr. Berty had a ready means; for there remained great sums of money due to the old duke of Suffolk (one of whose executors the duchess was) beyond the seas, the emperor himself being one of those debtors.

Mr. Berty communicated this his purposed suit for license to pass the seas, and the cause, to the bishop, adding, that he took this to be the most proper time to deal with the emperor, by reason of likelihood of marriage between the queen and his son.

I like your device well, said the bishop, but I think it better that you tarry the prince's coming, and I will procure you his letters also to his father.

Nay, said Mr. Berty, under your lordship's correction, and pardon for so liberal a speech, I suppose the time will then be less convenient; for when the marriage is consummated, the emperor hath his desire, but till then he will refuse nothing to win credit with us.

By St. Mary, said the bishop, smiling, you guess shrewdly. Well, proceed in your suit to the queen, and it shall not lack my helping hand.

Mr. Berty found so good success, that he obtained the queen's license, not only to pass the seas, but to pass and repass them as often as he should think proper, till he had finished his business beyond the seas. He accordingly embarked at Dover, about the beginning of June, in the first year of her reign, leaving the duchess behind, who, by agreement with her husband, followed, taking barge at Lion-key, very early in the morning of the first of January ensuing, not without some danger.

None of the persons who accompanied her, except Mr. Robert Cranwell, an old gentleman, whom Mr. Berty had provided for that purpose, were made privy to her departure till the instant. She took her daughter with her, an infant of one year old, and the meanest of her servants, for she imagined the best would not adventure that fortune with her. They were in number four men, one a Greek-born, who was a rider of horses, another a joiner, the third a brewer, the fourth a fool,* a kitchen-maid, a gentlewoman, and a laundress.

As she departed her house called the Barbican, between four and five o'clock in the morning, with her company and baggage, one Atkinson, a herald, keeper of her house, hearing a noise, rose and came out with a torch in his hand, as she was going out of the gate; wherewith being amazed, she was forced to leave a mail† with necessaries for her young daughter, and a milk-pot with milk, in the same gate-house, commanding all her servants to hasten forward to Lion-key: and taking with her only the two women and her child, as soon as she was clear of her own house, perceiving the herald to follow, she stept into the Charter-house just by. The herald coming out of the duchess's house, and seeing nobody stirring, nor assured (though by the mail suspecting) that she was departed, returned in; and while he was searching the parcels left

* A *foot, by profession*, was, in the sixteenth century, an almost indispensable part of the retinue of the nobility of this and other countries.

† A trunk, or portmanteau.

in the mail, the duchess issued into the streets, and proceeded on her journey, she knowing the place only by name where she should take her boat, but not the way thither, nor any that was with her. Likewise her servants having divided themselves, none but one knew the way to the said Lion-key.

So she appeared like a mean merchant's wife, and the rest like mean servants, walking in the streets unknown. She took the way that leads to Finsbury field, and the others walked the city streets as they lay open before them, till by chance, more than discretion, they met all suddenly together a little within Moregate, from whence they passed directly to Lion-key, and there took barge in a morning so misty, that the steer's-man was loth to launch out, but that they urged him. So soon as the day permitted, the council was informed of her departure, and some of them came forthwith to her house to inquire of the manner thereof, and took an inventory of her goods, besides further order devised for search and watch to apprehend and stay her.

The fame of her departure reached Leigh, a town at the Land's End, before her approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Gosling, a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwell's, whither the said Cranwell brought the duchess, naming her Mrs. White, the daughter of Mr. Gosling, for such a daughter he had who never was in that country. She there reposed herself, and made new garments for her daughter, having lost her own in the mail at Barbican.

When the time came that she should take ship, being constrained that night to lie at an inn in Leigh, (where she was again almost betrayed) yet notwithstanding by God's good working she escaped that hazard; at length, as the tide and wind served, they went aboard, and carried twice into the seas, almost into the coast of Zealand, by contrary wind were driven to the place from whence they came; and at the last recoil certain persons came to the shore, suspecting she was within that ship; yet having examined one of her company that was on shore for fresh provision, and finding by the simplicity of his tale only the appearance of a mean merchant's wife to be on ship-board, he ceased to search any further.

To be short, so soon as the duchess had landed in Brabant, she and her women were apparelled like the women of the Netherlands with hooks; and so she and her husband took their journey toward Cleveland, and being arrived at a town called Santon, took a house there, until they might further devise of some sure place where to settle themselves.

About five miles from Santon, is a free town called Wesell, under the said Duke of Cleves's dominion, and one of the Hanstowns, privileged with the company of the Steel-yard, in London, whither divers Walloons were fled for religion, and had for their minister one Francis Perusell, then called Francis de Rivers, who had received some courtesy in England at the duchess's hands. Mr. Berty being yet at Santon, practised with him to obtain a protection from the magistrates for his, and his wife's abode at Wesell; which was the sooner procured, because the state of the duchess was not discovered, but only to the chief magistrate, earnestly bent to show them pleasure, while this protection was in seeking.

In the meanwhile, at the town of Santon was a muttering, that the duchess and her husband were greater personages than they gave themselves forth: and the magistrates not very well inclined to religion, the bishop of Arras also being dean of the great minster, orders were taken that the duchess and her husband should be examined of their condition and religion. Which being discovered by a gentleman of that country to Mr. Berty, he without delay taking no more than the duchess, her daughter, and two others with them, meant privily that night to get to Wesell, leaving the rest of his family at Santon.

After they had travelled one English mile from the town, there fell a mighty rain of continuance, whereby a long frost and ice, before congealed, was thawed But being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they sent their two servants (which only went with them) to a village as they passed, to hire a car for their ease, but none could be hired. At last, between six and seven o'clock of a dark night, they came to Wesell, and repairing to the inns for lodging, after such a painful journey, found hard entertainment; for going from inn to inn, offering large sums for a small lodging, they were refused by all the inn-holders, who suspected them to be persons of bad character.

Mr. Berty, destitute of all other succor of hospitality, resolved to bring the duchess to the porch of the great church in the town, and so to buy coals, victuals, and straw for their miserable repose there that night, or at least till by God's help he might provide her better lodging. Mr. Berty at that time understood not much Dutch, and by reason of bad weather and late season of the night, he could not happen upon any that could speak English, French, Italian,

or Latin, till at last going towards the church-porch, he heard two striplings talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two stivers to bring him to some Walloon's house.

By these boys, and God's good conduct, he chanced upon the house where Mr. Perusell supped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magistrates of that town. At the first knock the good man of the house himself came to the door, and opening it, asked Mr. Berty what he was. Mr. Berty said, an Englishman, that sought for one Mr. Perusell's house. The Walloon desired Mr. Berty to stay a while, who went back, and told Mr. Perusell, that the same English gentleman, of whom they had talked at supper-time, had sent by likelihood his servant to speak with him. Whereupon Perusell came to the door, and beholding Mr. Berty, the duchess, and their child, could not speak to them, nor they to him, for tears. At length recovering themselves, they saluted one another.

Within a few days after, by Mr. Perusell's means, they hired a very fair house in the town. The time thus passing forth, as they thought themselves thus happily settled, suddenly a watch-word came from Sir John Mason, then queen Mary's ambassador in the Netherlands, that my lord Paget had feigned an errand to the baths that way: and whereas the duke of Brunswick was shortly with ten ensigns to pass by Wesell for the service of the house of Austria against the French king, the said duchess and her husband should be with the same company intercepted.

Wherefore to prevent the cruelty of these enemies, Mr. Berty with his wife and child departed to a place called Wineheim, under the Palsgrave's dominion; where they continued till their necessaries began to fail them. At which time, in the midst of their despair, there came suddenly to them letters from the Palatine of Vilva, that the king of Poland was informed of their hard estate by a baron, named Joannes Alasco, that was some time in England, offering them great courtesy. This greatly revived their spirits. Yet considering they should remove from many of their countrymen and acquaintance, to a place so far distant, they advised thereupon with one Mr. Carloe, late bishop of Chichester, that if he would vouchsafe to take some pains therein, they would make him a fellow of that journey. So finding him agreeable, they sent with him letters of great thanks to the king and Palatine, and also a few principal jewels (which only they had left of many), to solicit for them, that the king would vouchsafe, under his seal, to assure them of the thing which he so honorably by letters had offered.

That favor, by the forwardness of the Palatine, was as soon granted as uttered. Upon which assurance the said duchess and her husband with their family, began their journey in April, 1557, from the castle of Wineheim, where they before lay, towards Frankfort. In which their journey, it were too long here to describe what dangers fell by the way, upon them and their whole company, by reason of the Landgrave's captain, who, under a quarrel pretended for a spaniel of Mr. Berty's, set upon them in the highway with his horsemen, thrusting their boar-spears through the wagon where the women and children were, Mr. Berty having but four horsemen along with him. In which scuffle it happened that the captain's horse was slain under him.

Whereupon a rumor was spread immediately through the towns and villages about, that the Landgrave's captain should be slain by certain Walloons, which exasperated the countrymen the more fiercely against Mr. Berty, as afterward it proved. For as he was motioned by his wife to save himself by the swiftness of his horse, and to recover some town thereby for his rescue, he so doing, was in worse case than before: for the townsmen and the captain's brother, supposing no less but that the captain had been slain, pressed so eagerly upon him, that he had been there taken and murdered among them, had not he (as God would have it) espied a ladder leaning to a window, by which he got into the house, and went up into the garret, where, with his dagger and rapier, he defended himself for a time: but at length the burghmaster coming thither with another magistrate, who could speak Latin, he was advised to submit himself to the order of the law. Mr. Berty knowing himself to be clear, and the captain to be alive, was the more bold to submit himself to the judgment of the law, upon condition that the magistrate would receive him under safe-conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promised, he willingly delivered up his weapons, and peaceably surrendered himself into the hands of the magistrates, and so was committed to safe custody till the truth of his cause could be tried.

Then Mr. Berty wrote a letter to the Landgrave, and another to the earl of Erbagh, dwelling about eight miles off, who came early in the morning to the town, where the duchess was brought with her wagon, Mr. Berty also being in the same town under custody.

The earl, who had some intelligence before of the duchess, after he was come and

had showed her such courtesy as he thought belonged to her estate and dignity, the townsmen perceiving the earl behave himself so humbly to her, began to consider more of the matter, and further understanding the captain to be alive, both they and the authors of this stir, drew in their horns, shrunk away, and made all the friends they could to Mr. Berty and his lady, beseeching them not to report their doings after the worst manner.

And thus Mr. Berty and his wife, escaping that danger, proceeded in their journey toward Poland, where in conclusion they were quietly entertained by the king, and placed honorably in the earldom of the said king of the Poles, in Sanogelia, called Crozan, where Mr. Berty with the duchess, having the king's absolute power of government over the said earldom, continued in honor, peace and plenty, till the death of queen Mary.

THOMAS HORNTON, MINISTER.

Thomas Hornton used oftentimes to travel between Germany and England, for the benefit and sustenance of the poor English exiles there: so he journeying on a time between Maestricht and Cologn, chanced to be taken by certain rovers, and so being led by them away, was in no little danger: and yet this danger of his was not so great, but the present help of the Lord was greater to aid and deliver him out of the same.

THOMAS SPRAT, TANNER.

He had been some time a servant to one justice Brent, a heavy persecutor, and therefore forsaking his master for religion's sake, he went to Calais, (accompanied by one William Porrege, who was afterwards a minister) from whence they used often for their necessary affairs to have recourse to England.

In the fourth year of queen Mary they landed at Dover, and taking their journey together toward Sandwich, suddenly upon the way, three miles from Dover, they happened to meet justice Brent, the two Blachendens, and other gentlemen with their servants, to the number of ten or twelve horses. One of the Blachendens happened to know William Porrege, the other had only heard of his name.

Sprat first espying his master Brent, was much surprised, saying to his companion, Yonder is Mr. Brent, God have mercy upon us. Well, quoth Porrege, seeing now there is no remedy, let us go on our way. And so thinking to pass by them, they kept themselves at a distance, Sprat also shadowing his face with his cloak.

One of Mr. Brent's servants knowing Sprat, called out to his master, saying, Yonder is Thomas Sprat; at which words they all stopt their horses, and called for Thomas Sprat to come to them. They call you, said William Porrege; now there is no remedy, but we are taken: and so would have persuaded him to go to them being called, for that there was no escaping from so many horsemen in those plains and downs, where was no wood near them by a mile, and but one hedge about a stone's-throw off. All this notwithstanding, Sprat staid, and would not go. Then they called again, sitting still on horseback. Ah, sirrah, quoth the justice, why come you not hither? And still his companion moved him to go, seeing there was no hope of getting away. Nay, said Sprat, I will not go to them; and therewith took to his legs, running to the hedge that was next him. They seeing that, set spurs to their horses, thinking it impossible for him to escape their hands. When he got to the hedge, scrambling through the bushes, they were at his heels, and struck at him with their swords; one of the Blachendens (both of them haters of God's word) cruelly crying, Cut one of his legs off.

He had no sooner got through the hedge, but one of justice Brent's servants (a fellow that had some time been Sprat's fellow-servant) followed him on foot: the rest rode up the other side of the hedge to meet him at the end.

As Sprat was pursued on one side of the hedge by his old fellow-servant in his boots, and on the other side by horsemen, his fellow servant cried out, You had as good tarry; for we will have you, we will have you: yet notwithstanding he still kept his course till he came to a steep down-hill at the end of the hedge, down which he ran from them, for the horsemen could not follow him without fetching a great compass about. After he had run almost a mile he got to a wood, but by that time they were just behind him; but night coming on, and it beginning to rain, they pursued him no further. And thus by the providence of God they both got clear.

Not long after this, one of the two cruel Blachendens was murdered by his own servant.

JOHN CORNET.

This young man was apprentice to a musician at Colchester, and being sent by his master to a wedding (in the second year of queen Mary, in a' town hard by, called Rough-hedge, was requested by a company there of good men (the constables being present), to sing some songs of the Scripture: he happened to sing a song, called, News out of London, which tended against

the mass, and against the queen's misproceedings.

Whereupon the next day he was accused by the parson of Rough-hedge, called Yacksley, and so committed, first to the constable, where his master gave him over, and his mother forsook and cursed him. From thence he was sent to justice Cannall, and then to the earl of Oxford, by whose orders he was first put in irons and chains, and after that so manacled, that the blood spirted out of his fingers' ends, because he would not confess the names of those who allured him to sing. After that, he was sent again to Rough-hedge, there whipped till the blood flowed, and then banished the town for ever.

THOMAS BRYCE.

He being in the house of John Seal, in the parish of Horting, the bailiff and other neighbors were sent by Sir John Baker, to search for, and apprehend him, and though they perfectly knew his stature and the color of his garments, yet then they had no power to know him, though he stood before their faces. So miraculously did the Almighty dazzle their eyes, that they asked for him, and looked on him, yet notwithstanding he quietly took his bag of books, and departed out of the house without any hand laid upon him.

Also another time, about the second year of queen Mary, the said Thomas Bryce, with John Bryce, his elder brother, coming then from Wesell, meeting together at their father's house, as they travelled towards London, to give warning to one Springfield there, which else was like to be taken unawares by his enemies waiting for him upon Gad's-hill, fell into company with a promoter, who dogged and followed them again to Gravesend, into the town, and laid the house for them where they were, all the ways as they should go to the water's side, so that it had not been possible for them to have avoided the present danger of those persecutors, had not God's provident care otherwise disposed for his servants, through the ostler of the inn, who conveyed them under cover by a secret passage; whereby they took barge a mile out of town, and so in the end both the lives of them, and also Springfield, were preserved, through God's gracious protection.

GERTRUDE CROKHAY.

Gertrude Crokhay, dwelling in St. Catherine's, by the Tower of London, and being then in her husband's house, it happened in the year 1556, that the pope's childish Saint Nicholas went about the parish. Which she understanding, shut her door against him, not suffering him to enter into her house.

Then Dr. Mallet hearing thereof, and being then master of the said St. Catherine's, the next day came to her, and asked why she would not the night before let in St. Nicholas, and receive his blessing, &c. To whom she answered thus: Sir, I know not that St. Nicholas came hither. Yes, quoth Mallet, here was one that represented St. Nicholas.

Indeed, sir, (said she), here was one that was my neighbor's child, but not St. Nicholas; for St. Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him, to have had my purse cut by them: for I have heard of men robbed by St. Nicholas's clerks, &c. So Mallet perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and she for that time escaped.

Then in the year 1557, a little before Whitsuntide, it happened that the said Gertrude answered for a child that was baptized of one Thomas Saunders, which child was christened secretly in a house after the order of the service-book in king Edward's time; and that being soon known to her enemies, she was sought for; who understanding nothing thereof, went beyond the sea into Guelderland, to see certain lands that should come to her children in the right of her first husband, who was a stranger born: and being there about a quarter of a year, at length coming home by Antwerp, she chanced to meet with one John Johnson, a Dutchman, alias John de Villa, of Antwerp, shipper, who seeing her there, went out of malice to the Margrave, and accused her to be an Anabaptist, whereby she was taken, and carried to prison. The cause why he did thus, was, because he claimed of Mr. Crokhay, her husband, a sum of money which was not his due, for a ship that Mr. Crokhay bought of him, and because he could not get it, he wrought this displeasure. Well, she being in prison, lay there a fortnight. In which time she saw some that were prisoners there, who privately were drowned in Rhenish wine-vats, and after secretly put in sacks and cast into the river. Now she, good woman, expecting to be so served, took thereby such fear, that it brought the beginning of her sickness, of which at length she died.

Then at last was she called before the Margrave, and charged with Anabaptistry; which she there utterly denied, and detested the error, declaring before him, in Dutch, her faith boldly, without any fear. So the Margrave hearing the same, in the end being well pleased with the profession, at the suit of some of her friends, delivered

her out of prison, but took away her book, and so she came over into England again; having escaped the fire, but being afflicted with an incurable sickness, of which, as is said above, she afterwards died.

THOMAS ROSE, A PREACHER.

He was a Devonshire man, born in Exmouth, and being made priest in that county, was brought out of it by one Mr. Fabian, to Polsted, in Suffolk, where the said Mr. Fabian was parson, and in a short time after, by his means, was placed in the town of Hadley, where he, first coming to some knowledge of the gospel, began there to treat upon the creed, and thereupon took occasion to inveigh against purgatory, praying to saints and images, about the time that Mr. Latimer began to preach at Cambridge, in the time of Bilney and Arthur; insomuch that many embracing the truth of Christ's gospel, against the said purgatory and other points, and the number of them daily increasing, the adversaries began to stir against him, insomuch that Mr. Bate, (who afterwards became a godly zealous man), was then brought to preach against the said Thomas Rose; notwithstanding this, he continued still very vehemently against images, and the Lord so blessed his labors, that many began to contrive how they might deface and destroy them, and especially four men, whose names were Ring, Debnam, Marsh, and Gard, who usually resorted to his sermons, by which they were so inflamed, that soon after they ventured to destroy the rood of the court of Dover, which cost three of them their lives, and they were hanged in chains, because they would not accuse Thomas Rose as their counsellor. The said Rose had the coat of the rood brought to him afterwards, who burnt it. The rood was said to have done many and great miracles, yet being in the fire, could not help himself, but burned like a block, as indeed it was.

At this time there were two sore enemies in Hadley, Walter Clerk and John Clerk, two brothers: these complained to the council, that a hundred men were not able to fetch Thomas Rose out of Hadley, who then was, upon examination of his doctrine, committed to the commissaries' keeping. And indeed such was the zeal of a number towards the truth then in that town, that they were much offended that their minister was so taken from them, and had therefore by force brought him from the commissary, if certain wise men had not otherwise persuaded them, who at length also with more quiet placed him in his office again: which so enraged the two brothers, Walter Clerk and John Clerk, that they complained to the council, as aforesaid; whereupon a serjeant at arms was sent from the council, to arrest Thomas Rose, and bring him before them. Then his adversaries laid to his charge, that he was privy to the burning of the rood at Dovercourt, and upon this he was committed to prison, in the bishop of Lincoln's house, in Holborn, where he remained from Shrovetide to Whitsuntide, and great part of the time in the stocks.

Then he was removed to Lambeth, in the first year of Dr. Cranmer's consecration, who used him much more courteously.

He was next indicted at Bury, in Suffolk, which obliged him to flee to London, where, by the interest of lord Audley, then lord chancellor, he procured its removal, and, after examination, was set free, and obtained the king's license to preach.

After king Edward was crowned he was licensed to preach again by the king, who gave him the benefice of West-Ham, by London. But at this king's death he was deprived of all, and at length, through a Judas that betrayed him, he, with thirty-five more, were taken in Bow church-yard, at a shearman's house, on New-year's day at night, and committed to prison, but he was taken to the bishop of Winchester, and committed to the Clink, till the Tuesday after, when he was brought to the church of St. Mary Overy, and underwent the following examination:

Rose. I wonder, my lord, that I should be thus troubled for that which by the word of God hath been established, and by the laws of this realm hath been allowed, and by your own writing so notably in your book, *De vera obedientia*, confirmed.

Bish. of Win. Ah, sirrah, hast thou gotten that?

Rose. As touching the doctrine of supremacy, against the bishop of Rome's authority, no man hath said further; and you confess that when this truth was revealed unto you, you thought the scales to fall from your eyes.

Bishop. There is no such thing in my book: but I shall handle thee, and such as thou art, well enough.

After this, the bishop turned his face to some that were by him. This is he, said the bishop, that my lord of Norwich told me had gotten his maid with child.

Rose. This is no heresy, my lord, although it be a lie. Indeed certain wicked persons raised this report of me, for the hatred they bare to the doctrine which I preached: but for purgation of myself herein, I had no less than six of the coun-

cil's hands, that there might be due and diligent examination of this matter in the country, by men of worship appointed for that purpose, who can all testify, I thank God, that I am most clear from such wickedness, and indeed they have cleared me from it. Then the bishop commanded that I should be carried to the Tower, and kept safely; where I lay till the week before Whitsuntide, when, after being called twice to little purpose, I was conveyed from the Tower to Norwich, there to be examined by the bishop and his clergy, as concerning my faith.

SECOND EXAMINATION OF THOMAS ROSE, BEFORE THE BISHOP OF NORWICH, AND OTHERS, IN 1553.

After I was presented by my keeper, the bishop immediately asked me what I was? I told him I had been a minister.

Bishop. Where were you made priest?

Rose. In Exeter, in the county where I was born. Then the bishop required of me my letters of orders. I told him I knew not where they were, for they were things of me not greatly regarded.

Bishop. Well, you are sent to me to be examined; what say you, will you submit yourself to the order of the church of England?

Rose. My lord, I trust I am not out of the order of Christ's church in England, neither do I know myself an offender thereagainst.

Bishop. What? yes, you have here preached most damnable and devilish doctrine.

Rose. Not so, my lord. The doctrine by me preached is grounded upon the word of God, set out by the authority of two most mighty kings, with the consent of all the nobility and clergy: so that I preached nothing but their lawful proceedings, having their lawful authority for confirmation of the same, for which my doing you cannot justly charge me.

Chan. What sayest thou to the real presence in the sacrament?

Rose. I know right well you are made an instrument to seek innocent blood: well, you may begin when you shall think good, for I have said nothing but the truth, and that which then all men allowed for truth.

Bishop. Well, father Rose, whatsoever hath been done in times past, shall not now be called in question. Wherefore, if you will be accounted for an Englishman, you must submit yourself.

Rose. My lord, I am an Englishman born, and do most humbly require of the Christian congregation of England, to be counted as a particular member of the same, and with all due reverence submit myself, as in the form and manner following: That whatsoever law or laws shall be set forth in the same, for the establishment of Christ's true religion, I do not only hold it, and believe it, but also most reverently obey it. At which the bishop seemed to be greatly rejoiced, and said, Well, then, we shall soon be at a point: but you shall take this for no day of examination, but rather of communication, so that you shall now depart, and consider with yourself until we can call for you again: and so ended this meeting.

THIRD EXAMINATION OF THOMAS ROSE.

On Friday following, I was called again into Christ-church within their lady's chapel, where was gathered a great part of the city of Norwich, when the bishop began with demanding of me, whether, according to my former promise, I would submit myself or no. I answered as before I had done, that according to my former protestation, I would most gladly obey.

Chan. What say you then to ear-confession? Is it not necessary for the church of England?

Rose. Some ways it might be permitted, and some ways not, and that because it had not its original of God and his blessed word; and yet I deny not, but that a man, being troubled in his conscience, and resorting to a discreet, sober, and Christian learned man, for the quieting of his mind, might well be permitted.

Mr. Chancellor then began to whet his teeth at me, saying, Yea, but you have preached, that the real, natural, and substantial presence of Christ is not in the sacrament. What say you to that?

Rose. Verily, I say, to satisfy you, that so I have here preached: although, contrary to law, you challenge me with the same, yet will I in nowise deny it, though justly I might do it.

Bishop. Why, doth not Christ say, This is my body? And can there be any plainer words spoken?

Rose. It is true, my lord, the words are as plain as can be; and even so are these, where it is said, I am a door, a vine, and Christ is called a stone, a lion, and yet is he naturally none of these; for they are all figurative speeches, as both the Scriptures and fathers do sufficiently prove. And I added that Justin, who is one of the most ancient writers that ever wrote upon the sacrament, writeth in his second apology, that the bread, water, and wine in the sacrament, are not to be taken as other meats and drinks; and yet they nourish our bodies. By which his meaning is evident, that the bread and wine remain still, or else they could not nourish our bodies.

In the mean time, the bishop sent two of his chaplains to me, with whom I had communication about the real presence. After long reasoning concerning this point, at length I drove them to this issue; whether they did confess that Christ, in the self-same body which was conceived of the Virgin Mary, and wherein he suffered and rose again, do in the self-same body naturally, substantially, and really sit at the right hand of God the Father, without return from thence, until the day of the general judgment, or not? Whereunto they answered, Yes, truly, we confess it, hold it, and believe it. Then I again demanded of them, whether they did affirm, after the words pronounced by the minister, there to remain flesh, blood, bones, hairs, nails, as is wont most grossly to be preached, or not? and they with great deliberation answered, that they did not only abhor the teaching of such gross doctrine, but also would detest themselves, if they should so think.

At which two principal points, wherein they fully confirmed my doctrine which I ever taught, I was not a little comforted and rejoiced, but marvellously encouraged. Whereupon I demanded of them again, what manner of body they then affirmed it to be in the sacrament? Forsooth, said they, not a visible body, for that is always at the Father's right hand; but in the sacrament it is invisible, and can neither be felt, seen, nor occupy any place, but is there by the omnipotency of God's holy word, they know not how.

However, to bring them to confess that openly which they had granted privately, I granted them according to the Scriptures, and my former protestation, a presence, although not as they supposed.

LAST EXAMINATION OF THOMAS ROSE.

Now to come to my last appearance, the bishop forthwith demanded of me, whether I were resolved as he had heard say? To whom I answered, that as I always had said before, even so I was now. I then said, that whatsoever laws were set forth for the establishment of Christ's true religion; according to the doctrine of Christ's holy apostles, and the faithful fathers of the primitive church, I did not only obey them, but most earnestly believe them; and all of you must confess, that the doctrine by me heretofore preached, had, besides the authority of God's eternal verity, the authority of two most noble princes, with the advice and counsel of all the nobility and clergy of the land, and that with great deliberation from time to time, with open disputations in both universities, enacted also by parliament, with the consent of the whole body and commons of the same, without any resistance or gainsaying.

After several long private disputations had happened betwixt us, at length I have heard of them a contrary doctrine, which I never before had heard. He then recapitulated what he stated in the third examination, of the dilemma into which the two chaplains had been drawn; and then adds, methought in this I had well discharged at that time my conscience, in causing them, in open audience, to confess the same, and so I granted a presence, but not as they supposed: for I only said, that Christ, after the words pronounced, is present in the lawful use and right distribution of his holy supper; which thing I never denied, or any godly man that ever I heard of.

And thus I ended; which the papists most maliciously and slanderously named a recantation; which I never meant nor thought, as God knoweth.

On the morrow, when the bishop was ready to ride forth in visitation, he called me before him, and perceiving that Sir William Woodhouse did bear me great favor, said, he was sorry for me and my expenses, and therefore wished that I was somewhere where I might spend no more money till his return. Why, my lord, said Sir William Woodhouse, he shall have meat and drink and lodging with me, till you return again, seeing you now break up house.

I was then conveyed to London, and from thence passed over the seas, where I lived till the death of queen Mary, and till it pleased God to bless this realm with the government of our noble queen.

TROUBLES AND DELIVERANCE OF DR. SANDS, AFTERWARDS ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

Dr. Sands was vice-chancellor of Cambridge at the time that the duke of Northumberland came hither, on king Edward's death, to proclaim Lady Jane queen; and, with others, being sent for to sup with the duke, was required to preach on the morrow. On taking his Bible into his hands, and shutting his eyes, he earnestly prayed to God that it might fall open where a most fit text should be for him to treat of. The Bible, as God would have it, fell open upon the first chapter of Joshua, the three last verses, where he found so convenient a place of scripture for that time, that the like he could not find in the whole Bible. His text was thus: "And they answered Joshua, saying, All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us, we will go. According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee: only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses. Whosoever he be that doth rebel against thy

commandment, and will not hearken unto words, in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death: only be strong, and of good courage."

Whosoever shall consider what was concluded by such as called themselves the state, and likewise the auditory, the time, and other circumstances, may easily see that this text most fitly served for the purpose. And as God gave the text, so gave he such order and utterance, as drew many tears out of the eyes of the greatest of them.

In the time of his sermon, one of the guard lifted a mass-book and a grail up to him in the pulpit, which Sir George Haward, with certain of the guard, had taken that night in Mr. Hurlestone's house, where lady Mary had been a little before, and there had mass. The duke, with the rest of the nobility, required Dr. Sands to put his sermon in writing, and appointed Mr. Leaver to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Dr. Sands required one day and a half for the writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it ready, and Mr. Leaver was ready booted to receive it at his hands, and carry it to London. As he was delivering of it, one of the beadles, named Adams, came weeping to him, and prayed him to shift for himself, for the duke was retired, and queen Mary proclaimed.

Dr. Sands was not troubled thereat, but gave the sermon written to Mr. Layfield. Mr. Leaver departed home, and he went to dinner to one Mr. More's, a beadle, his great friend. At the dinner, Mrs. More seeing him merry and pleasant, (for he had ever a man's courage, and could not be terrified), drank unto him, saying, Master Vice-chancellor, I drink unto you, for this is the last time that I shall see you. And so it was; for she was dead before Dr. Sands returned out of Germany. The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and sent for Dr. Sands to go with him to the market-place to proclaim queen Mary. The duke cast up his cap with others; but the tears ran down his cheeks with grief. He told Dr. Sands, that queen Mary was a merciful woman, and that he doubted not thereof; declaring that he had sent unto her to know her pleasure, and looked for a general pardon. Dr. Sands answered, My life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or said any thing that urgeth my conscience. For that which I spake of the state, I have instructions warranted by the subscription of sixteen counsellors, neither can speech be treason; neither yet have I spoken further than the word of God and the laws of the realm do warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you assured you shall never escape death; for if she should save you, those that now shall rule will kill you.

That night the guard apprehended the duke; and certain grooms of the stable were as busy with Dr. Sands, as if they would take a prisoner. But Sir John Gates, who lay then in Dr. Sands's house, sharply rebuked them, and drove them away. Dr. Sands, by the advice of Sir John Gates, walked in the fields. In the mean time, the university, contrary to all order, had met together in consultation, and ordered that Dr. Mouse and Dr. Hatcher should repair to Dr. Sands's lodging, and bring away the statute-book of the university, the keys, and such other things as were in his keeping; and so they did: for Dr. Mouse being an earnest Protestant the day before, and whom Dr. Sands had done much for, was now become a papist, and his great enemy. Certain of the university had appointed a congregation at afternoon. As the bell rang to it, Dr. Sands came out of the fields, and sending for the beadles, asked what the matter meant, and required them to wait upon him to the schools, according to their duty. So they did. And as soon as Dr. Sands, the beadles going before him, came into the regent house and took his chair, one Mr. Mitch, with a rabble of unlearned papists, went into a by-school, and conspired together to pull him out of his chair, and to use violence unto him. Dr. Sands began his oration, expostulating with the university, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring, that he had said nothing in his sermon but what he was ready to justify, and their case was all one with him: for they had not only concealed, but consented to, that which he had spoken.

And thus while he remembered them how beneficial he had been to the university, and their unthankfulness to him again, in came Mr. Mitch with his conspirators, about twenty in number. One laid hands on the chair to pull it from him; another told him, that that was not his place, and another called him traitor. Whereat he perceiving how they used violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had dispatched some of them as God's enemies, if Dr. Bill and Dr. Blith had not fallen upon him, and prayed for God's sake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patiently to bear that great offered wrong. He was persuaded by them, and after that tumult was ceased, he ended his oration; and having some money of the university's in his hands, he there delivered the same every farthing. He gave up the books, reckonings, and keys pertaining to the university, and withal yielded up his office, praying God to give the univer-

ter and more thankful hearts, and so repaired home to his own college.

On the morrow after there came unto him one Mr. Gerningham, and Mr. Thomas Mildmay. Gerningham told him, that it was the queen's pleasure, that two of the guard should attend upon him, and that he must be carried prisoner to the Tower of London with the duke. Mr. Mildmay said, he marvelled that a learned man would speak so unadvisedly against so good a prince, and wilfully run into such danger. Dr. Sands answered, I shall not be ashamed of bonds; but if I could do as Mr. Mildmay can, I needed not to fear bonds: for he came down in payment against queen Mary, and armed in the field, and now he returneth in payment for queen Mary; before a traitor, and now a great friend; I cannot with one mouth blow hot and cold after this manner.

Upon this his stable was robbed of four very good geldings; the best of them Mr. Huddlestone took for his own saddle, and rode on him to London in his sight. An inventory was taken of all his goods by Mr. More, beadle for the university. He was set upon a lame horse that halted to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a nag. The yeomen of the guard consented. As he departed forth at the town's end, some papists resorted thither to jeer at him, and some of his friends to mourn for him. He came in the rank to London, the people being full of outcries; and as he came in at Bishopsgate, one like a milk-woman hurled a stone at him, and hit him on the breast, with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his horse; to whom he mildly said, Woman, God forgive it thee. Truth is, that journey and evil entreating so mortified him, that he was more ready to die than to live.

As he came through Tower-hill, one woman standing at her door, cried, Fy on thee, thou knave, thou traitor, thou heretic! Whereat he smiled, Look, the desperate heretic! said she, and laughed at this jeer. A woman on the other side of the street answered, saying, Fy on thee, neighbor, thou art not worthy to be called a woman, railing upon this gentleman whom thou knowest not, nor the cause why he is thus treated. Then she said, Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee strength to stand in God's cause, even to the end. And thus he passed through rough and smooth to the Tower, the first prisoner that entered in that day, which was St. James's day. The yeomen of the guard took from him his borrowed nag, and what else soever he had. His man, one Quinting Suainton, brought after him a Bible, and some shirts, and such like things. The Bible was sent in to him, but the shirts and such like served the yeomen of the guard.

After he had been in the Tower three weeks in a bad prison, he was brought up into Nun's-Bower, a better prison, where was put along with him Mr. John Bradford.

At the day of queen Mary's coronation, their prison-door was set open, ever shut before. One Mr. Mitchell, his old acquaintance, who had been prisoner before in the same place, came in to him, and said, Master Sands, there is such a stir in the Tower, that neither gates, doors, nor prisoners, are looked to this day. Take my cloak, my hat, and my rapier, and get you gone; you may go out of the gates without questioning; save yourself, and let me do as well as I can. A rare friendship! but he refused the offer, saying, I know no cause why I should be in prison; and to do thus were to make myself guilty. I will expect God's good-will; yet must I think myself much obliged to you: and so Mr. Mitchell departed.

While Dr. Sands and Mr. Bradford were thus in close prison twenty-nine weeks, one John Bowler was their keeper, a very perverse papist, yet by often persuading of him, for he would give ear, and by gentle using of him, at length he began to mislike popery, and to favor the gospel, and was so persuaded in true religion, that on a Sunday when they had mass in the chapel, he brought up a service-book, a manchet,* and a glass of wine, and there Dr. Sands ministered the communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their son begotten in bonds. When Wyat was in arms, and the old duke of Norfolk sent forth with a number of men to apprehend him, that room might be made in the Tower for him and other his accomplices, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Bradford, were cast into one prison, and Dr. Sands with nine other preachers were sent unto the Marshalsea.

The keeper of the Marshalsea appointed to every preacher a man to lead him in the street; he caused them to go far before, and he and Dr. Sands came behind, whom he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet Dr. Sands was known, and the people everywhere prayed to God to comfort him, and to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the people's minds were altered; popery began to be unsavory. After they passed the bridge, the keeper said to Dr. Sands, I perceive the vain people would set you forward to the fire. You are as vain as they, if you, being a young man, will stand in your own conceit, and prefer your own judgment, before that of so many

* A loaf of fine white bread.

worthy prelates, ancient, learned, and grave men as be in this realm. If you so do, you shall find me a severe keeper, as one that utterly disliketh your religion, Dr. Sands answered, I know my years to be young, and my learning but small: it is enough to know Christ crucified, and he hath learned nothing who seeth not the great blasphemy that is in popery. I will yield unto God, and not unto man: I have read in the Scriptures of many godly and courteous keepers: God may make you one; if not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard usage. Then said the keeper, Are you resolved to stand to your religion? Yes, quoth the doctor, by God's grace. Truly, said the keeper, I love you the better for it; I did but tempt you; what favor I can show you, you shall be sure of, and I shall think myself happy if I might die at the stake with you. He was as good as his word, for he trusted the doctor to walk in the fields alone, where he met with Mr. Bradford, who was also a prisoner in the King's-Bench, and had found the same favor from his keeper: he laid him in the best chamber in the house; he would not suffer the knight marshal's men to lay fetters on him, as others had. And, at his request, he put Mr. Sanders in along with him, to be his bed-fellow, and sundry times after he suffered his wife, who was Mr. Sands's daughter of Essex, a gentlewoman beautiful both in body and soul, to resort to him. There was great resort to Dr. Sands and Mr. Sanders; they had much money offered them, but they would receive none. They had the communion there three or four times, and a great many communicants. Dr. Sands gave such exhortation to the people, (for at that time being young, he was thought very eloquent), that he moved many tears, and made the people abhor the mass, and defy all popery.

When Sir* Thomas Wyat with his army came into Southwark, he sent two gentlemen into the Marshalsea to Dr. Sands, saying, that Mr.* Wyat would be glad of his company and advice, and that the gates should be set open for all the prisoners. He answered, Tell Mr. Wyat, if this his rising be of God, it will take place; if not, it will fall. For my part, I was committed here by order; I will be discharged by like order, or I will never depart hence. So answered Mr. Sanders, and the rest of the preachers, being there prisoners.

After that Dr. Sands had been nine weeks prisoner in the Marshalsea, by the mediation of Sir Thomas Holcroft, knight marshal, he was set at liberty: Sir Thomas sued earnestly to the bishop of Winchester, Dr. Gardiner, for his deliverance after many repulses; but he could not prevail, except Dr. Sands would be one of their sect, and then he could want nothing. He wrung out of him at last, that if the queen would grant him his deliverance, he would not be against it; for that was Sir Thomas's last request. In the mean time he had procured two ladies of the privy chamber to move the queen in it; who was contented if the bishop of Winchester would like it. The next time that the bishop went into the privy chamber to speak with the queen, Mr. Holcroft followed, and had his warrant for Dr. Sands's remission ready, and prayed the two ladies, when the bishop should take his leave, to put the queen in mind of Dr. Sands. So they did, and the queen said, Winchester, what think your of Dr. Sands, is he not sufficiently punished? As it please your majesty, saith Winchester. That he spake remembring his former promise to Mr. Holcroft, that he would not be against Dr. Sands, if the queen should like to discharge him. Saith the queen, Then, truly, we would that he were set at liberty. Immediately Mr. Holcroft offered the queen the warrant, who subscribed the same, and called Winchester to put to his hand, and so he did. The warrant was given to the knight marshal again, Sir Thomas Holcroft. As the bishop went forth of the privy chamber door, he called Mr. Holcroft to him, commanding him not to set Dr. Sands at liberty, until he had taken sureties of two gentlemen of this country with him, each one bound in £500, that Dr. Sands should not depart out of the realm without license. Mr. Holcroft immediately after met with two gentlemen of the North, friends and cousins to Dr. Sands, who offered to be bound in body, goods, and lands for him. After dinner, the same day, Mr. Holcroft sent for Dr. Sands to his lodging at Westminster, requiring the keeper to accompany him. He came accordingly, finding Mr. Holcroft alone walking in the garden. Mr. Holcroft imparted his long suit, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken, to Dr. Sands; much rejoicing that it was his good hap to do him good, and to procure his liberty, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two sureties, for not departing out of the realm. Dr. Sands answered, I give God thanks, who hath moved your hearts to mind me so well, and I think myself most bound unto you. God shall requite, and I shall never be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will also deal plainly with you. I came a freeman into prison; I will not go forth a bond-

* In old writers, knights are frequently mentioned indifferently, either by the title of *Sir* or *Mr.*, as may be seen in many instances in this work, and others of the same period.

man. As I cannot benefit my friends, so will I not hurt them. And if I be set at liberty, I will not tarry six days in this realm, if I may get out. If therefore I may not get free forth, send me to the Marshalsea again, and there you shall be sure of me.

This answer Mr. Holcroft much misliked: he told Dr. Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would shortly come, the state was but a cloud, and would soon shake away. And that his cousin, Sir Edward Bray, would gladly receive him and his wife into his house, where he should never need to go to church, and the lady Bray was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated popery. Adding, that he would not so deal with him to lose all his labor. When Dr. Sands could not be removed from his former saying, Mr. Holcroft said, Seeing you cannot be altered, I will change my purpose and yield unto you. Come of it what will, I will set you at liberty: and seeing you have a mind to go over sea, get you gone as quick as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to me hither, for so you may undo me. He friendly kissed Dr. Sands, bade him farewell, and commanded the keeper to take no fees of him, saying, Let me answer Winchester as I may. Dr. Sands returning with the keeper to the Marshalsea, tarried all night, and on the morrow he gave a dinner to all the prisoners, to which he invited his bedfellow, and sworn stake-fellow, if it had so pleased God. When he took his leave, he said, Mr. Sanders, farewell, with many tears and kisses, the one falling on the other's neck, and so departed, clearly delivered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the King's-Bench, and there talked with Mr. Bradford, and Dr. Farrar, bishop of St. David's, then prisoners. Then he comforted them, and they praised God for his happy deliverance. He went by Winchester's house, and there took boat, and came to a friend's house in London, called William Banks, and tarried there one night. The next night he shifted to another friend's house, and there he heard that search was made for him.

Dr. Watson and Mr. Christopherson coming to the bishop of Winchester, told him, that he had set the greatest heretic in England at liberty, and one that had of all others most corrupted the university of Cambridge, namely, Dr. Sands. Whereupon the bishop, being chancellor of England, sent for all the constables of London, commanding them to watch for Dr. Sands, who was then within the city, and to apprehend him, and whosoever of them should take him and bring him to him, he should have five pounds for his labor. Dr. Sands suspecting the matter, conveyed himself by night to one Mr. Rerty's house, a stranger who was in the Marshalsea prisoner with him awhile; he was a good Protestant, and dwelt in Mark-lane. There he was six days, and had one or two of his friends that repaired to him. Then he removed to one of his acquaintance in Cornhill: he caused his man Quinting to provide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Essex to his father-in-law, where his wife was.

At going to bed he found that a pair of hose which he had newly bought were too long for him: he desired the good woman of the house to send for somebody that could cut them two inches shorter. The wife required the boy of the house to carry them to the next tailor; which he accordingly did: and he chanced (or rather God so provided) to go to the very person that first made them, whose name was Benjamin, a good Protestant in Birchin-lane; and the boy desired him to cut the hose. Said he, I am not thy master's tailor. Said the boy, Because you are our next neighbor, and my master's tailor dwelleth afar off, I came to you, being late in the night, for he must put them on betimes in the morning: Benjamin took the hose, and looking upon them, knew his handiwork, and said, These are not thy master's hose, they belong to Dr. Sands, I made them for him in the Tower. The boy confessed it to be so. Said he, Go to thy mistress, pray her to sit till twelve o'clock, and then I will bring the hose and speak with the doctor for his good.

At midnight the good wife of the house and Benjamin came to Dr. Sands's chamber: the good woman desired him not to be surprised at their coming. He answered, Nothing can be amiss; what God will, that shall be done. Then Benjamin told him that he was the man that made his hose, and by good chance they now came to his hands. God used the means, he might admonish him of his danger, and advised him how to escape it, telling him, that all the constables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, and some were so greedily set, that they prayed him, if he took him, to let them have the carriage of him to the bishop of Winchester, and he should have the five pounds. It is well known (quoth Benjamin) that your man hath provided two geldings, and that you intend to ride out at Aldgate to-morrow morning, and there then you are sure to be taken. Follow mine advice, and by God's grace you shall escape their hands. Let your man walk all the day to-morrow in the street where your horses stand, booted and

ready to ride. The good man's servant of the house shall take the horses, and carry them to Bethnal-green. The good man shall be booted, and follow after, as if he would ride. I will be here with you to-morrow about eight o'clock; it is both term and parliament time: here we will break our fast, and when the streets are full, we will go forth. Look wildly if you meet your brother in the streets, shun him not, but outface him, and know him not. Accordingly Dr. Sands did, clothed like a gentleman in all respects, and looked wildly, as one that had been long kept in prison out of the light. Benjamin carried him through Birchin-lane, and from one lane to another till he came to Moregate. There they went forth until they came to Bethnal-green, where the horses were ready, and Mr. Hurlestone to ride with him as his man. Dr. Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leave of his friend Benjamin, with tears they kissed each other; he put his hand in his purse, and would have given Benjamin a great part of that little he had, but Benjamin would take none. Yet since that, Dr. Sands remembered him thankfully. He rode that night to his father-in-law Mr. Sands, where his wife was: he had not been there two hours, but it was told Mr. Sands, that there were two of the guard which would that night apprehend Dr. Sands, and so they were appointed.

That night Dr. Sands was guided to an honest farmer near the sea, where he tarried two days and two nights in a chamber without company. After that he shifted to one James Mower, a shipmaster, who dwelt at Milton-Shore, where he expected wind for the English fleet ready into Flanders. While he was there, James Mower brought to him forty or fifty mariners, to whom he gave an exhortation; they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, before that he should be apprehended.

The sixth of May, being Sunday, the wind served. He took his leave of his host and hostess, and went towards the ship.

At the shore Dr. Sands met with Mr. Isaac, of Kent, who had his eldest son there, who, upon the liking he had to Dr. Sands, sent his son with him, who afterwards died in his father's house in Frankfort. Dr. Sands and Dr. Coxe were both in one ship, being one Cockrel's ship, and were within the kenning, when two of the guard came thither to apprehend Dr. Sands. They arrived at Antwerp, being bid to dinner by Mr. Locke. And at dinner-time one George Gilpin, being secretary to the English house, and kinsman to Dr. Sands, came to him, and whispered him in his ear, and said, King Philip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you Hereupon they rose from their dinner in great haste, and went out of the gate leading toward Cleveland. They found a wagon, and hasted away, and came safe to Augsburg, in Cleveland, where Dr. Sands tarried fourteen days, and then travelled towards Strasburgh, where, after he had lived one year, his wife came to him.* He fell sick of a flux, which kept him nine months, and brought him to death's door. He had a child which died of the plague. His wife at length fell into a consumption, and died in his arms; no man had a more godly woman to his wife.

After this, Mr. Sampson went away to Emanuel, a man skilful in Hebrew. Mr. Grindall went into the country to learn the Dutch tongue. Dr. Sands still remained in Strasburgh, whose support was chiefly from one Mr. Isaac, who loved him most dearly, and was ever more ready to give than to receive. He gave him in that space above a hundred marks, which sum the said Dr. Sands paid him again, and by his other gifts and friendship showed himself to be a thankful man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurich, and there was in Peter Martyr's house for the space of five weeks. Being there, as they sat at dinner, word suddenly came that queen Mary was dead, and Dr. Sands was sent for by his friends at Strasburgh. That news made Mr. Martyr and Mr. Jarret then there very joyful; but Dr. Sands could not rejoice, it smote into his heart that he should be called to misery.

Mr. Bullinger and the ministers feasted him, and he took his leave and returned to Strasburgh, where he preached; and so Mr. Grindall and he came over to England, and arrived in London the same day that queen Elizabeth was crowned.

MIRACULOUS PRESERVATION OF THE LADY ELIZABETH FROM EXTREME CALAMITY AND DANGER IN THE TIME OF QUEEN MARY, HER SISTER.

When all hath been said and told, whatsoever can be recited touching the admirable working of God's present hand in defending and delivering any one person out of thraldom, never was there, since the memory of our fathers, any example to be showed, wherein the Lord's mighty power hath more admirably showed itself, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole realm, than in the miraculous escape of the lady Elizabeth in the time of queen Mary, her sister.

In which story we first have to consider in what extreme misery, sickness, fear,

and peril her highness was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death, she was brought: first, with great bands of armed men (and happy was he that might have the carrying of her), being fetched up as the greatest traitor in the world, clapped into the Tower, and again tossed from thence, and from house to house, from prison to prison, from post to pillar, at length also prisoner in her own house, and guarded with a set of cut-throats, who ever gaped for the spoil, whereby they might be fingering of somewhat.

Secondly, we have to consider again, all this notwithstanding, how strangely, or rather miraculously, she was delivered from danger, what favor and grace she found with the Almighty, who, when all the help of man and hope of recovery was past, stretched out his mighty protection, and preserved her highness, and placed her in her princely seat of rest and quietness.

In which story, if I should set forth at large all the particulars and circumstances thereunto belonging, and as just occasion of the history requireth, beside the important length of the story discoursed, peradventure it might move offence to some, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithstanding I intend (by the grace of Christ) therein to use such brevity and moderation, as both may be to the glory of God, the discharge of the story, the profit to the reader, and hurt to none, suppressing the names of some, whom here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruel in hurting their names, than the queen has been merciful in pardoning their lives.

Therefore, now to enter into the discourse of this tragical matter, first here is to be noted, that queen Mary, when she was first queen, before she was crowned, would go no whither, but would have her by the hand, and send for her to dinner and supper; but after she was crowned, she never dined nor supped with her, but kept her apart from her, &c. After this it happened, immediately upon the rising of Sir Thomas Wyat, that the lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney were charged with false suspicion of Sir Thomas Wyat's rising. Whereupon queen Mary, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the said lady Elizabeth, her sister, at that time lying in her house at Ashbridge, the next day after the rising of Wyat, sent to her three of her counsellors, to wit, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hastings, then master of the horse, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troop of horsemen, to the number of two hundred and fifty, who, at their sudden and unprovided coming, found her at the same time sick in her bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, ascending up to her grace's chamber, they desired one of her ladies, whom they met, to declare to her grace, that there were divers come from the court who had a message from the queen.

Her grace having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming; however, being then very sick, and the night far spent (which was at ten o'clock), she requested them by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, that they must needs see her, and would so do, in what case soever she were. Whereat the lady being surprised, went to show her grace their words, but they hastily following her, came rushing as soon as she into her grace's chamber unbidden.

At whose sudden coming into her bedchamber, her grace, being greatly amazed, said unto them, Is the haste such that it might not have pleased you to come tomorrow in the morning?

They made answer, that they were right sorry to see her in that case; and I (said she) am not glad to see you here at this time of the night. Whereupon they answered, that they came from the queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect, that the queen's pleasure was, that she should be at London the seventh day of that present month. Whereunto she said, Certainly no creature can be more glad than I to come to her majesty, being right sorry that I am not in case at this time to wait on her, as you yourselves do see, and can well testify.

Indeed we see it true, said they, that you do say; for which we are very sorry, although we let you to understand, that our commission is such, and so straiteneth us, that we must needs bring you with us, either alive or dead. Whereat she being amazed, sorrowfully said, that their commission was very sore: but yet notwithstanding she hoped it would be otherwise, and not so strait. Yes, verily, said they. Whereupon they calling for two physicians, Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, demanded of them whether she might be removed from thence with life, or no? Whose answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their opinion to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

In conclusion, they desired her to prepare against the next morning, at nine o'clock, to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's

litter for her. After much talk, the messengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, departed to their chamber.

The next morning, at the time prescribed, they had her forth as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such case that she was ready to swoon three or four times between them.

Now to proceed in her journey from Ashbridge. Sick in the litter, she came to Redborne, where she was guarded all night; from thence to St. Alban's, to Sir Ralph Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body, and comfortless in mind. From thence they passed to Mr. Dod's house at Mims, where they also remained that night; and so from thence she came to Highgate, where she being very sick, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many pursuivants and messengers from the court, but for what purpose I cannot tell.

From that place she was conveyed to the court, where by the way came to meet her many gentlemen to accompany her highness, who were very sorry to see her in that situation. But especially a great multitude of people were standing by the way, who then flocked about her litter, lamenting and bewailing greatly her estate. Now when she came to the court, her grace was there shut up, and kept a close prisoner, a fortnight, which was till Palm-Sunday, seeing neither king nor queen, nor lord, nor friend, all that time, but only the then lord chamberlain, Sir John Gage, and the vice-chamberlain, which were attendant unto the doors. About which time Sir William Sentlowe was called before the council. To whose charge was laid, that he knew of Wyat's rebellion, which he stoutly denied, protesting that he was a true man both to God and his prince, defying all traitors and rebels; but being straitly examined, he was in conclusion committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm-Sunday, the bishop of Winchester, with nineteen others of the council (who shall be here nameless), came unto her grace from the queen's majesty, and burdened her with Wyat's conspiracy; which she utterly denied, affirming that she was altogether guiltless therein. They being not contented with this, charged her grace with business made by Sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the west country: which also she utterly denied, declaring her innocency therein.

In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the queen's will and pleasure that she should go unto the Tower, while the matter was further tried and examined.

Whereat she being amazed, said that she trusted the queen's majesty would be a more gracious lady unto her, and that her highness would not otherwise conceive of her but that she was a true woman; declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherein they had burdened her, and desired them therefore to be a further means to the queen her sister, that she being a true woman in thought, word, and deed, towards her majesty, might not be committed to so notorious and doleful a place; protesting that she should request no favor at her hand, if she should be proved to have consented unto any such kind of matter as they laid unto her charge, and therefore, in fine, desired their lordships to think of her what she was, and that she might not so extremely be dealt withal for her truth.

Whereunto the lords answered again, that there was no remedy, for that the queen's majesty was fully determined that she should go unto the Tower. Wherewith the lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes. But not long after, within the space of an hour, or little more, came four of the aforesaid lords of the council, which were the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, the earl of Sussex, with the guard; who warding the next chamber to her, secluded all her gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen; except that for one gentleman usher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber, were appointed in their rooms three other men of the queen's, and three waiting women, to give attendance likewise upon her, that none should have access to her grace.

At which time there were a hundred northern soldiers in white coats, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, and a great fire being made in the midst of the hall, two certain lords were watching there also with their band and company.

Upon Saturday following, two lords of the council (the one was the earl of Sussex, the other shall be nameless) came and certified her grace, that she must go forthwith unto the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarrieth for nobody. In heavy mood her grace requested the lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that neither time nor tide was to be delayed.

And when her grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the queen's majesty, he answered, that he durst

not permit that: adding, that in his judgment it would rather hurt than profit her grace in so doing.

But the other lord, more courteous and favorable, (who was the earl of Sussex,) kneeling down, told her grace, that she should have liberty to write, and as he was a true man, he would deliver it to the queen's highness, and bring an answer of the same, whatsoever came thereof. Whereupon she wrote, although she could in no case be suffered to speak with the queen, to her great discomfort, being no offender against the queen's majesty.

And thus the time and tide passed away for that season, they privily appointing all things ready that she should go the next tide, which fell about midnight: but for fear she should be taken by the way, they durst not. So they stayed till the next day, being Palm-Sunday, when about nine o'clock these two returned again, declaring that it was time for her grace to depart. She answered, If there be no remedy, I must be contented, willing the lords to go on before. Being come forth into the garden, she cast her eyes towards the window, thinking to see the queen, which she could not. Whereat she said, she marvelled much what the nobility of the realm meant, which in that sort would suffer her be led into captivity, the Lord knew whither, for she did not. In the mean time commandment was given throughout London, that every one should keep the church, and carry their palms, while in the mean season, she might be conveyed without any concourse of people to the Tower.

After this, she took her barge, with the two aforesaid lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, and three of her own, her gentleman usher and two of her grooms lying and hovering upon the water a certain space, for that they could not shoot the bridge, the bargemen being very unwilling to shoot the same so soon as they did, because of the danger thereof: for the stern of the boat struck upon the ground; the fall was so great and the water was so shallow, that the boat being under the bridge, there stayed again awhile. At landing, she first stayed, and refused to land at those stairs, where all traitors and offenders customably used to land; neither could she well, unless she should go over her shoes. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went back again to her, and brought word she would not come.

Then said one of the lords, (who shall be nameless,) that she should not choose; and because it did then rain, he offered to her his cloak, which she, putting it back with her hand with a good dash, refused. So she coming out, having one foot upon the stairs, said, Here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs; and before thee, O God, I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone.

To whom the same lord answered again, that if it were so, it was the better for her. At her landing there was a great multitude of their servants and warders standing in their order. What needeth all this? said she. It is the use, said some, so to be when any prisoner came thither. And if it be, quoth she, for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed. Whereat the poor men kneeled down, and with one voice desired God to preserve her grace.

After this, passing a little further, she sat down upon a stone, and there rested herself. To whom the lieutenant then being said, Madam, you were best to come out of the rain, for you sit unwholesomely. She then replying, answered again, It is better sitting here than in a worse place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that her gentleman usher wept; she demanding of him what he meant by using her so uncomfortably, seeing she took him to be her comfort, and not to dismay her, especially for that she knew her truth to be such, that no man should have cause to weep for her. But forth she went into prison.

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which greatly discomforted and dismayed her grace. At which time she called to her gentlewomen for her book, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather should have no power against her. The doors being thus locked, and she close shut up, the lords had great conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing straitly and circumspectly to keep her.

Then one of them, which was the lord of Sussex, swearing, said, My lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commission will bear us out in, whatsoever shall happen hereafter. And further, let us consider that she was the king our master's daughter; and therefore let us use such dealing, that we may answer it hereafter, if it shall so happen: for just dealing (quoth he) is always answerable; whereunto the other lords agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the Tower, within two days commandment was, that she should have mass within her house. One Mr. Young was then her chaplain, and because there were none of her men so well learned to help the priest to say mass, the mass stayed for that day.

It would make a pitiful and strange story

here by the way to recite what examination and rackings of poor men there were to find out the knife that should cut her throat; what gaping among my lords of the clergy to see the day wherein they might wash their goodly white rochets in her innocent blood; but especially the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor, who, within five days after, came unto her, with divers others of the council, and examined her of the talk that was at Ashbridge, between her and Sir James Acroft, concerning her removing from thence to Dunnington castle, requiring her to declare what she meant thereby.

At the first, she being so suddenly asked, did not well remember any such house; but within a while, well advising herself, she said, Indeed I do now remember that I have such a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember.

Then to enforce the matter, they brought forth Sir James Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of her what she said to that man. She answered, that she had little to say to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the Tower: but, my lords, said she, you do examine every mean prisoner of me, wherein methinks you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen's majesty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you, my lords, join not me in this sort with any of these offenders. And as concerning my going unto Dunnington castle, I do remember that Mr. Hobby and mine officers, and you, Sir James Acroft, had such talk; but what is that to the purpose, my lords, but that I may go to mine own houses at all times?

The lord of Arundel kneeling down, said, Your grace sayeth true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have troubled you about so vain matters. She then said, My lords, you do sift me very narrowly: but well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed; and so God forgive you all.

At their departure, Sir James Acroft kneeled down, declaring he was sorry to see the day in which he should be brought as a witness against her grace. But I assure your grace, said he, I have been marvellously tossed and examined, touching your highness, which, the Lord knoweth, is very strange to me: for I take God to record, before all your honors, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I should be driven to so strict a trial.

That day, or thereabouts, divers of her own officers, who had made provision for her diet, brought the same to the outer gate of the Tower, the common soldiers receiving it; which was no small grief unto the gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they desired to speak with the lord chamberlain, who was then constable of the Tower. On coming into his presence, they declared unto his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring her grace's diet, and to deliver it to such common and desperate persons as those who received it, beseeching his honor to consider her grace, and to give such order, that her viands might at all times be brought in by them, who had been appointed for that purpose. Yea, sirs, said he, who appointed you this office? They answered, her grace's council. Council! said he: there is none of them which hath to do either in that case, or any thing else within this place; and I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be served by the lieutenant's men, as other the prisoners are. One of the gentlemen on this told him, that they trusted for more favor from his hands, considering her personage: and added, that they imagined the queen and her council would be better to her grace than so; and showed themselves to be offended at the ungracious words of the lord chamberlain respecting their lady and mistress.

On this he swore by God, striking himself upon the breast, that if they did either frown or shrug at him, he would set them where they should see neither sun nor moon. Thus taking their leave, they desired God to bring him into a better mind towards her grace, and departed from him.

Upon which occasion, her grace's officers made great suit unto the queen's council, that some proper persons might be appointed to bring her grace's diet unto her, and that it might no more be delivered by the common soldiers of the Tower: which being reasonably considered, was by them permitted; and one of her gentlemen, her clerk of the kitchen, and her two purveyors, were appointed to bring in her provision once a day: the warders, however, continued to wait upon them on these occasions.

The lord chamberlain himself being always with them, circumspectly and narrowly watched and searched what they brought, and took care that they should have no talk with any of her grace's waiting servants, and so guarded them both in and out. At the said suit of her officers, were sent, by the commandment of the council, to wait upon her grace, two yeomen of her chamber, one of her robes, two of her pantry and ewry, one of her buttery,

another of her cellar, two of her kitchen, and one of her larder, all which continued with her the time of her trouble.

Here the constable, being at the first not very well pleased with the coming in of such a company against his will, would have had his men still to have served with her grace's men; which her servants would by no means suffer, desiring his lordship to be contented, for that orders were given, that no stranger should come within their offices. At which answer being sore displeased, he broke out into these threatening words, Well, I will handle you well enough! Then he went into the kitchen, and there would needs have his meat roasted with her grace's, and said, that his cook should come thither and dress it. To that her grace's cook answered, My lord, I will never suffer any stranger to come about her diet, but her own sworn men, as long as I live. He said they should. But the cook said, his lordship should pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble her poor servants grievously; though afterward he was otherwise advised, and they were more courteously used at his hands. And good cause why; for he had good cheer, and fared of the best, and her grace paid well for it. Wherefore he used himself afterward more reverently toward her grace.

Having been a whole month there in close prison, and being on that account uneasy, she sent for the lord chamberlain and the lord Chandois to come and speak with her. When they were come, she requested them that she might have liberty to walk in some place, for that she felt herself not well. To which they answered, that they were right sorry that they could not satisfy her grace's request, for that they had commandment to the contrary, which they durst not in anywise break. She then desired of them, if that could not be granted, that she might but walk into the queen's lodging. No, nor yet that, they answered, could by any means be obtained without a further suit to the queen and her council. Well, said she, my lords, if the matter be so hard that they must be sued unto for so small a thing, and that friendship be so strict, God comfort me; and so they departed, she remaining in her old dungeon still, without any kind of comfort but only God.

The next day lord Chandois came unto her grace, declaring unto her that he had applied to the council for further liberty. Some of them consented thereunto, divers others dissented, for that there were so many prisoners in the Tower. But, in conclusion, they did all agree that her grace might walk into those lodgings, so that he, and the lord-chamberlain, and three of the queen's gentlewomen, did accompany her, the windows being shut, and she not suffered to look out at any of them: wherewith she contented herself, and gave him thanks for his good-will in that behalf.

Afterwards there was liberty granted to her grace to walk in a little garden, the doors and gates being shut up, which was as much discomfort to her, as the walk in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side were strictly commanded not to speak or look out of the windows into the garden, till her grace was gone out again, having their keepers waiting upon them for that time. Thus her grace with this small liberty contented herself in God, to whom be praise therefor.

During this time, there used a little boy, a man's child in the Tower, to resort to their chambers, and many times to bring her grace flowers; which he likewise did to the other prisoners confined there. Whereupon some evil and suspicious persons, thinking to make something out of this, on a time called the child unto them, promising him figs and apples, and asking him when he had been with the earl of Devonshire, not ignorant of the child's often visiting him. The boy answered, that he would go by and by thither. Further, they demanded of him, when he was with the lady Elizabeth's grace. He answered, Every day. Then they asked him what the lord of Devonshire sent by him to her grace. The child said, I will go know what he will give to carry to her. Such was the discretion of the child, though only four years of age. This same is a crafty boy, said the lord-chamberlain. How say you, my lord Chandois! I pray you, my lord, said the boy, give me the figs you promised me. No, marry, answered he, thou shalt be whipped if thou come any more to the lady Elizabeth, or the lord Courtney. The boy answered, I will bring my lady my mistress more flowers. Whereupon the child's father was commanded to permit the boy to come no more up into their chambers.

The next day, as her grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the door, called unto her, Mistress, I can bring you no more flowers. At which she smiled, but said nothing, understanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore the chamberlain highly rebuked his father afterwards, and commanded him to put the child out of the house. Alas, poor infant! said the father. It is a crafty knave, said the lord-chamberlain; let me see him here no more.

The fifth day of May, the constable of the Tower was discharged from his office, and one Sir Henry Benifield placed in his

room, a man unknown to her grace, and therefore the more feared; which sudden alteration occasioned her no small surprise. He brought with him a hundred soldiers in blue coats, wherewith she was marvellously discomforted, and demanded of such as were about her, whether the lady Jane's scaffold were taken away or not, fearing, by reason of their coming, lest she should have played her part. To whom answer was made, that the scaffold was taken away, and that she need not be apprehensive of any such tyranny; for God would not suffer any such treason against her person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether satisfied, she asked what Sir Henry Benifield was, and whether he was of that conscience, or no, that if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge he would see the execution thereof.

She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. However they persuaded her that God would not suffer such wickedness to proceed. Well, quoth she, God grant it be so. For thou, O God, canst mollify all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruel purposes; and I beseech thee to hear me thy creature, who am thy servant, and at thy commandment, trusting by thy grace ever so to remain.

About which time it was spread abroad, that her grace should be carried from thence by this new jolly captain and his soldiers; but whither it could not be learned. Which was unto her a great grief, especially for that such a company was appointed for her guard, requesting rather to continue there still, than to be led thence by such a set of rascals. At last, plain answer was made by the lord Chandois, that there was no remedy, but from thence she must needs depart to the manor of Woodstock, as he thought. Being demanded by her, for what cause? For that, quoth he, the Tower is like further to be furnished. She being desirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded wherewith. He answered, With such matter as the queen and council were determined in that behalf, whereof he had no knowledge; and so departed.

In conclusion, on Trinity Sunday, being the nineteenth day of May, she was removed from the Tower, the lord treasurer being there for the lading of her carts, and discharging the place of the same, where Sir Henry Benifield (being appointed her jailer) received her with a company of rakehells to guard her, besides the lord of Derby's band, waiting in the country about for the moon-shine in the water. Unto whom at length came my lord of Tame, joined in commission with the said Sir Henry, for the safe guiding of her to prison; and they together conveyed her grace to Woodstock, as hereafter followeth.

The first day they conducted her to Richmond, where she continued all night, being deprived of her own men, which were lodged in out-chambers, and Sir Henry Benifield's soldiers were appointed in their rooms to give attendance on her person. Whereat she being marvellously dismayed, thinking verily some secret mischief to be working towards her, called her gentleman usher, and desired him with the rest of his company to pray for her; for this night, said she, I think to die. Wherewith he being struck to the heart, said, God forbid that any such wickedness should be intended against your grace. So comforting her as well as he could, at last he burst out into tears, and went from her down into the court, where were walking the lord of Tame, and Sir Henry Benifield.

Then he coming to the lord of Tame (who had proffered him much friendship) desired to speak a word or two with him. Unto whom he familiarly said, he would with all his heart. Which when Sir Henry, standing by, heard, he asked what the matter was. To whom the gentleman usher answered, No great matter, sir, but to speak with my lord a word or two.

Then when the lord of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise, My lord, quoth he, you have been always my good lord, and so I beseech you to remain. The cause why I come to you at this time, is to desire your honor unfeignedly to declare unto me whether any danger is meant towards my mistress this night, or not, that I and my poor fellows may take such part as shall please God to appoint: for certainly we will rather die, than she should secretly and innocently miscarry. Marry, said the lord of Tame, God forbid that any such wicked purpose should be wrought: and rather than it should be so, I with my men are ready to die at her feet also: and so (praised be God) they passed that doleful night, with no little heaviness of heart.

Afterwards passing over the water at Richmond, going towards Windsor, her grace espied certain of her poor servants standing on the other side, which were very desirous to see her. Whom when she beheld, turning to one of her men standing by, she said, Yonder I see certain of my men: go to them and say these words from me, *Tanquam ovis*, that is, Like a sheep to the slaughter.

So she passing forward to Windsor, lodged that night in the dean of Windsor's house, a place more meet for a priest than a princess.

And from thence her grace was guarded and brought the next night to Mr. Dormer's

house, where much people standing by the way, some presented to her one gift, and some another, so that Sir Henry was greatly moved therewith, and troubled the poor people very sore, for showing their loving hearts in such a manner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such like vile words.

Besides, as she passed through the villages, the townsmen rang the bells, as being joyful of her coming, thinking indeed that it had been otherwise than it was, as the sequel proved after to the said poor men. For immediately the said Sir Henry hearing the same, sent his soldiers thither, who apprehended some of the ringers, setting them in the stocks, and otherwise uncourteously misusing some others for their good wills.

On the morrow, her grace passing from Mr. Dormer's (where was for the time of her abode there a strict watch kept), came to my lord of Tame's house, where she lay all night, being very princely entertained both by knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Whereat Sir Henry Benifield grumbled, and was highly offended, saying unto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer their doings in that behalf, letting them to understand, that she was the queen's prisoner, and no otherwise; advising them therefore to take heed and beware of afterclaps. Whereunto the lord of Tame answered in this wise; That he was well advised of his doings, being joined in commission as well as he, adding with warrant, that her grace might and should, while in his house, be merry.

The next day, as she should take her journey from Richmond towards Woodstock, the lord of Tame with another gentleman being at tables, playing and dropping vie crowns, the lady Elizabeth passing by, stayed, and said she would see the game played out, which Sir Henry Benifield would scarce permit. The game running long about, and they playing drop vie crowns, Come on, saith he; I will tarry, saith she, and will see this game out.

After this, Sir Henry Benifield went up into a chamber, where was appointed for her grace a chair, two cushions, and a foot carpet, very fair and prince-like, wherein presumptuously he sat, and called one Berwick, his man, to pull off his boots. Which as soon as it was known among the ladies and gentlemen, every one mused thereat, and laughed him to scorn, observing his indiscreet manners in that behalf, as they might very well.

When supper was done, he called my lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies should withdraw themselves every one to his lodging, marvelling much that he would permit there such a large company, considering the great charge he had committed to him.

Sir Henry, quoth my lord, content yourself, all shall be avoided, your men and all. Nay, my soldiers, quoth Sir Henry, shall watch all night. The lord of Tame answered, There is no need. Well, said he, need or need not, they shall so do, mistrusting perhaps the company, which God knoweth was without cause.

The next day her grace took her journey from thence to Woodstock, where she was inclosed, as before in the Tower of London, the soldiers guarding both within and without the walls, every day, to the number of sixty; and in the night without the walls, forty, during the time of her imprisonment there.

At length she had gardens appointed for her to walk in, which was very comfortable to her grace. But always when she recreated herself therein, the doors were fast locked up, in as strict a manner as they were in the Tower, being at least five or six locks between her lodging and her walks; Sir Henry himself keeping the keys, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him her jailer: and he kneeling down, desired her grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. From such officers (quoth she), good Lord, deliver me.

And now by the way, as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawful in so serious a story to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the same; occasion here moveth, or rather enforceth me to touch briefly what happened in the same place and time, by a certain merry conceited man, being then about her grace: who observing the strict and strange keeping of his lady and mistress, by the said Sir Henry Benifield, with so many locks and doors, with such a watch and guard about her, as was strange and wonderful, espied a goat in the ward where her grace was; and whether to refresh her oppressed mind, or to notify her strait handling by Sir Henry, or else both, he took it upon his neck, and followed her grace therewith as she was going into her lodging.

Which when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, desiring him to let it alone. The man answered, No, by St. Mary (if it please your grace), will I not; for I cannot tell, whether he be one of the queen's friends or not. I will carry him to Sir Henry Benifield (God willing) to know what he is: so leaving her grace, he went with the goat on his neck, and carried it to Sir Henry: who when he saw him coming with it, asked him half angrily, what he had there.

Unto whom the man answered, saying, Sir, I cannot tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my lady's grace was walking, and what talk they have had I cannot tell. For I understand him not, but he should seem to me to be some stranger, and I think verily a Welchman, for he hath a white frieze coat on his back. And forsomuch as I being the queen's subject, and perceiving the strict charge committed to you, that no stranger should have access to her without sufficient license, I have here found a stranger (what he is I cannot tell) in the place where her grace was walking; and therefore for the necessary discharge of my duty, I thought it good to bring the said stranger to you, to examine as you see cause; and so he set him down. At this Sir Henry seemed much displeased, and said, Well, well, you will never leave this gear, I see; and so they departed.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have digressed, after her grace had been there a time, she applied to the council for leave to write to the queen. This at last was permitted: so Sir Henry Benifield brought her pen, ink, and paper; and standing by her while she wrote (which he strictly observed), she being sometimes weary, he would carry away her letters, and bring them again when she called for them. When she had finished, he would fain have been messenger to the queen with the same. Whose request her grace denied, saying, One of her own men should carry them, and that she would neither trust him, nor any of his, with them.

Then he answered again, saying, None of them durst be so bold (he thought) as to carry her letters for her in her present situation. Yes, said she, I am assured I have none so dishonest as to deny my request in that behalf, but will be as willing to serve me now as before. Well, said he, my commission is to the contrary, and I may not so suffer it. Her grace replying again, said, You charge me very often with your commission. I pray God you may justly answer the cruel dealings you use towards me.

Then he kneeling down, desired her grace to think and consider how he was a servant, and put in trust there by the queen to serve her majesty; protesting, that if the case were hers, he would as willingly serve her grace, as now he did the queen's highness. For which answer her grace thanked him, desiring God that she might never have need of such servants as he was: declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor answerable, but more than all the friends he had would stand by.

To whom Sir Henry replied, and said, that there was no remedy but his doings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moved her grace so to say, was, for that he would not permit her letters to be carried four or five days after the writing thereof. But, in fine, he was content to send for her gentleman from the town of Woodstock, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the carriage of her grace's letters to the queen, or no; and he answered, Yea, sir, that I dare, and will with all my heart. Whereupon Sir Henry, half against his stomach, took them unto him.

Then about the eighth of June came down Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, sent by the queen to her grace, for that she was sickly; who ministering to her, and letting her blood, tarried there, and attended on her grace five or six days. Then she being well amended, they returned again to the court, making their good report to the queen and council of her grace's behavior and humility towards the queen's highness. Which her majesty hearing, took very thankfully; but the bishops repined thereat, looked black in the mouth, and told the queen, they marvelled much that she submitted not herself to her majesty's mercy, considering that she had offended her highness.

About this time, her grace was requested by a secret friend to submit herself to the queen's majesty, which would be well taken, and to her great quiet and advantage. Unto whom she answered, that she would never submit herself to them whom she never offended. For (quoth she) if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the law, which I am certain I should have had before this, if it could be proved by me. For I know myself (I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies; and then I am assured I should not be so locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him.

About this time there was a great consultation among the bishops and gentlemen, touching the marriage of her grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realm with her portion; some saying one thing and some another.

A lord (who shall be here nameless) being there, at last said, That the king should never have any quiet commonwealth in England, unless her head was severed from her shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered, saying, God forbid that their king and master should have that mind to consent to such a mischief.

This was the courteous answer of the

Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their own country. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honor he should never obtain, as he should in delivering the lady Elizabeth's grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happily released from the same. Here is a plain and evident example of the good clemency and nature of the king and his counsellors toward her grace (praised be God therefore,) who moved their hearts therein. Then hereupon she was sent for shortly after to come to Hampton-Court.

But before her removing away from Woodstock, we will stay a little to declare in what dangers her life was during the time she remained there: first through fire, which began to kindle between the boards and ceiling under the chamber where she lay, whether by a spark of fire getting accidentally into a crevice, or whether for the purpose by some that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheless a worshipful knight of Oxfordshire, which was there joined the same time with Sir Henry Benifield in keeping that lady, (who then took up the boards and quenched the fire,) verily supposed it to be done for the purpose.

Furthermore it is thought and affirmed (for truth) of one Paul Penny, that the keeper of Woodstock, a notorious ruffian, and a butcherly wretch, that he was appointed to assassinate the said lady Elizabeth; who both saw the man, being often in her sight, and also knew thereof.

Another time, one of the privy chamber, a great man about the queen, and chief darling of Stephen Gardiner, named James Basset, came to Blandenbridge, a mile from Woodstock, with twenty or thirty privy coats, and sent for Sir Henry Benifield to come and speak with him. But as God would, who disposeth all things according to his own will, so it happened, that a little before, the said Sir Henry Benifield was sent for by post to the council, leaving strict word behind him with his brother, that no man, whosoever he were, though coming with a note of the queen's hand, or any other warrant, should have access to her before his return again. By reason whereof it so fell out, that Mr. Benifield's brother, coming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case to come in, who otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent lady.

There moreover is to be noted, that during the imprisonment of this lady and princess, one Mr. Edmund Tremaine was on the rack, and Mr. Smithwike, and others in the Tower, were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuse the guiltless lady, being in her captivity. Howbeit, all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proved by all examinations, as she the same time lying at Woodstock had certain intelligence by the means of one John Gayer; who under a colorable pretence of a letter to Mrs. Cleve from her father, was let in, and so gave them secretly to understand of all this matter. Whereupon the lady Elizabeth, at her departing out from Woodstock, wrote these lines with her diamond in a glass window;

Much suspected by me;
Nothing proved can be.
Quoth ELIZABETH, Prisoner.

And thus much touching the troubles of lady Elizabeth at Woodstock. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of Tame had labored to the queen, and became surety for her, to have her from Woodstock to his house, and had obtained a grant thereof. Thereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things ready in expectation of her coming. But through the procurement either of Mr. Benifield, or by the advice of Winchester her mortal enemy, letters came overnight to the contrary; whereby her journey was stopped.

Thus this worthy lady, oppressed with continual sorrow, could not be permitted to have recourse to any friends she had, but still in the hands of her enemies was left desolate, and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a doleful heart, fraught full of terror and thraldom. Whereupon no marvel if she hearing upon a time, out of her garden at Woodstock, a certain milkmaid singing pleasantly, wished herself to be a milkmaid as she was, saying that her case was better, and life more merry than hers, in that state as she was.

Now after these things thus declared, to proceed further there where we left before, Sir Henry Benifield and his soldiers, with the lord of Tame, and Sir Ralph Chamberline, guarding and waiting upon her, the first night from Woodstock she came to Ricot. In which journey such a mighty wind did blow, that her hood was twice or thrice blown from her head. Thereupon she desiring to return to a certain gentleman's house there near, could not be suffered by Sir Henry Benifield so to do, but was constrained under a hedge to trim her head as well as she could.

After this, the next day they journeyed to Mr. Dormer's, and so to Colbroke, where she lay all that night at the George, and by the way coming to Colbroke, certain of her grace's gentlemen and yeomen met her, to the number of three-score, much to

all their comforts, who had not seen her grace for a long time before: notwithstanding they were commanded in the queen's name immediately to depart the town, to both theirs and her grace's no little heaviness, who could not be suffered once to speak with him. So that night all her men were taken from her, saving her gentleman usher, three gentlewomen, two grooms, and one of her wardrobe, the soldiers watching and warding about the house, and she close shut up within her prison.

The next day following, her grace entered Hampton-Court, and came into the prince's lodging: the doors being shut upon her, and she guarded with soldiers as before, lay there a fortnight at least, before any had recourse unto her: at length came the lord. William Haward, who used her grace honorably. Whereat she took much comfort, and requested him to be a means that she might speak with some of the council. To whom not long after came the bishop of Winchester, and the lord of Arundel, the lord of Shrewsbury, secretary Peter, who with great humility humbled themselves to her grace. She again likewise saluting them, said, My lords, I am glad to see you: for methinks I have been kept a great while from you desolate and alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a means to the king and queen, that I may be delivered from prison, wherein I have been kept a long time, as to you, my lords, is well known.

When she had spoken, Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, kneeled down, and requested that she would submit herself to the queen's grace, and in so doing he had no doubt but that her majesty would be good to her: she made answer, That rather than she would so do, she would lay in prison all the days of her life; adding, that she craved no mercy at her majesty's hand, but rather desired the law, if ever she did offend her majesty in thought, word, or deed: and besides this, in yielding (quoth she) I should speak against myself, and confess myself to be an offender, which I never was toward her majesty, by occasion whereof the king and queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil opinion: and therefore I say, my lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected by my prince. And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the queen.

On the next day the bishop of Winchester came again unto her grace, and kneeling down, declared that the queen marvelled that she should so stoutly use herself, not confessing that she had offended: so that it should seem that the queen's majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her grace.

Nay, quoth the lady Elizabeth, it may please her to punish me as she thinketh good.

Well, quoth Gardiner, her majesty willeth me to tell you, that you must tell another tale before that you be set at liberty.

Her grace answered, that she had as soon be in prison with honesty and truth, as to be abroad, suspected by her majesty; and this that I have said, I will stand unto, for I will never belie myself.

Winchester again kneeled down, and said, Then your grace hath the advantage of me and other lords for your wrong and long imprisonment.

What advantage I have (quoth she) you know; taking God to record, I seek no advantage at your hands for your so dealing with me, but God forgive you and me also. With that the rest kneeled, desiring her grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked up again.

A seven-night after, the queen sent for her grace at ten o'clock at night to speak with her: for she had not seen her for two years before. Yet for all that, she was amazed at the suddenness of the message; thinking it had been worse than afterwards it proved, desired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her; for that she could not tell whether ever she should see them again or no.

At which time Sir Henry Benifield with Mrs. Clarencius coming in, her grace was brought into the garden, unto a stair's foot that went into the queen's lodging, her grace's gentlewomen waiting upon her, her gentleman usher, and her grooms, going before with torches: where her gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to stay, all, saving one woman, Mrs. Clarencius conducted her to the queen's bedchamber, where her majesty was.

At the sight of whom her grace kneeled down, and desired God to preserve her majesty, not mistrusting but that she should prove herself as true a subject towards her majesty as ever any did, and desired her majesty even so to judge of her; and said, that she should not find her to the contrary, whatsoever report otherwise had gone of her.

To whom the queen answered, You will not confess your offence, but stand stoutly to your truth: I pray God it may so fall out.

If it doth not, (quoth the lady Elizabeth), I request neither favor nor pardon at your majesty's hands. Well, (said the queen),

you stiffly still persevere in your truth. Belike you will not confess but that you have been wrongfully punished.

I must not say so (if it please your majesty) to you.

Why then (said the queen) belike you will to others.

No, if it please your majesty (quoth she), I have borne the burden, and must bear it. I humbly beseech your majesty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be your true subject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life lasteth: and so they departed with very few comfortable words of the queen, in English: but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It was thought that king Philip was there behind a cloth, and not seen, and that he showed himself a very great friend in that matter, &c.

Thus her grace departing, went to her lodging again, and that day seven-night was released of Sir Henry Benifield, her jailer (as she termed him), and his soldiers, and so her grace being set at liberty from imprisonment, went into the country, and had appointed to go with her Sir Thomas Pope, one of queen Mary's counsellors, and one of her gentlemen ushers, Mr. Gage, and thus strictly was she looked to after all queen Mary's time. And this is the discourse of her highness's imprisonment.

Then there came to Lamhevre, Mr. Jerningham, and Mr. Norris, gentlemen usher, queen Mary's men, who took away from her grace, Mrs. Ashly to the Fleet, and three other of her gentlewonen to the Tower; which thing was no little trouble to her grace, saying, that she thought they would fetch all away at the end. But, God be praised, shortly after was fetched away Gardiner, through the merciful providence of the Lord's goodness, by occasion of whose opportune decease (as is partly touched in this story before), the life of this excellent princess, and the wealth of England, was preserved. For this is credibly to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner of Winchester had long labored his wits, and to this only most principal mark bent all his devices, to take this our happy and dear sovereign out of the way; as both by his words and doings before notified, may sufficiently appear.

But such was the gracious and favorable providence of the Lord, to the preservation not only of her royal majesty, but also of the miserable and woful state of this whole island, and poor subjects of the same, whereby the proud platforms and peevish practices of this wicked Ahithophel prevailed not: but contrariwise, both he and all the snares and traps of his pernicious council laid against another, were turned to a net to catch himself, according to the proverb, "The mischief he designed for another, fell upon his own head."

After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also and drooping away of other her enemies, whereby little and little her jeopardy decreased, fear diminished, hope of comfort began to appear as out of a dark cloud: and albeit as yet her grace had no full assurance of perfect safety, yet more gentle entertainment daily did grow unto her, till at length in the month of November, and seventeenth day of the same, three years after the death of Stephen Gardiner, followed the death of queen Mary.

Although this history following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the same may here not unaptly be inserted, for that it doth discover and show forth the malicious hearts of the papists to the lady Elizabeth in the time of queen Mary, her sister, which is reported by sundry honest persons of unquestionable credit. The matter whereof is this.

Soon after the stir of Wyat, and the troubles that happened to the lady Elizabeth for that cause, it happened that one Robert Farrer, a haberdasher of London, dwelling near Newgate-market, in a certain morning was at the Rose tavern, where chanced to meet him one Laurence Shiriff, grocer, dwelling also not far from thence; they drinking together as good friends (as they had been for a long time before), Farrer being a little elevated, and not considering who were present, began to talk at large against the lady Elizabeth, and said, That jilt hath been one of the chief doers in this rebellion of Wyat, and before all be done, she and all the heretics shall well understand it. Some of them hope that she shall have the crown, but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop headless, or be fried with fagots before she come to it.

Laurence, the grocer, being sworn servant to the lady Elizabeth, could no longer bear these scandalous expressions of his old acquaintance concerning his mistress, but said to him, Farrer, I have loved thee as a neighbor, and have had a good opinion of thee, but in this I defy thee; and I tell thee I am her grace's sworn servant, and she is a princess, and the daughter of a noble king, and it doth not become thee to call her a jilt; and for thy so saying, I say thou art a knave, and I will complain of thee. Do thy worst, said Farrer, for what I said, I will say again; and so Shiriff went out of his company.

Shortly after, the said Shiriff, taking an honest neighbor with him, went before the

commissioners to complain, who sat then at bishop Bonner's house, near St. Paul's, Bonner being then chief commissioner, the lord Mordaunt, Sir John Baker, Dr. Darbyshire, chancellor to the bishop, Dr. Story, Dr. Harpsfield, and others, being present.

Mr. Shiriff coming before them, declared the manner of Farrer's talk against the lady Elizabeth. Bonner answered, Peradventure you took him worse than he meant.

Yea, my lord, said Dr. Story, if you knew the man as I do, you would say there is not a better Catholic, nor an honester man, in the city of London.

Well, said Mr. Shiriff, my lord, she is my gracious lady and mistress, and it is not to be suffered that such a varlet as he is should call so honorable a princess by the name of jilt; and I saw yesterday at court that my lord cardinal Pole, meeting her in the chamber of presence, kneeled down on his knees and kissed her hand; and I saw also that king Philip meeting her, made her such obeisance, that his knee touched the ground; and then methinketh it were too much to suffer such a varlet as this is to call her jilt, and to wish them to hop headless that wish her grace to enjoy the possession of the crown, when God shall send it unto her, as the right of her inheritance.

Yea; stay there, quoth Bonner. When God sendeth it unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly (said he) the man that spake the words you have reported, meant nothing against the lady Elizabeth, your mistress, and no more do we: but he, like an honest and zealous man, feared the alteration of religion, which every good man ought to fear: and therefore, (said Bonner), good man, go your ways home, and report well of us to your mistress, and we will send for Farrer, and rebuke him for his rash and indiscreet words, and we trust he will not do the like again. And thus Shiriff came away, and Farrer had a slap with a fox's tail.

Queen Mary, being long sick before, upon the 17th day of November, in the year above-mentioned, about three or four o'clock in the morning, yielded her life to nature, and her kingdom to queen Elizabeth, her sister. Concerning whose death, some say that she died of a tympany, some (by her great sighing before her death) supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Whereupon her council seeing her sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might the more readily administer consolation unto her, feared, as they said, that she took that thought for the king, her husband, who was gone from her. To whom she answering, said, Indeed that may be one cause but that is not the greatest wound that pierceth my oppressed mind; but what that was, she would not express to them.

However, afterward she opened the matter more plainly to Mr. Rise and Mrs. Clarencius, (if it be true what they told me, who heard it of Mr. Rise himself), who then being most familiar with her, told her, that they feared she took thought for king Philip's departing from her. Not that only, said she, but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calais lying in my heart, &c. And here is an end of queen Mary, and of her persecutions.

Of which queen this truly may be affirmed, and left in story for a perpetual memorial or epitaph, for all kings and queens that shall succeed her to be noted, That before her never was read in history, of any king or queen of England, since the time of king Lucius, under whom, in time of peace, by hanging, beheading, burning, and imprisoning, so much Christian blood was spilled, and so many Englishmen's lives lost, within this realm, as under the said queen Mary for the space of four years was to be seen, and I beseech the Lord never may be seen hereafter.

To render this part of our History complete, we give the following Treatises of our Author, concerning the judgments which the Almighty inflicted on many of those who had persecuted the Protestants, during the reign of Mary, beginning with that princess herself.

THE ILL SUCCESS OF QUEEN MARY, FROM PERSECUTING GOD'S PEOPLE.

As Queen Mary during all her reign was such a vehement adversary against the sincere professors of Christ and his gospel; for which there be many who do highly magnify and approve her doings therein: to the intent therefore that all men may understand, how the blessing of God did not only not attend her proceedings, but contrariwise rather how his manifest displeasure ever wrought against her, in plaguing both her and her realm, and subverting all her counsels and attempts, whatsoever she took in hand, we will bestow a little time therein, to survey the whole course of her actions, and consider what success she had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall never find any reign of any prince in this land, or any other, which did ever show in it (for the proportion of time) so many

...dgments of God's wrath and displeasure, as were to be seen in the reign of this queen, whether we behold the shortness of her time, or the unfortunate events of all her purposes, who seemed never to purpose any thing that came luckily to pass, neither did any thing frame to her purpose, whatsoever she took in hand touching her own private affairs.

Of good kings we read in Scripture, in showing mercy and pity, in seeking God's will in his word, and subverting the monuments of idolatry, how God blessed their ways, increased their honors, and mightily prospered all their proceedings, as we see in king David, Solomon, Josias, Josaphat, Ezechias, with such others; Manasses made the streets of Jerusalem to swim with the blood of his subjects; but what came of it, the text doth testify.

Of queen Elizabeth, who now reigneth among us, this we must needs say, which we see, that she in sparing the blood, not only of God's servants, but also of God's enemies, hath doubled now the reign of queen Mary, her sister, with such abundance of peace and prosperity, that it is hard to say, whether the realm of England felt more of God's wrath in queen Mary's time, or of God's favor and mercy in these blessed days of queen Elizabeth.

Gamaliel, speaking his mind in the council of the Pharisees concerning Christ's religion, gave this reason, that if it were not of God, it could not stand. So may it be said of queen Mary and her Romish religion, that if it were so perfect and Catholic as they pretend, and the contrary faith of the gospellers were so detestable and heretical as they make it; how cometh it then, that this so Catholic a queen, such a necessary pillar of his spouse the church, continued no longer till she had utterly rooted out of the land this heretical generation? yea, how chanced it rather, that Almighty God, to spare these poor heretics, rooted out queen Mary so soon from her throne, after she had reigned but only five years and five months?

Further, how God blessed her ways and endeavors in the mean time, while she thus persecuted the true servants of God, remaineth to be discussed. Where this is first to be noted, that when she first began to stand for the title of the crown, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his gospel, but had promised her faith to the Suffolk men, to maintain the religion left by king Edward, her brother, so long God went with her, advanced her, and by the means of the gospellers brought her to the possession of the realm. But after that, she breaking her promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephen Gardiner, and had given over her supremacy to the pope, by and by God's blessing left her, neither did any thing thrive well with her afterward, during the time of her government.

For first, the greatest and finest ship she had, called Great Harry, was burnt; such a vessel as was not to be matched in these parts of Europe.

Then would she needs bring in king Philip, and by her strange marriage with him, to make the whole realm of England subject to a stranger. And all that notwithstanding, that she either did, or was able to do, she could not bring to pass to set the crown of England on his head. With king Philip came in the pope and his popish mass; with whom also her purpose was to restore again the monks and nuns to their places, neither lacked there any attempts to the utmost of her power; and yet therein God stopt her of her will, that it came not forward. After this, what a famine happened in her time here in her land! The like whereof hath not been in England, insomuch that in sundry places her poor subjects were forced to live upon acorns for want of corn.

Furthermore where other kings are wont to be renowned by some worthy victory and valor achieved, let us now see what valiant victory was gotten in this queen Mary's days. King Edward the Sixth, her blessed brother, how many rebellions did he suppress in Devonshire, in Norfolk, in Oxfordshire, and elsewhere! What a famous victory was got in his time in Scotland, by the singular working (no doubt) of God's blessed hand, rather than by any expectation of man! King Edward the Third (which was the eleventh king from the conquest), by princely puissance, purchased Calais unto England, which hath been kept English ever since, till at length came queen Mary, the eleventh likewise from the said king Edward, who lost Calais from England again; so that the victories of this queen were very small, and what the losses were let other men judge.

Hitherto the affairs of queen Mary have had no great success, as you have heard: but never had any woman worse success than she had in her child-birth. For seeing one of these two must needs be granted, that either she was with child, or not with child; if she were with child, why was it not seen? If she were not, how was all the realm deluded? And in the meanwhile, where were all the prayers, the solemn processions, the devout masses, of the Catholic clergy? Why did they not prevail with God, if their religion were so godly as they pretend? If their masses indeed be able to fetch Christ from heaven, and to reach

down to purgatory; how chanced it then they could not reach to the queen's chamber, to help her in her travail, if she had been with child indeed? If not, how then came it to pass, that all the Catholic church of England did so err, and was so deeply deceived? Queen Mary, after these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficiently admonish her of God's disfavor provoked against her, would not yet cease her persecution, but still continued more and more to revenge her Catholic zeal upon the Lord's faithful people, setting fire to their poor bodies by dozens and half-dozens. Whereupon God's wrathful indignation, increasing more and more against her, ceased not to touch her more near with private misfortunes and calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of children (which chiefly and above all things she desired), then he bereft her of that which of all earthly things should have been her chief stay of honor, and staff of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affection and company even of her own husband, by whose marriage she had promised before to herself whole heaps of such joy and felicity: but the omnipotent Governor of all things so turned the wheel of her own spinning against her, that her high buildings of such joys and felicities came all to nothing; her hopes being confounded, her purposes disappointed, and she also brought to desolation; who seemed neither to have the favor of God, nor the hearts of her subjects, nor even the love of her husband; who neither had fruit by him while she had him, neither could enjoy him whom she had married, nor yet at liberty to marry any other whom she might. Now observe the woful adversity of this queen, and learn hence what the Lord can do when man's wilfulness will needs resist him, and will not be ruled.

At last, when all these fair admonitions would take no place with the queen, nor remove her to revoke her bloody laws, nor to stay the tyranny of her priests, nor yet to spare her own subjects, but that the servants of God were drawn daily by heaps most pitifully as sheep to the slaughter, it so pleased the heavenly Majesty of Almighty God, when no other remedy would serve, seasonably to cut her off by death, who in her life so little regarded the life of others, giving her throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christ's church and people, to another, who more temperately and quietly could guide the same, after she had reigned here the space of five years and five months. The shortness of whose reign, scarce we find in any other story of king or queen since the conquest or before (being come to their own government), save only king Richard III.

And thus much here, as in the closing up of this story I thought to insinuate, touching the unlucky and deplorable reign of queen Mary: not for any detraction to her place and state-royal, whereunto she was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect, that forasmuch as she would needs set herself so confidently to work and strive against the Lord and his proceedings, all readers and rulers may not only see how the Lord did work against her therefore, but also by her may be advertised and learn what a dangerous thing it is for men and women in authority, upon blind zeal and opinion, to stir up persecution in the Christian church, to the effusion of Christian blood, lest it prove in the end with them (as it did here), that while they think to persecute heretics, they stumbled at the same stone as did the Jews in persecuting Christ and his true members to death, to their own confusion and destruction.

THE SEVERE PUNISHMENT OF GOD UPON THE PERSECUTORS OF HIS PEOPLE AND SUCH AS HAVE BEEN BLASPHEMERS, &c.

Queen Mary being dead and gone, we will now leave her, and treat of those under her who were the chief instruments in this persecution, the bishops and clergy, to whom she, as a true Catholic, gave all the execution of her power. Touching which prelates and priests, here is to be noted in like manner the miraculous providence of Almighty God, which as he shortened the reign of their queen, so he suffered them not to escape unvisited; first beginning with STEPHEN GARDINER, the arch-persecutor, whom he took away about the midst of the queen's reign.

After him dropped away others also, some before the death of queen Mary, and some after, as MORGAN, bishop of St. David's, who sitting upon the condemnation of bishop Farrer, and unjustly usurping his room, not long after was struck by God's hand in a strange manner by inverting of nature, and so he continued till his death.

And when Mr. Leyson, the sheriff at Bishop Farrer's burning, had brought away the cattle of the said bishop, from his servant's house into his own custody, on coming into the sheriff's ground, divers of them would never eat meat, but lay bellowing and roaring, and so died.

BISHOP THORNTON, suffragan of Dover, who exercised his cruel tyranny upon so many pious men at Canterbury, on a Sun-

day, fell suddenly into a palsy, and so had to bed, was willed to remember God. Yea, so I do, said he, and my lord cardinal too, &c.

Another bishop or suffragan of Dover, ordained by the aforesaid cardinal, broke his neck, falling down a pair of stairs in the cardinal's chamber at Greenwich, as he had received the cardinal's blessing.

John Cooper, of the age of 44 years, at Watsam in Suffolk, a carpenter by trade, a man of very honest report, being at home, there came unto him one William Fenning, a serving-man of the same place, to buy a couple of fat bullocks, which he had brought up for his own use, on refusing to sell them, went and accused him of high treason. Though he flatly denied the words imputed to him, and said he never spoke them, that did not avail; for he was arraigned at Bury, before Sir Clement Higham, at a Lent assize, and there this Fenning brought two vile men, that witnessed to the speaking of the treason, Richard White, of Watsam, and Grimwood, of Hitcham, in the said county of Suffolk; and was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was accordingly performed soon after, to the great grief of many a good heart.

Now, when this innocent man was dead, his goods spoiled, his wife and children left desolate and comfortless, and all things hushed, nothing was feared of any part; but in the harvest following, as GRIMWOOD was at his labor, stacking up a goff of corn, being in health, and fearing no danger, suddenly his bowels fell out of his body, and he most miserably died: such was the terrible judgment of God, to show his displeasure against his bloody act.

Mr. WOODROFFE, the sheriff, at Mr. Bradford's death, used much to rejoice at the death of the poor saints of Christ, but he had not come out of his office a week, before he was stricken suddenly by the hand of God; the one-half of his body was in such a condition, that he lay benumbed and bed-ridden, not able to move himself, but as he was lifted by others; and he continued in that infirmity seven or eight years, till his dying day.

There was a certain bailiff, of Crowland, in Lincolnshire, named BURTON, who pretending an earnest friendship to the gospel in king Edward's days, set forth the king's proceedings lustily, till the time that king Edward was dead; then perceiving how the world was like to turn, the bailiff turned his religion likewise; and so he moved the parish to show themselves the queen's friends, and to set up the mass speedily.

But when he saw his words were not regarded, and purposing to win his spurs by playing the man in the mass's behalf and the queen's, he got him to church upon a Sunday morning, when the curate was beginning the English service, according to the statute set forth by king Edward the Sixth; the bailiff cometh in a great rage to the curate, and saith, Sirrah, will you not say mass? Buckle yourself to mass, you knave, or by God's blood I shall sheathe my dagger in your shoulder. The poor curate for fear was obliged to comply.

Not long after this, he was seized with a violent illness, which continued but a few days, when with extreme pain of vomiting and crying, he desperately died, without any token of repentance of his former life.

As James Abbes was led by the sheriff towards his martyrdom, divers poor people stood in the way, and asked their alms. He could only exhort them to be strong in the Lord, and, as faithful followers of Christ, to stand stedfast unto the truth of the gospel, which he (through God's help) would then in their sight seal and confirm with his blood.

After the fire was put unto him, one of the sheriff's servants, who had been blaspheming, was there presently, in the sight of all the people, stricken with a frenzy, wherewith he had before most railingly charged that good martyr of God, who in this furious rage and madness casting off his shoes with all the rest of his clothes, cried out unto the people and said, Thus did James Abbes the true servant of God, who is saved, but I am damned. And thus ran he round about the town of Bury, still crying out, that James Abbes was a good man and saved, but he was damned.

The priest of the parish being sent for, brought with him the crucifix, and their houseling host of the altar. Which when the poor wretch saw, he cried out that he, with such others as he was, was the cause of his damnation, and that James Abbes was a good man and saved. And so shortly after died.

ALEXANDER, the keeper of Newgate, a cruel enemy to those that lay there for religion, died very miserably, being so rotten within, that no man could abide the smell.

His son JAMES, having left unto him by his father great substance, within three years wasted all to naught: and when some marvelled how he spent these goods so fast: O, said he, evil gotten, evil spent; and shortly after in Newgate-market fell down suddenly, and wretchedly died.

JOHN PETER, his son-in-law, a horrible blasphemer of God, and no less cruel to the prisoners, rotted away and miserably died.

Who commonly, when he would affirm any thing, were it true or false, used to say, If it be not true, I pray God I rot ere I die.

Stephen Gardiner himself, after so long professing the doctrine of papistry, when there came a bishop to him on his death-bed, and put him in remembrance of Peter denying his master; he answering again, said, that he had denied with Peter, but never repented with Peter, and so both stinkingly and unrepentingly died, thereby giving an evident example to all men, to understand that popery rather is a doctrine of desperation, procuring the vengeance of Almighty God to them that wilfully do cleave unto it.

Dr. Story, being an Englishman by birth, and from his infancy being not only nursed in papistry, but also even as it were by nature earnestly affected to the same, and growing somewhat in riper years, in the days of queen Mary became a bloody tyrant, and cruel persecutor of Christ in his members (as all the histories in this book almost do declare). Thus he raging all the reign of the aforesaid queen Mary against the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and the true professors thereof, never ceasing till he had consumed to ashes two or three hundred blessed martyrs, who willingly gave their lives for the testimony of his truth; and thinking their punishment in the fire not cruel enough, he went about to invent new torments for the holy martyrs of Christ, such was his hatred to the truth of Christ's gospel: but in the end the Lord God looking upon the affliction and cruel blood-shedding of his servants, took away queen Mary, the great pillar of papistry. After whom succeeded lady Elizabeth, now queen of England, who staying the bloody sword of persecution from raging any further, caused the same Dr. Story to be apprehended, and committed to ward, with many others his accomplices, sworn enemies to Christ's glorious gospel. The said Story having been a while detained in prison, at last, by what means I know not, got out, and conveyed himself over the seas, where he continued a most bloody persecutor, still raging against God's saints with fire and sword. Insomuch as he growing to be familiar and right dear to the duke of Alva, in Antwerp, received special commission from him to search the ships for goods forfeited, and for English books, and such like.

And in this favor and authority he continued there for a time, by which means he did much hurt, and brought many a good man and woman into trouble and extreme peril of life through his bloodthirsty cruelty; but at last the Lord (when the measure of his iniquity was full) proceeded in judgment against him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the prayers of many a good man; which came to pass in order as followeth. It being certainly known (for the report thereof was gone forth into all lands) that he not only intended the subversion and overthrow of his native country of England, by bringing in foreign hostility, if by any means he might encompass it; but also daily and hourly murdered God's people; there was this platform laid (by God's providence no doubt) that one Mr. Parker, a merchant, should sail unto Antwerp, and by some means convey Story into England.

This Parker arriving at Antwerp, suborned certain to repair to Dr. Story, and to signify unto him, that there was an English ship come, loaded with merchandise, and that if he would make search thereof himself, he should find store of English books, and other things for his purpose. Story hearing this, and suspecting nothing, made haste towards the ship, thinking to make the same his prey: and coming on board, searched for English heretical books (as he called them), and going down under the hatches, because he would be sure to have their blood if he could, they clapped down the hatches, hoisted up their sail, having (as God would) a good gale, and sailed away unto England. Where they arriving, presented this bloody butcher, and traitorous rebel, Story, to the no little rejoicing of many an English heart. He being now committed to prison, continued there a good space: during all which time he was importuned and solicited daily by wise and learned fathers to recant his devilish and erroneous opinions, to conform himself to the truth, and to acknowledge the queen's supremacy. All which he utterly denied to the death, saying, that he was a sworn subject to the king of Spain, and was no subject to the queen of England, nor she his sovereign queen; and therefore (as he well deserved) he was condemned (as a traitor to God, the queen's majesty, and the realm) to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; which was performed accordingly, he being laid upon a hurdle, and drawn from the Tower along the streets to Tyburn, where he being hanged till he was half dead, was cut down and stripped; and (which is not to be forgot) when the executioner had cut off his privy members, he rushing up upon a sudden, gave him a blow upon the ear, to the great wonder of all that stood by: and thus ended this bloody Nimrod's wretched life, whose judgment I leave to the Lord.

And thus much concerning those persecutors.

The persecuting clergy who died in the time of persecution, we shall take no notice

of, but those who remained after the death of queen Mary were deprived, and committed to several prisons.

In the Tower.

Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, and lord chancellor.
Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely.
Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln.
Gilbert Bourne, bishop of Bath and Wells.
Richard Pates, bishop of Worcester.
Troublefield, bishop of Exeter.
John Feckham, abbot of Westminster.
John Borall, dean of Windsor and Peterborough.

Of David Pool, bishop of Peterborough, it is not known whether he was in the Tower, or in some other prison.

Goldwel, bishop of St. Asaph, and Maurice, elect of Bangor, ran away.

Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, in the Marshalsea.

Thomas Wood, bishop elect, in the Marshalsea.

Cuthbert Scot, bishop of Chester, was in the Fleet, from whence he escaped to Louvain, and there died.

In the Fleet.

Henry Cole, dean of St. Paul's.
John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and dean of Norwich.
Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury.
Anthony Draycot, archdeacon of Huntingdon.
William Chedsey, archdeacon of Middlesex.

In the beginning of king Edward's reign Dr. Chedsey recanted, and subscribed to thirty-four articles, wherein he fully consented and agreed, with his own handwriting, to the whole form of doctrine approved and allowed then in the church. So long as the state of the lord protector and of his brother, stood upright, his own articles in Latin, written and subscribed with his own hand, declare what I have stated. But after the decay of the king's uncles, his religion turned withal, and he took upon him to dispute with Peter Martyr, in upholding transubstantiation, at Oxford, which a little before with his own hand-writing he had overthrown.

In the first year of Elizabeth, one William Mauldon was bound servant to one Mr. Hugh Aparry, then a wheat-taker for the queen, dwelling at Greenwich; who found a primer in English, wherein he read on a winter's evening. While he was reading, there sat one John Apowel, who mocked after every word, that he could no longer abide him for grief of heart, but turned to him and said, John, take heed what thou dost: thou dost not mock me, but thou mockest God.

Then Mauldon fell to reading again, and still he proceeded on in his mocking; and when Mauldon had read certain English prayers, in the end he read, Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us, &c. This was checked by a sudden fear, and on the morrow, about eight o'clock in the morning, John came running down out of his chamber in his shirt into the hall, when they bound him, as being out of his right mind.

After that, as he lay, almost a day and a night, his tongue never ceased, but he cried out of the devil of hell. And his words were, O the devil of hell, now the devil of hell, I see the devil of hell, there he is, there he goeth, &c.

Thus he lay without amendment six days, that his master and all the family being weary of the noise, agreed with the keepers of Bedlam, and sent him thither.

This is a terrible example to all mockers of God: therefore repent and amend, lest the vengeance of God fall upon you in like manner.

The same William Mauldon chanced afterwards to dwell near London, at Walthamstow, where his wife taught young children to read, which was about the year of our Lord 1563, and the fourth year of queen Elizabeth's reign. Unto this school, amongst other children, came one Bennifield's daughter, named Dennis, about the age of twelve years.

As these children were talking together, they happened, among other talk (as the nature of children is to be busy with many things), to fall into communication of God, and to reason amongst themselves, after their childish discretion, what he should be. When one of the children had said, He was a good old Father, Dennis Bennifield said, He is an old doating fool.

When Mauldon heard of these abominable words of the girl, he desired his wife to correct her for the same; which was appointed to be done the next day; but when the morrow came, her mother would needs send her to London market. The girl greatly entreated her mother that she might not go; but she was forced to go. And what happened? Her business being done at London, as she was returning again homeward, a little beyond Hackney, she was suddenly struck on one side, which turned black, and she was speechless, and, being carried back to Hackney, there died

the same night. Witness of the same, William Mauldon and his wife, also Benifield her father and mother.

Therefore, let all young maids, boys, and young men, take example by this wretched creature, not only to avoid blaspheming the sacred Majesty of the omnipotent God their Creator, but also not once to take his name in vain, as they are taught in his commandments.

Secondly, let all fathers, godfathers, and godmothers, take this for a warning, to see the instruction and catechising of their children, for whom they have bound themselves in promise both to God and to his church.

Thirdly, let all blind atheists, epicures, and mockers of religion, who say in their hearts, there is no God, learn also hereby not only what God is, and what he is able to do, but also in this miserable creature here punished in this world, behold what shall likewise fall on them in the world to come, unless they will be warned betimes by such examples as the Lord doth give them.

Fourthly and lastly, here may also be a spectacle for all those who are blasphemers and abominable swearers, abusing his glorious name in a contemptuous manner: whom, if neither the command of God, nor the calling of the preacher, nor remorse of conscience, nor rule of reason, nor their withering age, nor hoary hairs, will admonish, let these terrible examples of God's strict judgment somewhat move them to take heed to themselves.

Did not Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, give sentence against the lord Cobham, and died himself before him, being so mortified in his tongue, that he could neither swallow nor speak for some time before death?

It may not be improper here to set before the reader's eyes a terrible example, a yeoman of the guards, for a warning to all courtiers, and of very truth no longer ago than in the year 1568: the party was Christopher Landesdale, living in Hackney, in Middlesex: the order of whose life, and manner of his death, being worthy to be noted, is as follows:

This Landesdale was married to an old woman of considerable property, but lived in a state of whoredom with a young woman, by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter, whom he kept in his own house till his decease. It was customary for him, when he should have been serving God on the sabbath-day, to be riding or walking about his fields. He was also a great swearer, and a great drunkard, and took delight in making other men drunk, whom he would have to call him father, and he would call them his sons; and at these sons, by report, he had above forty!

About two years before he died, a poor man, who was ill of a flux, happened, through weakness, to lie down in a ditch of the said Landesdale's, where he was suffered to remain, though Landesdale had outhouses and barns enough to have laid him in, but would not show him so much pity. In that situation the poor man lay night and day about six weeks before he died.

Certain good neighbors hearing of this, procured things necessary for his relief, but he was so far spent, that he could not be recovered, lying in the hot sun, with a horrible smell, most pitiful to behold.

A little before this poor man died, he desired to be moved to another ditch, more shady. Whereupon one of the neighbors coming to Landesdale's wife for a bundle of straw for him to sit upon, she required to have him removed to Newington side, because she said, if he should die, it would be very far to carry him to the church!

Besides this, there was a marriage in Landesdale's house, and the guests that came to the marriage gave the poor man money as they passed and repassed him, but Landesdale disdained to contribute any thing to his relief, notwithstanding that he had promised to Mr. Searles, one of the queen's guard, who had more pity on him, to minister to him things necessary.

To be short, the next day poor Lazarus departed this life, and was buried in Hackney church-yard; upon whom Landesdale did not so much as bestow a winding-sheet towards his burial. And thus much concerning the end of poor Lazarus. Now let us hear what became of the rich glutton.

About two years after, the said Landesdale being full of liquor, (as his custom was), came riding in great haste from London on St. Andrew's day, 1568, and as was reported by those who saw him, reeling to and fro, with his hat in his hand, and coming by a ditch, tumbled headlong into it. Some say that the horse fell upon him, but that is improbable. True it is, however, that the horse, more sober than his master, came home, leaving him behind. Whether he broke his neck with the fall, or was drowned, (though the water was scarce a foot deep), is uncertain; but certain it is, he was there found dead. Being thus found dead in the ditch, the coroner (as is the custom) sat upon him; and how the matter was managed to save his goods, the Lord knoweth; but the goods were saved, and the poor horse indicted for his master's death.

The neighbors hearing of this man's

death, and considering the manner thereof, said it was justly fallen upon him, that, as he suffered the poor man to lie and die in a ditch near his own house, so his end was to die in a ditch likewise. And thus, Christian reader, in this story, I have set before your eyes the true image of a rich glutton and poor Lazarus; by which we may discover what happeneth in the end to such voluptuous epicures and atheists, who, being void of all sense of religion, and fear of God, yield themselves up to all profaneness of life, neither regarding honesty at home, nor showing mercy to their neighbors abroad.

Christ our Savior saith, Matt. v. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy;" but judgment without mercy shall be executed on them which have showed no mercy, &c.; and St. John saith, 1 John iv., "He that seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" &c. Again, Isaiah crieth out against such profane drunkards, "Woe be unto them that rise up early to follow drunkenness, and to them that so continue until night, till they be set on fire with wine. In those companies are harps and lutes, tabrets and pipes, and wine: but they regard not the works of the Lord, and consider not the operation of his hands," &c. Woe be unto them that are strong to spue out wine, and expert to set up drunkenness.

The punishments of such as are dead are wholesome documents to such as are alive. Therefore, as the story above exemplified may serve to warn all courtiers and yeomen of the guard, so, by what followeth, I would admonish all gentlemen to take heed in time, and forsake their outrageous swearing and blaspheming of the Lord their God.

In the reign of king Edward, there was in Cornwall a certain lusty young gentleman, who rode in company with other gentlemen and their servants, to the number of about forty horsemen. This youngster entering into conversation with some of them, began to swear most horribly, blaspheming the name of God, with other ribaldry words besides. One of the company, not able to abide the hearing of such blasphemous abomination, told him, in gentle words, that he should give answer and account for every idle word.

The gentleman, offended thereat, said, Why takest thou thought for me? take thought for thy winding-sheet. Well, said the other, amend, for death giveth no warning; for as soon cometh a lamb's skin to the market as an old sheep's. God's wounds, saith he, care not thou for me; raging still after this manner, worse and worse in words, till at length, on their journey, they came riding over a large bridge standing over a piece of an arm of the sea. Upon which bridge this gentleman swearer spurred his horse in such a manner, that he sprang clean over, with him on his back; who, as he was going, exclaimed, Horse and man, and all, to the devil. This terrible story happening at a town in Cornwall, I would have been afraid to have related here, but for the testimony of Mr. Heynes, a minister, who was both the reprehender of his swearing, and witness of his death. Ridley, then bishop of London, also preached and declared the same fact and example at Paul's Cross. The name of the gentleman I could by no means obtain of the party and witness aforesaid, for dread of those (as he said) of his kindred who yet remained in the said county.

Having now sufficiently admonished, first, the courtiers, then the gentlemen, now, thirdly, for a brief admonition to the lawyers, we will insert here the strange end and death of one HENRY SMITH, a student of the law.

Henry Smith, having a godly gentleman for his father, and an ancient Protestant, living at Camden, in Gloucestershire, was virtuously brought up by him in the knowledge of God's word, and sincere religion; wherein he showed himself in the beginning such an earnest professor, that he was called by the papists prattling Smith. After these good beginnings, he went to be a student of the law in the Middle Temple, London, where, by ill company, he began to be perverted to popery, and afterwards going to Louvain, was more deeply grounded in the same. Insomuch that, returning from thence, he brought with him pardons, a crucifix, with an Agnus Dei, which he used commonly to wear about his neck, and had in his chamber images, before which he was wont to pray; besides divers other popish trash, which he brought with him from Louvain. Now what end followed this I should be unwilling to declare, but that the notoriety of the fact was such as amazed almost the whole city of London. This end was this:

A short time after his return, this Henry Smith became a foul jeerer, and a scornful scoffer of that religion which he once professed. In his bed-chamber, in St. Clement's parish, without Temple-Bar, as he was going to bed in the evening, having stripped himself naked he with his girdle or garter strangled himself: having his Agnus Dei in silver on a table, with his other idolatrous trash in a window by him. And thus being dead, and not thought worthy to be interred in the church-yard, he was buried in a lane called Foskew-lane.

FOREIGN EXAMPLES OF GOD'S JUDGMENT AGAINST PERSECUTORS, &c.

HOIMEISTER, the great arch-papist, and chief master-pillar of the pope's falling church, as he was on his journey towards the council of Ratisbon, to dispute against the defenders of Christ's gospel, suddenly in his journey, not far from Ulmes, was prevented by the stroke of God's hand, and there miserably died, with horrible roaring and crying out.

Another example we have, of one ARNOLDUS BOMELIUS, a young man of the university of Louvain, well commended for his flourishing wit and ripeness of learning, who, whilst he favored the cause of the gospel, and took part with the same against the enemies of the truth, prospered and went well forward; but after he drew to the company of Tyleman, master of the pope's college in Louvain, and framed himself after the rule of his unsavory doctrine, that is, to stand in fear and doubt of his justification, and to work his salvation by merits and deeds of the law, he began more and more to grow in doubtful despair and discomfort of mind; as the nature of that doctrine is, utterly to pluck away a man's mind from all certainty and true liberty of spirit, to a servile doubtfulness, full of discomfort and bondage of soul.

Thus the young man, seduced and perverted through this blind doctrine of ignorance and dubitation, fell into a great agony of mind, wandering and wrestling in himself a long time, till at length being overcome with despair, and not having in the popish doctrine wherewith to raise up his soul, he went out of the city on a time to walk, accompanied by three other students of the same university, his special familiars. As they returned home again, Arnoldus, through fatigue, as it seemed, sat down by a spring side to rest himself: thinking no ill, went forwards, and in the mean time Arnoldus suddenly took out his dagger, and struck himself into the body with so much violence that he died almost immediately.

Johannes Sleidanus, in his 23d book, giveth a relation of CARDINAL CRESCENTIUS, the chief president and moderator of the council of Trent, anno 1552. The story of whom is certain, the thing that happened to him was strange and notable, the example of him may be profitable to others, such as have grace to be warned by other men's evils.

The twenty-fifth day of March, in the year aforesaid, Crescentius, the pope's legate, and vicegerent in the council of Trent, was sitting all day long until dark night, in writing letters to the pope. After his labor, when night was come, thinking to refresh himself, he began to rise; behold there appeared to him a mighty black dog, of a huge bigness, his eyes shining with fire, and his ears hanging down well near to the ground, and straight began to come towards him, and couched under the table. The cardinal, not a little surprised at the sight thereof, somewhat recovering himself, called to his servants, who were in the outward chamber next by, to bring in a candle, and to seek for the dog. But when the dog could not be found, neither there, nor in any other chamber about, the cardinal thereupon struck with a sudden conceit of mind, immediately fell into such a sickness, that his physicians which he had about him, with all their art and industry, could not cure him. And so in the town of Verona died this popish cardinal, the pope's holy legate, and president of this council, wherein his purpose was (as Sleidan saith) to recover and heal again the whole authority and doctrine of the Romish see, and to set it up for ever.

There were in this council of Trent, besides the pope's legates and cardinals, 24 bishops, doctors of divinity 62. And thus was the end of this popish council, by the provident hand of the Almighty, dispatched and brought to naught.

The council of Trent being thus dissolved by the death of this cardinal, was afterward, notwithstanding, collected again about the year of our Lord 1562, against the erroneous proceedings of which council other writers there be that say enough. So much as pertaineth only to my story, I thought proper hereunto to add an account of two adulterous filthy bishops, belonging to the said council, one of whom resorting to an honest wife, was slain by the just stroke of God with a boar-spear. The other bishop, who used to creep through a window, in the same window was subtilely taken and hanged in a gin laid for him on purpose, and so contrived, that in the morning he was seen openly in the street hanging out of the window, to the wonder of all that passed by.

In the city of Antwerp lived one, named JOHN VANDER WARFE, of good estimation amongst the chief of that place; who, as he was of a cruel nature, so he was of a perverse and corrupt judgment, and a sore persecutor of Christ's flock, with greediness seeking and shedding innocent blood, and had drowned divers good men and women in the water, for which he was much commended by the bloody generation. By some he was called a bloodhound, or bloody dog. By others he was called a shilpad, that is to say, sheltoed, for he, being a short grundy, and of little stature,

did ride commonly with a great broad hat, as a country churl.

This man being weary of his office (wherein he had continued above twenty years), he gave it over; and because he was now grown rich and wealthy, he intended to pass the residue of his life in ease and pleasure.

About the second year after, he came to Antwerp, to the feast called Our Lady's Oumegang, to make merry; which feast is usually kept on the Sunday following the Assumption of our Lady. The same day, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he being well loaden with wine, rode homewards in his wagon, with his wife, and a gentlewoman waiting on her, and his fool. As soon as the wagon was come without the gates of the city, upon the wooden bridge being at that time made for a shift, with rails or barriers on each side for the safety of the passengers (about half the height of a man), the horses stood still, and would by no means go forward, whatsoever the driver of the wagon could do.

Then he cried out to him that guided the wagon, saying, Ride on; in the name of a thousand devils, ride on! The poor man answered, that he could not make the horses go forward. By and by, while they were yet talking, suddenly arose, as it were, a mighty whirlwind, with a terrible noise (the weather being very fair, and no wind stirring before), and tost the wagon into the town ditch; the ropes that tied the horses being broke asunder, in such a manner as if they had been cut with a sharp knife; the wagon being also cast upside down, by the fall whereof he had his neck broke, and was swallowed up in the mire. His wife was taken up alive, but died in three days after. But the gentlewoman and the fool, by God's providence, were preserved from harm. The fool hearing the people say his master was dead, said, And was not I dead, was not I dead too? This happened in the year 1553. Witness hereof, not only the printer of the same story in Dutch, dwelling then in Antwerp, whose name was Francis Fraet, a good man, and afterwards through hatred was put to death by the papists, but also divers other Dutchmen here, in England, and a great number of English merchants who were at that time in Antwerp.

In the year 1565, there was in the town of Gaunt, in Flanders, one William de Wever, accused and imprisoned by the provost of St. Peter's, in Gaunt, (who had in his cloister a prison and place of execution), and the day the said William was called to the place of judgment, the provost sent for Mr. Giles Brackleman, principal advocate of the council of Flanders, and burgh-master and judge of St. Peter's, in Gaunt, with other rulers of the town, to sit in judgment upon him; and as they sat in judgment, Mr. Giles Brackleman reasoned with the said William de Wever upon divers articles of his faith. One whereof was,

Why he denied that it was lawful to pray to saints; and he answered, For three causes: the one was, That they were but creatures, and not the Creator. The second was,

That if he should call upon them, the Lord did both see it and hear it; and therefore he durst give the glory to none other but God. The third and chief cause was,

That the Creator had commanded in his holy word to call upon him in trouble, unto which commandment he durst neither add nor take from.

He also demanded, whether he did not believe that there was a purgatory which he should go into after this life, where every one should be purified and cleansed.

He answered, That he had read over the whole Bible, and could find no such place, but the death of Christ was his purgatory: with many other questions, proceeding after their order, till he came to pronounce his condemnation. But before it was read, he was struck with a palsy, that his mouth was almost drawn up to his ear, and so he fell down, the rest of the lords standing before him, that the people might not see him: and the people were desired to depart. Then they took him up and carried him to his house, where he died the very next day. Yet notwithstanding all this, they burnt William de Wever within three hours after.

About the orders of Suevia, in Germany, there was a monastery of Cistercian monks, founded in the days of pope Innocent the Second, by a noble baron, about the year 1110. This cell, in process of time, was enlarged with more ample possessions, finding many great and liberal benefactors contributing to the same; as emperors, dukes, and rich barons.

The earls of Montford had bestowed upon it great privileges, upon this condition, that they should receive with free hospitality any strangers, either horsemen or footmen, for one night's lodging. But this hospitality did not long so continue, through a subtle and devilish device of one of the monks, who took upon him to play the part of the devil, rattling and raging in his chains, near the room where the strangers lay, in a frightful manner, in the night time, to terrify the guests; by reason whereof no stranger nor traveller durst there abide; and thus he continued for a long time.

At length it happened, that one of the

earls of Montford, a benefactor to that abbey, coming to the monastery, was there lodged; when night came, and the earl at rest, the monk, after his wonted manner, began to play the devil. There was stamping, ramping, and spitting of fire, roaring, thundering, bouncing of boards, and rattling of chains, enough to make a man stark mad. The earl hearing the sudden noise, and peradventure afraid at first, though he had not the art of conjuring, yet taking a good heart, and running to his sword, he laid about him so well, and still followed the noise of the devil so close, that at last the jesting devil was slain by the earl in earnest.

A LETTER, WRITTEN TO HENRY II. KING OF FRANCE.

The following Letter, translated from a Work published in France, entitled, "Commentaries of the State of the Church and Public Weal," will show that the blind and besotted tyrant, Henry II. of France, wanted not warnings to dissuade him from a continuance in his cruel course of persecution; but he was deaf to every suggestion of mercy or prudence, and pursued the same career till the Almighty vengeance visited him with a violent death, and snatched him from the midst of earthly pomp and pleasures, to that place where there is "howling and gnashing of teeth."

CONSIDER, I pray you, sir, and you shall find that all your afflictions have come upon you, since you have set yourself against those who are called Lutherans.

When you made the edict of Chasteaubriant, God sent you war; but when you ceased the execution of your said edict, and as long as you were an enemy to the pope, and going into Almany for the defence of the Germans afflicted for religion, your affairs prospered as you would wish or desire.

On the contrary, what hath become upon you since you were joined with the pope again, having received a sword from him for his own safeguard? And who was it that caused you to break the truce? God hath turned in a moment your prosperities into such afflictions, that they touch not only the state of your own person, but of your kingdom also.

To what end came the enterprise of the duke of Guise in Italy, going about the service of the enemy of God, and purposing, after his return, to destroy the valleys of Piedmont, to offer or sacrifice them to God for his victories? The event hath well declared, that God can turn upside down our councils and enterprises: as he overturned of late the enterprise of the constable of France at St. Quintin's, having vowed to God, that at his return he would go and destroy Geneva, when he had gotten the victory.

Have you not heard of L. Ponchet, archbishop of Tours, who made application for the erection of a court called Chambre Ardent, wherein to condemn the Protestants to the fire; who afterwards was struck with a disease called the fire of God, which began at his feet, and so ascended upward, that one member after another was obliged to be cut off, and so he miserably died without remedy?

Also one Castellanus, who having enriched himself by the gospel, and forsaking the pure doctrine thereof, to return unto his vomit again, went about to persecute the Christians at Orleans, and by the hand of God was stricken in his body with a disease unknown to the physicians, the one-half of his body burning as hot as fire, and the other as cold as ice; and so most miserably lamenting and crying, ended his life.

There are other infinite examples of God's judgments worthy to be remembered; as the death of the chancellor and legate du Prat, who was the first that opened to the parliament the knowledge of heresies, and gave out the first commissions to put the faithful to death, swearing and horribly blaspheming God. When dead, his stomach was found pierced and gnawn asunder with worms.

Also one named Claude de Asses, a counsellor in the said court, the same day that he gave his opinion and consent to burn a faithful Christian, (although it was not done indeed as he would have it), after he had dined, committed whoredom with a servant in the house, and even in the very action he was stricken with a disease called an apoplexy, whereof he immediately died.

Peter Liset, chief president of the said court, and one of the authors of the aforesaid burning-chamber, was deposed from his office, for being known to be out of his wits and bereaved of his understanding.

Likewise John Andrew, book-binder to the palace, a spy for the president Liset, and of Bruscard the king's solicitor, died in a fury and madness.

The inquisitor John de Roma, in Provence, his flesh fell from him by piecemeal, so stinking that no man could come near him.

Also John Minerius, of Provence, who was the cause of the death of a prodigious great number of men, women, and children, at Cabriers, and at Merindol, died with bleeding in the lower parts, the fire having taken his belly, blaspheming and despising God: besides many others where-

of we might make recital, which were punished with the like kind of death.

It may please your majesty to remember yourself, that you had no sooner determined to set upon us, but new troubles were moved by your enemies, with whom you could come to no agreement; which God would not suffer, forasmuch as your peace was grounded upon the persecution which you pretended against God's servants: as also your cardinals cannot subvert through their cruelty the course of the gospel, which hath taken such root in your realm, that if God should give you leave to destroy the professors thereof, you should be almost a king without subjects.

Tertullian hath well said, that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the gospel. Wherefore, to take away all these evils coming of the riches of papists, which cause so much whoredom, sodomy, and incest, wherein they wallow like hogs, feeding their idle bellies, the best way were to put them from their lands and possessions, as the old sacrificing Levites were, according to the express commandment which was given to Joshua. For as long as the commandment of God took place, and that they were void of ambition, the purity of religion remained whole and perfect; but when they began to aspire to principalities, riches, and worldly honors, then began the abomination and desolation that Christ foretold.

It was even so in the primitive church, for it flourished and continued in all pureness, as long as the ministers were of small wealth, and sought not their particular profit, but the glory of God. But since the pope began to be prince-like, and to usurp the dominion of the empire under the color of a false donation of Constantine, they have turned the Scriptures from their true sense, and have attributed the service to themselves, which we owe to God. Wherefore your majesty may seize with good right upon all the temporalities of the benefices, and that with a safe conscience to employ them to their true and right use.

First, For the finding and maintaining of the faithful ministers of the word of God, for such livings shall be requisite for them, according as the case shall require. Secondly, For the entertainment of your justices that give you judgment. Thirdly, for the relieving of the poor, and maintenance of colleges to instruct the poor youth in that which they shall be most apt unto. And the rest, which is infinite, may remain for entertainment for your own estate and affairs, to the great easement of your poor people, which alone bear the burden, and possess in a manner nothing.

In doing this, an infinite number of men, and even of your nobility, who live by the crucifix, would employ themselves to your service and the commonwealth's so much the more diligently, as they see that you recompense none but those that have deserved; whereas now there is an infinite number of men in your kingdom, which occupy the chief and greatest benefices, who never deserved any part of them. And thus much touching the superfluous possessions of the pope's lordly clergy. Now proceeding further in this exhortation to the king, thus the letter importeth.

But when the papists see that they have not any reason to allege for themselves, they endeavor to make the Lutherans (as they call us) odious to your majesty, and say, if their sayings take place, you shall be fain to remain a private person, and that there is never a change of religion, but there is also a change of princedom. A thing as false as when they accuse us to be sacramentaries, and that we deny the authority of magistrates, under the shadow of certain furious Anabaptists, whom Satan hath raised in our time to darken the light of the gospel. For the histories of the emperors who have begun to receive the Christian religion, and that which is come to pass in our time, show the contrary.

Was there ever prince more feared and obeyed than Constantine in receiving the Christian religion? Was he therefore put from the empire? No, he was thereby the more confirmed and established in the same, and also his posterity who ruled themselves by his providence. But such as have fallen away, and followed men's traditions, God hath destroyed, and their race is no more known in the earth, so much doth God detest them that forsake him.

And in our time the late kings of England and Germany, were they constrained in reproving superstitions, which the wickedness of the times had brought in, to forsake their kingdoms and princedoms? All men see the contrary; and what honor, fidelity, and obedience, the people in our time that have received the reformation of the church do under their princes and superiors. Yea, I may say, that the prince knew not before what it was to be obeyed, at that time when the rude and ignorant people received so readily the dispensations of the pope, to drive out their own kings and natural lords.

The true and only remedy, sir, is that you cause to be holden a holy and free council, where you should be chief, and not the pope and his, who ought but only to defend their causes by the holy Scriptures; that in the meanwhile you may seek out men not corrupted, suspected, nor partial, whom you may charge to give report faithfully unto you of the true sense of the holy

Scriptures. And this done, after the example of the good kings, Josaphat, Ezechias, and Josias, you shall take out of the church all idolatry, superstition, and abuse, which is founded directly contrary to the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and by that means you shall guide your people in the true and pure service of God, not regarding in the mean time the cavilling pretences of the papists, who say that such questions have been already answered at general councils: but it is known well enough, that no council hath been lawful since the popes have usurped the principality and tyranny upon men's souls, but they have made them serve to their covetousness, ambition, and cruelty; and the contrariety which is among those councils, maketh enough for their disproof, besides a hundred thousand other absurdities against the word of God, which be in them. The true proof of such matters is in the true and holy Scriptures, to which no times, nor age, hath any prescription to be alleged against them; for by them we receive the councils founded upon the word of God, and also by the same we reject that doctrine which is repugnant.

And if you do thus, sir, God will bless your enterprise; he will increase and confirm your reign and empire, and your posterity. If otherwise, destruction is at your gate, and unhappy are the people which shall dwell under your obedience. There is no doubt but God will harden your heart as he did Pharaoh's, and take off the crown from your head, as he did to Jeroboam, Nadab, Baza, Achab, and to many other kings which have followed men's traditions, against the commandment of God, and give it to your enemies to triumph over you and your children.

And if the emperor Antonine the Meek, although he were a pagan and idolater, seeing himself bewrapt with so many wars, ceased the persecutions which were in his time against the Christians, and determined in the end to hear their causes and reasons, how much more ought you that bear the name of the most Christian king, to be careful and diligent to cease the persecutions against the poor Christians, seeing they have not troubled nor do trouble in any wise the state of your kingdom, and your affairs; considering also that the Jews be suffered through all Christendom, although they be mortal enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we hold by common accord and consent for our God, Redeemer, and Savior, and that until you have heard lawfully debated, and understand our reasons, taken out of the holy Scriptures, and that your majesty have judged, if we be worthy of such punishments. For if we be not overcome by the word of God, the fires, the swords, and the cruellest torments, shall not make us afraid. These be exercises that God hath promised to his, which he foretold should come to pass in the last times, that they should not be troubled when such persecutions shall come upon them.

THE STORY AND END OF THE FRENCH KING.

Whosoever was the author or authors of this letter above prefixed, herein thou seest (good reader) good counsel given to the king; if he had had the grace to receive and follow the same, no doubt but God's blessing working with him, he had not only set the realm in a blessed state from much disturbance, but also had continued himself in all flourishing felicity of princely honor and dignity. But instead of that, he was so outrageous against the Protestants, that he threatened Anne du Bourg, one of the high court of parliament in Paris, that he would see him burn with his own eyes. But how he came short of his purpose, the sequel of the story will make it appear, in the following manner.

King Henry being in the parliament-house, which was kept at the Friar Augustine's at Paris, because the palace was in preparing against the marriage of his daughter, and his sister, and having heard the opinion in religion of Anne du Bourg, counsellor in the law, a man eloquent and learned, he caused the said Anne du Bourg, and Loys du Faux, counsellors, to be taken prisoners by the constable of France, who apprehended them, and delivered them into the hands of count Montgomery, who carried them to prison. Against whom the king being full of wrath and anger, among other things, said to the said Anne du Bourg, These eyes of mine shall see thee burnt: and so on the 19th of June, commission was given to the judges to make their process.

In the meanwhile, great feasts and banquets were preparing at court, for joy and gladness of the marriage that should be of the king's daughter and sister, against the last day of June save one. When the time was come, the king employed all the morning in examining the presidents and counsellors of the said parliament against these prisoners, and other their companions that were charged with the same doctrine; which being done, they went to dinner.

The king, after he had dined, for that he was one of the defendants at the tourney, which was solemnly made in St. Anthony's-street, near to the prison where the aforesaid prisoners were committed, entered into the lists; and therein engaging, as the

manner is, had broken many staves very valiantly, running as well against the count of Montgomery, as divers others. Whereupon he was highly commended by the spectators. And because he was thought to have done enough, they desired him to leave off with praise; but he being the more inflamed with the hearing of his praise, would needs run another course with Montgomery: who then refusing to run against the king, and kneeling on his knees for pardon not to run; the king being eagerly set, commanded him on his allegiance to run, and (as some affirm) he also put the staff in his hand, unto whose hand he had committed the aforesaid prisoners a little before. Montgomery being thus enforced, whether he would or no, to run against the king, prepared himself after the best manner to obey the king's commandment. Whereupon he and the king met together so fiercely, that in breaking their spears the king was struck with the counter blow, so right in one of his eyes, by reason that the visor of his helmet suddenly fell down at the same instant, that the splinters entered into his head; so that the brains were touched, and thereupon so festered, that no remedy could be found, although physicians and surgeons were sent from all parts of the realm, and also from Brabant, from king Philip, but nothing availed, so that the 11th day after, that is, the 10th of July, 1559, he miserably ended his life, having reigned 12 years, 3 months, and 10 days.

DEATH OF HENRY III. KING OF FRANCE.

A similar instance of divine justice may be seen in the death of Henry III. of France, a tyrant equally cruel and bigoted with the monarch whose end we have just related.

A friar, named Clement, of the order of St. Dominic, pretended he had matters of great consequence to impart to the king, and being admitted into his presence, upon his knees presented a letter to him, which he drew out of one sleeve; which whilst the king attentively read, the friar pulled forth a poisoned knife out of his other sleeve, wherewith he stabbed the king in the belly. The king finding himself wounded, snatched out the knife, and struck it into the friar's eye, who hastening away, the king cried out. His lords perceiving what the friar had done, slew him immediately.

BOOK XII.

A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE ATTEMPTS MADE BY THE PAPISTS TO OVERTURN THE PROTESTANT GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND, FROM THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, TO THE REIGN OF GEORGE II.

SECTION I.

The Spanish Armada.

PHILIP, king of Spain, husband to the deceased queen Mary of England, was no less inimical than that princess to the Protestants. He had always disliked the English, and, after her death, determined, if possible, to crown that infamous cruelty which had disgraced the whole progress of her reign, by making a conquest of the island, and putting every Protestant to death.

The great warlike preparations made by this monarch, though the purpose was unknown, gave a universal alarm to the English nation; as, though he had not declared that intention, yet it appeared evident that he was taking measures to seize the crown of England. Pope Sixtus V. not less ambitious than himself, and equally desirous of persecuting the Protestants, urged him to the enterprise. He excommunicated the queen, and published a crusade against her, with the usual indulgences. All the ports of Spain resounded with preparations for this alarming expedition; and the Spaniards seemed to threaten the English with a total annihilation.

Three whole years had been spent by Philip in making the necessary preparations for this mighty undertaking; and his fleet, which, on account of its prodigious strength, was called, "The Invincible Armada," was now completed. A consecrated banner was procured from the pope, and the gold of Peru was lavished on the occasion.

All our historical writers relate the particulars of this important event, but a description by an *eye-witness* must possess superior interest with the general reader, although it may be devoid of those graces of style which lend a charm to the narratives of the professed historian; we therefore give "a brief Discourse of the great preparations of the Spaniards, in order to invade England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth," verbatim, as we find it in our author, by whom, however, it was not written, he having died in the preceding year, 1587.

The duke of Parma, by command of the Spaniards, built ships in Flanders, and a great company of small broad vessels, each one able to transport thirty horses, with bridges fitted for them severally; and hired mariners from the east part of Germany, and provided long pieces of wood sharpened at the end, and covered with iron, with hooks on one side; and 20,000 vessels, with a huge number of fagots; and placed an army ready in Flanders, of 103 companies of foot, and 4000 horsemen. Among these 700 English vagabonds, who were held of all others in most contempt. Neither was Stanley respected or obeyed, who was set over the English; nor Westmoreland, nor any other who offered their help: but for their unfaithfulness to their own country were shut out from all consultations, and as men unanimously rejected with detestation. And because pope Sixtus the Fifth in such a case would not be wanting, he sent cardinal Allen into Flanders, and renewed the bulls declaratory of pope Pius the Fifth, and Gregory the Thirteenth. He excommunicated and deposed queen Elizabeth, absolved her subjects from all allegiance, and, as if it had been against the Turks or infidels, he set forth in print a conceit, wherein he bestowed plenary indulgences, out of the treasure of the church, besides a million of gold, or ten hundred thousand ducats, to be distributed (the one-half in hand, the rest when either England, or some famous haven therein, should be won) upon all them that would join their help against England. By which means the marquis of Burgau, of the house of Austria, the duke of Pastrana, Amadis duke of Savoy, Vespasian, Gonzaga, John Medicis, and divers other noblemen, were drawn into these wars.

Queen Elizabeth, that she might not be surprised unawares, prepared as great a navy as she could, and with singular care and providence made all things ready necessary for war. And she herself, who was ever most judicious in discerning of men's wits

and aptness, and most happy in making choice, when she made it out of her own judgment, and not at the direction of others, designed the best and most serviceable to each several employment. Over the whole navy she appointed the lord admiral Charles Howard, in whom she reposed much trust; and sent him to the west part of England, where captain Drake, whom she made vice-admiral, joined with him. She commanded Henry Seimor, the second son to the duke of Somerset, to watch upon the Belgic shore with forty English and Dutch ships, that the duke of Parma might not come out with his forces; although some were of opinion, that the enemy was to be expected and set upon by land forces, according as it was upon deliberation resolved, in the time of Henry the Eighth, when the French brought a great navy on the English shore.

For the land fight, there were placed on the south shore twenty thousand: and two armies besides were mustered of the choicest men for war. The one of these, which consisted of 1000 horse, and twenty-two thousand foot, was commanded by the earl of Leicester, and encamped at Tilbury, on the side of the Thames. For the enemy was resolved first to set upon London. The other army was commanded by the lord Hunsdon, consisting of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to guard the queen.

The lord Grey, Sir Francis Knowles, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, men famously known for military experience, were chosen to confer of the land fight. These commanders thought fit that all those places should be fortified, with men and ammunition, which were commodious to land in, either out of Spain or out of Flanders, as Milford-Haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, the open side of Kent called the downs, the Thames' mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, &c. That trained soldiers through all the maritime provinces should meet upon warning given, to defend the places, that they should, by their best means, hinder the enemy from landing; and if they did happen to land, then they were to destroy the fruits of the country all about, and spoil every thing that might be of any use to the enemy, that so they might find no more victuals than what they brought with them. And that by continued alarms the enemy should find no rest day or night. But they should not try any battle, until divers captains were met together with their companies. That one captain might be named in every shire which might command.

Two years before, the duke of Parma considering how hard a matter it was to end the Belgic war, so long as it was continually nourished and supported with aid from the queen, he moved for a treaty of peace, by the means of Sir James Croft, one of the privy council, a man desirous of peace, and Andrew Loe, a Dutchman, and professed that the Spaniard had delegated authority to him for this purpose. But the queen fearing that the friendship between her and the confederate princes might be dissolved, and that so they might secretly be drawn to the Spaniard, she deferred that treaty for some time. But now, that the wars on both sides prepared might be turned away, she was content to treat of peace; but so as still holding the weapons in her hand.

For this purpose, in February, delegates were sent into Flanders, the earl of Derby, the lord Cobham, Sir James Croft, doctor Dale, and doctor Rogers. These were received with all humanity on the duke's behalf, and a place appointed for their treating, that they might see the authority delegated to him by the Spanish king. He appointed the place near to Ostend, not in Ostend, which at that time was held by the English against the Spanish king. His authority delegated, he promised them to show, when they were once met together. He wished them to make good speed in the business, lest somewhat might fall out in the mean time which might trouble the motions of peace. Richardotus spoke somewhat more plainly, That he knew not what in this interim should be done against England.

Not long after, doctor Rogers was sent to the prince, by an express commandment from the queen, to know the truth, whether the Spaniard had resolved to invade England, which he and Richardotus seemed to signify. He affirmed, that he did not so much as think of the invasion of England, when he wished that the busines might proceed with speed: and was in a manner offended with Richardotus, who denied that such words fell from him.

The 12th of April, the count Aremberg, Champigny, Richardotus, doctor Maesius, and Garnier, delegated from the prince of Parma, met with the English, and yielded to them the honor both in walking and sitting. And when they affirmed that the duke had full authority to treat of peace, the English moved, that first a truce might be made. Which they denied; alleging that that thing must needs be hurtful to the Spaniards, who had for six months maintained a great army, which might not be dismissed upon a truce, but upon an absolute peace. The English urged, that a truce was promised before they came into Flanders. The Spaniard against that held,

That six months since, a truce was promised: which they granted, but it was not admitted. Neither was it in the queen's power to undertake a truce for Holland and Zealand, who daily attempted hostility. The English moved instantly, that the truce might be general for all the queen's territories, and for the kingdom of Scotland: but they would have it but for four Dutch towns which were in the queen's hands: and these only during the treating, and twenty days after; and that in the mean time it might be lawful for the queen to invade Spain, or for the Spaniards to invade England, either from Spain or Flanders. At last, when the English could not obtain an armistice, and could by no means see the charter by which the duke of Parma was authorized to treat of peace; they proposed these things, that the ancient leagues between the kings of England and the dukes of Burgundy might be renewed and confirmed; that all the Dutch might fully enjoy their own privileges; that with freedom of conscience they might serve God; that the Spanish and foreign soldiers might be put out of Holland, that neither the Dutch nor their neighboring nations might fear them. If these things might be granted, the queen would come to equal conditions concerning the towns which now she held (that all might know, that she took up arms not for her own gain, but for the necessary defence both of herself and of the Dutch,) so that the money which is owing therefor be repaid. To which they answered, That for renewing the old leagues there should be no difficulty, when they might have a friendly conference of that thing. That concerning the privileges of the Dutch, there was no cause why foreign princes should take care, which privileges were most favorably granted not only to provinces and towns reconciled, but even to such as by force of arms are brought into subjection. That foreign soldiers were held upon urgent necessity, since Holland, England, and France, were all in arms.

Touching those towns taken from the king of Spain, and the repaying of the money, they answered, That the Spaniards might demand as many myriads of crowns to be from the queen repaid them, as the Belgic war hath cost since the time that she hath favored and protected the Dutch against them.

At this time, doctor Dale, by the queen's command, going to the duke of Parma, gently expostulated with him touching a book printed there, set out lately by cardinal Allen, wherein he exhorts the nobles and people of England and Ireland to join themselves to the king of Spain's forces, under the conduct of the prince of Parma, for the execution of the sentence of pope Sixtus V. against the queen, declared by his bull: in which she is called a heretic, illegitimate, cruel against Mary queen of Scots, and her subjects were commanded to help Parma against her: for at that time a greater number of those bulls and books were printed at Antwerp to be dispersed through England. The duke denied that he had seen such a bull or book, neither would he do any thing by the pope's authority; as for his own king, him he must obey. Yet, he said, he so revered the queen and her princely virtues, that after the king of Spain, he offered all service to her. That he had persuaded the king of Spain to yield to this treaty of peace, which is more profitable to England than Spain.

To whom Dale replied, that our queen was sufficiently furnished with forces to defend the kingdom. That a kingdom will not easily be gotten by the events of one battle, seeing the king of Spain in so long a war is not able to recover his ancient patrimony in the Netherlands.

Well, quoth the duke, be it so, these things are in God's hands.

After this the delegates contended among themselves by mutual replications, weaving and unweaving the same web. The English were earnest in this, That freedom of religion might be granted at least for two years to the confederate princes. They answered, That as the king of Spain had not entreated that for English Catholics, so they hoped the queen in her wisdom would not entreat any thing of the king of Spain, which might stand against his honor, his oath, and his conscience.

Then they demanded the money due from the states of Brabant; it was answered, That the money was lent without the king's knowledge; but let the account be taken, how much the money was, and how much the king hath spent in these wars, and then it may appear who should look for repayment.

Thus the English were from time to time put off, until the Spanish fleet was come near the English shore, and the noise of guns was heard from sea. Then had they leave to depart, and were by the delegates honorably brought to the borders of Calais. The duke of Parma had in the mean time brought all his forces to the sea-shore.

Thus this conference came to nothing; undertaken by the queen, as the wiser then thought, to avert the Spanish fleet; continued by the Spaniard that he might oppress the queen, being as he supposed unprovided, and not expecting the danger. So both of them tried to use time to their best advantages.

In fine, the Spanish fleet, well-furnished

with men, ammunition, engines, and all warlike preparations, the best, indeed, that ever was seen upon the ocean, called by the arrogant title, The Invincible Armada, consisted of 130 ships, wherein there were in all, 19,290. Mariners, 8,350. Chained rowers, 11,080. Great ordnance, 11,630. The chief commander was Perezius Gusmannus, duke of Medina Sidonia; and under him Joannes Martinus Ricaldus, a man of great experience in sea affairs.

The 30th of May they loosed out of the river Tagus, and bending their course to the Groin, in Gallicia, they were beaten and scattered by a tempest; three galleys, by the help of David Gwin, an English servant, and by perfidiousness of Turks which rowed, were carried away into France. The fleet with much ado after some days came to the Groin and other harbors near adjoining. The report was, that the fleet was so shaken with this tempest, that the queen was persuaded, that she was not to expect that fleet this year. And Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary, wrote to the lord admiral, that he might send back four of the greatest ships, as if the war had been ended. But the lord admiral did not easily give credit to that report; yet with a gentle answer entreated him to believe nothing hastily in so important a matter: as also that he might be permitted to keep those ships with him which he had, though it were upon his own charges. And getting a favorable wind, made sail towards Spain, to surprise the enemy's damaged ships in their harbors. When he was close in with the coast of Spain, the wind shifting, and he being charged to defend the English shore, fearing that the enemies might unseen by the same wind sail for England, he returned unto Plymouth.

Now with the same wind, the 12th of July, the duke of Medina with his fleet departed from the Groin. And after a few days he sent Rodericus Telius into Flanders, to advertise the duke of Parma, giving him warning that the fleet was approaching, and therefore he was to make himself ready. For Medina's commission was to join himself with the ships and soldiers of Parma; and under the protection of his fleet, to bring them into England, and to land his forces upon the Thames side.

The sixteenth day (saith the relater), there was a great calm, and a thick cloud was upon the sea till noon: then the north wind blowing roughly; and again the west wind till midnight, and after that the east; the Spanish navy was scattered, and hardly gathered together until they came within sight of England, the nineteenth day of July. Upon which day the lord admiral was certified by Flemming (who had been a pirate), that the Spanish fleet was entered into the English sea, which the mariners call the Channel, and was descried near to the Lizard. The lord admiral brought forth the English fleet into the sea, but not without great difficulty, by the skill, labor, and alacrity of the soldiers and mariners, every one laboring; yea, the lord admiral himself put his hand to this work.

The next day the English fleet viewed the Spanish fleet coming along like towering castles in height, her front crooked like the fashion of the moon, the wings of the fleet were extended one from the other about seven miles, or as some say eight miles asunder, sailing with the labor of the winds, the ocean as it were groaning under it; their sail was but slow, and yet at full sail before the wind. The English were willing to let them hold on their course, and when they were passed by, got behind them, and so got to windward of them.

Upon the 21st of July, the lord admiral of England sent a cutter before, called the Defiance, to announce the battle by firing off pieces. And being himself in the Royal Arch (the English admiral ship), he began the engagement with a ship which he took to be the Spanish admiral, but which was the ship of Alfonsus Leva. Upon that he expended much shot. Presently Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, came in upon the rear of the Spaniards, which Ricaldus commanded. Upon these they thundered. Ricaldus endeavored as much as in him lay, to keep his men to their quarters, but all in vain, until his ship, much beaten and battered with many shot, hardly recovered the fleet. Then the duke of Medina gathered together his scattered fleet, and setting more sail, held on his course. Indeed they could do no other, for the English had gotten the advantage of the wind, and their ships being much easier managed, and ready with incredible celerity to come upon the enemy, with a full course, and then to tack and retack, and be on every side at their pleasure. After a long fight, and each of them had taken a trial of their courage, the lord admiral thought proper to continue the fight no longer, because there were forty ships more, which were then absent, and at that very time were coming out of Plymouth Sound.

The night following, the St. Catherine, a Spanish ship, being sadly torn in the battle, was taken into the midst of the fleet to be repaired. Here a great Cantabrian ship, of Oquenda, wherein was the treasurer of the camp, by force of gunpowder took fire, yet it was quenched in time by the ships that came to help her. Of those which

came to assist the fired ship, one was a galleon, commanded by Petrus Waldez; the fore-yard of the galleon was caught in the rigging of another ship, and carried away. This was taken by Drake, who sent Waldez to Dartmouth, and a great sum of money, viz. 55,000 ducats, which he distributed among the soldiers. This Waldez coming into Drake's presencé, kissed his hand, and told him they had all resolved to die, if they had not been so happy as to fall into his hands, whom they knew to be noble. That night he was appointed to set forth a light, but neglected it; and some German merchant ships coming by that night, he, thinking them to be enemies, followed them so far, that the English fleet lay to all night, because they could see no light set forth. Neither did he nor the rest of the fleet find the admiral until the next evening. The admiral all the night proceeding with the Bear, and the Mary Rose, carefully followe l the Spaniards with watchfulness. The duke was busied in ordering his squadron, Alfonsus Leva was commanded to join the first and last divisions. Every ship had its proper station assigned, according to that prescribed form which was appointed in Spain; it was present death to any who forsook his station. This done, he sent Gliclius and Anceani to Parma, which might declare to them in what situation they were, and left that Cantabrian ship, of Oquenda, to the wind and sea, having taken out the money and mariners, and put them on board of other ships. Yet it seemed that he had not care for all: for that ship the same day with fifty mariners, and soldiers wounded, and half burned, fell into the hands of the English, and was carried to Weymouth.

The 23d of the same month, the Spaniards having a favorable north wind, tacked towards the English: but they being more expert in the management of their ships, tacked likewise, and kept the advantage they had gained, keeping the Spaniards to leeward, till at last the fight became general on both sides. They fought awhile confusedly with variable success: whilst on the one side the English with great courage delivered the London ships which were inclosed about by the Spaniards: and on the other side, the Spaniards by valor freed Ricaldus from the extreme danger he was in: great and many were the explosions which by the continual firing of great guns were heard this day. But the loss (by the good providence of God) fell upon the Spaniards, their ships being so high, that the shot went over our English ships; and the English, having such a fair mark at their large ships, never shot in vain. During this engagement, Cook, an Englishman, being surrounded by the Spanish ships, could not be recovered, but perished; however, with great honor he revenged himself. Thus a long time the English ships with great agility were sometimes upon the Spaniards, giving them the fire of one side, and then of the other, and presently were off again, and still kept the sea, to make themselves ready to come in again. Whereas the Spanish ships, being of great burden, were troubled and hindered, and stood to be the marks for the English shot. For all that the English admiral would not permit his people to board their ships, because they had such a number of soldiers on board, which he had not: their ships were many in number, and greater, and higher, that if they had come to grapple as some would have had it, the English being much lower than the Spanish ships, must needs have had the worst of them that fought from the higher ships. And if the English had been overcome, the loss would have been greater than the victory could have been; for our being overcome would have put the kingdom in hazard.

The 24th day of July, they gave over fighting on both sides. The admiral sent some small barks to the English shore, for a supply of provisions, and divided his whole fleet into four squadrons; the first whereof he took under his own command, the next was commanded by Drake, the third by Hawkins, and the last by Forbisher. And he appointed out of every squadron certain little ships, which on divers sides might set upon the Spaniards in the night, but a sudden calm took them, so that expedient was without effect.

The 25th, the St. Anne, a galleon of Portugal, not being able to keep up with the rest, was attacked by some small English ships. To whose aid came in Leva, and Didacus Telles Enriques, with three galeases: which the admiral, and the lord Thomas Howard, espying, made all the sail they could against the galeases, but the calm continuing, they were obliged to be towed along with their boats: as soon as they reached the galeases, they began to play away so fiercely with their great guns, that with much danger and great loss they hardly recovered their galleon. The Spaniards reported that the Spanish admiral was that day in the rear of their fleet, which, being come nearer the English ships than before, got terribly shattered with their great guns, many men were killed aboard, and her masts laid over the side. The Spanish admiral, after this, in company with Ricaldus, and others, attacked the English admiral, who, having the advantage of the wind, suddenly tacked, and escaped. The Spaniards holding on their course again,

sent to the duke of Parma; that with all possible speed he should join his ships with the king's fleet. These things the English knew not, who write that they had carried away the lantern from one of the Spanish ships, the stern from another, and sore mauled the third, very much disabling her. The Non-Parigly, and the Mary Rose, fought a while with the Spaniards; and the Triumph being in danger, other ships came in good time to help her.

The next day, the lord admiral knighted the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbisher, for their valor in the last engagement. After this, they agreed not to attack the enemy until they came into the straits of Calais, where Henry Seimor, and William Winter, waited for their coming. Thus with a fair gale the Spanish fleet went forward, and the English followed. This great Spanish Armada was so far from being esteemed invincible in the opinion of the English, that many young men and gentlemen, in hope to be partakers of a famous victory against the Spaniards, provided ships at their own expenses, and joined themselves to the English fleet; among whom were the earls of Essex, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brooks, William Hatton, Robert Cary, Ambrose Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Gorge, and other gentlemen of good note and quality.

The 27th day, at even, the Spaniards cast anchor near to Calais, being admonished by their skilful seamen, that if they went any further, they might be in danger, through the force of the tide, to be driven into the North Ocean. Near to them lay the English admiral with his fleet, within a great gun's shot. The admiral, Seimor, and Winter, now join their ships; so that now there were a hundred and forty ships in the English fleet, able and well furnished for fighting, for sailing, and every thing else which was requisite: and yet there were but fifteen of these which bore the heat of the battle, and repulsed the enemy. The Spaniard, as often as he had done before, so now with great earnestness sent to the duke of Parma, to send forty fly-boats, without which they could not fight with the English, because of the greatness and slowness of their ships, and the agility of the English; and entreating him by all means now to come to sea with his army, which army was now to be protected, as it were, under the wings of the Spanish Armada, until they should land in England.

But the duke was unprovided, and could not come out at an instant. The broad ships with flat bottoms being then full of chinks must be mended. Victuals wanted and must be provided. The mariners being long kept against their wills, began to shrink away. The ports of Dunkirk and Newport, by which he must bring his army to the sea, were now so beset with the strong ships of Holland and Zealand, which were furnished with great and small munition, that he was not able to come to sea, unless he would come upon his own apparent destruction, and cast himself and his men wilfully into a headlong danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being a man eager and industrious, and inflamed with a desire of overcoming England.

But queen Elizabeth's providence and care prevented both the diligence of this man, and the credulous hope of the Spaniard; for by her command the next day the admiral took eight of their worst ships, charging the ordnance therein up to the mouth with small shot, nails, and stones, and dressed them with wild fire, pitch and rosin, and filled them full of brimstone and some other matter fit for fire, and these being set on fire by the management of Young and Prowse, were secretly in the night, by the help of the wind, set full upon the Spanish fleet, which on Sunday the seventh of August they sent in among them as they lay at anchor.

When the Spaniards saw them come near, the flame giving light all over the sea; they supposing those ships, besides the danger of fire, to have been also furnished with deadly engines, to make horrible destruction among them; lifting up a most hideous cry, some pull up anchors, some for haste cut their cables, they set up their sails, they apply their oars, and stricken with extreme terror, in great haste they fled most confusedly. Among them the Pretorian galeas floating upon the seas, her rudder being broken, in great danger and fear, drew towards Calais, and striking in the sand was taken by Amias Preston, Thomas Gerard, and Harvey; Hugh Moncada the governor was slain, the soldiers and mariners were either killed or drowned; in her there was found great store of gold, which fell to be the prey of the English. The ship and ordnance went to the governor of Calais.

The Spaniards report, that the duke, when he saw the fire-ships coming, commanded all the fleet to heave up their anchors, but so as the danger being past, every ship might return again to his own station: and he himself returned, giving a sign to the rest by shooting off a gun; which was heard but by a few, for they were far off scattered, some into the open ocean, some through fear were driven upon the shallows of the coast of Flanders.

Over against Graveling the Spanish fleet

began to gather themselves together. But upon them came Drake and Fenner, and battered them with great ordnance: to these Fenton, Southwel, Beeston, Cross, Riman, and presently after the lord admiral, and Sheffield, came in. The duke Medina, Leva, Oquenda, Ricaldus, and others, with much ado getting themselves out of the shallows, sustained the English force as well as they might, until most of their ships were pierced and torn; the galleon St. Matthew, governed by Diego Pimentellus, coming to aid Francis Toletan, being in the St. Philip, was pierced and shaken with the reiterated shots of Seimor and Winter, and driven to Ostend, and was at last taken by the Flushingers. The St. Philip came to the like end: so did the galleon of Biscay and divers others.

The last day of this month, the Spanish fleet striving to recover the straits again, were driven towards Zealand. The English left off pursuing them, as the Spaniards thought because they saw them in a manner cast away; for they could not avoid the shallows of Zealand. But the wind turning, they got them out of the shallows, and then began to consult what were best for them to do. By common consent they resolved to return into Spain by the Northern seas, for they wanted many necessaries, especially shot, their ships were torn, and they had no hope that the duke of Parma could bring forth his forces. And so they took the sea, and followed the course toward the North. The English navy followed, and sometimes the Spanish turned upon the English, insomuch that it was thought by many that they would turn back again.

Queen Elizabeth caused an army to encamp at Tilbury. After the army was come thither, her majesty went in person to visit the camp, which then lay between the city of London and the sea, under the charge of the earl of Leicester, where placing herself between the enemy and her city, she viewed her army, passing through it divers times, and lodging in the borders of it, returned again and dined in the army. Afterwards when they were all reduced into battle, prepared as it were for fight, she rode round about with a leader's staff in her hand, only accompanied with the general and three or four others attending upon her.*

I could enlarge the description hereof with many more particulars of mine own observation (says the author), for I wandered, as many others did, from place to place, all the day, and never heard a word spoke of her, but in praising her for her stately person and princely behavior, in praying for her long life, and earnestly desiring to venture their lives for her safety. In her presence they sung psalms of praise to Almighty God, for which she greatly commended them, and devoutly praised God with them. This that I write you may be sure I do not with any comfort, but to give you these manifest arguments that neither this queen did discontent her people, nor her people show any discontent in any thing they were commanded to do for her service, as heretofore hath been imagined.

This account was related by a popish spy, in a letter written here in England to Mendea. The copy of which letter was found upon Richard Leigh, a seminary priest, in French and English: which priest was executed for high treason whilst the Spanish Armada was at sea.

The same day whereon the last fight was, the duke of Parma, after his vows offered to the lady of Halla, came somewhat late to Dunkirk; and was received with very opprobrious language by the Spaniards, as if in favor of queen Elizabeth he had slipped the fairest opportunity that could be to do the service. He, to make some satisfaction, punished the purveyors that had not made provision of beer, bread, &c. which was not yet ready nor embarked, secretly smiling at the insolence of the Spaniards,

*The queen made the following speech to the troops assembled at Tilbury—a speech which ought to be imprinted in the mind and heart of every Englishman, who is a lover of his country and his religion.

"My loving people, we have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honor and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: To which, rather than any dishonor should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and I do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valor in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."

when he heard them bragging, that what way soever they came upon England, they would have an undoubted victory; that the English were not able to endure the sight of them. The English admiral appointed Seimor and the Hollanders to watch upon the coast of Flanders, that the duke of Parma should not come out; whilst he himself close followed the Spaniards until they were past Edinburgh Frith.

The Spaniards, seeing all hopes fail, fled amain; and so this great navy, being three years preparing, with great expense, was within one month overthrown, and after many were killed, being chased again, was driven about all England, by Scotland, the Orcades, and Ireland, tossed and damaged with tempests, much diminished, and went home without glory. There were not a hundred men of the English lost, and but one ship. Whereupon money was coined with a navy fleeing away in full sail, with this inscription, *Venit, Vidit, Fugit.* Others were coined with the ships on fire, the navy confounded, inscribed, in honor of the queen, *Dux Fœmina Facti.* As they fled, it is certain that many of their ships were cast away upon the shores of Scotland and Ireland. Above seven hundred soldiers and mariners were cast away upon the Scottish shore, who, at the duke of Parma's intercession with the Scotch king, the queen of England consenting, were, after a year, sent into Flanders. But they that were cast upon the Irish shore came to more miserable fortunes; for some were killed by the wild Irish, and others were destroyed for fear they should join themselves with the wild Irish (which cruelty queen Elizabeth much condemned), and the rest being afraid, sick, and hungry, with their disabled ships, committed themselves to the sea, and many were drowned.

The queen went to public thanksgiving in St. Paul's church, accompanied by a glorious train of nobility, through the streets of London, which were hung with blue cloth, the companies standing on both sides in their liveries; the banners that were taken from the enemies were spread; she heard the sermon, and public thanks were rendered unto God with great joy. This public joy was augmented, when Sir Robert Sidney returned from Scotland, and brought from the king assurances of his noble mind and affection to the queen, and to religion; which as in sincerity he had established, so he purposed to maintain with all his power. Sir Robert Sidney was sent to him when the Spanish fleet was coming, to congratulate and return thanks for his great affection towards the maintenance of the common cause; and to declare how ready she would be to help him if the Spaniards should land in Scotland; and that he might recall to memory with what strange ambition the Spaniards had gaped for all Britain, urging the pope to excommunicate him, to the end that he might be thrust from the kingdom of Scotland, and from the succession in England: and to give him notice of the threatening of Mendoza, and the pope's nuncio, who threatened his ruin if they could effect it; and therefore warned him to take special heed to the Scottish papists.

The king pleasantly answered, That he looked for no other benefit from the Spaniards, than that which Polyphemus promised to Ulysses, to devour him last after his fellows were devoured.

It may not be improper here to subjoin a list of the different articles taken on board the Spanish ships, designed for the tormenting of the Protestants, had their scheme taken effect.

1. The common soldiers' pikes, eighteen feet long, pointed with long sharp spikes, and shod with iron, which were designed to keep off the horse, to facilitate the landing of the infantry.

2. A great number of lances used by the Spanish officers. These were formerly gilt, but the gold is almost worn off by cleaning.

3. The Spanish rancours, 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 called. These are engines of torture, made of iron, and put on board to lock together the feet, arms, and heads of Englishmen.

7. Spanish bilboes, made of iron, likewise, to yoke the English prisoners two and two.

8. Spanish shot, which are of four sorts: pike-shot, star-shot, chain-shot, and link-shot, all admirably contrived, as well for the destruction of the masts and rigging of ships, as for sweeping the decks of their men.

9. Spanish spadas poisoned at the point, so that if a man received the slightest wound

with one of them, certain death was the consequence.

10. A Spanish poll-ax, used in boarding of ships.

11. Thumb-screws, of which there were several chests full on board the Spanish fleet. The use they were intended for is said to have been to extort confession from the English where their money was hid.

12. The Spanish morning star; a destructive engine resembling the figure of a star, of which there were many thousands on board, and all of them with poisoned points; and were designed to strike at the enemy as they came on board, in case of a close attack.

13. The Spanish general's halberd, covered with velvet. All the nails of this weapon are double gilt with gold; and on its top is the pope's head, curiously engraved.

14. A Spanish battle-ax, 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 honor. On it are depicted, in most curious workmanship, the labors of Hercules, and other expressive allegories.

When the Spanish prisoners were asked by some of the English what their intentions were, had their expedition succeeded, they replied, "To extirpate the whole from the island, at least all heretics, (as they called the Protestants), and to send their souls to hell."—Strange infatuation! Ridiculous bigotry! How infernally prejudiced must the minds of those men 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 because they refused to believe on certain subjects as the Spaniards themselves did.

SECTION II.

Horrid Conspiracy by the Papists for the Destruction of James I. the Royal Family, and both Houses of Parliament; commonly known by the name of the Gunpowder Plot.

THE papists (of which there were great numbers in England at the time of the intended Spanish invasion) were so irritated at the failure of that expedition, that they were determined, if possible, to project a scheme at home, that might answer the purposes, in some degree, of their bloodthirsty competitors. The vigorous administration of Elizabeth, however, prevented their carrying any of their iniquitous designs into execution, although they made many attempts with that view. The commencement of the reign of her successor was destined to be the era of a plot, the infernal barbarity of which transcends every thing related in ancient or modern history.

In order to crush popery in the most effectual manner in this kingdom, James, soon after his accession, took proper measures for eclipsing the power of the Roman Catholics, by enforcing those laws which had been made against them by his predecessors. This enraged the papists to such a degree, that a conspiracy was formed, by some of the principal leaders, of the most daring and impious nature; namely, to blow up the king, the royal family, and both houses of parliament, while in full session, and thus to involve the nation in utter and inevitable ruin.

The infernal cabal who formed the resolution of putting in practice this horrid scheme, consisted of the following persons; Henry Garnet, an Englishman, who, about the year 1586, had been sent over here as superior of the English Jesuits; Catesby, an English gentleman; Tesmond, a Jesuit; Thomas Wright; two gentlemen of the name of Winter; Thomas Percy, a near relation of the earl of Northumberland; Guido Fawkes, a bold and enterprising soldier of fortune; Sir Edward Digby; John Grant, Esq.; Francis Tresham, Esq.; and Robert Keyes and Thomas Bates, gentlemen.

Most of these were men both of birth and fortune; and Catesby, who had a large estate, had already expended two thousand pounds in several voyages to the court of Spain, in order to introduce an army of Spaniards into England, for overturning the Protestant government, and restoring the Roman Catholic religion; but, being disappointed in his project of an invasion, he took an opportunity of disclosing to Percy (who was his intimate friend, and who, in a sudden fit of passion, had hinted a design of assassinating the king) a nobler and more extensive plan of treason, such as would include a sure execution of vengeance, and, at one blow, consign over to destruction all their enemies.

Percy assented to the project proposed by Catesby, and they resolved to impart the matter to a few more, and, by degrees, to all the rest of their cabal, every man

being bound by an oath, and taking the sacrament, (the most sacred rite of their religion,) not to disclose the least syllable of the matter, or to withdraw from the association, without the consent of all persons concerned.

These consultations were held in the spring and summer of the year 1604, and it was towards the close of that year that they began their operations; the manner of which, and the discovery, we shall relate with as much brevity as is consistent with perspicuity.

It had been agreed, that a few of the conspirators should run a mine below the hall in which the parliament was to assemble, and that they should choose the very moment when the king should deliver his speech to both houses, for springing the mine, and thus, by one blow, cut off the king, the royal family, lords, commons, and all the other enemies of the Catholic religion, in that very spot where that religion had been most oppressed. For this purpose Percy, who was at that time a gentleman pensioner, undertook to hire a house adjoining to the upper house of parliament, with all diligence. This was accordingly done, and the conspirators, expecting the parliament would meet on the 17th of February following, began, on the 11th of December, to dig in the cellar, through the wall of partition, which was three yards thick. There were seven in number joined in this labor: they went in by night, and never after appeared in sight, for, having supplied themselves with all necessary provisions, they had no occasion to go out. In case of discovery, they had provided themselves with powder, shot, and fire-arms, and had formed a resolution rather to die than be taken.

On Candlemas-day, 1605, they had dug so far through the wall as to be able to hear a noise on the other side; upon which unexpected event, fearing a discovery, Guido Fawkes (who personated Percy's footman) was dispatched to know the occasion, and returned with the favorable report, that the place from whence the noise came was a large cellar, under the upper house of parliament, full of sea-coal, which was then on sale, and the cellar offered to be let.

On this information, Percy immediately hired the cellar, and bought the remainder of the coals: he then sent for thirty barrels of gunpowder from Holland, and landing them at Lambeth, conveyed them gradually by night to this cellar, where they were covered with stones, iron bars, a thousand billets, and five hundred fagots; all which they did at their leisure, the parliament being prorogued to the 5th of November.

This being done, the conspirators next consulted how they should secure the duke of York,* who was too young to be expected at the parliament-house, and his sister the princess Elizabeth, educated at lord Harrington's, in Warwickshire. It was resolved, that Percy and another should enter into the duke's chamber, and a dozen more, properly disposed at several doors, with two or three on horseback at the court-gate to receive him, should carry him safe away as soon as the parliament-house was blown up; or, if that could not be effected, that they should kill him, and declare the princess Elizabeth queen, having secured her, under pretence of a hunting-match, that day.

Several of the conspirators proposed obtaining foreign aid previous to the execution of their design; but this was overruled, and it was agreed only to apply to France, Spain, and other powers, for assistance after the plot had taken effect: they also resolved to proclaim the princess Elizabeth queen, and to spread a report, after the blow was given, that the Puritans were the perpetrators of so inhuman an action.

All matters being now prepared by the conspirators, they, without the least remorse of conscience, and with the utmost impatience, expected the 5th of November. But all their counsels were blasted by a happy and providential circumstance. One of the conspirators, having a desire to save William Parker, lord Monteagle, sent him the following letter:

"My Lord,

"Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care for your preservation; therefore I advise you, as you tender your life, to devise you some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time: and think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into the country, where you may expect the event with safety; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow, this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past so soon (or as quickly) as you burn this letter; and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you."

The lord Monteagle was, for some time, at a loss what judgment to form of this

* Afterwards Charles I.

letter, and unresolved whether he should slight the advertisement or not; and fancying it a trick of his enemies to frighten him into an absence from parliament, would have determined on the former, had his own safety been only in question: but apprehending the king's life might be in danger, he took the letter at midnight to the earl of Salisbury, who was equally puzzled about the meaning of it; and though he was inclined to think it merely a wild and waggish contrivance to alarm Monteagle, yet he thought proper to consult about it with the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain. The expression, "that the blow should come, without knowing who hurt them," made them imagine that it would not be more proper than the time of parliament, nor by any other way 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 (as already mentioned), never used for any thing but wood or coal, belonging to Wineyard, the keeper of the palace; and having communicated the letter to the earls of Nottingham, Worcester, and Northampton, they proceeded no farther till the king came from Royston, on the 1st of November.

His majesty being shown the letter by the earls, who, at the same time, acquainted him with their suspicions, was of opinion that either nothing should be done, or else enough to prevent the danger; and that a search should be made on the day preceding that designed for the execution of the diabolical enterprise.

Accordingly, on Monday, the 4th of November, in the afternoon, the lord chamberlain, whose office it was to see all things put in readiness for the king's coming, accompanied by Monteagle, went to visit all places about the parliament house, and taking a slight occasion to see the cellar, observed only piles of billets and fagots, but in greater number than he thought Wineyard could want for his own use. On his asking who owned the wood, and being told it belonged to one Mr. Percy, he began to have some suspicions, knowing him to be a rigid papist, and so seldom there, that he had no occasion for such a quantity of fuel; and Monteagle confirmed him therein, by observing that Percy had made him great professions of friendship.

Though there were no other materials visible, yet Suffolk thought it was necessary to make a further 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 Knevat, 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 tinderbox and three matches in his pockets; and seizing him without any ceremony, or asking him any questions, as soon as the removal of the wood discovered the barrels of gunpowder, he caused him to be bound, and properly secured.

Fawkes, who was a hardened and intrepid villain, made no hesitation of avowing the design, and that it was to have been executed on the morrow. He made the same acknowledgment at his examination before a committee of the council; and though he did not deny having some associates in this conspiracy, yet no threats of torture could make him discover any of them, he declaring that "he was ready to die, and had rather suffer ten thousand deaths, than willingly accuse his master, or any other."

By repeated examinations, however, and assurances of his master's being apprehended, he at length acknowledged, "that whilst he was abroad, Percy had kept the keys of the cellar, had been in it since the powder had been laid there, and, in effect, that he was one of the principal actors in the intended tragedy."

In the mean time it was found out, that Percy had come post out of the north on Saturday night, the 2d of November, and had dined on Monday at Sion-House, with the earl of Northumberland; that Fawkes had met him on the road; and that, after the lord-chamberlain had been that evening in the cellar, he went, about six o'clock, to his master, who had fled immediately, apprehending the plot was detected.

The news of the discovery immediately spreading, the conspirators fled different ways, but chiefly into Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby had appointed a hunting-match, near Dunchurch, to get a number of recusants together, sufficient to seize the princess Elizabeth; but this design was prevented by her taking refuge in Coventry; and their whole party, making about one hundred, retired to Holbeach, the seat of Sir Stephen Littleton, on the borders of Staffordshire, having broken open stables, and taken horses from different people in the adjoining counties.

Sir Richard Walsh, high-sheriff of Worcestershire, pursued them to Holbeach, where he invested them, and summoned them to surrender. In preparing for their defence, they put some moist powder before a fire to dry, and a spark from the coals setting it on fire, some of the conspirators were so burned in their faces, thighs, and arms, that they were scarcely able to handle their weapons. Their case was desperate, and no means of escape appearing, unless by forcing their way through the assailants, they made a furious sally for that purpose. Catesby (who first proposed the manner of the plot) and Percy were both killed. Thomas Winter, Grant, Digby, Rookwood, and Bates, were taken and carried to London, where the first made a full discovery of the conspiracy. Tresham, lurking about the city, and frequently shifting his quarters, was apprehended soon after, and, having confessed the whole matter, died of the stranguary, in the Tower. The earl of Northumberland, suspected on account of his being related to Thomas Percy, was, by way of precaution, committed to the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth; and was afterwards fined thirty thousand pounds, and sent to the Tower, for admitting Percy into the band of gentlemen pensioners, without tendering him the oath of supremacy.

Some escaped to Calais, and arriving there with others who fled to avoid a prosecution, which they apprehended on this occasion, were kindly received by the governor; but one of them declaring before him, that he was not so much concerned at his exile, as that the powder-plot did not take effect, the governor was so much incensed at his glorying in such an execrable piece of iniquity, that, in a sudden impulse of indignation, he endeavored to throw him into the sea.

On the 27th of January, 1606, eight of the conspirators were tried and convicted; among whom was Sir Everard Digby, the only one that pleaded guilty to the indictment, though all the rest had confessed their guilt before. Digby was executed on the 30th of the same month, with Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, at the west end of St. Paul's church-yard; Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rookwood, and Fawkes, were executed the following day in Old Palace-yard.

Garnet was tried on the 28th of March, "for his knowledge and concealment of the conspiracy; for administering an oath of secrecy to the conspirators, for persuading them of the lawfulness of the treason, and for praying for the success of the great action in hand at the beginning of the parliament." Being found guilty,* he received sentence of death, but was not executed till the 3d of May, when, confessing his own guilt, and the iniquity of the enterprise, he exhorted all Roman Catholics to abstain from the like treasonable practices in future. Gerard and Hull, two Jesuits, got abroad; and Littleton, with several others, were executed in the country.

The lord Monteagle had a grant of two hundred pounds a year in land, and a pension of five hundred pounds for life, as a reward for discovering the letter which gave the first hint of the conspiracy; and the anniversary of this providential deliverance was ordered to be for ever commemorated by prayer and thanksgiving.

Thus was this diabolical scheme happily rendered abortive, and the authors of it brought to that condign punishment which their wickedness merited. In this affair Providence manifestly interposed in behalf of the Protestants, and saved them from that destruction which must have taken place, had the scheme succeeded according to the wishes of a bigoted, superstitious, and bloodthirsty faction.

SECTION III.

Rise and Progress of the Protestant Religion in Ireland; with an Account of the Barbarous Massacre of 1641.

The gloom of popery had overshadowed Ireland, from its first establishment there till the reign of Henry VIII., when the rays of the gospel began to dispel the darkness, and afford that light which had till then been unknown in that island. The abject ignorance in which the people were held, with the absurd and superstitious notions they entertained, were sufficiently evident to many; and the artifices of their priests were so conspicuous, that several persons of distinction, who had hitherto been strenuous papists, would willingly have endeavored to shake off the yoke, and

*Although Garnet was convicted of this horrible crime, yet the bigoted papists were so besotted as to look upon him as an object of devotion; they fancied that miracles were wrought by his blood, and regarded him as a martyr! Such is the deadening and perverting influence of popery!

embrace the Protestant religion; but the natural ferocity of the people, and their strong attachment to the ridiculous doctrines which they had been taught, made the attempt dangerous. It was, however, at length undertaken, though attended with the most horrid and disastrous consequences.

The introduction of the Protestant religion into Ireland may be principally attributed to George Browne, an Englishman, who was consecrated archbishop of Dublin, on the 19th of March, 1535. He had formerly been an Augustine friar, and was promoted to the mitre on account of his merit.

After having enjoyed his dignity about five years, he, at the time that Henry VIII. was suppressing the religious houses in England, caused all the relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and the other churches in his diocese; in the place of which he caused to be put up the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments.

A short time after this, he received a letter from Thomas Cromwell, lord privy-seal, informing him that Henry VIII. having thrown off the papal supremacy in England, was determined to do the like in Ireland; and that he thereupon had appointed him (archbishop Browne) one of the commissioners for seeing this order put in execution. The archbishop answered, that he had employed his utmost endeavors, at the hazard of his life, to cause the Irish nobility and gentry to acknowledge Henry as their supreme head, in matters both spiritual and temporal; but had met with a most violent opposition, especially from George, archbishop of Armagh: that this prelate had, in a speech to his clergy, laid a curse on all those who should own his highness's* supremacy; adding, that their isle, called in the Chronicles *Insula Sacra*, or the Holy Island, belonged to none but the bishop of Rome; and that the king's progenitors had received it from the pope. He observed likewise, that the archbishop, and the clergy of Armagh, had each dispatched a courier to Rome; and that it would be necessary for a parliament to be called in Ireland, to pass an act of supremacy, the people not regarding the king's commission without the sanction of the legislative assembly. He concluded with observing, that the popes had kept the people in the most profound ignorance; that the clergy were exceedingly illiterate; that the common people were more zealous, in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs had been in the defence of truth at the beginning of the gospel; and that it was to be feared Shan O'Neal, a chieftain of great power in the northern part of the island, was decidedly opposed to the king's commission.

In pursuance of this advice, the following year a parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin, by order of Leonard Grey, at that time lord-lieutenant. At this assembly archbishop Browne made a speech, in which he set forth, that the bishops of Rome used, anciently, to acknowledge emperors, kings, and princes, to be supreme in their own dominions; and, therefore, that he himself would vote king Henry VIII. as supreme in all matters, both ecclesiastical and temporal. He concluded with saying, that whosoever should refuse to vote for this act, was not a true subject of the king. This speech greatly startled the other bishops and lords; but at length, after violent debates, the king's supremacy was allowed.

Two years after this the archbishop wrote a second letter to lord Cromwell, complaining of the clergy, and hinting at the machinations which the pope was then carrying on against the advocates of the gospel. This letter is dated from Dublin, in April, 1538; and among other matters, the archbishop says, "A bird may be taught to speak with as much sense as many of the clergy do in this country. These, though not scholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his highness's orders. The country folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, the Blacksmith's Son. As a friend, I desire your lordship to look to your noble person. Rome hath a great kindness for the duke of Norfolk, and great favors for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness."

A short time after this, the pope sent over to Ireland (directed to the archbishop of Armagh and his clergy) a bull of excommunication against all who had, or should own the king's supremacy within the Irish nation; denouncing a curse on all of them, and theirs, who should not, within forty days, acknowledge to their confessors, that they had done amiss in so doing.

Archbishop Browne gave notice of this, in a letter, dated Dublin, May, 1538. Part of the form of confession, or vow, sent over to these Irish papists, ran as follows: "I do further declare, him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friend or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold, for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil power above the authority of the mother church

* The king of England was at that time called *highness*, not *majesty*, as at present.

or that do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of her the mother of churches' opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here sworn unto: so God, the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Holy Evangelists, help me," &c. This is an exact agreement with the doctrines promulgated by the councils of Lateran and Constance, which expressly declare, that no favor should be shown to heretics, nor faith kept with them; that they ought to be excommunicated and condemned, and their estates confiscated; and that princes are obliged by a solemn oath to root them out of their respective dominions.

How abominable a church must that be, which thus dares to trample upon all authority! how besotted the people who regard the injunctions of such a church!

In the archbishop's last-mentioned letter, dated May, 1538, he says, "His highness's viceroy of this nation is of little or no power with the old natives. Now both English and Irish begin to oppose your lordship's orders, and to lay aside their national quarrels, which I fear will (if any thing will) cause a foreigner to invade this nation."

Not long after this, archbishop Browne seized one Thady O'Brian, a Franciscan friar, who had in his possession a paper sent from Rome, dated May, 1538, and directed to O'Neal. In this letter were the following words: "His holiness Paul, now pope, and the council of the fathers, have lately found, in Rome, a prophecy of one St. Lacerianus, an Irish bishop of Cashel, in which he saith, that the mother church of Rome falleth, when, in Ireland, the Catholic faith is overcome. Therefore, for the glory of the mother church, the honor of St. Peter, and your own secureness, suppress heresy, and his holiness's enemies."

This Thady O'Brian, after farther examination and search made, was pilloried, and kept close prisoner, till the king's order arrived in what manner he should be farther disposed of. But order coming over from England that he was to be hanged, he laid violent hands on himself in the castle of Dublin. His body was afterwards carried to Gallows-green, where, after being hanged up for some time, it was interred.

After the accession of Edward VI. to the throne of England, an order was directed to Sir Anthony Leger, the lord-deputy of Ireland, commanding that the liturgy in English be forthwith set up in Ireland, there to be observed within the several bishoprics, cathedrals, and parish churches; and it was first read in Christ-church, Dublin, on Easter-day, 1551, before the said Sir Anthony, archbishop Browne, and others. Part of the royal order for this purpose was as follows:

"Whereas our gracious father, king Henry VIII. taking into consideration the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects sustained, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome; how several fabulous stories and lying wonders misled our subjects; dispensing with the sins of our nations, by their indulgences and pardons, for gain; purposely to cherish all evil vices, as robberies, rebellions, theft, whoredoms, blasphemy, idolatry, &c. our gracious father hereupon dissolved all priories, monasteries, abbeys, and other pretended religious houses; as being but nurseries for vice or luxury, more than for sacred learning," &c.

On the day after the common prayer was first used in Christ-church, Dublin, the following wicked scheme was projected by the papists:

In the church was left a marble image of Christ, holding a reed in his hand, with a crown of thorns on his head. Whilst the English service (the Common Prayer) was being read before the lord-lieutenant, the archbishop of Dublin, the privy-council, the lord-mayor, and a great congregation, blood was seen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, and to trickle down the face of the image. On this, some of the contrivers of the imposture cried aloud: "See how our Savior's image sweats blood! But it must necessarily do this, since heresy is come into the church." Immediately many of the lower order of people, indeed the *vulgar of all ranks*, were terrified at the sight of so *miraculous* and *undeniable* an evidence of the Divine displeasure; they hastened from the church, convinced that the doctrines of Protestantism emanated from an infernal source, and that salvation was only to be found in the bosom of their own *infallible* church.

This incident, however ridiculous it may appear to the enlightened reader, had great influence over the minds of the ignorant Irish, and answered the ends of the impudent impostors who contrived it, so far as to check the progress of the reformed religion in Ireland very materially; many persons could not resist the conviction that there were many errors and corruptions in the Romish church, but they were awed into silence by this pretended manifestation of Divine wrath, which was magnified beyond measure by the bigoted and interested priesthood.

We have very few particulars as to the state of religion in Ireland during the remaining portion of the reign of Edward VI. and the greater part of that of Mary. Towards the conclusion of the barbarous sway of that relentless bigot, she attempted to extend her inhuman persecutions to this island; but her diabolical intentions were

happily frustrated in the following providential manner, the particulars of which are related by historians of good authority.

Mary had appointed Dr. Cole (an agent of the bloodthirsty Bonner) one of the commissioners for carrying her barbarous intentions into effect. He having arrived at Chester with his commission, the mayor of that city, being a papist, waited upon him; when the doctor, taking out of his cloak-bag a leathern case, said to him, "Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland." The good woman of the house being a Protestant, and having a brother in Dublin, named John Edmunds, was greatly troubled at what she heard. But watching her opportunity, whilst the mayor was taking his leave, and the doctor politely accompanying him down stairs, she opened the box, took out the commission, and in its stead laid a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards, and the *knave of clubs* at top. The doctor, not suspecting the trick that had been played him, put up the box, and arrived with it in Dublin in September, 1558.

Anxious to accomplish the intentions of his "*pious*" mistress, he immediately waited upon lord Fitz-Walter, at that time viceroy, and presented the box to him; which being opened, nothing was found in it but a pack of cards. This startling all the persons present, his lordship said, "We must procure another commission; and in the mean time let us shuffle the cards!"

Dr. Cole, however, would have directly returned to England to get another commission; but waiting for a favorable wind, news arrived that queen Mary was dead, and by this means the Protestants escaped a most cruel persecution. The above relation, as we before observed, is confirmed by historians of the greatest credit, who add, that queen Elizabeth settled a pension of forty pounds per annum upon the abovementioned Elizabeth Edmunds, for having thus saved the lives of her Protestant subjects.

During the reigns of Elizabeth and of James I. Ireland was almost constantly agitated by rebellions and insurrections, which, although not always taking their rise from the difference of religious opinions between the English and Irish, were aggravated and rendered more bitter and irreconcilable from that cause. The popish priests artfully exaggerated the faults of the English government, and continually urged to their ignorant and prejudiced hearers the lawfulness of killing the Protestants, assuring them that all Catholics who were slain in the prosecution of so *pious* an enterprise would be immediately received into everlasting felicity. The naturally ungovernable dispositions of the Irish, acted upon by these designing men, drove them into continual acts of barbarous and unjustifiable violence, and it must be confessed that the unsettled and arbitrary nature of the authority exercised by the English governors was but little calculated to gain their affections. The Spaniards, too, by landing forces in the south, and giving every encouragement to the discontented natives to join their standard, kept the island in a continual state of turbulence and warfare. In 1601 they disembarked a body of 4000 men at Kinsale, and commenced what they called "*the holy war for the preservation of the faith in Ireland;*" they were assisted by great numbers of the Irish, but were at length totally defeated by the deputy, lord Mountjoy, and his officers.

This closed the transactions of Elizabeth's reign with respect to Ireland; an interval of apparent tranquillity followed, but the popish priesthood, ever restless and designing, sought to undermine by secret machinations that government and that faith which they durst no longer openly attack. The pacific reign of James afforded them the opportunity of increasing their strength and maturing their schemes; and under his successor, Charles I. their numbers were greatly increased by titular Romish archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars-general, abbots, priests, and friars; for which reason, in 1629, the public exercise of the popish rites and ceremonies was forbidden.

But notwithstanding this, soon afterwards the Romish clergy erected a new popish university in the city of Dublin. They also proceeded to build monasteries and nunneries in various parts of the kingdom; in which places these very Romish clergy, and the chiefs of the Irish, held frequent meetings; and, from thence, used to pass to and fro, to France, Spain, Flanders, Lorrain, and Rome; where the detestable plot of 1641 was hatching by the family of the O'Neals and their followers.

A short time before the horrid conspiracy broke out, which we are now going to relate, the papists in Ireland had presented a remonstrance to the lords-justices of that kingdom, demanding the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary; to which both houses of parliament in England solemnly answered, that they would never grant any toleration to the popish religion in that kingdom.*

* In this proceeding both parties were most probably wrong; the Catholics asked too boldly, and the Protestants denied too harshly; but that was the age of intolerance. Now, however, that we have repaired the errors of our ancestors, and have granted that toleration which the papists then required, they extend their demands; like the insatiate conqueror of the North, they "think nothing gained, while aught to gain remains."

This farther irritated the papists to put in execution the diabolical plot concerted for the destruction of the Protestants; and it failed not of the success wished for by its malicious and rancorous projectors.

The design of this horrid conspiracy was, that a general insurrection should take place at the same time throughout the kingdom; and that all the Protestants, without exception, should be murdered. The day fixed for this horrid massacre was the 23d of October, 1641, the feast of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits; and the chief conspirators, in the principal parts of the kingdom, made the necessary preparations for the intended conflict.

In order that this detested scheme might the more infallibly succeed, the most distinguished artifices were practised by the papists; and their behavior, in their visits to the Protestants, at this time, was with more seeming kindness than they had hitherto shown, which was done the more completely to effect the inhuman and treacherous designs then meditating against them.

The execution of this savage conspiracy was delayed till the approach of winter, that the sending troops from England might be attended with greater difficulty. Cardinal Richelieu, the French minister, had promised the conspirators a considerable supply of men and money; and many Irish officers had given the strongest assurances, that they would heartily concur with their Catholic brethren, as soon as the insurrection took place.

The day preceding that appointed for carrying this horrid design into execution was now arrived, when, happily for the metropolis of the kingdom, the conspiracy was discovered by one Owen O'Connelly, an Irishman, for which most signal service the English parliament voted him £500, and a pension of £200 during his life.

So very seasonably was this plot discovered, even but a few hours before the city and castle of Dublin were to have been surprised, that the lords-justices had but just time to put themselves, and the city, in a proper posture of defence. The lord M'Guire, who was the principal leader here, with his accomplices, were seized the same evening in the city; and in their lodgings were found swords, hatchets, pole-axes, hammers, and such other instruments of death as had been prepared for the destruction and extirpation of the Protestants in that part of the kingdom.

Thus was the metropolis happily preserved; but the bloody part of the intended tragedy was past prevention. The conspirators were in arms all over the kingdom early in the morning of the day appointed, and every Protestant who fell in their way was immediately murdered. No age, no sex, no condition, was spared. The wife, weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, and the infirm, underwent the same fate, and were blended in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault: destruction was everywhere let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends: all connexions were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace, and, as they thought, full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbors, with whom they had long maintained a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices. Nay, even death was the slightest punishment inflicted by these monsters in human form; all the tortures which wanton cruelty could invent, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no just cause whatever. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmost license, cannot reach to a greater pitch of ferocity than appeared in these merciless barbarians. Even the weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. The very children, taught by example, and encouraged by the exhortation of their parents, dealt their feeble blows on the dead carcasses of defenceless children of the English.

Nor was the avarice of the Irish sufficient to produce the least restraint on their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle they had seized, and by rapine had made their own, were, because they bore the name of English, wantonly slaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods, there to perish by slow and lingering torments.

The commodious habitations of the planters were laid in ashes, or levelled with the ground. And where the wretched owners had shut themselves up in the houses, and were preparing for defence, they perished in the flames together with their wives and children.

Such is the general description of this unparalleled massacre; but it now remains, from the nature of our work, that we proceed to particulars.

The bigoted and merciless papists had no sooner begun to imbrue their hands in

blood, than they repeated the horrid tragedy day after day; and the Protestants in all parts of the kingdom fell victims to their fury by deaths of the most unheard-of cruelty.

The ignorant Irish were more strongly instigated to execute the infernal business by the jesuits, priests, and friars, who, when the day for the execution of the plot was agreed on, recommended, in their prayers, diligence in the great design, which they said would greatly tend to the prosperity of the kingdom, and to the advancement of the Catholic cause. They everywhere declared to the common people, that the Protestants were heretics, and ought not to be suffered to live any longer among them; adding, that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman than to kill a dog; and that the relieving or protecting them was a crime of the most unpardonable nature.

The papists having besieged the town and castle of Longford, and the inhabitants of the former, who were Protestants, surrendering on condition of being allowed quarter, the besiegers, the instant the towns-people appeared, attacked them in the most unmerciful manner, their priest, as a signal for the rest to fall on, first ripping open the belly of the English Protestant minister; after which his followers murdered all the rest, some of whom they hung, others were stabbed or shot, and great numbers were knocked on the head with axes provided for the purpose.

The garrison of Sligo was treated in like manner by O'Connor Slygah; who, upon the Protestants quitting their holds, promised them quarter, and to convey them safe over the Curlew mountains, to Roscommon. But he first imprisoned them in a most lothesome jail, allowing them only grains for their food. Afterwards, when some papists were merry over their cups, who were come to congratulate their wicked brethren for their victory over these unhappy creatures, those Protestants who survived were brought forth by the white friars, and were either killed, or precipitated over the bridge into a swift water, where they were soon destroyed. It is added, that this wicked company of white friars went some time after in solemn procession, with holy water in their hands, to sprinkle the river, on pretence of cleansing and purifying it from the stains and pollution of the blood and dead bodies of the heretics, as they called the unfortunate Protestants who were inhumanly slaughtered at this time.

At Kilmore, Dr. Bedell, bishop of that see, had charitably settled and supported a great number of distressed Protestants, who had fled from their habitations to escape the diabolical cruelties committed by the papists. But they did not long enjoy the consolation of living together; the good prelate was forcibly dragged from his episcopal residence, which was immediately occupied by Dr. Swiney, the popish titular bishop of Kilmore, who said mass in the church the Sunday following, and then seized on all the goods and effects belonging to the persecuted bishop.

Soon after this, the papists forced Dr. Bedell, his two sons, and the rest of his family, with some of the chief of the Protestants whom he had protected, into a ruinous castle, called Lochwater, situated in a lake near the sea. Here he remained with his companions some weeks, all of them daily expecting to be put to death. The greatest part of them were stripped naked, by which means, as the season was cold, (it being in the month of December,) and the building in which they were confined open at the top, they suffered the most severe hardships.

They continued in this situation till the 7th of January, when they were all released. The bishop was courteously received into the house of Dennis O'Sheridan, one of his clergy, whom he had made a convert to the church of England; but he did not long survive this kindness.

During his residence here, he spent the whole of his time in religious exercises, the better to fit and prepare himself, and his sorrowful companions, for their great change, as nothing but certain death was perpetually before their eyes.

He was at this time in the 71st year of his age, and being afflicted with a violent ague caught in his late cold and desolate habitation on the lake, it soon threw him into a fever of the most dangerous nature. Finding his dissolution at hand, he received it with joy, like one of the primitive martyrs just hastening to his crown of glory. After having addressed his little flock, and exhorted them to patience, in the most pathetic manner, as they saw their own last day approaching; after having solemnly blessed his people, his family, and his children, he finished the course of his ministry and life together, on the 7th of February, 1642.

His friends and relations applied to the intruding bishop, for leave to bury him, which was with difficulty obtained; he, at first, telling them, that the church-yard was holy ground, and should be no longer defiled with heretics: however, leave was at last granted, and though the church funeral service was not used at the solemnity, (for fear of the Irish papists) yet some of the better sort, who had the highest vene-

ration for him when living, attended his remains to the grave. At his interment, they discharged a volley of shot, crying out, *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum:* that is, "May the last of the English rest in peace." Adding, that as he was one of the best, so he should be the last English bishop found among them.

His learning was very extensive; and he would have given the world a greater proof of it, had he printed all he wrote. Scarce any of his writings were saved; the papists having destroyed most of his papers and his library.

He had gathered a vast heap of critical expositions of Scripture, all which, with a great trunk full of his manuscripts, fell into the hands of the Irish. Happily his great Hebrew MS. was preserved, and is now in the library of Emanuel college, Oxford.

In the barony of Terawley, the papists, at the instigation of their friars, compelled above 40 English Protestants, some of whom were women and children, to the hard fate either of falling by the sword, or of drowning in the sea. These choosing the latter, were accordingly forced, by the naked weapons of their inexorable persecutors, into the deep, where, with their children in their arms, they first waded up to their chins, and afterwards sunk down and perished together.

In the castle of Lisgool upwards of 150 men, women, and children, were all burnt together; and at the castle of Moneah not less than 100 were put to the sword. Great numbers were also murdered at the castle of Tullah, which was delivered up to M'Guire, on condition of having fair quarter; but no sooner had that base villain got possession of the place, than he ordered his followers to murder the people, which was immediately done with the greatest cruelty.

Many others were put to deaths of the most horrid nature, and such as could have been invented only by demons instead of men.

Some of them were laid with the centre of their backs on the axletree of a carriage, with their legs resting on the ground on one side, and their arms and head on the other. In this position one of the savages scourged the wretched object on the thighs, legs, &c., while another set on furious dogs, who tore to pieces the arms and upper parts of the body; and in this dreadful manner were they deprived of their existence.

Great numbers were fastened to horses' tails, and the beasts being set on full gallop by their riders, the wretched victims were dragged along till they expired.

Others were hung upon lofty gibbets, and a fire being kindled under them, they finished their lives, partly by hanging, and partly by suffocation.

Nor did the more tender sex escape the least particle of cruelty that could be projected by their merciless and furious persecutors. Many women, of all ages, were put to deaths of the most cruel nature. Some, in particular, were fastened with their backs to strong posts, and being stripped to the waist, the inhuman monsters cut off their right breasts with shears, which, of course, put them to the most excruciating torments; and in this position they were left, till, from the loss of blood, they expired.

Such was the savage ferocity of these barbarians, that even unborn infants were dragged from the womb to become victims to their rage. Many unhappy mothers were hung naked on the branches of trees, and their bodies being cut open, the innocent offspring was taken from them, and thrown to dogs and swine. And, to increase the horrid scene, they would oblige the husband to be a spectator before he suffered himself.

At the town of Lissenskeath they hanged above 100 Scottish Protestants, showing them no more mercy than they did to the English.

M'Guire, going to the castle of that town, desired to speak with the governor, when being admitted, he immediately burnt the records of the county, which were kept there. He then demanded 1000*l.* of the governor, which having received, he immediately compelled him to hear mass, and to swear that he would continue so to do. And to complete his horrid barbarities, he ordered the wife and children of the governor to be hung up before his face; besides massacring at least 100 of the inhabitants.

Upwards of 1000 men, women, and children, were driven, in different companies, to Portendown bridge, which was broken in the middle, and there compelled to throw themselves into the water; and such as attempted to reach the shore were knocked on the head.

In the same part of the country, at least 4000 persons were drowned in different places. The inhuman papists, after first stripping them, drove them like beasts to the spot fixed for their destruction; and if any, through fatigue, or natural infirmities, were slack in their pace, they pricked them with their swords and pikes; and to strike a farther terror in the multitude, they murdered some by the way. Many of these poor creatures, when thrown into the water, endeavored to save themselves by swimming to the shore; but their merciless persecu-

tors prevented their endeavors taking effect, by shooting them in the water.

In one place 140 English, after being driven for many miles stark naked, and in the most severe weather, were all murdered on the same spot, some being hanged, others burnt, some shot, and many of them buried alive; and so cruel were their tormentors, that they would not suffer them to pray before they robbed them of their miserable existence.

Other companies they took under pretence of safe-conduct, who, from that consideration, proceeded cheerfully on their journey; but when the treacherous papists had got them to a convenient spot, they butchered them all in the most cruel manner.

One hundred and fifteen men, women, and children, were conducted, by order of Sir Phelim O'Neal, to Portendown bridge, where they were all forced into the river, and drowned. One woman, named Campbell, finding no probability of escaping, suddenly clasped one of the chief of the papists in her arms, and held him so fast that they were both drowned together.

In Killoman they massacred 48 families, among whom 22 were burnt together in one house. The rest were either hanged, shot, or drowned.

In Kilmore the inhabitants, which consisted of about 200 families, all fell victims to their rage. Some of the Protestants were set in the stocks till they confessed where their money was; after which they were put to death. The whole country was one common scene of butchery, and many thousands perished, in a short time, by sword, famine, fire, water, and all other the most cruel deaths that rage and malice could invent.

These inhuman villains showed so much favor to some as to dispatch them immediately; but they would by no means suffer them to pray. Others they imprisoned in filthy dungeons, putting heavy bolts on their legs, and keeping them there till they were starved to death.

At Cashel they put all the Protestants into a lothesome dungeon, where they kept them together for several weeks in the greatest misery. At length they were released, when some of them were barbarously mangled, and left on the highways to perish at leisure; others were hanged, and some were buried in the ground upright, with their heads above the earth, the papists, to increase their misery, treating them with derision during their sufferings.

In the county of Antrim they murdered 954 Protestants in one morning; and afterwards about 1200 more in that county.

At a town called Lisnegary, they forced 24 Protestants into a house, and then setting fire to it, burned them together, counterfeiting their outcries in derision to others.

Among other acts of cruelty, they took two children belonging to an Englishwoman, and dashed out their brains before her face; after which they threw the mother into a river, and she was drowned. They served many other children in the like manner, to the great affliction of their parents, and the disgrace of human nature.

In Kilkenny all the Protestants, without exception, were put to death; and some of them in so cruel a manner, as, perhaps, was never before thought of.

They beat an Englishwoman with such savage barbarity, that she had scarce a whole bone left; after which they threw her into a ditch; but not satisfied with this, they took her child, a girl of about six years of age, and after ripping up its belly, threw it to its mother, there to languish till it perished.

They forced one man to go to mass, after which they ripped open his body, and in that manner left him. They sawed another asunder, cut the throat of his wife, and after having dashed out the brains of their child, an infant, threw it to the swine, who greedily devoured it.

After committing these and various other horrid cruelties, they took the heads of seven Protestants, and among them that of a pious minister, all which they fixed up at the market cross. They put a gag into the minister's mouth, then slit his cheeks to his ears, and laying a leaf of a Bible before it, bid him preach, for his mouth was wide enough. They did several other things by way of derision, and expressed the greatest satisfaction at having thus murdered and exposed the unhappy Protestants.

It is impossible to conceive the pleasure these monsters took in exercising their cruelty; and to increase the misery of those who fell into their hands, while they were butchering them, they would cry, "Your soul to the devil!"

One of these miscreants would come into a house with his hands imbrued in blood, and boast that it was English blood, and that his sword had pricked the white skins of Protestants, even to the hilt.

When any one of them had killed a Protestant, others would come and receive a gratification in cutting and mangling the body; after which they left it to be devoured by dogs; and wher they had slain a number of them, they would boast that the devil was beholden to them for sending so many souls to hell!

But it is no wonder they should thus treat

the innocent Christians, when they hesitated not to commit blasphemy against God and his most holy word.

In one place they burnt two Protestant Bibles, and then said they had burnt hell-fire. In the church at Powerscourt, they burnt the pulpit, pews, chests, and Bibles belonging to it. They took other Bibles, and, after wetting them with dirty water, dashed them in the faces of the Protestants, saying, "We know you love a good lesson; here is an excellent one for you; come to-morrow, and you shall have as good a sermon as this."

Some of the Protestants they dragged by the hair of their heads into the church, where they stripped and whipped them in the most cruel manner, telling them, at the same time, "That if they came to-morrow, they should hear the like sermon."

In Munster they put to death several ministers in the most shocking manner. One, in particular, they stripped stark naked, and driving him before them, pricked him with swords and pikes till he fell down, and expired.

In some places they plucked out the eyes, and cut off the hands of the Protestants, and in that condition turned them into the fields, there to linger out the remainder of their miserable existence.

They obliged many young men to force their aged parents to a river, where they were drowned; wives to assist in hanging their husbands; and mothers to cut the throats of their children.

In one place they compelled a young man to kill his father, and then immediately hanged him. In another they forced a woman to kill her husband, then obliged her son to kill her, and afterwards shot him through the head.

At a place called Glaslow, a popish priest, with some others, prevailed on 40 Protestants to be reconciled to the church of Rome, under the vain hope of saving their lives. They had no sooner done this, than the deceivers told them they were in a good faith, and that they would prevent their falling from it, and turning heretics, by sending them out of the world; which they did by immediately cutting their throats.

In the county of Tipperary a great number of Protestants, men, women, and children, fell into the hands of the papists, who, after stripping them naked, murdered them with stones, pole-axes, swords, and other weapons.

In the county of Mayo about 60 Protestants, 15 of whom were ministers, were, upon covenant, to be safely conducted to Galway, by one Edmund Burke and his soldiers; but that inhuman monster by the way drew his sword, as an intimation of his design to the rest, who immediately followed his example, and murdered the whole, some of whom they stabbed, others were run through the body with pikes, and several were drowned.

In Queen's county great numbers of Protestants were put to the most shocking deaths. Fifty or sixty were confined together in one house, which, being set on fire, they all perished in the flames.*

Many were stripped naked, and being fastened to horses by ropes placed round their middles, were dragged through bogs till they expired.

Some were hung by the feet to tenter-hooks driven into poles, and in that wretched posture left till they perished.

Others were fastened to the trunk of a tree, with a branch at the top. Over this branch hung one arm, which principally supported the weight of the body; and one of the legs was turned up, and fastened to the trunk, while the other hung straight. In this dreadful and uneasy posture did they remain, as long as life would permit, pleasing spectacles to their bloodthirsty persecutors.

* At Clownes 17 men were buried alive; and an Englishman, his wife, five children, and a servant maid, were all hung together, and afterwards thrown into a ditch.

They hung many by the arms to branches of trees, with a weight to their feet; and others by the middle, in which postures they left them till they expired.

Several were hung on windmills, and before they were half dead, the barbarians cut them in pieces with their swords. Others, both men, women, and children, they cut and 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 a twelvemonth old, the latter of whom was hung by the neck with the hair of its mother's head, and in that manner finished its short but miserable existence.

* This worse than diabolical method of exterminating whole families at once, is not yet obsolete among the barbarous savages of the south of Ireland. To the disgrace of human nature, we have more than one recent instance among them of this almost incredible cruelty. The murderous catastrophe of the Sheas is unparalleled, even among the Indians of North America, or the cannibals of the South Sea Islands. Nevertheless, ignorant and benighted as these poor creatures, even now, are, they are rather objects of pity than of detestation.—It is our duty to pray that the Source of all good will incline their hearts to receive the doctrines of his pure gospel—that He will illumine their darkened minds with the light of truth—so that they may abandon the bondage of Satan, and become the cheerful ministers of the will of Him, "whose service is perfect freedom."

In the county of Tyrone no less than 300 Protestants were drowned in one day; and many others were hanged, burned, and otherwise put to death.

Dr. Maxwell, rector of Tyrone, lived at this time near Armagh, and suffered greatly from these merciless savages. This clergyman, in his examination, taken upon oath before the king's commissioners, declared, that the Irish papists owned to him, that they had destroyed in one place, at Glynwood, 12,000 Protestants, in their flight from the county of Armagh.

As the river Bann was not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Irish forced thither, at different times, a great number of unarmed, defenceless Protestants, and with pikes and swords violently thrust above 1000 into the river, where they miserably perished.

Nor did the cathedral of Armagh escape the fury of these barbarians, it being maliciously set on fire by their leaders, and burnt to the ground. And to extirpate, if possible, the very race of those unhappy Protestants, who lived in or near Armagh, the Irish first burnt all their houses, and then gathered together many hundreds of those innocent people, young and old, on pretence of allowing them a guard and safe-conduct to Coleraine; when they treacherously fell on them by the way, and inhumanly murdered them.

The like horrid barbarities with those we have particularized, were practised on the wretched Protestants in almost all parts of the kingdom; and, when an estimate was afterwards made of the number who were sacrificed to gratify the diabolical souls of the papists, it amounted to 150,000. But it now remains that we proceed to the particulars that followed.

These desperate wretches, flushed and grown insolent with success, (though attained by methods attended with such excessive barbarities as perhaps are not to be equalled,) soon got possession of the castle of Newry, where the king's stores and ammunition were lodged; and, with as little difficulty, made themselves masters of Dundalk. They afterwards took the town of Ardee, where they murdered all the Protestants, and then proceeded to Drogheda. The garrison of Drogheda was in no condition to sustain a siege; notwithstanding which, as often as the Irish renewed their attacks, they were vigorously repulsed, by a very unequal number of the king's forces, and a few faithful Protestant citizens, under Sir Henry Tichborne, the governor, assisted by the lord viscount Moore. The siege of Drogheda began on the 30th of November, 1641, and held till the 4th of March, 1642, when Sir Phelim O'Neal, and the Irish miscreants under him, were forced to retire.

In the mean time 10,000 troops were sent from Scotland to the relief of the remaining Protestants in Ireland, which being properly divided into various parts of the kingdom, happily suppressed the power of the Irish savages; and the Protestants, for several years, lived in tranquillity.

After James II. had abandoned England, he maintained a contest for some time in Ireland, where he did all in his power to carry on that persecution which he had been happily prevented from persevering in, in England: accordingly, in a parliament held at Dublin, in the year 1689, great numbers of the Protestant nobility, clergy, and gentry of Ireland, were attainted of high treason. The government of the kingdom was, at that time, invested in the earl of Tyrconnel, a bigoted papist, and an inveterate enemy to the Protestants. By his orders they were again persecuted in various parts of the kingdom. The revenues of the city of Dublin were seized, and most of the churches converted into prisons. And had it not been for the resolution and uncommon bravery of the garrisons in the city of Londonderry, and the town of Inniskillen, there had not one place remained for refuge to the distressed Protestants in the whole kingdom; but all must have been given up to king James, and to the furious popish party that governed him.

The remarkable siege of Londonderry was opened on the 18th of April, 1689, by 20,000 papists, the flower of the Irish army. The city was not properly circumstanced to sustain a siege, the defenders consisting of a body of raw undisciplined Protestants, who had fled thither for shelter, and half a regiment of lord Mountjoy's disciplined soldiers, with the principal part of the inhabitants, making in all only 7361 fighting men.

The besieged hoped, at first, that their stores of corn, and other necessaries, would be sufficient; but by the continuance of the siege their wants increased; and these at last became so heavy, that, for a considerable time before the siege was raised, a pint of coarse barley, a small quantity of greens, a few spoonsful of starch, with a very moderate portion of horse-flesh, were reckoned a week's provision for a soldier. And they were, at length, reduced to such extremities, that they ate dogs, cats, and mice.

Their miseries increasing with the siege, many, through mere hunger and want, pined and languished away, or fell dead in the streets; and it is remarkable, that when their long-expected succors arrived from

England, they were upon the point of being reduced to this alternative, either to preserve their existence by eating each other, or attempting to fight their way through the Irish, which must have infallibly produced their destruction.

These succors were most happily brought by the ship Mountjoy, of Derry, and the Phœnix, of Coleraine, at which time they had only nine lean horses left, with a pint of meal to each man. By hunger, and the fatigues of war, their 7361 fighting men were reduced to 4300, one-fourth part of whom were rendered unserviceable.

As the calamities of the besieged were very great, so likewise were the terrors and sufferings of their Protestant friends and relations; all of whom (even women and children) were forcibly driven from the country thirty miles round, and inhumanly reduced to the sad necessity of continuing some days and nights, without food or covering, before the walls of the town; and were thus exposed to the continual fire both of the Irish army from without, and the shot of their friends from within.

But the succors from England happily arriving, put an end to their affliction; and the siege was raised on the 31st of July, having been continued upwards of three months.

The day before the siege of Londonderry was raised, the Inniskilleners engaged a body of 6000 Irish Roman Catholics, at Newton Butler, or Crown Castle, of whom near 5000 were slain. This, with the defeat at Londonderry, so much dispirited the papists, that they gave up all farther attempts at that time to persecute the Protestants.

In the year following, 1690, the Irish who had taken up arms in favor of James II., were totally defeated by William the Third; and that monarch, before he left the country, reduced them to a state of subjection, in which they very long continued, at least so far as to refrain from open violence, although they were still insidiously engaged in increasing their power and influence; for, by a report made in the year 1731, it appeared, that a great number of ecclesiastics had, in defiance of the laws, flocked into Ireland; that several convents had been opened by jesuits, monks, and friars; that many new and pompous mass-houses had been erected in some of the most conspicuous parts of their great cities, where there had not been any before; and that such swarms of vagrant, immoral Romish priests had appeared, that the very papists themselves considered them as a burden.

But, notwithstanding all the arts of priestcraft, all the turnid and extravagant harangues of Hibernian orators, and the gross and wilful misrepresentations of their self-styled *liberal* abettors in this country, the Protestant religion now stands on a firmer basis in Ireland than it ever before did. The Irish, who formerly led an unsettled and roving life, in the woods, bogs, and mountains, and lived on the depredation of their neighbors; they who in the morning seized the prey, and at night divided the spoil, have, for many years past, become comparatively quiet and civilized. They taste the sweets of English society, and the advantages of civil government. They trade in our cities, and are employed in our manufactories.

The heads of their clans, and the chiefs of the great Irish families, who cruelly oppressed and tyrannized over their vassals, are now dwindled, in a great measure, to nothing; and most of the ancient popish nobility and gentry of Ireland have renounced the Romish religion.

It is also to be hoped, that inestimable benefits will arise from the establishment of Protestant schools in various parts of the kingdom, in which the children of the Roman Catholics are instructed in religion and literature, whereby the mist of ignorance is dispelled, which was the great source of the cruel transactions that have taken place, at different periods, in that kingdom; and this is sufficiently proved by the fact, that those parts of the country which have been disgraced by the most horrible outrages, are those in which the most profound ignorance and bigotry still prevail.

In order to preserve the Protestant interest in Ireland upon a solid basis, it behoves all in whom power is invested, to discharge their respective duties with the strictest assiduity and attention; tempering justice with mercy, and firmness with conciliation. They should endeavor rather to gain the hearts of the people by kindness than to enslave them by fear; and to show them that the ministers of the Protestant religion are more estimable, instead of more powerful, than the Romish clergy. A single voluntary proselyte is worth a thousand converts to "the holy text of pike and gun."

SECTION IV.

Account of the Horrid Plot concerted by the Papists, for destroying the City of London by Fire, in the Year 1666.

STIMULATED by revenge, and prompted by superstition, the papists unceasingly turned their thoughts to obtain their long-wished-for purpose, the overthrow of the Protestant religion, and the destruction of its adherents, in this island.

Having failed in several efforts, they thought of a scheme for destroying the capital of the kingdom, which they flattered themselves might greatly facilitate their intentions: but, although, unhappily, their diabolical scheme, in some measure, took place, yet it was not productive of the consequences they hoped and wished for. A great part of the city was, indeed, destroyed; the melancholy particulars of which we shall copy from the London Gazette, published at the time:

"*Whitehall, September* 8, 1666.

"On the second instant, at one of the clock in the morning, there happened to break out a sad and deplorable fire, at a baker's, in Pudding-lane, near Fish-street, which falling out at that hour of the night, and in a quarter of the town so close built with wooden pitched houses, spread itself so far before day, and with such distraction to the inhabitants and neighbors, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffusion of it, by pulling down houses, as ought to have been; so that this lamentable fire, in a short time, became too big to be mastered by any engines, or working near it. It fell out most unhappily too, that a violent easterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that day, and the night following, spreading itself up to Grace-church-street, and downwards from Cannon-street, to the water-side, as far as the Three Cranes in the Vintry.

"The people, in all parts about it, were distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods. Many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it, by pulling down houses, and making great intervals, but all in vain, the fire seizing upon the timber and rubbish, and so continuing itself, even through those spaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday, notwithstanding his majesty's own, and his royal highness's indefatigable and personal pains to apply all possible remedies to prevent it, calling upon, and helping the people with their guards, and a great number of nobility and gentry unweariedly assisting therein, for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people.

"By the favor of God, the wind slackened a little on Tuesday night, and the flames meeting with brick buildings at the Temple, by little and little it was observed to lose its force on that side, so that Wednesday morning we began to hope well, and his royal highness never despairing, or slackening his personal care, wrought so well that day, assisted in some parts by the lords of the council before and behind it, that a stop was put to it at the Temple church; near Holborn-bridge; Pie-corner; Aldersgate; Cripplegate; near the lower end of Coleman-street; at the end of Basinghall-street, by the Postern; at the upper end of Bishopsgate-street, and Leadenhall-street; at the standard in Cornhill; at the church in Fenchurch-street; near Cloth-workers'-hall in Mincing-lane; at the middle of Mark-lane, and at the Tower-dock.

"On Thursday, by the blessing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguished; but so as that evening it unhappily burst out again afresh at the Temple, by the falling of some sparks (as is supposed) upon a pile of wooden buildings; but his royal highness, who watched there that whole night in person, by the great labors and diligence used, and especially by applying powder to blow up the houses about it, before day most happily mastered it.

"His majesty then sat hourly in council, and ever since hath continued making rounds about the city, in all parts of it where the danger and mischief was the greatest, till this morning that he hath sent his grace the duke of Albemarle, whom he hath called for to assist him on this great occasion, to put his happy and successful hand to the finishing of this memorable deliverance."

During the progress of this dreadful conflagration, orders were given for pulling down various houses in the Tower of London, in order to preserve the grand magazine of gunpowder in that fortress; to the preservation of which, however, the violent easterly wind contributed more than the precaution.

Many thousands of citizens, who, by this calamity, were deprived of their habitations, retired to the fields, destitute of all

necessaries, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, till a sufficient number of tents or huts could be erected for their reception. In order to mitigate the distresses of the people, his majesty ordered a great quantity of naval bread to be distributed among them; and issued a proclamation, commanding the magistrates of the city to encourage the bringing of all kinds of provisions.

By the certificate of Jonas Moore, and Ralph Gatrix, the surveyors appointed to examine the ruins, it appeared, that this dreadful fire overran 436 acres of ground within the walls, and burnt 13,200 houses, 89 parish churches, besides chapels; and that only 11 parish churches within the walls were left standing.

To this account of its devastations may also be added the destruction of St. Paul's cathedral, Guildhall, the Royal Exchange, Custom-house, and Blackwell-hall; many hospitals and libraries, 52 halls of the city companies, and a great number of other stately edifices; together with three of the city gates, and the prisons of Newgate, the Fleet, the Poultry and Wood-street Compters; the loss of which, by the best calculation, amounted to upwards of ten millions sterling. Yet, notwithstanding all this destruction, only six persons lost their lives.

Various were the conjectures of the people on the cause of this singular calamity: at first some imagined it to be casual, but, from a train of circumstances, it afterwards appeared to have been done by the malice and horrid contrivances of the papists. Several suspected persons were taken into custody; but, although there were very strong presumptions, no positive proof being produced against them, they were discharged.

Thus did this diabolical scheme take place, in a great measure, to the wishes of the infamous contrivers; yet, instead of being prejudicial, it was, in the end, productive of the most happy consequences to the metropolis. It certainly, for a time, occasioned the most poignant distress to the inhabitants, but it afforded an opportunity that never happened before, and, in all human probability, never may again, of restoring the city with more attention to uniformity, conveniency, and wholesomeness, than could be expected in a town of progressive growth. The streets were before narrow, crooked, and incommodious; the houses chiefly of wood, dark, close, and ill-contrived; with their several stories projecting beyond each other, as they rose, over the narrow streets. The free circulation of the air was, by these means, obstructed; and the people breathed a stagnant unwholesome element, replete with foul effluvia, sufficient to generate putrid disorders, and disposed to harbor any pestilential taint it might receive. All these inconveniences were removed, by the streets being made wider, and the buildings principally formed of brick; so that if, either by accident or otherwise, a fire should happen in future, its progress might be soon stopped, and the direful consequences which generally arise from such circumstances rendered trifling.

Besides those already mentioned, the Fire of London was certainly productive of one advantage of the most valuable nature, namely, the extirpation of that contagious and destructive distemper, the plague, which, but the year before, had brought thousands to their graves. This horrible disease had made great devastation among the inhabitants, not only of the metropolis, but of different parts of the kingdom, at various periods; but its baneful influence has never been exerted in London, since the great conflagration, and there is therefore reason to conclude that this temporary calamity was employed by Providence as the means of conferring a permanent benefit on the inhabitants of this city, and of defeating the machinations of those miscreants who contrived so diabolical a method of revenge.

To perpetuate the remembrance of this occurrence, a Monument was erected in that part of the city in the neighborhood of which the fire began; and as it still remains in its original state, it may not be improper here to describe it.

The MONUMENT, which is a noble fluted column, is situated in a small square, open to the street, on the east side of Fish-street-hill. It was designed by Sir Christopher Wren, by whom it was begun to be erected in the year 1671, and thoroughly completed by that great architect in 1677. It is esteemed the noblest modern column in the world; and may, in some respects, vie with the most celebrated of antiquity, which are consecrated to the names of Trajan and Antoninus.

This stately column, which is twenty-four feet higher than Trajan's pillar at Rome, is built of Portland stone, of the Doric order, and fluted. Its altitude from the ground is 202 feet, and the diameter of the shaft, or body of the column, is fifteen feet. It stands on a pedestal forty feet high, the ground, plinth, or bottom of which, is twenty-eight feet square. Within is a staircase of black marble, containing 345 steps, each six inches thick, and ten inches and a half broad. Over the capital is an iron balcony, which encompasses a cone thirty-two feet high, supporting a blazing

urn of brass, gilt.* On the cap of the pedestal, at the angles, are four dragons (the supporters of the city arms), and between them trophies, with symbols of regality, arts, sciences, commerce, &c.

The west side of the pedestal is adorned with curious emblems, by the masterly hand of Mr. Cibber, father to the poet laureate; in which the eleven principal figures are done in alto, and the rest in basso relievo. The principal figure, to which the eye is particularly directed, is a female, representing the city of London, sitting in a languishing posture on a heap of ruins: her head appears reclining, her hair is dishevelled, and her hand lies carelessly on her sword. Behind is Time gradually raising her up; and at her side a woman, representing Providence, gently touching her with one hand, whilst, with a winged sceptre in the other, she directs her to regard two goddesses in the clouds; one with a cornucopia, signifying Plenty, and the other with a palm branch, denoting Peace. At her feet is a bee-hive, showing, that by industry and application the greatest difficulties are to be surmounted. Behind Time are various citizens exulting at his endeavors to restore her; and beneath, in the midst of the ruins, is a dragon, who, as supporter of the city arms, endeavors to preserve them with his paw. Opposite the City, on an elevated pavement, stands king Charles II., in a Roman habit, with a wreath of laurel on his head, and a truncheon in his hand; who, approaching the City, commands three of his attendants to descend to her relief: the first represents the Sciences, with wings on her head, and a circle of naked boys dancing upon it, holding Nature in her hand, with her numerous breasts ready to give assistance to all. The second is Architecture, with a plan in one hand, and a square and pair of compasses in the other. The third is Liberty, waving a hat in the air, and showing her joy at the pleasing prospect of the City's speedy recovery. Behind the king stands his brother the duke of York, with a garland in one hand to crown the rising city, and a sword in the other for her defence. Behind him are Justice and Fortitude, the former with a coronet, and the latter with a reined lion. In the pavement, under the sovereign's feet, appears Envy peeping from her cell, and gnawing a heart; and in the upper part of the back-ground, the reconstruction of the city is represented by scaffolding, erected by the sides of the unfinished houses, with builders and laborers at work upon them.

On the east side of the pedestal is the following inscription, signifying the times in which this pillar was begun, continued, and brought to perfection:

"Incepta
Richardo Ford, Eq.;
prætore Lond.
A. D. MDCLXXI.
perducta altius
Geo. Waterman, Eq. P. V.
Roberto Hanson, Eq. P. V.
Gulielmo Hooker, Eq. P. V.
Roberto Viner, Eq. P. V.
Josepho Sheldon, Eq. P. V.
perfecta
Thoma Davis, Eq. P. V.
urb.
Anno Dom.
MDCLXXVII."

The north and south sides of the pedestal have each a Latin inscription; one describing the desolation of the city, and the other its restoration. That on the north side has been translated as follows:

"In the year of Christ 1666, the 2d day of September, eastward from hence, at the distance of two hundred feet, (the height of this column,) a fire broke out about midnight, which, being driven on by a strong wind, not only wasted the adjacent parts, but also very remote places, with incredible noise and fury. It consumed eighty-nine churches, the city gates, Guildhall, many hospitals, schools, and libraries; a vast number of stately edifices, above thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, and four hundred streets; of the twenty-six wards it destroyed fifteen, and left eight others shattered, and half burnt. The ruins of the city were four hundred and thirty-six acres, from this pillar, by the Thames side, to the Temple-church; and, from the north-east side, along the City wall, to Holborn-bridge. To the estates and fortunes of the citizens it was merciless, but to their lives very favorable; that it might in all things resemble the last conflagration of the world. The destruction was sudden; for in a small space of time the same city was seen most flourishing, and reduced to nothing. Three days after, when this fatal fire had baffled all human counsels and endeavors in the opinion of all, it stopped, as it were by the will of Heaven, and was extinguished on every side."

* In the place of this urn, which was set up contrary to Sir Christopher's opinion, it was originally intended to place either a colossal statue, in brass, gilt, of king Charles II., as founder of the new city, after the manner of the Roman pillars, which were terminated with the statues of their Cæsars; or a figure erect of a woman crowned with turrets, holding a sword and cap of maintenance, with other ensigns of the city's grandeur and re-erection.

The translation of the inscription on the south side may be given thus:

"Charles the Second, son of Charles the Martyr, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, a most gracious prince, commiserating the deplorable state of things, whilst the ruins were yet smoking, provided for the comfort of his citizens, and the ornament of his city; remitted their taxes, and referred the petitions of the magistrates and inhabitants to the parliament, who immediately passed an act, that public works should be restored to greater beauty with public money, to be raised by an imposition on coal; that churches, and the cathedral of St. Paul, should be rebuilt from their foundations, with all magnificence; that bridges, gates, and prisons should be new made, the sewers cleansed, the streets made straight and regular, such as were steep levelled, and those too narrow to be made wider. Markets and shambles to be also enlarged, and situated in different parts of the city. That every house should be built with party walls, and all in front raised of equal height; that those walls should be of square stone or brick; and that no man should be longer than seven years building his house. Anniversary prayers were also enjoined; and to perpetuate the memory thereof to posterity, they caused this column to be erected. The work was carried on with diligence, and London is restored; but whether with greater speed or beauty, may be made a question. In three years' time the world saw that finished, which was supposed to be the business of an age."

Under the before-mentioned inscriptions, in one continued line round the base of the pedestal, are the following words:

"This pillar was set up in perpetual remembrance of the most dreadful burning of this Protestant city, begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the popish faction, in the beginning of September, in the year of our Lord 1666, in order to execute their horrid plot to extirpate the Protestant religion, and the old English liberty, and to introduce popery and slavery."

This inscription, on the accession of James, duke of York, to the throne, was immediately erased; but was restored again soon after the revolution. And the whole fabric is, at present, in the situation above described.

SECTION V.

Life and Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; with an Account of the Popish and Meal-Tub Plots.

BEFORE we describe the horrid machinations of the papists against the English government, and the Protestant establishment, we shall give some account of the life of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, whose zeal for the truth of the gospel, and assiduity in discharging the duties of his magisterial office, were the principal causes of his meeting with that fate he so little deserved.

This great and good man was descended from an ancient and respectable family in the county of Kent, who gave him an education suitable to his birth and quality. He received the first rudiments of learning at Westminster school, and finished his studies at the university of Oxford.

In order to improve himself still more, he travelled into foreign countries, and, during his residence there, was as careful to avoid immorality, as he was to escape from the delusion of the false worship practised there. From the sound principles of religion and virtue which he had imbibed from his parents and instructors, he was sufficiently armed against both; and returned home rather informed than corrupted.

On his return to England, he entered himself a member of Gray's Inn, where, by diligent application, he soon acquired a competent knowledge of the laws of his country. His intention was to have obtained a situation at the bar; but having a natural defect in his hearing, he thought it would be an impediment to his progress; and, therefore, after continuing some years at that Inn, he left it, and retired to his friends in the country.

Being naturally of an active disposition, he soon became weary of solitude, and determined to undertake some enterprise, in which his time might be usefully employed. He accordingly left the country, and came to London, where he entered into partnership with a person who kept a wood-wharf near Dowgate.

In this connexion he was very successful, his partner being nearly of the same disposition with himself. By their joint at-

Discovery of Guy Fawkes in the Vaults of the House of Lords.

Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, by five Popish Ruffians, in Revenge for his exertions in discovering the Popish Plot, in 1678.

tention to business, in the course of a few years they each acquired a very handsome fortune; when Mr. Godfrey's partner marrying to advantage, left the business entirely to him.

Soon after this, Mr. Godfrey removed from Dowgate to Charing-Cross, where he continued to prosecute business with the most unremitting assiduity. The uprightness of his dealings, and his fixed adherence to the strictest justice, made him universally beloved, and were the means of calling him to the exercise of a more public employment.

He had, in a few years, acquired a very considerable fortune by his business, and being, from his distinguished integrity, particularly noticed by some elevated personages, they represented his character to the king, who was pleased to appoint him one of the justices of peace for the county of Middlesex, and city of Westminster; in which office he continued till his death.

We are now to consider Mr. Godfrey in his magisterial character, in which he distinguished himself with such integrity and justice, as to acquire the particular notice of his sovereign, who frequently said, "he took him to be the best justice of peace in his kingdom." What greater encomium than this, from a prince certainly fully capable of forming a correct judgment, could be expected or desired, to illustrate the merits of a worthy and deserving magistrate?

But to show that he was not undeserving this royal encomium, we shall give a short but just character of him.

He was naturally of a kind, courteous, and affable temper, free of access, and ready to hear the meanest persons, who either came on business, or to seek redress for injuries received from others. Civility and courtesy were the ornaments of his temper, the ground of which consisted in the administration of justice, and the practice of charitable actions. No person could be more punctual and exact than he, in discharging the duties of his office. He rendered to every man his right, and discreetly looked after his own. He preserved sound and orthodox principles, but was far from censuring those who differed from him in religious sentiments. Though he was most strict in reproving and punishing greater enormities, yet he could charitably bear with the lesser infirmities of such, in whom a controlling virtue more eminently prevailed. In fine, though he had a warm regard to himself, and his own actions, yet he could bear in others far greater miscarriages than he allowed in himself: though he always frowned upon the frontless sinner, yet, such was his candor, he would not, if possible, put a modest transgressor to the blush.

His charity was so truly Christian and heroic, that in the practice of it he did it with such privacy, that his left hand was a stranger to what his right hand did. Few have more merited applause in this respect than himself, though none sought it less. Among other humane and charitable actions, he allowed a poor, but religious family in Westminster, 10*l.* per annum towards their support, and this annuity he continued for several years.

Though he was ever severe against beggars and vagabonds, who refused to maintain themselves by industry and labor, and lived altogether on the alms of others; yet he was so much a friend to those, whose poverty was neither occasioned by misconduct, nor aggravated by idleness, that they never went without relief, either by being employed, or receiving some charitable donation.

He was ever anxious to reconcile differences between contending parties; nor would he rest till he had accomplished his ends. He coveted not so much the triumph of the laurel as the shadow of the olive-branch. Moderation and peace were the proper elements of his nature.

Thus far have we considered Mr. Godfrey merely as a man; we shall now take some notice of him as a Christian, and a true follower of the pure gospel of Christ But we cannot display his character on this head, more fully than is done by that learned prelate Dr. Lloyd, who preached his funeral sermon; and who, as by reason of his intimacy with him he had the greatest opportunity, so by his faculty he was the most capable to judge of him in this particular. His words are these:

"As to those things which belong to a private Christian, I ought to know him better than most others. And I did know that by him which gives me abundant comfort in his death. I knew him to be a just and charitable man; a devout, a zealous, and conscientious Christian. His religion was more for use than show. And yet he was constant in all the acts of God's worship, as well out of judgment as affection. And though the compassion that he had for all men that did amiss, extended itself to all manner of dissenters, and amongst them he had a kindness for the persons of many Roman Catholics; yet he always declared a particular hatred and detestation to popery. I say this on purpose to be remembered (because some would have him a papist, or inclined that way); I never pleased him with any duty I performed—at least, he

never thanked me for any so much, as he did for those sermons which I preached against popery."

Having said thus much with respect to the private character of Mr. Godfrey, as a man and a Christian; we shall now consider him in his more public capacity as a magistrate, in which province we shall notice such particulars, as may be most deserving the attention of the reader, and at the same time do justice to the merits of so great and good a man.

Besides what we have before hinted of his abilities for this service, by his having been brought up a student in the laws of England, he was otherwise qualified for it, by having many natural endowments requisite to the composition of a good magistrate. He had a deep and piercing judgment to search into the niceties and intricacies of such difficult business as he often met with, and to determine accordingly: an indefatigable patience, mixed with a genuine serenity of mind, whereby he could bear with the clamors and impertinences of such as came before him, leisurely attending to the allegations both of appellants and criminals, and fully hearing whatever (and so long as) they had any thing in reason to offer to him; rather than the truth on either side should be undiscovered by any prejudicate forestalling of the evidence. He had a sound integrity of mind, the golden vein of all his actions: he was not to be corrupted by bribes, nor to be biassed by any sinister interests: he was plain and upright, and regularly conformable to the strictest rules of justice and honesty in all the particular administrations of his province. To these qualities may be added, an heroic fortitude and invincible courage of mind, which was the shield of his other virtues, and by which he was defended against all the difficulties and discouragements he met with; keeping his ground with a stedfast uprightness amidst such trials as persons of less courage than himself would have sunk under.

The following is a sufficient proof of the greatness of his mind, in daring to be just to himself, and of his wishes to eclipse the power of iniquity, though in the most elevated character.

A great personage at court was indebted to him a considerable sum of money, for the payment of which he had frequently applied without receiving any other satisfaction than promises. Mr. Godfrey, well knowing the ability of the person, and that his pretences were but so many formal delays to defer the payment of that which, though justly due, he knew (by reason of his privilege) he could not in the ordinary course of Law be troubled for, resolved, however, to sue him at common law, (notwithstanding his said privilege,) and rather trust to his majesty's clemency for infringing on the privilege of his household, than suffer himself to be defrauded of a just debt by one who would make such a protection an asylum to that injustice which he knew his majesty would neither patronize nor allow.

Accordingly, after again trying the former means without success, Mr. Godfrey got the courtier arrested by virtue of the king's writ, and a warrant thereon granted by the sheriff; and he was taken into custody till such time as he should give sufficient bail to answer the action. But instead of endeavoring to do this, he insisted on his privilege, sent to Whitehall, and got an order for the commitment of Mr. Godfrey for breach of privilege.

In consequence of this, Mr. Godfrey was taken into custody, and was to remain a prisoner till he should discharge the nobleman of the arrest. But this he peremptorily refused, rather choosing to suffer a disagreeable restraint, than to gratify the obstinacy of his adversary by a too easy compliance.

Mr. Godfrey quietly submitted to his confinement for six days, at the expiration of which his majesty, who had been informed of the circumstances of the case, ordered his discharge. He was so well pleased with the magnanimity and heroic disposition of Mr. Godfrey, that he not only pardoned the misdemeanor, but conferred on him the honor of knighthood; and, as a farther token of respect, admitted him again into the commission of the peace, from which he had, by means of his adversary, been removed.

The above is one instance of this great man's fortitude of mind, as well in daring dangers as bearing troubles; but a still more distinguished one appears in his conduct during the dreadful plague in 1665; when the cities of London and Westminster were, in a manner, deserted by their inhabitants, and few left but such of the poorer sort, who had neither money nor friends to enable them to remove farther: when the arrows of the Almighty were scattered abroad in every corner; when almost every house was turned into a sepulchre, and epitaphed with the doleful inscription of *Miserere Domine*, while the dead and living seemed buried together: when the fear of the contagion rendered the few inhabitants as unsociable to each other, as they would have been with wild beasts in a wilderness, every man fearing to come near another, lest he should meet with his own executioner: when their very words were feared as bullets: when breath itself, the instrument of life in one, might

be death to another as it passed from him. In fine, when death and danger filled all places, and turned the whole town into one universal scene of misery and mortality; then it was that this worthy magistrate showed the greatest proofs of a true Christian courage and resolution, in adventuring to stay for the public good, in all the greatest danger of this horrible contagion, when death, in various appearances, seemed ready to devour him, and which must have been the case, if his tutelar angel (assigned by Providence) had not preserved him to greater purposes.

It was no unadvised forwardness, or injudicious temerity, that prompted him thus to hazard his life; neither was it from any advantageous expectations: on the contrary, it arose purely from a just and conscientious regard to his duty, in the place where he knew (in the absence of his fellow magistrates, who had fled from the danger) he might be instrumental, as well in preserving the lives, as the properties, of those who should be exposed both to the danger of the contagion, and the rapine of the wicked, the latter of whom frequently take advantage of such public calamities, by enriching themselves with the spoils of the deceased, to the great injury of the wretched survivors.

For these ends, and these only, did Sir Edmundbury Godfrey continue in London during the whole time the pestilence raged: and such was his assiduity in endeavoring to relieve the afflictions of the wretched inhabitants in his neighborhood, that they considered him as their guardian genius; as the asylum and sanctuary of their distressed conditions. But the most just representation of his conduct, during this melancholy period, is given by that worthy prelate Dr. Lloyd, whom we have before quoted; and whose words, on the occasion, are briefly as follows:

"He was the man, (shall I say the only man of his place?) that stayed to do good, and did the good he stayed for. Shall we go about to instance in particulars? It is impossible, they are innumerable. It is easier to say, what good did he not, that lay within the verge of his province? His house was not only the seat of justice, but a hospital of charity, where, besides that relief which he commonly afforded the poor, at other times, for the necessity of living, he now extended his charity to give them physic, to preserve them from dying, when they were in a more immediate danger by the contagion, than of starving: he was the man, (and where was there such another?) that, laying aside the grandeur of his circumstances, would familiarly visit his poor sick neighbors, and administer suitable relief to them: he was the man, that at that time durst venture himself into the very garrison of death, the Pest-house, (the ordering of which he took into his peculiar care and administration) and there, amidst the deadly fumes that arose from their putrid sores, would he stand by the diseased lazars, and see them dressed, not denying them any relief or assistance that lay in his power to afford them."

His justice was no less remarkable than his charity, when there was any need of it, as many times there were, to right the dead; as well as to relieve the living; of which the following is a singular instance:

A profligate and unfeeling wretch had, for some time, made it a practice to rob the dead, notwithstanding the horror that is naturally concomitant to such actions. He went, in the dead of the night, to the cemeteries and church-yards, where, breaking up the silent clods, he sacrilegiously ransacked the graves, and pillaged them with no more remorse than soldiers do their vanquished enemies in the field of war. He took from the bodies their apparel, the sheets, and other linen, in which they were interred, and decently covered, leaving their carcasses naked and exposed.

This distinguished miscreant had practised his nocturnal and inhuman depredations so long, and with such diligence, that he had filled a large warehouse with the spoils of the dead. He was happily at length detected, and information being given to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, he went, attended by proper assistants, to the place where he was informed the goods were concealed, and seized them. In the meantime, the criminal, having heard of the discovery, fled; and being hardened against the fear of infection by his great familiarity with the dead, he took sanctuary in the Pest-house, where he thought himself sufficiently secure. This, indeed, might have been the case, had it not been for the magnanimity of the intrepid magistrate. The officers that attended him, and to whom warrants were directed for apprehending the criminal, declined the service; on which the noble knight himself, as a pattern of distinguished but seasonable courage, and from his great zeal for justice, ventured to go to the fatal place, where he immediately seized the offender, and delivered him into the hands of the officers, in order to be secured for examination at a convenient opportunity.

The next day he was brought before the magistrate, where the facts being clearly proved by several witnesses, in order to make a proper example of so great a villain, and to prevent others from following his example, Sir Edmundbury pronounced the

following sentence, as being most suitable to the nature of his crime: that he should be taken to the church-yard, where he had perpetrated the greater number of his villanies, and after being stripped naked to the waist, should be severely scourged round the place by the beadle of the parish. This sentence was accordingly executed in the presence of a great number of spectators, who had assembled to see so remarkable a punishment.

So hardened was this wretch, and so insensible to shame, that instead of being affected either for the crimes he had committed, or at the punishment inflicted, he meditated revenge against the worthy magistrate, and formed the horrid resolution of depriving him of his existence.

To effect this, he one evening lay in wait for him at the corner of a street by which he knew he must pass. As soon as Sir Edmundbury appeared, the villain struck at him with a cudgel, on which the knight immediately drew his sword, and defended himself for a considerable time. At length, with the assistance of some people who came that way, the ruffian was secured, and committed to Newgate for trial the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey. Of this offence he was acquitted, but several other indictments appearing against him for felony, he was capitally convicted, and received sentence of death. By the interposition of the court his sentence was remitted to that of transportation, when following the like wicked practices abroad that he had done at home, he was there convicted of a criminal fact, and not meeting with the same lenity, suffered that punishment his infamy merited.

From a strict attention to business, and the natural fatigue consequent thereupon, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, in the year 1678, became so reduced by bodily illness, that his life was apparently in danger. He was therefore advised, by his physicians, to go to Montpellier, in France, the air of that country being esteemed an almost certain restorative to decayed constitutions. He accordingly took their advice, and after residing there a few months, returned to England greatly benefited by his excursion.

But the pains he thus took to preserve that life, which had hitherto been so remarkably beneficial to great numbers of his fellow creatures, were all lost by a most horrid plot, which was discovered soon after his return, and which exposed him to an untimely and cruel death.

This horrid conspiracy was formed by the papists, and is distinguished in the annals of England by the name of the POPISH PLOT. It was said that the design of the conspiracy was, to kill the king, to subvert the government, to extirpate the Protestant religion, and to establish popery.

The authors and promoters of this plot were said to be the pope and cardinals, the Romish, French, Spanish and English jesuits, the seminary priests in England, who at this time came over in great numbers, and several popish lords and others of that party. The duke of York himself was deeply suspected of being concerned in it, except that part of killing the king; and that point excepted, the king himself was supposed to have favored the conspiracy. The article of taking off the king appeared to be only the project of a part of the conspirators, to make way for the duke of York to ascend the throne, who was more forward, active, and less fearful than the king, and consequently more likely to bring the grand design of the conspiracy, the changing the government and religion, to a speedier conclusion.

The chief discoverer of this conspiracy was one Titus Oates, who had formerly been a clergyman of the church of England, but had now reconciled himself to the church of Rome, or at least pretended so to do, and entered into the number of the English seminarists at St. Omer's. He also went into Spain, and was admitted to the counsels of the jesuits. By this means he became acquainted with all the secret designs that were carrying on, in order to establish popery in this nation: and then returning to England, he digested the several matters he had heard into a narrative, and by the means of Dr. Tonge, a city divine, got a copy of it delivered to the king, who referred him to the lord treasurer Danby.

These two informers, finding the king did not take much notice of their discovery, resolved to communicate it to the parliament: previous to which Oates went and made oath of the truth of the narrative before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, leaving one copy of it with him, and reserving another for himself.

The affair having now taken wind, it was resolved to bring it before the council, who accordingly sat twice a day for a considerable period to examine into it; and Tonge and Oates had lodgings assigned them in Whitehall, with a handsome allowance to each for their maintenance, and a guard for the security of their persons.

On their informations several persons were apprehended, particularly one Wakeman, the queen's physician, and Coleman, the duke of York's secretary. In the latter's house were found several letters which seemed to concur with Oates's testimony, and gave great weight to what he advanced. This, with the murder of Sir Ed

mundbury Godfrey soon after, who had taken Oates's oath to his narrative, confirmed the people in their belief of the plot.

Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had been remarkably active in his office against the papists, to whom his murder was immediately ascribed: and the truth was confirmed by the evidence of Bedloe and Prance; the latter of whom deposed, that, "after Sir Edmundbury had several days been dogged by the papists, they at last accomplished their wicked design, on Saturday, October 12, 1678, and under pretence of a quarrel, which they knew his care for the public peace would oblige him to prevent, about nine o'clock at night, as he was going home, got him into the Water-Gate at Somerset-House. When he was thus trepanned in, and got out of hearing from the street, toward the lower end of the yard, Green, one of the assassins, threw a twisted handkerchief round his neck, and drew him behind the rails, when three or four more of them immediately falling on him, there they throttled him; and lest that should not be enough, punched and kicked him on the breast, as sufficiently appeared, when his body was found, by the marks upon it; and lest he should not be yet dead enough, another of them, Girald, or Fitzgerald, would have run him through, but was hindered by the rest, lest the blood should have discovered them. But Green, to make sure work, wrung his neck round, as it was found afterwards on the inspection of the surgeons.

"For the disposal of the body, they all carried it up into a little chamber of Hill's, another of the murderers, who had been, or was, Dr. Godwin's man, where it lay till Monday night, when they removed it into another room, and there back again till Wednesday, when they carried him out in a sedan about twelve o'clock, and afterwards upon a horse, with Hill behind him, to support him, till they got to Primrose-Hill, or as it is called by some, Green-Bury Hill, near a public house, called the White House, and there threw him into a ditch, with his gloves and cane on a bank near him, and his own sword run through him, on purpose to persuade the world he had killed himself. Very cunningly making choice of a place to lay him where they might both think he would be some time concealed, and near where he had been seen walking the same day." The body was accordingly found there several days afterwards.

Thus died that good man, and wise magistrate, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who fell a martyr to the diabolical machinations of some wicked and bloodthirsty papists. His body was interred with great solemnity in the church of St. Martin in the Fields; and he was attended to the grave by an incredible number of lamenting spectators.

This horrid conspiracy engaged the whole attention of the parliament, who addressed the king to remove all popish recusants out of the cities of London and Westminster, and from within ten miles of them: and in another address they besought his majesty to take care of his royal person; that he would command the lord-mayor, and lieutenancy of London, to appoint proper guards of the trained bands during the sitting of parliament; and that the lords-lieutenants of the counties of Middlesex and Surrey should appoint sufficient guards in Middlesex, Westminster, and Southwark.

The houses attended to no other business but this plot: and so warmly did they enter into the matter, that several days they sat from morning till night, examining Oates, and other witnesses. At length, on the 31st of October, 1678, they unanimously resolved, "that the lords and commons are of opinion, that there hath been, and still is, a damnable, and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by popish recusants, for assassinating and murdering the king, for subverting the government, and rooting out and destroying the Protestant religion."

These opinions were farther confirmed by a circumstance which happened soon after; for, about the beginning of May, 1679, the citizens discovered a plot, formed by the jesuits and other papists, for destroying the city of London a second time by fire. One Elizabeth Oxley, a servant in Fetter-lane, having set fire to her master's house, was apprehended and committed to prison, when she confessed the fact, and declared, that she had been hired to do it by one Stubbs, a papist, who was to give her five pounds as a reward.

Stubbs being immediately secured, confessed that he had persuaded her to it; but that he himself had been prevailed on by one father Gifford, his confessor, who, he said, assured him, that instead of its being a sin, it would be of great service to the "Holy Catholic Church," to burn and destroy all the houses of heretics; saying, that he had conversed many times on that affair with Gifford, and two Irishmen. And the maid and Stubbs jointly declared, that the papists intended to rise in London, in expectation of being assisted by a powerful army from France.

Soon after this, a prosecution being commenced against several of the jesuits who were concerned in the plot, five of them were convicted and executed; and several lords being also impeached of the same, were committed prisoners to the Tower.

The parliament meeting on the 21st of

October, the lord Stafford, who was one of those impeached of being concerned in the popish plot, was brought to his trial; and being convicted of high treason, received sentence to be hanged and quartered. The king, however, as is usual in such cases, remitted this sentence, and left Stafford to be beheaded; but the zeal of the two sheriffs of London started a doubt as to the king's power of mitigating the sentence in any part. They proposed queries on this point to both houses; the peers deemed them superfluous; and the commons, apprehensive lest an examination into these queries might produce the opportunity of Stafford's escape, expressed themselves satified with the manner of execution, by severing his head from his body.

THE MEAL-TUB PLOT.

In a very short time after the before-mentioned conspiracies, a sham plot was discovered to have been formed by the papists, in order to throw off the odium they had justly acquired, and to place it on the Presbyterians.

One Dangerfield, a fellow who had suffered almost every punishment the law could inflict on the most abandoned, was tutored for the purpose. The Catholic party released him out of Newgate, where he was imprisoned for debt, and set him to work. He pretended to have been privy to a design for destroying the king and the royal family, and converting the government into a commonwealth. The king and his brother countenanced the tale, and rewarded him, for his discovery, with a sum of money; but certain papers which he produced in evidence of his assertions, appearing, upon his examination, to be forged by himself, he was put under an arrest. All his haunts were ordered to be searched; and in the house of one Mrs. Collier, a midwife, a Roman Catholic, and an intimate acquaintance of his, was found the model of the pretended plot, written very fair, neatly made up in a book, tied with a ribband, and concealed in a meal-tub, from whence it acquired the name of the MEAL-TUB PLOT.

Dangerfield, finding himself thus detected, applied to the lord-mayor, made an ample confession of the imposition, and discovered his employers.

The detection of this contrivance so irritated the populace in general against the papists, that it added much to the whimsical solemnity of burning the effigy of the pope; for, on the 17th of November, the anniversary of queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, the ceremony was performed with the most singular pomp and magnificence; and every mark was shown by the people, that could demonstrate their abhorrence of popery.

Thus were all these diabolical schemes, projected by the papists to injure the Protestants, happily rendered abortive; but we must not quit this section without taking notice, that, on the accession of James II. to the English throne, the famous Titus Oates, who was so materially concerned in the discovery of the popish plot, was tried for perjury on two indictments; and being found guilty was sentenced to be fined one thousand marks for each; to be whipped, on two different days, from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn; to be imprisoned during life, and to stand on the pillory five times every year. He made the most solemn appeals to heaven, and the strongest protestations of the veracity of his testimony. The whipping was so severe, that he swooned several times, and it was evidently the design of the court to have put him to death by that punishment. He was, however, enabled, by the care of his friends, to recover; and he lived till William III. came to the throne, when he was released from his confinement, and had a pension allowed him of 100*l.* per annum.

SECTION VI.

Persecutions of many eminent Protestant Patriots in the reigns of Charles II. and James II.; with an account of the barbarities of Jeffreys in the west of England.

DURING the latter years of the reign of Charles the second, England was convulsed by the efforts of that monarch (who had been converted to popery,) to attain arbitrary power, and the struggles of a patriotic band to defeat his nefarious designs, and to retain the constitution for which their fathers had fought and bled. They succeeded in establishing several salutary checks on the royal prerogative, and their praiseworthy exertions became at length so obnoxious to the king, that he dissolved the parliament in a fit of passion, and determined from that time to rule by his own sole authority. In this resolution he was supported by his brother, the duke of York,

whose known papistry had long rendered him an object of just suspicion to the nation; by Louis XIV. king of France, to whom he had basely betrayed the interests of this country for money; and by a vile and profligate herd of courtiers, who, slaves alike in mind and body, willingly assisted in the destruction of that freedom of which they were incapable of appreciating the advantages.

The king and his brother, thus upheld at home and abroad, determined to take a severe revenge on those persons who had distinguished themselves by their opposition to popery and tyranny; but as it was still necessary to preserve the forms of law, and the appearance of justice, various absurd stories of plots and assassinations were hatched up, and sworn to by a gang of wretches destitute of every feeling of morality, and dead to every obligation of justice. We shall give the particulars of a few of those trials; and the first we meet with is that of

MR. COLLEGE,

A carpenter, whose known zeal in the cause of religion and liberty had procured him the honorable appellation of the PROTESTANT JOINER. The following account of him we give as we find it, appended to a folio edition of our author.

Mr. College being a man of courage, industry, and sharpness, made it much of his business to serve his country, as far as possible, in searching after priests and jesuits, and hunting those vermin out of their lurking-holes, in which he was very serviceable and successful; and for which, no doubt, they did not fail to remember him. The first time we meet with him in public, is in lord Stafford's trial, where he was brought in for Mr. Dugdale, as a collateral evidence. By that time the wind was upon the turn, and the tide of popular aversion not quite so strong against popery, being, by the cunning of our common enemy, diverted into little streams, and private factions, and arbitrary power driving on, as the best way to prosecute the designs of Rome; to which the city of London in particular made a vigorous resistance; which displeasing the grand agitators, no wonder they endeavored, as much as possible, to do it a mischief; their kindness to it having been sufficiently experienced in 1666, and ever since. In order to which the king was pleased, by the advice of his brother, to alter the common and almost constant course of parliaments, and call one at Oxford instead of London. Many of the members, and especially those for London, were apprehensive of some design upon them there, having formerly in the gunpowder treason, and ever since, sufficiently found the love of the papists to Protestant parliaments, and knowing well what they were to expect from their kindness, if they should be attacked by them and found defenceless. And more ground of suspicion they had, because, as College protests in his speech, there had been affidavits judicially made of a design formed against them, and their being removed from the city of London, which had always so much of the English blood in it, as heartily to love parliaments, and to venture all for their defence, strengthened their suspicions; and from these reasons, it was, that several of the parliament men went accompanied with some of their friends, well armed and accoutred, to Oxford; of this number Mr. College was one, he waiting on the lords Clare, Paget, and Huntingdon to Oxford; where the parliament, foreseeing what has since happened, would have gone on where they left off in the former sessions, which causing great heats, they were abruptly dissolved, not long after their meeting. In addition to the heinous offence of having gone to Oxford, Mr. College had been, as he declares in his speech, a great supporter of parliament on all occasions, from whence, as mentioned above, he got that popular name of the *Protestant Joiner*.

All these reasons together were more than enough to get him taken out of the way; and for the performance thereof, Heins, and Macnamarre, and one or two of the apostate evidences of the popish plot, informed against him. Nor is it a wonder that after so many attempts, some of these men should be prevailed with to prove false; but rather, that under so many temptations any of them resisted, or were not sooner villains. These persons swore such mad things against him, of taking Whitehall, and pulling the king out of it, and such other odd wild stories, that partly from the ill character of the persons who witnessed, the jury in London refused to find the bill, but returned it *Ignoramus*. On which, contrary to all justice and precedent, law and common reason, which forbid that a man should be twice put in danger of his life for the same offence, the business was removed to Oxford, where the little civility or common justice he met with in his trial, was then notorious to all the world; a person being checked, for giving him but assistance and notes in the way of his calling, to make his defence when his life was engaged; yet though even those notes were denied him, none that heard the trial, or so much as read it, but must grant, that he made a very extraordinary defence, and much more than could have been expected

from a man of more learning. But he might have spared all his labor; the conclusion was, no doubt, resolved upon before, and he was found guilty, sentenced, and executed.

If we reflect yet further on the manner of his trial, and not look on any others, one would be apt to think it was impossible a man could be destroyed with more injustice and barbarity than he was; or that twelve men, who pretended to be Christians, could be found out, who would hang a man upon such evidence as was given against him.

When a criminal shall be kept close prisoner in the Tower, without having sufficient means to make his defence, till he come to his trial; when, as has been said, he shall be rifled of his notes, by which only he could save his life, on which he depended, and just before he came to his trial, though assisted therein by that very counsel assigned by the court for him; when he shall in vain demand them again, and call heaven and earth to witness, that he is merely cheated of his life for want of them; when all his redress is such a frivolous excuse, as not only a judge, but any honest man, would be ashamed to make use of; viz. that it was somebody else did it, that the court had them not, nor did take them from him; when the very person stood by who robbed him of them, and yet he could have no reparation; when the king's counsel must whisper the chief justice on the beach, and the court must be adjourned, on purpose to examine those minutes which the poor man had got together to save his life, and even from them to get an opportunity of taking it away, altering the manner of their prosecution, strengthening and bolstering their evidence against him, were not only such as an honest London jury would not believe, (though a country one, directed by the king's counsel, could make a shift to do it,) but were every one of them, who witnessed any thing material, confounded by such home evidence, as, if any thing in the world could do it, did certainly invalidate and annul their testimonies; when one of them swears horridly, he cared not what he swore, nor whom he swore against, for it was his trade to get money by swearing; that the parliament was a company of rogues for not giving the king money, but he would help him to money out of the fanatics'estates, which is explained by what Smith says, That if the parliament would not give the king money, but stood on the bill of exclusion, it was pretence enough to swear a design to seize the king at Oxford: when this same Heins very pleasantly says, It was a judgment upon the king and the people, and the Irishmen's swearing against them was justly fallen on them, for ousting the Irish of their estates: when others of them swear, That since the citizens deserted them, they would not starve; that they would have College's blood; that though they had gone against their consciences, it was because they had been persuaded to it, and could get no money else; and when they had said before, they believed College had no more hand in any conspiracy against his majesty, than the child unborn: when they would have hired others to swear more into the same plot: when the bench was such just and kind counsel for the prisoner, as to tell the jury, the king's witnesses were on their oaths, the prisoner's not, and so one to be credited before the other; in which case it is impossible for any man living to make a defence against a perjured villain: lastly, when the prisoner himself very weightily objected, That there was no proof of any person being concerned with him in the design of seizing the king; and it was wisely answered, That he might be so vain to design it alone; a thousand times more romantic and improbable than an army's lying concealed at Knightsbridge, and of the same stamp with Drawcansir's killing all on both sides: taking all these things together, hardly ever was a man at this rate bantered out of his life, before any judicature in the world, in any place or age that history has left us.

Nor ought the great service he did to the nation in general to be ever forgotten; since, notwithstanding all the disadvantages he was under, the public stream running so violently against him and his witnesses, and the surprise which such strange treatment might cast him into, he yet made so strong a defence, by showing what sort of witnesses were brought against him, that he hindered them ever after from being believed, and thereby certainly saved many others' lives, though he could not save his own.

Nor can the undaunted courage, and firm honesty of the man, be sufficiently admired; since, besides what he showed in his defence, after he was condemned, as he himself said, "as good as without a trial," he boldly asked, When he was to be executed? without the least seeming concern. And though he had considerable time before his execution to consider of it, he refused to save his life so meanly, as to make other innocent men's lives the price of his own; without which design his enemies had hardly been so kind as to have given him so long a reprieve.

As for his behavior at his execution, it was such as convinced more than a few of

his greatest enemies, and made them entertain a much better opinion of him than before. From his last speech we shall remark several passages, as another argument of his innocence. But before we proceed any further in them, it will be needful to fix one assertion, which we may presume very few unprejudiced persons will deny, and which we shall have occasion to make further use of. It is, That no Protestant, who believes a heaven and hell, and is not a man without principles, or debauched and atheistical, would go out of the world, into the presence of that God who must judge him, with a lie in his mouth. This none will deny, but those who have a great kindness for the papists; and yet of all men in the world, such as these must not offer to do it, since it was the very argument they made use of for the innocence of the jesuits and other traitors. Though on that side we know there are unanswerable arguments not to believe them; their religion recommending perjury, and all sorts of villanies, to them as meritorious, when *holy church* is concerned. Their church besides allows them dispensations before, and absolution after, and purgatory at the worst, whence a few masses would fetch them out again. Things being thus, what can any man of modesty say to Mr. College's protestations over and over, both in prison, and at his death, That he was perfectly innocent of what he died for? "I did deny it then," says he, that is, before the council, "and do deny it upon my death: I never was in any kind of plot in my days; and if I had any such design as these have sworn against me, I take God to witness, as I am a dying man, and on the terms of my salvation, I know not one man upon the face of the earth which would have stood by me."

Thus died Mr. College, whose blood, as he himself desired it might, sufficiently spoke the justice of his cause, and who seemed, in his speech, to have some prophetic intimations, that his blood would not be the last which must be shed to satisfy the cravings of tyranny and papistry.

MURDER OF ARTHUR, EARL OF ESSEX.

My lord of Essex had large interest, a plentiful estate, a great deal of courage, understood the world, and the principles and practices of the papists, as well as any man, having been of several secret committees in the examination of the plot, for which very reason there was as much necessity for his death as for that of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. He was, beside all this, of inflexible honesty, and so true a greatness of mind, that they could no more expect to gain him, than heaven itself, to be on their side.

Accordingly, his throat was cut in the Tower the 13th of July, 1683, about eight or nine in the morning, and this was reported at Andover, 60 miles from London, on the 11th of July, the first day of his imprisonment, and was told to a person travelling on the road near the same place, which was witnessed before even Jeffreys, in a public court of judicature. The manner in which the murder was hushed up, must likewise strengthen suspicion: a deputy coroner was present at the inquest, instead of a legal one; none of the deceased's relations attended the inquest; the body was removed from the place where it was first laid, stripped, the clothes taken away, the body and rooms washed from the blood, and the clothes denied to be shown to the jury. The principal witnesses examined were only Bomeny his man, and Russel his warder, who might be justly suspected of being privy to, if not actors in the murder. The jury hastened and hurried the verdict, when so great a man, a peer of the realm, and the king's prisoner, was concerned. And all this at a time when the lord Russel was to be tried for a share in the plot, in which the earl of Essex was also accused of being concerned; and when the news of his suicide, as pretended, was instantly, with so much diligence, conveyed from the Tower to the Sessions-House, bench, bar, and jury, and harped upon by the lord Howard just then, and by others, in after-trials, as more than a thousand witnesses, and the very finger of God. After this, the very sentinel, who that day stood near the place, was found dead in the Tower-ditch, and captain Hawley barbarously murdered down at Rochester; and all methods used to prevent the truth from coming to light. Mr. Braddon was harassed, prosecuted, imprisoned, and fined for stirring in it. On the fair and impartial consideration of these things, which are all notorious facts, granted by all sides, what can a man conclude from the whole, but—That this noble lord was certainly murdered by the popish party?

But there is yet more evidence: If he could not murder himself in that manner, who then should do it but those on whom the guilt of it has been just charged? His throat was cut from one jugular to the other, both the jugulars being thoroughly divided. How could any man, after the prodigious flow of blood which must necessarily follow on the dividing one jugular, as well as all those strong muscles which lie in the way, how could he ever have strength to go through, all round, and come to the other, without fainting by

Lastly, His character makes it morally impossible that he should be guilty of such an action.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF WILLIAM LORD RUSSEL.

The next who fell under their cruelty, and to whose death that of Essex was but a prologue, was lord Russel; without all dispute one of the finest gentlemen that ever England bred: and whose pious life and virtue was as much treason against the court, by affronting them with what was so much hated there, as any thing else that was sworn against him. His family was ancient, and early enemies to the Romish superstition, though this brave nobleman only suffered for the offences of his ancestors. His first offence, as he himself says, in his last speech, was his earnestness in the matter of the exclusion of the duke. He began sooner than most others to see into the danger we were in from popery, and all those fatal consequences which have since happened; and described them plainly, and almost prophetically.

He was arrested, imprisoned in the Tower, and brought to his trial on the 13th of July, 1683, at the Old Bailey, for high treason. He earnestly desired that he might have respite, and not be tried that day, since he had some witnesses that could not be in town till the night: but his enemies were in such post haste, and so eager for his blood, that they would not stay so much as till the afternoon, pretending it was against precedent, and they could not do it without the attorney-general's consent; though it is notorious, that on several occasions it had been done, and the trial been postponed, even till the following sessions.

When he found he must expect neither favor nor justice, as to the delaying of his trial, he excepted against the foreman of the jury, because not a freeholder; which was also overruled and given against him; though that practice has been since declared and acknowledged one of the great grievances of the nation.

On the king's counsel opening the evidence, the first says, "He was indicted for no less than conspiring the death of the king's majesty; and that in order to the same, he and others did meet and conspire together, to bring our sovereign lord the king to death, to raise war and rebellion against him, and to massacre his subjects; and in order to compass these wicked designs, being assembled, did conspire to seize the king's guards, and his majesty's person: and this (he tells the jury) is the charge against him."

The attorney-general melts it a little lower, and tells them the meaning of all these tragical words "was, a consult about a rising, about seizing the guards, and receiving messages from the earl of Shaftesbury concerning an insurrection."

Nor yet does the proof against him come up so high even as this, though all care was used for that purpose, and questions put very frequently to lead and drive the evidence: only one of them witnessing to any one point.

The first of the witnesses was COLONEL RUMSEY, who swore, That he was sent with a letter from lord Shaftesbury, who lay concealed at Wapping, to meet lord Russel, Ferguson, &c. at Shepherd's, to know of them what resolution they were come to concerning the rising designed at Taunton. That when he came thither, the answer made was, Mr. Trenchard had failed them, and no more would be done in that business at that time. That Mr. Ferguson spoke the most part of that answer; but my lord Russel was present, and that he did speak about the rising of Taunton, and consented to it. That the company was discoursing also of viewing the guards, in order to surprise them, if the rising had gone on; and that some undertook to view them; and that the lord Russel was by, when this was undertaken. But this being the main hinge of the business, and this witness not yet coming up to the purpose, they thought it convenient to give him a jog, to refresh his memory, by asking him, Whether he found lord Russel averse, or agreeing to it? To which he answered, Agreeing. But being afterwards asked, Whether he could swear positively, that my lord Russel heard the message, and gave any answer to it? All that he says is this, That when he came in, they were at the fire-side, but they all came from the fire-side to hear what he said.

All that SHEPHERD witnessed, was, That my lord Russel, &c. being at his house, there was a discourse of surprising the king's guards; and Sir Thomas Armstrong having viewed them when he came thither another time, said, They were remiss, and the thing was seizable, if there were strength to do it; and that upon being questioned too, as Rumsey before him, Whether my lord Russel was there? he says, he was, at the time they discoursed of seizing the guards.

The next witness was LORD HOWARD, who very artificially began in a low voice, pretending to be so terribly surprised with my lord of Essex's death, that his voice failed him, till the lord chief justice told him, the jury could not hear him; in which very moment his voice returned again, and he told the reason why he spoke no louder.

After a long harangue of tropes and fine words, and dismal general stories, by which, as lord Russel complained, the jury were prepossessed against him; he at last made his evidence bear directly upon the point for which he came thither, and swore, That after my lord Shaftesbury went away, their party resolved still to carry on the design of the insurrection without him; for the better management whereof they erected a little cabal among themselves, which did consist of six persons, whereof my lord Russel and himself were two: that they met for that purpose at Mr. Hampden's house, and there adjusted the place and manner of the intended insurrection: that about ten days after they had another meeting on the same business at my lord Russel's, where they resolved to send some persons to engage Argyle and the Scots in the design, and being asked whether lord Russel said any thing, he answered, That every one knew him to be a person of great judgment, and not very lavish of discourse. But being again goaded on by Jeffreys, with—But did he consent? "We did," says he, "put it to the vote; it went without contradiction; and I took it that all there gave their consent."

West swore, that Ferguson and colonel Rumsey told him, That my lord Russel intended to go down and take his post in the West, when Mr. Trenchard had failed them. But this hearsay evidence being not encouraged, Jeffreys told the jury, "they would not use any thing of garniture, but leave it as it was."

It may here be remarked, with respect to colonel Rumsey, that lord Cavendish proved on the trial, that lord Russel had a very ill opinion of him, and therefore it was not likely he would intrust him with so important and dangerous a secret. As to his evidence respecting both branches of the design, seizing the guards, and the rising at Taunton, he says in general, That he was agreeing to one, and spoke about, and consented to the other. For his agreeing to the seizing the guards, he might think, as lord Howard did, that silence gives consent; for it appears not, nor does he swear, that my lord spoke one word about it. But lord Russel himself, in his last speech, which we have all the reason in the world to believe exactly true, protests, That at this time of which Rumsey swears, there was no undertaking of securing and seizing the guards, nor none appointed to view or examine them, only some discourse there was of the practicability of it; he heard it mentioned as a thing which might easily be done, but never consented to it as a thing fit to be done.

Now we may ask, which of these two was most worthy to be believed? Rumsey, who either swore for the saving of his own life, or was a trepan, that he was consenting to the seizing the guards, or my lord Russel, on his death and salvation solemnly affirming, That he was so far from consenting to any such thing, that there was not so much as any such undertaking mentioned in the company while he was with them; especially when it is observable, that Rumsey never instances the terms in which he gave his consent. The same is to be said of the other branch of his evidence, as to the message of the insurrection, which, he says, he brought into the room, and found my lord Russel and the rest by the fire; whence they all came to him, and heard his message, and the lord Russel discoursed on the subject of it, and consented to it. To all which let us again oppose not only what he answered on his trial, wherein he says, That he would swear he never heard or knew of that message, which Rumsey says he brought to them; but also what he says in confirmation thereof in his speech, "I solemnly aver, that what I said of my not hearing colonel Rumsey deliver any message from my lord Shaftesbury, was true." And a little before he says, "When I came into the room, I saw Mr. Rumsey by the chimney, though he swears he came in after."

One thing more may be observed, That when West came to give in his evidence, he runs further than Rumsey, and remembers Rumsey had told him, what it seems he himself had forgot, viz. That on Mr. Trenchard's failing them, my lord Russel was to go in his place, and take up his post alone in the West. And indeed had not West missed his cue, and, by imitating lord Howard's example, begun first with hearsay, he had made as formidable an evidence as ever a one of the others.

For Shepherd, all must grant he said not a syllable to the purpose, or any thing affecting lord Russel. He can hardly tell whether he was even there when there was the discourse of seizing the guards, but speaks not a word of his hearing, or in the least consenting to the design.

As for my lord Howard's evidence, we may, without *scandalum magnatum*, affirm, that every lord is not fit to be a privy-counsellor; and that he does very well to say, "the council of six all chose themselves;" for had not he given his own vote for himself, hardly any body else would have done it, since his character is so notoriously different from that which he himself gives of lord Russel, whom, he says, "every one knew to be a person of great judgment, and not very lavish of discourse." For his evidence, he, like West, is so happy as to

have a better memory than Rumsey; and says, that the duke of Monmouth told him, Rumsey had conveyed my lord Russel to lord Shaftesbury, on whose persuasion the insurrection was put off a fortnight longer. Of this Rumsey himself says not a syllable.

He says further, that when they had inquired how matters stood in the country, and the duke of Monmouth had found Trenchard and the west country failed them, on this it was put off again, and this about the 17th or 18th of October. Now this same action Rumsey speaks of, but takes a large scope as to the time, calling it "the end of October, or the beginning of November," far enough from the 17th or 18th of the month before. Rumsey says, "on this disappointment of the Taunton men and Trenchard, Shaftesbury resolved to be gone:" lord Howard, that "he was so far from it, that he and his party resolved to do it without the lords, and had set one time and the other, and at last the 17th of November, which also not taking effect, then Shaftesbury went off."

As to that part of his evidence which was closer; the story of the council of six, besides the former improbability, that he among all the men in England should be chosen one of them; it is remarkable, that in their former great consultations at Shepherd's, which he and Rumsey mention, the lord Howard was never present, nor so much as touches on it in his evidence; though here, if anywhere, the grand affair of seizing the guards, and the answer to Shaftesbury about Taunton, was concerted. All that appears of truth in the matter, seems to be what my lord Russel acknowledges, "That those persons named met very often; that there was no formed design, but only loose talk about those concerns; that there was no debate of any such thing as was sworn, nor putting any thing in a method; but my lord Howard being a man of a voluble tongue, and one who talks very well, they were all delighted to hear him."

Nor indeed does my lord Howard positively swear, even supposing this story of the consultation to be true, that my lord Russel actually consented to it: only that he was there, and that "he understood that he did give his consent."

It is a very ill cause that needs either a lie or a cheat to defend it. My lord Russel being so ingenuous as to acknowledge whatever of truth any one that knew him will believe to be in his part of the design, it would be an injury to his memory to believe more. It appears, then, from his own acknowledgment, that Howard, Armstrong, and such others, had sometimes discoursed of ill designs and matters in his company: and, as he says, "What the heats, wickedness, passions, and vanities of other men had occasioned, he ought not to be answerable for, nor could he repress them. Nay more, he did sufficiently disapprove those things which he heard discoursed of with more heat than judgment." But for himself, he declares solemnly again and again, "That he was never in any design against the king's life, or any man's whatever; nor ever in any contrivance of altering the government." If this be true, what then becomes of the story of the council of six? It will be still said he was an ill man, being guilty by this very confession of misprision of treason. Supposing this true; that was not punishable with death, and he died, as he says, innocent of the crime he stood condemned for. And besides, "I hope," says he, "nobody will imagine that so mean a thought could enter into me, as to go about to save my life by accusing others. The part that some have acted lately of that kind has not been such as to invite me to love life at such a rate."

But all this does not depend on his mere assertion, since the evidence who swore against him being such as were neither credible, nor indeed so much as legal witnesses, the accusation of itself must fall to the ground. If legal, they were not credible, because they had no pardons, but hunted, as the cormorant does, with strings about their necks, which West, in his answer to Walcock's letter, ingenuously acknowledges, and says, "It is through God and the king's mercy he was not at the apparent point of death." That is, he was upon trial, to see whether he would do business, and deserve to escape hanging.

Nor indeed was the great witness, lord Howard, so much as a legal, any more than a credible witness. No man alive has any way to clear himself from the most perjured villain's malice, if he swears against him point blank, but either by circumstance of time, or invalidating his very evidence. The first of these was precluded; as Rumsey and the rest came to no determinate time, but only *about* such a time; about the end of October, or beginning of November: and others cloud the precise time in so many words, that it is impossible to find it. All then that could be done, was as to the person. Now what thing can be invented, which can more invalidate the evidence any person gives, than his solemn, repeated, voluntary oath, indubitably proved against him, that such a person is innocent of that very crime of which he afterwards accuses him? And let any one judge, on reading the following deposition, whether or no this was the case in the present instance: My lord Anglesey wit-

nesses, that he was at the earl of Bedford's after his son was imprisoned, where came in my lord Howard, and began to comfort him, saying, "He was happy in so wise a son, and worthy a person; and who could never be in such a plot as that. That he knew nothing against him, or any body else, of such a barbarous design." But this was not upon oath, but only related to the assassination, as he says for himself in drawing this fine distinction.

Let us see then what is testified by Dr. Burnet, whom lord Howard was with the night after the plot broke out, "and then, as well as once before, *with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven*, did say, He knew nothing of any plot, nor believed any." Here is the most solemn oath, as he himself confesses, made voluntarily, nay, unnecessarily; though perhaps, in my lord Bedford's case, good nature might work upon him. Here is no shadow, no room left for his distinction between the insurrection and assassination; but without any guard or mitigation at all, he solemnly swears he knew not of any plot, nor believed any!

There is but little subterfuge more, and the case is clear. All this perjury, all these solemn asseverations, he tells us, were only to brazen out the plot, and to outface the thing for himself and party. This he fairly acknowledges; and let all the world judge, whether they would destroy one of the best and bravest men in it, on the evidence of such a person? But there is yet a further answer. His cousin, Mr. Howard, who was my lord's intimate friend, who secured him in his house, to whom he might open his soul, and to whom it seems he did, he having made application to the ministers of state in his name, that he was willing to serve the king, and give him satisfaction; to him, I say, with whom he had secret negotiations, and that of such a nature; will any one believe that he would outface the thing here too? That he would perjure himself for nothing, where neither danger or good could arise from it? No, certainly, his lordship had more wit, and conscience, and honor; he ought to be vindicated from such an imputation. And yet here he denied it; and Mr. Howard tells it as generously, and with as much honest indignation as possible, in spite of the checks the court gave him. "He took it," says he, "upon his honor, his faith, and as much as if he had taken an oath before a magistrate, that he knew nothing of any man concerned in this business, and particularly of the lord Russel; of whom he added, that he thought he did unjustly suffer." So that if he had the same soul on Monday, that he had on Sunday, (the very day before,) this could not be true that he swore against the lord Russel. My lord Russel's suffering was imprisonment, and that for the same matter on which he was tried, the insurrection, not the assassination. If my lord Howard knew him guilty of that for which he was committed, though not the other, how could he then say, it was unjustly done?

After all this, it would be almost superfluous to go any further, or insert the evidence given by Drs. Tillotson, Burnet, Cox, and others, not only of his virtues and honorable behavior, but more especially of his judgment about any popular insurrections, that he was absolutely against them, that it was folly and madness until things came to be properly regulated in a parliamentary way, and he thought it would ruin the best cause in the world, to take any such ways to preserve it.

All this and more would not do; die he must, the duke ordered it, the witnesses swore it, the judges directed it, the jury found it; and when the sentence came to be passed, the judge asked, as is usual, What he had to say why sentence should not be pronounced? To which he answered,

"That whereas he had been charged in the indictment which was then read to him, with conspiring the death of the king, which he had not taken notice of before, he appealed to the judge and the court, whether he were guilty within the statute on which he was tried, the witnesses having sworn an intention of levying war, but not of killing the king, of which there was no proof in any one witness."

The recorder told him, "That was an exception proper, and as he thought his lordship did make it before the verdict. Whether the evidence did amount to prove the charge, was to be observed by the jury; for if the evidence came short of the indictment, they could not find it to be a true charge; but when once they had found it, their verdict did pass for truth, and the court was bound by it, as well as his lordship, and they were to go according to what the jury had found, not their evidence."

Now we may ask, what is the reason of the prisoner's being asked that question, What he has to say for himself? Is it a mere formality? He makes an exception, which the judge confesses to be proper. But who was counsel for the prisoner? Is not the Bench? Or, does it not pretend to be so? And why is not this observed by them in their direction to the jury? The recorder seems to grant it fairly, that the evidence did not prove the charge, and says, The court was to go, not according to the evidence, but according to the verdict

pronounced; sentence was accordingly passed upon him, and he was removed to Newgate.

While he was there, the importunity of his friends, as he says in his speech, lest they should think him sullen or stubborn, prevailed with him to sign petitions, and make an address for his life, though it was not without difficulty that he did any thing with the view of avoiding death. And all his petitions were rendered fruitless by the inflexible malignity of the duke of York, who prevented the king (whose good nature might probably have been prevailed on) from saving one of the best men in his kingdom.

Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson attended him in Newgate the greater part of the time between his sentence and death; where to the last he owned that doctrine, which other good men, who were then of another judgment, have since been forced into, namely, *the lawfulness of resistance against unlawful violence, from whomsoever it come.*

After the fruitless application for his pardon: after a farewell and adieu in this world to one of the best of women, who stood by him, and assisted him in his trial, and left him not till now, he at last, on Saturday, the 21st of July, 1683, went into his own coach about nine o'clock in the morning, with Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet; he was carried to Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, to the scaffold prepared for him, where, among all the numerous spectators, he was one of the most unconcerned persons there, and very few rejoiced at so doleful a spectacle, but the bloodthirsty papists, who indeed had sufficient reason; and some of them, to their infinite disgrace, expressed, it is said, a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction. There, after his lordship had again solemnly protested his innocence, and that he was far from any design against the king's person or government; nay, that he did upon the words of a dying man profess, that he knew of no plot against either, and delivering an excellent speech to the sheriff, he prayed by himself, and with Dr. Tillotson's assistance; and embracing him and Dr. Burnet, he submitted to the fatal strokes, for the executioner took no less than three before he could sever his head, which when it was held up, as usual, there was so far from being any shout, that a heavy groan was heard round the scaffold. His body was given to his friends, and conveyed to Cheneys in Buckinghamshire, where it was buried among his ancestors.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF WALCOT, HONE, AND ROUSE.

Captain Walcot and his fellow-sufferers, in order of time, should have been placed first, they being convicted before my lord Russel, and executed on the preceding day. But my lord Russel's fate having so immediate a dependence on that of the earl of Essex, it seemed more proper to begin with him. Captain Walcot was a gentleman of a considerable estate in Ireland, remarkable for the rare happiness of having eight children all at once living, but more so for the love to his country, which cost him his life.

The pretended crime for which Walcot suffered, and which West and others witnessed against him, was, conspiring the death of the king, and to charge the guards, at his return from Newmarket, while a blunderbuss was to be fired into the coach by Rumbald, or some other. His privacy to discourses about the king's death was but misprision. For his acting in it, they could not have fixed on a more unlikely man to command a party in so desperate an attempt as charging the guards, than one who was sick and bedridden of the gout, as the captain frequently was. Nor does West's pretence, that he refused to be engaged in the actual assassination, because of the baseness of it, but offered to charge the guards, while others did it, seem more probable. This he denies with indignation in his speech, and appeals to all that knew him whether they thought him such an idiot, that he should not understand it was the same thing to engage the king's guards, while others killed him, or to kill him with his own hands!

West and Rumsey were the main pillars, and almost the only witnesses on whom the credit of that action depended, who appear throughout the great and almost sole managers thereof, and who accuse others of being concerned in it. What and how much their credit weighs, we have already hinted, but shall yet confront it with further testimonies relating to this matter, and those of dying men, who could expect no pardon in this world, nor in the other, for a falsehood. Besides Rumbald's solemn protestation, Walcot, in his dying speech, as deeply affirms, as a man can do, that "West bought arms for this villanous design without any direction, knowledge, or privity of his." West says, in his answer to this, as well as in his evidence, that Walcot joined in the direction about the nature and size of those arms; that he was very intimate and familiar with this Rumbald, who was to be the principal actor in the assassination. But Rumbald's death clears himself and Walcot, and shows what West is.

West, or one of the other witnesses, talks of fifty men being engaged for the assassination. Now it is not easy to believe that there could be so many Englishmen found, and Protestants too, who would consent to

kill the king; never any one having acknowledged such a design, except Hone, who was so stupid, that he could not give one sensible answer to the questions asked him at his death; so plain a testimony, and dint of fact and reason, leads to the conclusion that the persons here charged were not guilty. And Rouse says, "he was told, they did not intend to spill so much as one drop of blood."

In further confirmation of this, Holloway says, "he could not perceive that Ferguson knew any thing of the Newmarket design, but Rumsey and West were deep in it." Again, having asked West who was to act the assassination? "He could give but a slender answer, and could or would name but two men, Rumbald and his brother; and they had but few men, if more than two, and no horses, only a parcel of arms which he showed at a gunsmith's." And at another time, "West only named Rumsey and Richard Goodenough as concerned in the assassination, but none seconded him; Rumsey was for the old strain of killing the king, to which not one consented; I could never find above five concerned in it. I heard Walcot speak against it, and knew Ferguson to be against any such design."

Upon the whole, we may conclude, that the dying asseverations of three men, who had nothing to hope from concealing the truth, are more worthy of belief than the testimony of those whose sole hope of life depended on procuring the condemnation of others; and that this was the case, is evident from what West says in the paper written by him, "That he was still in danger of death, though not so imminent as it had been; nor at the apparent point of death." And at the close of the paper, "If it shall please the king to spare my life for my confession, it is a great happiness," &c.

From all which there lies a fair supposition of the innocence of this captain, and others, of what they were accused, found guilty, sentenced, and died for; it being on West's evidence, and such as his, that he and others were arraigned and condemned; the captain's defence being much the same with what he says in his speech.

Captain Walcot denied any design of killing the king, or of engaging the guards, whilst others killed him; and said that "the witnesses invited him to meetings, where some things were discoursed of, in order to the asserting our liberties and properties: which we looked upon to be violated and invaded: That they importuned and perpetually solicited him, and then delivered him up to be hanged: That they combined together to swear him out of his life, to save their own: and that they might do it effectually, they contrived an untruth. That he forgave them, though guilty of his blood; but withal earnestly begged, that they might be observed, that remarks might be set upon them, whether their end be peace;" and he concluded, "That when God hath a work to do, he will not want instruments."

With him was tried Rouse, who was charged with such a parcel of mad romance, as was scarce ever heard of; and one would wonder how perjury and malice, which used to be sober sins, could ever be so extravagant as to think of it. He was to seize the Tower, pay the rabble, head the army, to be paymaster-general, and a great deal more beside.

In his defence he says not much, but yet what looks a thousand times more like truth than his accusation; that "the Tower business was only discourse of the possibility of the thing, but without the least intent of bringing it to action; that all he was concerned in any real design, he had from Lee, and was getting more out of him, with an intention to make a discovery." But it seems Lee was beforehand with him, and saved his own neck.

Hone was accused, and owns himself guilty of a design to kill the king and the duke of York, or one, or neither, for it is impossible to make any sense of him; he was, in fact, either an idiot or a madman.

When they came to suffer, Walcot read a paper, in which was a good rational confession of his faith; he then comes to the occasion of his death; "for which," he says, "he neither blames the judges, jury, nor counsel, but only some men, that in reality were deeper concerned than he, who combined together to swear him out of his life to save their own; and that they might do it effectually, contrived an untruth, &c. He forgives the world and the witnesses; gives his friends advice to be more prudent than he had been; prays that his may be the last blood spilled on that account; wishes the king would be merciful to others; says he knew nothing of Ireland, and concludes with praying God to have mercy on him."

He had then some discourse with the clergyman, wherein he told him, that "he was not for contriving the death of the king, nor to have had a hand in it," and being urged with some matters of controversy, told him, "he did not come thither to dispute about religion, but to die religiously."

Hone's behavior on the scaffold was as ridiculous as on his trial. His replies to the clergyman were so incongruous, that scarcely any thing could be understood

from them. But he talked of snares and circumstances, and nobody knows what, and said, at one time, he was to meet the king and duke of York, but he did not know when, where, nor for what. Directly afterwards he says, he was for killing the king, and saving the duke; and when asked the reason, answered, "that he knew no reason; that he did not know what to say to it." And when the dean charged him with the murderous design, he said, "that he knew as little of it as any poor silly man in the world."

Rouse came next, gave an account of his faith, professing to die of the church of England; told his former employment and manner of life; acknowledged he had heard of clubs and designs, but was never at them, and a perfect stranger to any thing of that nature. He then gave a relation of what passed between him and his majesty on his apprehension; talked somewhat of Sir Thomas Player, the earl of Shaftesbury, "and accommodating the king's son," as he called it, though not while the king reigned; then spoke of Lee, and the discourse they had together, "who," as he says, "swore against him on the trial those very words he himself had used in pressing him to undertake the design;" and after some discourse with the ordinary, gave the spectators some good counsel. Then they all three singly prayed; and the sentence of the law was executed upon them.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF ALGERNON SIDNEY, ESQ.

The next victim to popish cruelty and malice was colonel Algernon Sidney, of the ancient and noble family of the Sidneys, earls of Leicester, deservedly famous throughout Europe; who, as has been observed, "was merely talked to death, under the notion of a commonwealth's man, and found guilty by a jury who were not much more proper judges of the case, than they would have been had he wrote in Greek or Arabic." He was arraigned for a branch of this plot at Westminster, the 17th of November, 1683; where, though it cannot be said the grand jury knew not what they did, when they found the bill against him, since, no doubt, they were well instructed what to do; yet it must be concluded, that they found it almost before they knew what it was, being so well resolved on the case, and agreed on their verdict, that had he been indicted for breaking open a house, or robbing on the highway, it was doomed to have been *billa vera* as much as it was now. For though the indictment was never presented to them before they came into the hall, yet they immediately found it; the substance whereof was, "for a conspiracy to depose the king, and stirring up rebellion, and writing a libel for that purpose."

The most part of the evidence brought against him, was only hearsay, as was that against my lord Russel; nay, West, whose evidence was then refused, now was admitted to tell a long story of what he had heard from one and another. Rumsey's testimony was of much the same nature.

In the rear came that never-failing evidence, the lord Howard, who swears he was one of the council of six, and engaged among the deepest in their consultations. And more than this, he exercised his own faculty very handsomely, in an account of two speeches made by Mr. Hampden on the occasion, which indeed were such fine things, that some might think it worth the while to swear against a man, only to have the reputation of reciting them.

The next evidence was a paper, said to be of the prisoner's writing, which they found in his study. The substance of this was an inquiry into the forms of government, and the reasons of their decay; the rights of the people, the bounds of sovereignty, and the origin of power: in which were those *heinous, treasonable* expressions; "the king is subject to the law of God as a man, to the people who made him such, as a king," &c. And examples were given of evil kings and tyrants, whom sometimes a popular fury had destroyed; at others, the *ordines regni* either reduced, or set them aside, when their government was a curse instead of a blessing to their people. There is surely no treason in all this, and none but the most violent partisans of *divine right* could have found any in it. "If there were any mistakes," as he says in his speech, "they ought to have been confuted by law, reason, and Scripture, not by the scaffold and the ax."

But, in the first place, it was not proved to be his writing, nor did he confess it; treason and life are critical things: one ought to be as fairly proved, as the other to be cautiously proceeded against. Though he might write it, he had the liberty of an Englishman, not to accuse himself: the very same thing which was afterwards put in practice by those reverend persons, who, later than he, and cheaper too, defended their country's liberty with only the loss of their own. But, even allowing that he wrote it, how very few, if any things therein, are not now generally and almost universally believed, and are the foundation of the practice, and satisfaction of the con-

science of every man, though then confuted with the single brand of "commonwealth principles," being indeed such as all the world must, whether they will or no, be forced into the belief of, as soon as oppression and tyranny bear hard upon them, and become really insupportable?

It was suggested, and innuendoed, that this book was written to scatter among the people, in order to dispose them to rebel, as it is in the indictment. But how ridiculous that is, any one will see who considers the bulk of it, which was such, that, as he says in his speech, the fiftieth part of the book was not produced, nor the truth of that read, though he desired it, and it was usual; and yet, after all, as it had never been shown to any man, so it was not finished, nor could be in many years, being merely an answer to a book on government, published long before, and being never intended for publication, but kept privately in his study, till dragged forth by his prosecutors. Now is this a business likely to be calculated for a rebellion: when it could not be finished till several years after the disturbance was over; and if it had, the bulk made it improper to be dispersed for that purpose for which it was pretended to be designed? No: those who are to poison a nation in that manner, take more likely ways. It is to be done in little pamphlets, and papers easily read over, understood and remembered.

But still here being not a syllable in these papers of king Charles, any more than of the king of Bantam, or the Great Mogul, against whom they might as well have made it treason; it was all supplied by the *innuendo*, that is, in English, such interpretation as they would please to affix to his words. Thus when he writes Tarquin, or Pepin, or Nero, they say he meant king Charles; and so, scandalously of him, as well as wickedly to the author, make a monster and a ravisher of their king, and then take away another's life for doing it.

As for my lord Howard's evidence, had the jury been any but such as they were, and Sidney describes them, they would not have hanged a Jesuit upon the credit of it; he having apparently taken a pride in damning himself deeper and deeper against every new appearance in public, on purpose to try the skill and face of the counsel in bringing him off again. To the evidence brought against him in my lord Russel's case, he had taken care that these following should be added, as further witnesses of his perjury and falsehood:

The earl of Clare swore, that Howard said, after Sidney's imprisonment, if questioned again, he would never plead, and that he thought colonel Sidney as innocent as any man breathing: Mr. Ducas swore the same, so did my lord Paget, and several other noblemen and gentlemen; adding, "that he said he had not his pardon, and could not ascribe it to any reason, but that he must not have it till the drudgery of swearing was over."

But though no reasonable answer could be given to all this; though Sidney pleaded "the obligations my lord Howard had to him, and the great conveniency he might think there might be in his being hanged, since he was some hundreds of pounds in his debt, which would be the readiest way of paying him;" and had besides, as it appeared, a great mind to have the colonel's plate secured at his own house; though never man in the world certainly ever talked stronger sense, or better reason, or more evidently confuted the judges, and left them nothing but railing, it was a lost case with him, as well as the others; and the petty jury could as easily have found him guilty, without hearing his trial, as the grand jury did, as soon as they saw the bill.

Never was any thing more base and barbarous than the summing up the evidence and directions to the jury, who yet stood in no great need of them: nor a more uncivil and saucy reflection on the noble family and name of the Sidneys, than the judge's saying, "That he was born a traitor." Never any thing braver, or more manly, than his remonstrance to the king for justice, and another trial: nor lastly, more Roman, and yet more truly Christian, than his end. The brave old man came upon a scaffold as unconcerned as if he had been going to his bed, and as lively as if he had been a Russel.

In his last speech he delivered his sentiments with boldness and conciseness, saying, "That magistrates were made for the good of nations, not nations for the benefit of kings. If that be treason, king Charles I. is guilty of it against himself, who says the same thing, That the power of magistrates is what the laws of the country make it: that those laws and oaths have the force of a contract, and if one part is broken the other ceases."

Beside this, and many other excellent maxims, he gave a full account of the design of his book, of his trial, and the injustice done him therein; of the juries being packed, and important points of law overruled; ending with a most compendious prayer, in which he desired God would forgive his enemies, but keep them from doing any more mischief; and then he laid down his head, and received the stroke of death with the calm resolution of a martyr.

As his petition to the king and his paper

delivered to the sheriffs, are curious and valuable, we shall give the first at length, and an abstract of the latter.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, THE HUMBLE PETITION OF ALGERNON SIDNEY, ESQ.

Showeth,

That your petitioner, after a long and close imprisonment, was, on the seventh day of this month, with a guard of soldiers brought into the Palace-yard, upon a *Habeas Corpus* directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, before any indictment had been exhibited against him: but while he was there detained, a bill was exhibited and found; whereupon he was immediately carried to the King's-Bench, and there arraigned. In this surprise he desired a copy of the indictment, and leave to make his exceptions, or to put in a special plea, and counsel to frame it; but all was denied him. He then offered a special plea ready engrossed, which also was rejected without reading: and being threatened, that if he did not immediately plead guilty or not guilty, judgment of high treason should be entered, he was forced, contrary to law (as he supposes) to come to a general issue in pleading not guilty.

November 21, he was brought to his trial, and the indictment being perplexed and confused, so that neither he nor any of his friends that heard it, could fully comprehend the scope of it, he was wholly unprovided of all the helps that the law allows to every man for his defence. Whereupon he did again desire a copy, and produced an authentic copy of the statute of 46 Ed. III. whereby it is enacted, That every man shall have a copy of any record that touches him in any manner, as well that which is for or against the king, as any other person; but could neither obtain a copy of his indictment, nor that the statute should be read.

The jury, by which he was tried, was not (as he is informed) summoned by the bailiffs of the several hundreds, in the usual and legal manner; but names were agreed upon by Mr. Graham, and the under-sheriff, and directions given to the bailiff to summon them: and being all so chosen, a copy of the pannel was of no use to him. When they came to be called, he excepted against some for being your majesty's servants, which he hoped should not be returned, when he was prosecuted at your majesty's suit; many more for not being freeholders, which exceptions, he thinks, were good in law; and others were lewd and infamous persons, not fit to be on any jury: but all was overruled by the lord chief justice, and your petitioner forced to challenge them peremptorily, whom he found to be picked out as most suitable to the intentions of those who sought his ruin; whereby he lost the benefit allowed him by law of making his exceptions, and was forced to admit of mechanic persons, utterly unable to judge of such a matter as was to be brought before them. This jury being sworn, no witness was produced who fixed any thing beyond hearsay upon your petitioner, except the lord Howard, and them that swore to some papers said to be found in his house, and offered as a second witness, and written in a hand like to that of your petitioner.

Your petitioner produced ten witnesses, most of them of eminent quality, the others of unblemished fame, to show that lord Howard's testimony was inconsistent with what he had declared before (at the trial of the lord Russel) under the same religious obligation of an oath, as if it had been legally administered.

Your petitioner did further endeavor to show, That besides the absurdity and incongruity of his testimony, he being guilty of many crimes which he did not pretend your petitioner had any knowledge of, and having no other hope of pardon, than by the drudgery of swearing against him, he deserved not to be believed. And similitude of hands could be no evidence, as was declared by the lord chief justice Keeling, and the whole court in the lady Carr's case: by that no evidence at all remained against him.

That whosoever wrote those papers, they were but a small part of a polemical discourse in answer to a book written about thirty years ago, upon general propositions, applied to no time, nor any particular case; that it was impossible to judge of any part of it, unless the whole did appear, which did not; that the sense of such parts of it as were produced, could not be comprehended, unless the whole had been read, which was denied; that the ink and paper showeth them to be written many years ago; that the lord Howard not knowing of them, they could have no concurrence with what your petitioner is said to have designed with him and others: that the confusion and errors in the writing showed they had never been so much as reviewed, and being written in a hand that no man could well read, they were not fit for the press, nor could be in some years, though the writer had intended it, which did not appear. But they being only the present crude and private thoughts of a man, for the exercise of his own understanding in his studies, and never showed to any, or applied to any particular case, could not fall under the statute of 25 Edward III. which takes cognizance

of no such matter, and could not by construction be brought under it; such matters being thereby reserved to the parliament, as is declared in the proviso, which he desired might be read, but was refused.

Several important points of law did hereupon emerge, upon which your petitioner, knowing his weakness, did desire that counsel might be heard, or they might be referred to be found specially. But all was overruled by the violence of the lord chief justice, and your petitioner so frequently interrupted, that the whole method of his defence was broken, and he not suffered to say the tenth part of what he could have alleged in his defence. So the jury was hurried into a verdict they did not understand.

Now, forasmuch as no man that is oppressed in England, can have relief, unless it be from your majesty, your petitioner humbly prays, that the premises considered, your majesty would be pleased to admit him into your presence; and if he doth not show, that it is for your majesty's interest and honor to preserve him from the said oppression, he will not complain though he be left to be destroyed.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE PAPER DELIVERED TO THE SHERIFFS, DECEMBER 7, 1683, BEFORE HIS EXECUTION.

First having excused his not speaking, as well because it was an age that made truth pass for treason, for the truth of which he instances his trial and condemnation, and that the ears of some present were too tender to hear it, as because of the rigor of the season and his infirmities, &c. then after a short reflection upon the little said against him by other witnesses, and the little value that was to be put on the lord Howard's testimony, whom he charges with an infamous life, and many palpable perjuries, and to be biassed only by the promise of pardon, &c. and makes, even though he had been liable to no exceptions, to have been but a single witness; he proceeds to answer the charge against him from the writings found in his closet by the king's officers, which were pretended, but not lawfully evidenced to be his, and pretends to prove, that had they been his, they contained no condemnable matter, but principles, more safe both to princes and people too, than the pretended high-flown plea for absolute monarchy, composed by Filmer, against which they seemed to be levelled; and which, he says, all intelligent men thought, were founded on wicked principles, and such as were destructive both to magistrates and people too; which he attempts to make out after this manner:

First, says he, If Filmer might publish to the world, that men were born under a necessary indispensable subjection to an absolute king, who could be restrained by no oath, &c. whether he came to it by creation, inheritance, &c. nay or even by usurpation; why might he not publish his opinion to the contrary, without the breach of any known law? Which opinion, he professes, consisted in the following particulars:

1. That God hath left nations at the liberty of modelling their own governments.

2. That magistrates were instituted for nations, and not *è contra*.

3. That the right and power of magistrates were fixed by the standing laws of each country.

4. That those laws sworn to on both sides, were the matter of a contract between the magistrates and people, and could not be broken without the danger of dissolving the whole government.

5. That usurpation could give no right; and that kings had no greater enemies than those who asserted that, or were for stretching their power beyond its limits.

6. That such usurpations commonly effecting the slaughter of the reigning person, &c. the worst of crimes was thereby most gloriously rewarded.

7. That such doctrines are more proper to stir up men to destroy princes, than all the passions that ever yet swayed the worst of them, and that no prince could be safe, if his murderers may hope such rewards; and that few men would be so gentle as to spare the best kings, if by their destruction a wild usurper could become God's anointed, which he says was the scope of that whole treatise, and asserts to be the doctrine of the best authors of all nations, times, and religions, and of the Scripture, and so owned by the best and wisest princes, and particularly by Lewis the Fourteenth, of France, in his declaration against Spain, A. D. 1677, and by king James, of England, in his speech to the parliament, 1603; and adds, that if the writer had been mistaken, he should have been fairly refuted, but that no man was otherwise punished for such matters, or any such things referred to a jury, &c. That the book was never finished, nor ever seen by them whom he was charged to have endeavored by it to draw into a conspiracy: that nothing in it was particularly or maliciously applied to time, place, or person, but distorted to such a sense by innuendoes, as the discourses of the expulsion of Tarquin, &c. and particularly of the translation made of the crown of France from one race to another, had been then applied by the then lawyers' innuendoes to the

then king of England; never considering, adds he, that if such acts of state be not allowed good, no prince in the world has any title to his crown; and having by a short reflection shown the ridiculousness of deriving absolute monarchy from patriarchal power, he appeals to all the world, whether it would not be more advantageous to all kings to own the derivation of their power from the consent of willing nations, than to have no better title than force, &c. which may be overpowered.

But notwithstanding the innocence and loyalty of that doctrine, he says, He was told that he must die, or the plot must die, and complains, that in order to the destroying the best Protestants of England, the bench was filled with such as had been blemishes to the bar; and instances how, against law, they had advised with the king's counsel about bringing him to death, suffered a jury to be picked by the king's solicitors, and the under-sheriff admitted nonfreeholders jurymen, received evidence not valid, refused him a copy of his indictment, or to suffer the act of the 46th of Edw. III. to be read that allows it, overruled the most important points of law, without hearing, and assumed to themselves a power to make constructions of treason, though against law, sense, and reason, which by the statute of the 25th of Edw. III. by which they pretended to try him, was reserved only to the parliament; and so praying God to forgive them, and to avert the evils that threatened the nation, to sanctify those sufferings to him, and though he fell a sacrifice to idols, not to suffer idolatry to be established in this land, he concludes with a thanksgiving, That God had singled him out to be a witness of his truth, and for that good old cause in which from his youth he had been engaged.

EXECUTION OF MR. JAMES HOLLOWAY.

Mr. Holloway was a merchant; but his greatest dealing lay in linen manufacture, which, as appears from his papers, he had brought to such a height in England, as, had it met with suitable encouragement, would have employed 80,000 poor people, and 40,000 acres of land, and have produced 200,000*l.* a year to the public revenues of the kingdom. He seems to have been a person of sense, courage, and vivacity, and a man of business.

He was accused of the plot, as one who was acquainted with West, Rumsey, and the rest; and having been really present at their meetings and discourses on that subject, absconded when the public news concerning the discovery came into the country; though this, as he said in the "Narrative" written by him, "more for fear, that if he was taken up, his creditors would never let him come out of jail, than any thing else."

After some time he got to sea in a little vessel, went over to France, and so to the West Indies, among the Caribbee Islands, where much of his business lay; but writing to his factor at Nevis, he was by him treacherously betrayed, seized by the order of Sir William Stapleton, and thence brought prisoner to England, where, after examination, and a confession of at least all that he knew, having been outlawed in his absence on an indictment of treason, he was, on the 21st of April, 1684, brought to the King's-Bench, to show cause why execution should not be awarded against him, as is usual in that case; he opposed nothing against it, only saying, "if an ingenuous confession of truth could merit the king's pardon, he hoped he had done it." The attorney-general being called for, ordered the indictment to be read, and gave him the offer of a trial, waving the outlawry, which he refused, and threw himself on the king's mercy; on which execution was awarded: and he was accordingly hanged, drawn and quartered, at Tyburn, on the 30th of April.

It seemed strange, that a man of so much spirit as Mr. Holloway appeared to be, should so tamely die without making any defence, when that liberty was granted him: it seemed as strange, or yet stranger, that any Protestant should have any thing that looked like mercy or favor from the persons then at the helm; that they should be so gracious to him as to admit him to a trial, which looked so generously, and was so cried up; the attorney-general calling it "A mercy and a grace," and the lord chief justice saying, "He could assure him it was a great mercy, and that it was exceeding well."

Now all this blind or mystery will be easily unriddled by what Holloway said just after: "My lord," said he, "I cannot undertake to defend myself, for I have confessed before his majesty, that I am guilty of many things in that indictment." Which was immediately made use of as was designed; Mr. Justice Withens crying out, "I hope every body here will take notice of his open confession, when he might try it if he would; surely none but will believe this conspiracy now, after what this man has owned."

So there was an end of all the mercy. A man who had before confessed in order to be hanged, had gracious liberty given him to confess it again in public, because his prosecutors knew he had precluded all

manner of defence before, and this public action would both get them the repute of clemency, and confirm the belief of the plot. Now that there had been promises of pardon held out to him, if he would take this method, and own himself guilty without pleading, is more than probable, both from other practices of the same nature used towards greater men, and from some expressions of his which strongly hint at such promises: Thus in his paper left behind him, "I had," says he, "some *other reasons* why I did not plead, which at present I conceal, as also why I did not speak what I intended."

Now what should those reasons be but threatenings and promises, to induce him to silence, and public acknowledgment of all? Which appears yet plainer from another passage: "I am satisfied that all means which could be thought on, have been used to get as much out of me as possible." These "means" must evidently signify the fallacious promises of pardon made to him, on condition of his confession.

But if he made so fair and large an acknowledgment, it will be asked, why was not his life spared? But this may be easily answered: He was a little tender-conscienced, and would not strain so far as others in accusing men of those black crimes whereof they were innocent: nay, on the contrary, he vindicated them from those aspersions cast upon them, and for which some of them, particularly my lord Russel, suffered death.

For instance, he says, The assassination was carried on but by three or four, and he could never hear so much as the names of above five for it: that he and others had declared their abhorrence of any such thing; that Ferguson was not concerned in it. And, besides, he speaks some things with the liberty of an Englishman; shows the very root of all those heats which had been raised; says, what was true enough, "That the Protestant gentry had a notion of a horrible design of the papists to cut off the king's friends, and the active men in both the last parliaments; that they long had witnesses to swear them out of their lives, but no juries to believe them; that now the point about the sheriffs was gained, that difficulty was over; that the king had persons about him who kept all things from his knowledge; that if matters continued thus, the Protestant gentry resolved to release the king from his evil counsellors, and then he would immediately be of their side, and suffer all popish offenders to be brought to justice."

Hence it was plain, no assassination, no plot against the king and government was intended; only treason against the duke of York and the papists, who were themselves traitors by law. But Holloway said one thing yet bolder than all this; he "prays the king's eyes may be opened, to see his enemies from his friends, whom he had cause to look for nearer home." Was a man to expect pardon after this? No, certainly, which he soon grew sensible of, and prepared for death; "the council," he says, "taking it very heinously that he should presume to write such things."

Mr. Holloway further declared, that Mr. West proposed the assassination, but none seconded him; that he could not perceive that Mr. Ferguson knew any thing of it; and he said, "It was our design to shed no blood;" then being interrogated, by Mr. Ferguson's friend, Mr. Sheriff Daniel, Whether he knew Ferguson? he answered, "That he did know him, but knew him to be against any design of killing the king."

EXECUTION OF SIR THOMAS ARMSTRONG.

The next sufferer had not so fair play, because his enemies knew he would make better use of it. They had this lion in the toils, and did not intend to let him loose again to make sport, lest the hunters themselves should come off ill by it. He had been all his life a firm servant and friend to the royal family, in their exile and afterwards: he had been in prison for them under Cromwell, and in danger both of execution and starving; for all which they now rewarded him by an ignominious death.

He had a particular honor and devotion for the duke of Monmouth, and forwarded his interest on all occasions, being a man of as undaunted courage as ever England produced. He was with the duke formerly in his actions in Flanders, and shared there his dangers and honors. The accusation against him was, his being concerned in the general plot, and in that for killing the king.

The particulars pretended against him, were what lord Howard witnessed in lord Russel's trial, of his going to kill the king when their first design failed. But of this there was only a supposition, though advanced into a formal accusation, and aggravated by the attorney-general, as the reason why he had a trial denied him, when Holloway had one offered, both of them being alike outlawed. On which outlawry Sir Thomas was kidnapped in Holland, brought over hither in chains, and robbed, by the way, into the bargain. Being brought up, and asked what he had to say, why sentence should not pass upon him, he pleaded the 6th of Ed. VI. wherein it is provided, That

if a person outlawed render himself within a year after the outlawry pronounced, and traverse his indictment, and shall be acquitted on his trial, he shall be discharged of the outlawry. On which he accordingly then and there made a formal surrender of himself to the lord chief justice, and asked the benefit of the statute, and a fair trial for his life, the year not being yet expired. If ever any thing could appear plain to common sense, it was his case; but all the answer he could get was this, from the lord chief justice, "We don't think so; we are of another opinion." He could not obtain so much justice as to have counsel allowed to plead, though the point sufficiently deserved it, and the life of an old servant of the king's was concerned in it. When he still pleaded, That a little while before, one (meaning Holloway) had the benefit of a trial offered him, if he would accept it, and that was all he now desired; the lord chief justice answers, "That was only the grace and mercy of the king." The attorney-general adds, "The king did indulge Holloway so far as to offer him a trial, and his majesty perhaps might have some reason for it:" the very reason, no doubt, which we have already assigned for it. "But Sir Thomas," the attorney goes on, "deserves no favor, because he was one of the persons that actually engaged to go, on the king's hasty coming from Newmarket, and destroy him by the way as he came to town; which appears upon as full and clear an evidence, and as positively testified, as any thing could be, in the evidence given in of the late horrid conspiracy." Now we may ask, who gives this clear and full evidence in the discovery of the conspiracy? Howard's is mere supposition, and he is the only person who so much as mentions a syllable of it. To this Sir Thomas answers in his speech, "That had he come to his trial, he could have proved my lord Howard's base reflections on him to be notoriously false, there being at least ten gentlemen, besides all the servants in the house, who could testify where he dined that very day."

Still Sir Thomas demanded the benefit of the law, and no more: to which Jeffreys answered, with one of his usual barbarous insults over the miserable, "That he should have it, by the grace of God;" ordering, That execution be done on Friday next according to law. And added, "That he should have the full benefit of the law:" repeating the jest, lest it should be lost, three times in one sentence!

He then proceeded to tell him, "We are satisfied that according to law we must award execution upon this outlawry:" thereupon Mrs. Matthews, Sir Thomas's daughter, said, "My Lord, I hope you will not murder my father;" for which, being browbeaten and checked, she added, "God Almighty's judgments light upon you!"

On the following Friday he was brought to the place of execution. Dr. Tennison being with him, and on his desire, after he had given what he had to leave, in a paper, to the sheriff, prayed a little while with him. He then prayed by himself; and after having thanked the doctor for his great care and pains with him, submitted to the sentence, and died more composedly, and full as resolutely, as he had lived. It is observable, that more cruelty was exercised on him than on any who suffered before him, not only in the manner of his death, but the exposing of his limbs and body: a fair warning what particular gratitude a Protestant is to expect for having obliged a true papist.

Another thing worth remembering is, that whereas in Holloway's case, Jeffreys observed, "That not one of all concerned in this conspiracy had dared deny it," absolutely it is so far from being true, that every one who suffered did deny it as absolutely as possible. They were tried or sentenced for conspiring against the king and government; that was their plot; but this they all deny, and absolutely too, and safely might do it; for they consulted for it, not conspired against it, resolving not to touch the king's person; nay, if possible, not to shed one drop of blood of any other, as Holloway and others say. For the king's life, Sir Thomas says, as well as the lord Russel, "Never had any man the impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to me." Russel and almost all the others say, "They had never any design against the government." Sir Thomas says, "As he had never had any design against the king's life, nor the life of any man, so he never had any design to alter the monarchy."

As he lived he died, a sincere Protestant, and in the communion of the church of England, though he heartily wished he had more strictly lived up to the religion he believed. And though he had but a short time, he found himself prepared for death; and at the place of execution he conducted himself with the courage becoming a great man, and with the seriousness and piety suitable to a good Christian.

Sheriff Daniel told him, he had leave to say what he pleased, and should not be interrupted, unless he upbraided the government; Sir Thomas thereupon told him that he should not say any thing by way of speech, but delivered him a paper, which he said contained his mind; and in which he thus expressed himself, that he thanked Almighty God he found himself prepared

for death, his thoughts set upon another world, and weaned from this; yet he could not but give so much of his little time, as to answer some calumnies, and particularly what Mr. Attorney accused him of at the bar.

That he prayed to be allowed a trial for his life according to the laws of the land, and urged the statute of Edward the Sixth, which was expressly for it; but it signified nothing, and it was with an extraordinary roughness condemned, and made a precedent; though Holloway had it offered him, and he could not but think all the world would conclude his case very different, or why should the favor offered to another be refused to him?

That Mr. Attorney charged him with being one of those that were to kill the king; whereas he took God to witness, that he never had a thought to take away the king's life, and that no man ever had the impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to him; and that he never was in any design to alter the government.

That if he had been tried, he could have proved the lord Howard's base reflections upon him to be notoriously false; he concluded, that he had lived, and now died of the reformed religion, a Protestant in the communion of the church of England, and he heartily wished he had lived more strictly up to the religion he believed; that he had found the great comfort of the love and mercy of God, in and through his blessed Redeemer, in whom he only trusted, and verily hoped that he was going to partake of that fullness of joy which is in his presence, the hopes whereof infinitely pleased him. He thanked God he had no repining, but cheerfully submitted to the punishment of his sins; he freely forgave all the world, even those concerned in taking away his life, though he could not but think his sentence very hard, he being denied the benefit of the laws of the land.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF ALDERMAN CORNISH.

Although alderman Cornish and Mr. Bateman suffered after the duke of Monmouth and his adherents, yet, as they were sacrificed under the pretence that they had been concerned in the same plot as lord Russel and the others, whose fate we have just narrated, they are placed here, that the victims of this infamous design may be contemplated at one view.

Mr. Cornish was seized in October, 1685; and the Monday after his commitment, arraigned for high treason, having no notice given him till Saturday noon. The charge against him was for conspiring to kill the king, and promising to assist the duke of Monmouth, &c. in their treasonable enterprises.

He desired his trial might be deferred, because of the short time allowed him for preparation; and because he had an important witness a hundred and forty miles off, and that the king had left it to the judges, whether it should be put off or no. But it was denied him; the attorney-general telling him, "He had not deserved so well of the government as to have his trial delayed." That was, in plain English, because he had been a Protestant sheriff, he should not have justice.

The witnesses against him were Rumsey and Goodenough. Rumsey swore, That when he was at the meeting at Mr. Shepherd's, Mr. Shepherd being called down, brought up Mr. Cornish; and when he was come in, Ferguson opened his bosom, and pulled out a paper in the nature of a declaration of grievances, which Ferguson read, and Shepherd held the candle while it was being read; that Mr. Cornish liked it, and said, What interest he had, he would join with it; and that it was merely from compassion that he had not accused Mr. Cornish before.

Goodenough swore, That he talked with Cornish of the design of seizing the Tower. Mr. Cornish said, He would do what good he could, or to that effect.

To Goodenough's evidence was opposed Mr. Gospright's, who testified that Mr. Cornish opposed Goodenough's being made under-sheriff, saying, That he was an ill man, obnoxious to the government, and he would not trust a hair of his head with him. And is it then probable that he would have such discourses with him as would endanger head and all? Mr. Love, Mr. Jekyl, and Sir William Turner, testify to the same purpose.

As to Rumsey's evidence, the perjury is so evident, that it is impossible to look into the trial without meeting it. If we compare what he says on Russel's trial and on the present, this will be as visible as the sun. Being asked before, whether there was any discourse about a declaration, and how long he staid; he says, "he was there about a quarter of an hour, and that he was not certain whether he had heard something about a declaration there, or whether he had heard Ferguson report afterwards, that they had then debated it." But on Cornish's trial he had strangely recovered his memory, and having had the advantage, either of recollection, or better instruction, remembers that distinctly in October, 1685, which he could not in July, 1683, namely that "he had been there a quarter of an hour;" the time he states in the lord Rus-

sel's trial, but lengthens it out, and improves it now sufficient to allow of Mr. Shepherd's going down, bringing Cornish up, Ferguson's pulling out the declaration, and reading it, and that, as Shepherd says on Russel's trial, a long one too, as certainly it must be, if, as it were sworn, "it contained all the grievances of the nation," and yet all this still in a quarter of an hour! thus contradicting himself both as to time and matter.

But Shepherd is of such bad credit, that his evidence is scarce fit to be taken against himself. He says, "At one meeting only Mr. Cornish was at his house to speak to one of the persons there; that then he himself came up stairs, and went out again with Mr. Cornish. That there was not one word read, nor any paper seen, while Mr. Cornish was there, and this he was positive of, for Mr. Cornish was not one of their company."

Now who should know best, Rumsey what Shepherd did, or he what he did himself? Could a man hold the candle while a declaration was read, as Rumsey swears Shepherd did, and yet know nothing of it, nay, protest the direct contrary?

All that is pretended, to support Rumsey's evidence, and hinder Shepherd's from saving the prisoner, was, that Shepherd strengthened Rumsey, and proved Cornish guilty of a lie. But if we inquire into the matter, we shall find one as true as the other.

Cornish on his trial is said to have denied his being at the meeting, and discoursing with the duke of Monmouth; which they would have us believe Shepherd swears he was, though not a syllable of it appears. He had been there several times, Shepherd says, but was not of their council, knew nothing of their business, nor can he be positive whether it was the duke of Monmouth he came to speak to that evening. But supposing in two or three years' time, and on so little recollection, Cornish's memory had failed him in that circumstance, what is that to Shepherd's evidence against the very root of Rumsey's which hanged the prisoner?

In spite of all he was found guilty, and condemned, and even that Christian serenity of mind and countenance, wherewith it was visible he bore his sentence, turned to his reproach by the bench.

He continued in the same excellent temper whilst in Newgate, and gave the world an admirable instance of the peace with which a Christian can die, even when his death is what the world considers *ignominious*. His carriage and behavior at his leaving Newgate was as follows:

Coming into the press-yard, and seeing the halter in the officer's hand, he said, "Is this for me?" The officer answered, "Yes." He replied, "Blessed be God," and kissed it: and afterwards said, "O, blessed be God for Newgate! I have enjoyed God ever since I came within these walls, and blessed be God who hath made me fit to die. I am now going to that God that will not be mocked, to that God that will not be imposed upon, to that God that knows the innocency of his poor creature." And a little after he said, "Never did any poor creature come unto God with greater confidence in his mercy, and assurance of acceptance with him, through Jesus Christ, for there is no other way of coming to God but by him, to find acceptance with him: there is no other name given under heaven whereby we can be saved, but the name of Jesus." Then speaking to the officers, he said, "Labor every one of you to be fit to die: for I tell you, you are not fit to die: I was not fit to die myself before I came hither; but, oh! blessed be God! he hath made me fit to die, and hath made me willing to die! In a few moments I shall have the fruition of the blessed Jesus, and that not for a day, but for ever. I am going to the kingdom of God, where I shall enjoy the presence of God the Father, and of God the Son, and of God the Holy Spirit, and of all the holy angels: I am going to the general assembly of the first-born, and of the spirits of just men made perfect: O that God should ever do so much for me! O that God should concern himself so much for poor creatures, for their salvation, blessed be his name! for this was the design of God from all eternity, to give his only Son to die for poor miserable sinners." Then the officers going to tie his hands, he said, "What! must I be tied then? Well, a brown thread might have served the turn; you need not tie me at all; I shall not stir from you, for I thank God I am not afraid to die." As he was going out, he said, "Farewell, Newgate; farewell, all my fellow-prisoners here; the Lord comfort you, the Lord be with you all."

Thus much for his behavior in the way to his martyrdom. The place of it was most spitefully and barbarously ordered, almost before his own door, and near Guildhall, to scare any good citizen by his example from appearing vigorously in the discharge of his duty for his country's service. If any thing was wanting in his trial, from the haste of it, for the clearing his innocence, he sufficiently made it up in solemn asseverations thereof on the scaffold: "God is my witness," said he, "the crimes laid to my charge were falsely and maliciously sworn against me by the witnesses; for I never was at any consultation or meeting

where matters against the government were discoursed of." He added, "I never heard or read any declaration tending that way. As for the crimes for which I suffer, upon the words of a dying man, I am altogether innocent. I die, as I have lived, in the communion of the church of England, in whose ordinances I have been often a partaker, and now feel the blessed effects thereof in these my last agonies."

He was observed by those who stood near the sledge, to have solemnly, and several times, averred his absolute innocence of any design against the government, and particularly that for which he died.

His quarters were set up on Guildhall, *in terrorem*, and for the same reason, no doubt, before mentioned, for which he was executed so near it.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF MR. CHARLES BATEMAN.

The last who suffered for this pretended plot was Mr. Bateman, a surgeon, a man of good sense, courage, and generous temper, of considerable repute and practice in his calling; a great lover and vindicator of the liberties of his country, and of more interest than most persons in his station of life. He was sworn against by Rouse, Lee, and Richard Goodenough, upon the old stories of seizing the Tower, city, and Savoy. Had he been able to defend himself, he would, no doubt, have covered his accusers with infamy, and have shown his own innocence; but being kept close prisoner in Newgate, in a dark and lonesome dungeon, with little or no company, he being a free jolly man, and used formerly to conversation and diversion, soon grew deeply melancholy; and when he came on his trial, appeared little less than perfectly distracted; on which the court *very kindly* gave his son liberty to make his defence; the first instance of that nature, and even here their *kindness* was very equivocal, since he himself might, had he been in his senses, have remembered and pleaded many things more, which would have invalidated their evidence against him. But had not the mistaken piety of his son undertaken his defence, certainly even they could never have been such monsters as to have tried one in his condition. Yet had the evidence which his son brought forward been allowed its due weight, he must certainly have been acquitted. For as for Lee, one Baker swore, "He had been practised upon by him in the year 1683, and would have had him insinuate himself into Bateman's company, and discourse about state affairs to trepan him, for which service he should be amply rewarded."

It was further urged, that three years had elapsed between the pretended commission of treason and the present prosecution; and also that the evidence now produced was insufficient to convict him even of misprision, much less of the capital crime. However, he was found guilty; and just before his execution very much recovered himself, dying as much like a Christian, and with as great presence of mind, as any of the former sufferers.

SUFFERINGS OF THE REV. MR. JOHNSON.

Much about the same time, the pious, reverend, and learned Mr. Johnson was severely punished, for the heinous crimes of being my lord Russel's chaplain, writing the famous book called "Julian the Apostate," and endeavoring to persuade the nation, not to let themselves be made slaves and papists, when so many others were doing their part to bring them to it. And it is a question whether any man in the world, except his friend the reverend Dr. Burnet, did more service with his pen, or more conduced to the happy revolution, both among the army, and in other places. For these good services he was accused, imprisoned, tried, and condemned to be divested of his canonical habit, and to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn: which was performed, and which he underwent with courage and constancy above a man, and like a Christian and a martyr. He was afterwards imprisoned in the King's-Bench, till the coming of the great deliverer of the nation set him at liberty.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INSURRECTION, DEFEAT, AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH, THE EARL OF ARGYLE, AND THEIR FOLLOWERS.

The duke of York having ascended the English throne by the title of James II., soon began to manifest his tyrannical intentions against both religion and liberty. He seemed inclined to place himself and his government entirely in the hands of the Jesuits; and such was his zeal for the Roman Catholic religion, that Pope Innocent XI. to whom he had sent lord Castlemaine as ambassador, cautioned him not to be too hasty. Although, on his accession, he had in his speech to the privy-council disclaimed all arbitrary principles, and promised to maintain the established government of the nation both in church and state, he soon evinced his insincerity. In a sort of triumph, he produced some papers of his brother Charles II., by which it appeared that he had died a Roman Catholic; and in

contempt of the feelings of the people, on the first Sunday of his reign, he went publicly to mass. The duke of Norfolk, who carried the sword of state, stopt at the door of the chapel. "My lord," said the king, "your father would have gone further."—"Your majesty's father," replied the spirited nobleman, "would not have gone so far."

While James was proceeding thus, and indulging himself in the prospect of subverting the established religion, the duke of Monmouth, who, on the death of lord Russel, had gone over to Flanders, trusting to the affectionate regard he had always enjoyed among the Protestants, whose cause he had ever espoused, formed the design of bringing about a revolution. To the immediate execution of this rash and unhappy enterprise, which his own judgment led him to wish deferred, he was chiefly instigated by the active spirit of the earl of Argyle. Having prepared a squadron of six vessels, badly manned, and very ill supplied, they divided, and with three each, sailed for the places of their destination: Monmouth landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, on the 11th of June, 1685, with 150 men, and marching thence to Taunton, his army immediately increased to 6000; besides which, he was obliged daily to dismiss great numbers for want of arms.

In the meanwhile, the earl of Argyle had landed in Argyleshire, where he found the militia prepared to oppose him. But being immediately joined by his brave vassals and faithful partisans, he penetrated into the western counties, hoping to be joined by the disaffected covenanters. But his little squadron being captured, and his brave followers having lost their baggage in a morass in Renfrewshire, every hope was extinguished, and they were necessitated to disperse for immediate preservation.

The unfortunate nobleman assumed a disguise, but he was soon taken by two peasants, and conducted to Edinburgh, where he was executed, without a trial, on an unjust sentence which had been formerly pronounced on him. At his death he discovered all that heroic firmness which he had formerly manifested in his life, together with a great degree of piety. "Job tells us," said he, "that man, that is born of a woman, is of few days and full of trouble; and I am a clear instance of it. I know afflictions spring not out of the dust; they are not only foretold, but promised to Christians; and they are not only tolerable but desirable. We ought to have a deep reverence and fear of God's displeasure, but withal, a firm hope and dependence on him for a blessed issue, in compliance with his will; for God chastens his own to refine, and not to ruin them. We are neither to despise, nor to faint under afflictions. I freely forgive all who have been the cause of my being brought to this place; and I entreat all people to forgive me wherein I have offended, and pray with me, that the merciful God would sanctify my present end, and for Christ's sake pardon all my sins, and receive me to his eternal glory."

The fatal news of the defeat of this nobleman and his followers no sooner reached the duke of Monmouth than he sunk into despondency. He now began to see the temerity of his undertaking, and endeavored to provide for his safety and that of his army. He therefore began to retreat till he re-entered Bridgewater, the royal army being in his rear. Here he ascended a tower, from whence viewing the army of lord Feversham, his hopes again revived, while he meditated an attack. He accordingly made the most skilful arrangements, but unfortunately committing an important post to lord Grey, that dastardly soldier betrayed him, and, notwithstanding the courage of his undisciplined troops, who repulsed the veteran forces of the king, and drove them from the field, a want of ammunition prevented them from pursuing their advantages, the royal troops rallied, dispersed their unfortunate adversaries, and slew about 1500 of them in the battle and pursuit.

Monmouth, seeing the conflict hopeless, galloped off the field, and continued his flight for twenty miles, until his horse sunk under him, when the unfortunate prince, almost as exhausted as the animal, wandered on foot for a few miles further, and then sunk down, overcome with hunger and fatigue. He was shortly afterwards discovered, lying in a ditch, exhausted, and almost senseless. He burst into tears when seized by his enemies, and being still anxious to preserve his life, for the sake of his wife and children, wrote very submissively to James, conjuring him to spare the issue of a brother who had always shown himself firmly attached to his interest. The king finding him thus depressed, admitted him into his presence, with the hope of extorting from him a discovery of his accomplices. But Monmouth, however desirous of life, scorned to purchase it at the price of so much infamy. Finding all efforts to excite compassion in the breast of the inexorable James fruitless, he prepared himself for death with a spirit becoming his rank and character; and on the 15th of July, was brought to the scaffold, amidst the tears and groans of the people. Previously to his death, he said, that he repented of his sins, and was more particu-

larly concerned for the blood that had been spilt on his account. "Instead," said he, "of being accounted factious and rebellious, the very opposing of popery and arbitrary power will sufficiently apologize for me. I have lived, and now die in this opinion, that God will work a deliverance for his people. I heartily forgive all who have wronged me, even those who have been instrumental to my fall, earnestly praying for their souls. I hope that king James will show himself to be of his brother's blood, and extend his mercy to my children, they being not capable to act, and, therefore, not conscious of any offence against the government."

He conjured the executioner to spare him the second blow; but the man, whose heart was unfit for his office, struck him feebly, on which the duke, gently turning himself round, cast a look of tender reproach upon him, and then again meekly submitted his head to the ax; the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose, and then threw aside the ax, declaring that he was incapable of completing the bloody task. The sheriff, however, obliged him to renew the attempt, and by two blows more the head was severed from the body.

That ambition had a share in moving both Monmouth and Argyle to that step, which ended in their death, cannot be denied: but among their partisans, numbers were doubtless actuated by purer motives, even the love of the cause of truth; and though we cannot but lament that mistaken zeal, which led them to assume the sword, in order to advance the glory of HIM, whose weapons are not carnal, but spiritual, we must not refuse to enrol their names with those of the martyrs, as they suffered in the same cause, and with the same heroic constancy.

The victory thus obtained by the king in the commencement of his reign, would naturally, had it been managed with prudence, have tended much to increase his power and authority. But, by reason of the cruelty with which it was prosecuted, and of the temerity with which it afterwards inspired him, it was a principal cause of his sudden ruin and downfall.

Such arbitrary principles had the court instilled into all its servants, that Feversham, immediately after the victory, hanged above twenty prisoners, and was proceeding in his executions, when the bishop of Bath and Wells warned him, that these unhappy men were now by law entitled to a trial, and that their execution would be deemed a real murder. This remonstrance, however, did not stop the savage nature of colonel Kirke, a soldier of fortune, who had long served at Tangiers, and had contracted, from his intercourse with the Moors, an inhumanity less known in European and in free countries. At his first entry into Bridgewater he hanged nineteen prisoners, without the least inquiry into the merits of their cause. As if to make sport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company should drink the king's health, or the queen's, or that of chief justice Jeffreys. Observing their feet to quiver in the agonies of death, he cried, that he would give them music to their dancing; and he immediately commanded the drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound. By way of experiment he ordered one man to be hung up three times, questioning him at each interval whether he repented of his crime. But the man obstinately asserting, that, notwithstanding the past, he still would willingly engage in the same cause, Kirke ordered him to be hung in chains. One story, commonly told of him, is memorable for the treachery, as well as barbarity, which attended it. A young maid pleaded for the life of her brother, and flung herself at Kirke's feet, armed with all the charms which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could bestow upon her. The tyrant was inflamed with desire, not softened into love or clemency. He promised to grant her request, provided that she, in her turn, would be equally compliant to him. The maid yielded to the conditions; but, after she had passed the night with him, the wanton savage, next morning, showed her, from the window, her brother, the darling object for whom she had sacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he had secretly ordered to be there erected for the execution. Rage, and despair, and indignation, took possession of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her senses. All the inhabitants of that country, innocent as well as guilty, were exposed to the ravages of this barbarian. The soldiery were let loose to live at free quarters; and his own regiment, instructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, distinguished themselves in a particular manner by their outrages. By way of pleasantry, he used to call them *his lambs*; an appellation which was long remembered, with horror, in the west of England.

The violent Jeffreys succeeded after some interval; and showed the people, that the rigors of law might equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. This man, who wantoned in cruelty, had already given a specimen of his character in many trials where he presided; and he now set out with a savage joy, as to a full harvest

of death and destruction. He began at Dorchester: and thirty rebels being arraigned, he exhorted them, but in vain, to save him, by their free confession, the trouble of trying them: and when twenty-nine were found guilty, he ordered them, as an additional punishment of their disobedience, to be led to immediate execution.

Most of the other prisoners, terrified with this example, pleaded guilty; and no less than two hundred and ninety-two received sentence at Dorchester. Of these, eighty were executed. Exeter was the next stage of his cruelty: two hundred and forty-three were there tried, of whom a great number were condemned and executed. He also opened his commission at Taunton and Wells, and everywhere carried consternation along with him. The juries were so struck with his menaces, that they gave their verdict with precipitation; and many innocent persons, it is said, were involved with the guilty. And, on the whole, besides those who were butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice. The whole country was strewed with the heads and limbs of traitors. Every village almost beheld the dead carcass of a wretched inhabitant. And all the rigors of justice, unabated by any appearance of clemency, were fully displayed to the people by the inhuman Jeffreys.

Of all the executions during this dismal period, the most remarkable were those of Mrs. Gaunt and Lady Lisle, who had been accused of harboring traitors. Mrs. Gaunt was an Anabaptist, and noted for her beneficence, which she extended to persons of all professions and persuasions. One of the rebels knowing her humane disposition, had recourse to her in his distress, and was concealed by her. Hearing of the proclamation, which offered an indemnity and rewards to such as discovered criminals, he betrayed his benefactress, and bore evidence against her. He received a pardon, as a recompense for his treachery; she was burned alive for her charity, on the 23d of October, 1685.

Lady Lisle was a widow of one of the regicides, who had enjoyed great favor and authority under Cromwell, who, having fled, after the restoration, to Lauzanne, in Swisserland, was there assassinated by three Irish ruffians, who hoped to make their fortune by this piece of service. His widow was now prosecuted, for harboring two rebels, the day after the battle of Sedgemoore; and Jeffreys pushed on the trial with an unrelenting violence. In vain did the aged prisoner plead, that these criminals had been put into no proclamation; had been convicted by no verdict; nor could any man be denominated a traitor, till the sentence of some legal court was passed upon him: that it appeared not, by any proof, that she was so much as acquainted with the guilt of the persons, or had heard of their joining the rebellion of Monmouth; that though she might be obnoxious, on account of her family, it was well known, that her heart was ever loyal, and that no person in England had shed more tears for that tragical event, in which her husband had unfortunately borne too great a share: and that the same principles, which she herself had ever embraced, she had carefully instilled into her son, and had, at that very time, sent him to fight against those rebels, whom she was now accused of harboring. Though these arguments did not move Jeffreys, they had influence on the jury. Twice they seemed inclined to bring in a favorable verdict: they were as often sent back with menaces and reproaches, and at last were constrained to give sentence against the prisoner. Notwithstanding all applications for pardon, the cruel sentence was executed at Winchester, when she made the following speech:—

"Gentlemen, friends, and neighbors, it may be expected that I should say something at my death, and in order thereunto I shall acquaint you, that my birth and education were both near this place, and that my parents instructed me in the fear of God; and I now die of the reformed Protestant religion; believing that if ever popery should return into this nation, it would be a very great and severe judgment; that I die in expectation of the pardon of all my sins, and of acceptance with God the Father, by the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ, he being the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believes. I thank God through Jesus Christ, that I do depart under the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel; God having made this chastisement an ordinance to my soul. I did once as little expect to come to this place on this occasion, as any person in this place or nation; therefore let all learn not to be high-minded, but fear; the Lord is a sovereign, and will take what way he sees best to glorify himself in and by his poor creatures; and I do humbly desire to submit to his will, praying to him that I may possess my soul in patience. The crime that was laid to my charge, was for entertaining a nonconformist minister and others in my house; the said minister being sworn to have been in the late duke of Monmouth's army: but I have been told, that if I had

denied them, it would not at all have affected me. I have no excuse but surprise and fear, which I believe my jury must make use of to excuse their verdict to the world. I have been also told, that the court did use to be of counsel for the prisoner; but instead of advice, I had evidence against me from thence; which, though it were only by hearsay, might possibly affect my jury; my defence being but such as might be expected from a weak woman; but such as it was, I did not hear it repeated again to the jury; which, as I have been informed, is usual in such cases. However, I forgive all the world, and therein all those that have done me wrong; and in particular I forgive colonel Penruddock, although he told me, that he could have taken these men before they came to my house. And I do likewise forgive him, who desired to be taken away from the grand jury to the petty jury, that he might be the more nearly concerned in my death. As to what may be objected in reference to my conviction, that I gave it under my hand, that I had discoursed with Nelthorp; that could be no evidence against me, being after my conviction and sentence: I do acknowledge his majesty's favor in revoking my sentence: I pray God to preserve him, that he may long reign in mercy, as well as justice, and that he may reign in peace; and that the Protestant religion may flourish under him. I also return thanks to God and the reverend clergy that assisted me in my imprisonment."

The king said that he had given Jeffreys a promise not to pardon her: an excuse which could serve only to aggravate the blame against himself.

We shall now give the particulars of such of the trials, or rather judicial murders, as had any thing remarkable in them.

BENJAMIN AND WILLIAM HEWLING were the only sons of virtuous and respectable parents, who had liberally educated them, and instructed them in the practical duties of life by their own example. Mr. Benjamin Hewling had the command of a troop of horse in the duke of Monmouth's army in Holland; the youngest was a lieutenant of foot, and returned from Holland with the duke. Benjamin, besides signalizing himself in several skirmishes, was sent to Minehead, in Somersetshire, with a detachment of his own troops and others, to bring cannon to the army at the very instant that the duke engaged the king's forces at Sedgemoore, and arrived too late to turn the fortune of the day. Being thereupon compelled to disperse his troops, he, with his brother, escaped from the field, and embarked on board a small vessel for the Continent; but unfortunately, they were driven back by a contrary wind, and with much peril regained the shore.

They had no alternative (the country at that time being filled with soldiers) but to surrender themselves to a gentleman whose house was near; whence they were sent, on the twelfth of July 1685, to Exeter jail. On the 27th of July they were put on board the Swan frigate to be brought to London, and thence to Newgate. Here they were separated from each other, and no intercession of their nearest relations could procure access to them for some time. After three weeks' confinement here, they were ordered to the West for trial, and so removed to Dorchester; and after four days more, Benjamin was ordered to Taunton, being on the sixth of September. William was tried and found guilty at Dorchester, and condemned to die at Lyme, where he was accordingly executed on the 12th.

The conduct of both, whilst on board the Swan, and on their return from London to Dorchester, was such as interested every one in their behalf. As a specimen it may be observed, that just as William was going to Lyme, in order to his execution, he wrote these few lines to a friend, being hardly suffered to stay so long:

"I am going to launch into eternit, and I hope and trust into the arms of myblessed Redeemer, to whom I commit yu and all my dear relations. My duty to y dear mother, and love to all my sisters, id the rest of my friends.

"WILLIAM HEWG."

As they passed through the tow f Dorchester to Lyme, multitudes of pe held them, with great lamentations, admiring his deportment at his parting with his sister.

On the road between Lyme and Dorchester, his discourse was exceedingly spiritual, taking occasion from every thing to speak of the glory he and his fellow-prisoners were going to. Looking out on the country as they passed, he said, "This is a glorious creation, but what then is the paradise of God to which we are going? It is but a few hours, and we shall be there, and for ever with the Lord."

At Lyme, just before they went to die, reading John xiv. 18. he said to one of his fellow-sufferers, "Here is a sweet promise for us; I will not leave you comfortless, I will come unto you; Christ will be with us to the last."

To another who asked him how he did now, he said, "Very well, he blessed God." And further asking him, if he could look

death in the face with comfort now it approached so near; he said, "Yes, I bless God I can, with great comfort."

Afterwards he prayed for about three quarters of an hour with the greatest fervency, exceedingly blessing God for Jesus Christ, adoring the riches of his grace in him, in all the glorious fruits of it towards him, praying for the peace of the church of God, and of these nations in particular, all with such eminent assistance of the Spirit of God, as convinced, astonished, and melted into pity the hearts of all present, even the most malicious adversaries, forcing tears and expressions of pity and admiration from them.

When he was just going out of the world, with a joyful countenance he said, "Oh! now my joy and comfort is, that I have a Christ to go to," and so sweetly resigned his spirit to Christ.

An officer who had shown so malicious a spirit as to call the prisoners "devils," when he was guarding them down, was now so convinced, that he afterwards said, "he was never so affected as by Hawling's cheerful carriage and fervent prayer, such, as he believed, was never heard, especially from one so young; adding, "I believe, had the lord chief justice been there, he would not have let him die."

The sheriff having given his body to be
urie, although it was brought from the
lace of execution without any notice given,
et many inhabitants of the town, to the
mber of two hundred or more, came to
company it: and several young women
thest families in the town laid him in
ave in Lyme church-yard, on the
teth of September, 1685.

BENJAMIN HEWLING rejoiced greatly to receive the news of his brother's having died with so much confidence in the mercy of the Almighty, and expressed his satisfaction to this effect: "We have no cause to fear death, if the presence of God be with us; there is no evil in it, the sting being taken away; it is nothing but our ignorance of the glory that the saints pass into by death, which makes it appear dark for ourselves or relations; if we trust in Christ, what is this world that we should desire an abode in it?" He further said, "God having some time before struck his heart (when he thought of the hazard of his life) to some serious sense of his past life, and the great consequences of death and eternity, showing him, that they were the only happy persons who had secured an eternal state of felicity; the folly and madness of the ways of sin, and his own thraldom therein, with his utter inability to deliver himself; also the necessity of Christ for salvation; it was not without terror and amazement for some time, that he could bear the sight of unpardoned sin, with eternity before him. But God wonderfully opened to him the riches of his free grace in Jesus Christ for poor sinners to flee to, enabling them to look alone to a crucified Christ for salvation: this blessed work was in some measure carried on upon his soul, under all his business and hurry in the army, but never sprung forth so fully and sweetly till his close confinement in Newgate." There he saw Christ and all spiritual objects more clearly, and embraced them more strongly; there he experienced the blessedness of a reconciled state, the excellency of the ways of holiness, the delightfulness of communion with God, which remained with very deep and apparent impressions on his soul, which he frequently expressed with admiration of the grace of God towards him.

He said, "What an amazing consideration is the suffering of Christ for sin, to bring us to God! His suffering from wicked men was exceeding great: but, alas! what was that to the dolor of his soul, under the infinite wrath of God! This mystery of grace and love is enough to swallow up our thoughts to all eternity."

As to his own death, he would often say, "I see no reason to expect any other; I know God is infinitely able to deliver, and I am sure will do it, if it be for his glory and my good; in which, I bless God, I am fully satisfied."

Speaking of the disappointment of their expectations in the work they had undertaken, he said, "With reference to the glory of God, the prosperity of the gospel, and the delivery of the people of God, we have great cause to lament it; but for that outward prosperity that would have accompanied it, it is but of small moment in itself; as it could not satisfy, so neither could it be abiding; for at length death would have put an end to it all:" also adding, "Nay, perhaps we might have been so foolish as to have been taken with that part of it, to the neglect of our eternal concerns; and then, I am sure, our present circumstances are incomparably better."

In his conversation he particularly valued and delighted in those persons in whom he saw most holiness shining; he also expressed great pity to the souls of others, saying, "That the remembrance of our former vanity may well cause compassion to others in that state." And he was frequently prompting others to seriousness, telling them, "Death and eternity are such weighty concerns, that they deserve the utmost attention of our minds; for the way to receive death cheerfully is to prepare for it seriously; and if God should please to spare

and brought to Dorchester, to his former place of confinement.

Mr. Battiscomb behaved himself there the second time in the same manner as he did at the first, though now he seemed more thoughtful and in earnest than before, as knowing nothing was to be expected but speedy death; though his courage never drooped, but was still the same, if it did not rather increase with his danger. At his trial Jeffreys railed at him with so much eagerness and barbarity, that he was observed almost to foam upon the bench. He was so angry with him, because he was a lawyer, and could have been contented all such as he should be hanged up without any trial; and indeed it would have made but little difference in the result. In spite, however, of his railings, Battiscomb was as undaunted at the bar, as in the field, or at his execution. How he demeaned himself in prison before his death, we learn from the following account, written by his friends. One circumstance, not mentioned therein, must not be omitted. Several young ladies in the town went to Jeffreys to intercede for his life, but the barbarous judge repulsed them, in so brutish a manner as nobody with one spark of humanity would have been guilty of, and in a manner even too uncivil to be mentioned.

"Mr. Battiscomb was observed to be always serious and cheerful, ready to entertain spiritual discourse, manifesting affection to God's people and his ordinances; he seemed to be in a very calm indifference to life or death, referring himself to God to determine it, expressing his great satisfaction at some opportunities of escape that were slipt, saying, That truly he sometimes thought the cause was too good to flee from suffering in it, though he would use all lawful means for his life; but the providence of God having prevented this, he was sure it was best for him, for, he said, he blessed God he could look into eternity with comfort. He said, with respect to his relations and friends, to whom his death would be afflictive, that he was willing to live if God saw good; but for his own part, he thought death much more desirable. He said, I have enjoyed enough of this world, but I never found any thing but vanity in it, no rest or satisfaction. God, who is an infinite, spiritual being, is the only suitable object for the soul of man, which is spiritual in its nature, and too large to be made happy by all that this world can afford, which is but sensual. Therefore, methinks, I see no reason why I should be unwilling to leave it by death, since our happiness can never be perfected till then, till we leave this body, where we are so continually clogged with sin and vanity, frivolous and foolish trifles. Death in itself is indeed terrible, and natural courage is too low to encounter it; nothing but an interest in Christ can be our comfort in it, he said, which comfort I hope I have; intimating much advantage to his soul by his former imprisonment.

"When he went from Dorchester to Lyme, after he had received the news of his death the next day, he was in the same serious cheerfulness, declaring still the same apprehension of the desirableness of death, and the great supports of his mind under the thoughts of so suddenly passing through it, alone from the hope of the security of his interest in Christ; taking leave of his friends with this farewell, Though we part here, we shall meet in heaven. Passing by his estate, going to Lyme, he said, Farewell, temporal inheritance. I am now going to my heavenly, eternal one. At Lyme, the morning that he died, it appeared that he had the same supports from God, meeting death with the same cheerfulness; and after he had prayed awhile to himself, without any appearance of reluctancy, yielded up his spirit, September 12, 1685."

MR. WILLIAM JENKYN.

This gentleman was the only son of his father, who, having been confined in Newgate, died there in a short time, which very much irritated the filial piety of his son, and disposed him to join in any attempt against the government, for the purpose of revenging what he considered as the murder of his parent. He expressed his discontent so loudly as to alarm the jealousy of the government, and he was accordingly apprehended, and confined in Ilchester jail, where he lay till the duke of Monmouth came and released the prisoners. Jenkyn immediately joined his army, with which he continued till its total defeat, after which he was taken in his attempt to escape, and was tried and found guilty at Dorchester.

While in prison, he conducted himself with the utmost firmness and cheerfulness; and to a friend, discoursing with him about his pardon, and telling him the doubtfulness of obtaining it, he replied, "Well, death is the worst they can do, and I bless God, that will not surprise me, for I hope my great work is done." At Taunton, being advised to govern the airiness of his temper, and being told, it made people apt to censure him, as inconsiderate of his condition, he answered, "Truly, that is so much my natural temper that I cannot tell how to alter it; but I bless God I have, and do think seriously of my eternal concerns. I do not allow myself to be vain, but I find

cause to be cheerful, for my peace is made with God, through Jesus Christ my Lord: this is my only ground of comfort and cheerfulness, the security of my interest in Christ: for I expect nothing but death, and without this I am sure death would be most dreadful: but having the good hope of this, I cannot be melancholy."

When he heard of the triumphant death of those that suffered at Lyme, he said, "This is a good encouragement to depend upon God." Then, speaking about the mangling of their bodies, he said, "Well, the resurrection will restore all with great advantage; the fifteenth chapter of the Corinthians is comfort enough for all believers." Discoursing much of the certainty and felicity of the resurrection at another time, he said, "I will (as I think I ought) use all lawful means for the saving of my life, and then if God please to forgive me my sins, I hope I shall as cheerfully embrace death." Upon the design of attempting an escape, he said, "We use this means for the preserving of our lives, but if God is not with us, we shall not effect it; it is our business first to apply to him for direction and success, if he sees good, with resigning our lives to him, and then his will be done." After the failure of the plan, and when there was no prospect of any other opportunity, he spake much of the admirableness of God's providence in those things that seem most against us, bringing the greatest good out of them; "for," said he, "we can see but a little way; God only is wise in his disposal of us; if we were left to choose for ourselves, we should choose our own misery." Afterwards, discoursing of the vanity and unsatisfactoriness of all things in this world, he said, "It is so in the enjoyment; we never find our expectations answered by any thing in it, and when death comes it puts an end to all things we have been pursuing here; learning and knowledge (which are the best things in this world) will then avail nothing; nothing but an interest in Christ is then of any worth." On reading to his fellow-prisoners, Jer. xlii. 12, "I will show mercy unto you, that he may have mercy upon you, and cause you to return to your own land;" he said, "Yes, we shall, but not in this world, I am persuaded."

September the 29th, at night, after he heard he must die the next morning, he was exceedingly composed and cheerful, expressing his satisfaction in the will of God: the next morning he was still more spiritual and cheerful, discovering a very sweet serenity of mind in all he said or did: whilst he was waiting for the sheriff, reading the Scriptures, meditating and conversing with those about him of divine matters, amongst other things he said, "I have heard much of the glory of heaven, but I am now going to behold it, and understand what it is." Being desired to disguise himself to attempt an escape, he said, "No, I cannot tell how to disturb myself about it, and methinks it is not my business, now I have other things to take up my thoughts; if God saw good to deliver me, he would open some other door; but seeing he has not, it is more for the honor of his name that we should die, and so be it." One saying to him that most of the apostles died violent deaths, he replied, "Nay, a greater than the apostles, our Lord himself died, not only a shameful, but a painful death." He further said, "This manner of death hath been the most terrible thing in the world to my thoughts, but I bless God, I am now neither afraid nor ashamed to die. The parting with my friends, and their grief for me, is my greatest difficulty; but it will be for a very short time, and we shall meet again in endless joys, where my dear father is already entered; him shall I presently joyfully meet." Then musing with himself awhile, he with an extraordinary seriousness sung two verses of one of Herbert's divine poems.

He then read the 53d of Isaiah, and said, He had heard many blessed sermons from that chapter, especially from the 6th verse, "All we like sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, but the Lord hath laid on him the iniquities of us all;" seeming to intimate some impression made on his soul from them; but was interrupted, so that he only said, "Christ is all!" When the sheriff came, he had the same cheerfulness and serenity of mind in taking leave of his friends, and on the sledge, which seemed to increase to the last; joining in prayer, and in singing a psalm with great appearance of comfort and joy in his countenance, insomuch that some of his enemies (that had before censured his cheerfulness as thoughtlessness of his danger, and therefore expected to see him much altered) now professed they were greatly astonished, to see so young a man (for he was not more than 22 years of age) leave the world, and go through death with so much firmness.

MR. MATTHEW BRAGG.

Mr. Bragg was a gentleman, descended from an ancient and good family; he was an attorney, and returning home from business, was met by a party of horse belonging to the duke of Monmouth, who were going to search the house of a Roman Catholic for arms two or three miles from the place

where they met him, and required him to go with them, and show them the way; he desired to be excused, telling them, "It was none of his business." But his excuses signified nothing; they forced him amongst them, and arriving at the house, a party immediately entered and searched it; but Mr. Bragg never dismounted. Being thus satisfied, they took him along with them to Chard, where the duke of Monmouth then was. Being there, he was much tampered with to engage in the insurrection, but he refused it; and the next morning made haste to quit the town, not seeing the duke at all; calling for his horse, he was told that it was seized for the duke's service. So then he took his cane and gloves, and walked to his own house (which was about five or six miles distant), and was no more concerned in the affair.

After the duke's defeat at Sedgemoor, some person procured a warrant from a justice of peace for Mr. Bragg, who was apprehended, and entered into a recognizance to appear at the next assizes; the magistrate accounting the matter but trivial.

At Dorchester he appeared in court to discharge his bail, on which he was committed, and the next day being arraigned, with twenty-nine more, pleaded not guilty, but they were all, except one, found guilty, under the directions of the inhuman Jeffreys, who was particularly incensed against Mr. Bragg, and often said, "If any lawyer or parson came under his inspection, they should not escape." The evidence against Mr. Bragg was the Roman Catholic, whose house had been searched, and a woman of ill fame, to whom the lord chief justice was wonderfully kind; but the witnesses which he brought forward to prove his innocence, though they were more than twenty in number, and among the most respectable persons in the county, were entirely disregarded by the jury, who, from ignorance, prejudice, and fear, were mere tools in the hand of the lord chief justice. Being thus found guilty, sentence was presently pronounced, and execution awarded, notwithstanding all the interest that was made for him.

Thus being condemned on Saturday, and ordered to be executed on Monday, he spent the little residue of his time very devoutly, and in a manner becoming a good Christian, and a true Protestant of the church of England. He was frequently visited by a worthy divine of the established church, who spent much time with him, and was highly satisfied with his pious and resigned behavior, which occasioned him to remark, that "he could not in the least doubt but this violent passage out of life, would put him into the fruition of eternal happiness." He wished and desired a little longer time thoroughly to repent his sins, and make himself more sensible of, and fit to receive the inheritance prepared for those that continue in well doing to the end; but this being denied, he resigned himself to die with cheerfulness and courage.

When he came to the place of execution, being, as he said, prepared for death, he behaved himself very gravely and devoutly. When he was on the ladder, being asked, "Whether he was not sorry for his being concerned in the rebellion?" He replied, "That he knew of none that he was guilty of;" and prayed them not to trouble him; adding, "He was not the first that was martyred; he was so much a Christian as to forgive his enemies." And after some private devotions, he was translated, as we have every reason to believe, from earth to heaven. The only favor shown by Jeffreys, and for which he took care to be well rewarded, was, to give his body to his friends, in order to his interment amongst his ancestors.

MR. SMITH, OF CHARDSTOCK.

Another eminent person that suffered with Mr. Bragg, at the same time and place, was one Mr. SMITH, who was constable of Chardstock, and having some money in his hands belonging to the militia, which came to the knowledge of some of the duke's friends, they obliged him to deliver it to them; for this he was indicted for high treason, in assisting the duke of Monmouth, to which he pleaded not guilty. The witnesses against him were the same with those that had been against Mr. Bragg. And when Smith told the court and the jury, what little credit ought to be given to such perjured wretches, the lord chief justice thundered at him, saying, "Thou villain, methinks I see thee already with a halter about thy neck; thou impudent rebel, to challenge these evidences that are for the king!" To which the prisoner replied, "My lord, I now see which way I am going, and right or wrong I must die; but this I comfort myself with, that your lordship can only destroy my body; it is out of your power to touch my soul. God forgive your rashness; pray, my lord, know it is not a small matter you are about; the blood of a man is more precious than the whole world." He was then stopped from saying any more. The witnesses being heard, a strict charge was given to the jury concerning him; and, as was to be expected,

they brought him in guilty; so that he and those who were tried with him, received sentence together, and were ordered to be executed on the Monday following: but by particular directions from Jeffreys, he was to suffer first. The day for his execution being come, Mr. Smith, with a courage undaunted, was brought to the place, where, being ordered to prepare for death, he spoke as follows:

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,

I am now, as you see, launching into eternity: so that it may be expected I should speak something before I leave this miserable world, and pass through those sufferings, which are dreadful to flesh and blood: which indeed shall be but little, because I long to be before a just Judge, where I must give an account, not only for the occasion of my sufferings now, but for sins long unrepented of, which indeed have brought me to this dismal place and shameful death. And truly, dear countrymen, having ransacked my soul, I cannot find my small concern with the duke of Monmouth doth deserve this heavy judgment on me: but I know, as I said before, it is for my sins long unrepented of. I die in charity with all men; I desire of all you to bear me witness, I die a true professor of the church of England; beseeching the Lord still to stand up in the defence of it. God forgive my passionate judge, and cruel and hasty jury; God forgive them, they know not what they have done. God bless the king; and though his judges have no mercy on me, I wish he may find mercy when he standeth most in need of it: make him, O Lord, a nursing-father to the church; let mercy flow abundantly from him, if it be thy will, to those poor prisoners to be hereafter tried; and, Lord, if it be thy holy will, stop this issue of Christian blood, and let my guiltless blood be the last spilt on this account. Gentlemen all, farewell, farewell all the things of the world."

After singing some few verses of a psalm, and putting up some private ejaculations, he said, "O Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit," and so submitted to the executioner, September 7, 1685.

MR. JOSEPH SPEED, OF CULLITON.

This person suffered at the same time and place as Bragg and Smith. As he came near the place of execution, he seeing a countryman and friend of his, called to him, and said, "I am glad to see you here now, because I am not known in these parts;" being answered by his friend, "I am sorry to see you in this condition:" he replied, "It is the best day I ever saw; I thank God I have not led my life as unchristian-like as many have done, having, since the age of sixteen, had the checks of conscience on me, which made me to avoid many gross and grievous sins; my course of life hath been well known to you, yet I cannot justify myself; all men err. I have not been the least of sinners, therefore cannot excuse myself; but since my confinement I have received so great a comfort, in some assurance of the pardon of my sins, that I can now say, I am willing to die, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, and to say to death, Where is thy sting? and to the grave, Where is thy victory?

Being asked by some rude soldiers, whether he was not sorry for the rebellion he was found guilty of? he courageously replied, "If you call it a rebellion, I assure you I had no sinister ends in being concerned; for my whole design in taking up arms under the duke of Monmouth, was to fight for the Protestant religion, which my own conscience dictated to me, and which the said duke declared for, and had, I think, a lawful call and warrant for so doing; and I do not question, if I have committed any sin in it, but that it is pardoned: pray, Mr. Sheriff, let me be troubled no more in answering of questions, but give me leave to prepare myself (those few minutes I have left) for another world, and go to my Jesus who is ready to receive me:" then calling to his friend, who stood very near him, he said, "My dear friend, you know I have a dear wife and children, who will find me wanting, being somewhat encumbered in the world; let me desire you, as a dying man, to see that she be not abused; and as for my poor children, I hope the Father of heaven will take care of them, and give them grace to be dutiful to their distressed mother; and so, with my dying love to all my friends, when you see them, I take leave of you, and them, and all the world, desiring your Christian prayers for me to the last moment;" then repeating some sentences of Scripture, and praying very fervently, he said, "I thank God I have satisfaction; I am ready and willing to suffer shame for his name:" and so pouring forth some private ejaculations, and lifting up his hands, the executioner did his office. The soldiers then present said, "They never before were so taken with a dying man's speech;" and his courage and Christian-like resolution caused many persons who had formerly been violent against the prisoners, to repent of their tyranny towards them.

ACCOUNT OF THOSE WHO SUFFERED AT BRIDPORT AND LYME.

At Bridport twelve persons were executed, of whom the principal was Mr. JOHN SPRAGUE of Lyme, a man more fit to die, than he that condemned him was fit to live: he was a zealous Christian, and a man that in a manner lived in heaven while on earth; he was but of an ordinary estate in this world; but his piety and charity were extensive, and have no doubt secured him a place in those heavenly mansions where earthly rank is disregarded. He was apprehended near Salisbury, and brought to Dorchester, where the writer of this account saw him several times, and was conversant with him before his trial; he carried himself very moderately to all; some of divers principles in matters of religion, he continually prayed with, advising and instructing them in those holy duties which are necessary to salvation. Being asked, how he could endure those hardships he had undergone since his being taken? he said, 'If this be all, it is not so much.' But, my friend, if you were to take a journey in those ways you were not acquainted with, you would (I hope) desire advice from those that had formerly used those ways, or lived near by them?—'Yes,' said he: 'and the ways of affliction which I have lately travelled in, I had advice many a time from a minister, who hath often told his congregation of the troublesomeness of the road, and of the difficulty of getting through; and hath given me, and hundreds of others, to understand the pits and stones in the way, and how to avoid them; he has been a man used to these roads many years; I have taken his advice; I am got thus far on comfortably, and I trust shall do so to the end; I am not afraid to fight a duel with death, if so it must be; now I thank God I can truly say, O death, where is thy sting? and, O grave, where is thy victory?

Two or three days after their sentence, the twelve prisoners were drawn to execution, but were very rudely and opprobriously dealt with, to the shame of those that then had the charge over them; the rigor unto them was more like Turks than Christians. But to conclude; being come to the place of execution, Sprague prayed very devoutly with them all, but by the rudeness of the guards, there could be no complete copy taken of what he said. All of them died very courageously, especially this stout Christian champion, who spoke to them in these words, (looking on the soldiers) saying, "Little do you think that this very body of mine, which you are now come to see cut to pieces, will one day rise up in judgment against you, and be your accuser, for your delight in spilling of Christian blood: the heathens have far more mercy! O, it is sad, when England must outstrip infidels and pagans! But pray take notice, do not think that I am not in charity with you: I am so far, that I forgive you and all the world, and do desire the God of Mercies to forgive you, and open your hearts, and turn you from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to our Lord Jesus Christ; and so farewell. I am going out of the power of you all; I have no dependence but upon my blessed Redeemer, to whom I commit my dear wife and children, and all the world."

The next place was Lyme, where many persons of note suffered, particularly COLONEL HOLMES, who was the first of those executed there near the place where they landed with the duke of Monmouth. These prisoners were brought to the place with some difficulty; for the horses that were first put into the sledge would not stir, which obliged the officers to get others, who, when they were put into the sledge, broke it in pieces, so that the prisoners were at last obliged to go on foot to the place of execution; where being come, the colonel sat down with an aspect altogether void of fear, and began to speak to the spectators to this purpose, "that he would give them an account of his first undertaking in the design, which was long before in London; for there he agreed to stand by, and assist the duke of Monmouth, when opportunity offered; in order to which, he went to Holland with him, and continued until this expedition, in which God had thought fit to frustrate his and other good men's expectations: he believed the Protestant religion was bleeding, and in a step towards extirpation, and therefore he, with these his brethren that were to suffer with him, and thousands more, had adventured their lives and their all to save it: but God Almighty had not appointed them to be the instruments in so glorious a work; yet notwithstanding he did verily believe, and doubt not, but that God would make use of others, that should meet with better success."

After having ended his prayer, he took occasion to speak to his suffering brethren, taking a solemn leave of them, encouraging them to hold out to the end, and not to waver, observing, "this being a glorious sun-shining day, I doubt not, though our breakfast be sharp and bitter, it will prepare us, and make us meet for a comfortable supper, with our God and Savior, where all sin and sorrow shall be wiped away." So embracing each of them, and kissing them, he told the sheriff, "You see I am imperfect, having only one arm; I shall

want assistance to help me upon this tragical stage;" which was presently done, and he, with eleven others, was immediately put to death.

AN ACCOUNT OF THOSE EXECUTED AT SHERBORNE, AXMINSTER, AND HONITON.

At Sherborne were executed twelve, who all died courageously, especially one MR. GLISSON, of Yeovil, in the county of Somerset; his deportment and carriage at the place of execution, were such as gave great satisfaction to his friends, and confusion to his enemies.

JOHN SAVAGE, and RICHARD HALL, of Culliton, in the county of Devon, suffered at the same time and place. After they had with much earnestness recommended their souls to the all-wise God by prayer, they with much content and satisfaction submitted themselves to the executioner.

JOHN SPRAGUE, and WILLIAM CLEGG, of Culliton, in the county of Devon, were condemned at Exeter, and brought to Sherborne to be executed. Both of them behaved with becoming fervor and devotion; and recommending their own souls to God, and their relatives to his protection, resigned their bodies to be treated according to their sentence.

At Axminster a person was executed, named ROSE; he was a gunner, who landed with the duke of Monmouth; he had a great resolution, and was not at all startled with the fear of death. He spent the short time allowed him in private prayer, because there was to be an execution at Honiton, at which the same officers had to attend. At Honiton, four persons were executed, one of which was a surgeon, named PORT, who behaved himself with so much Christian courage, that all the spectators were astonished, he being but young, (about twenty years of age,) his prayers fervent, his expressions so pithy, and so becoming a Christian of greater age, that he excited pity and compassion in all present. A rude fellow, just before he was to be executed, called for a bottle of wine, and began drinking the king's health to one of the guard, which Port perceiving, "Poor soul," said he, "your cup seemeth to be sweet to you, and you think mine is bitter; which indeed is so to flesh and blood, but yet I have that assurance of the fruition of a future state, that I doubt not but this bitter potion will be sweetened with the loving kindness of my dearest Savior, and that I shall be translated into that state, where is fullness of joy and pleasure for evermore."

MR. EVANS, a minister, who suffered with him, had, during the whole time of his imprisonment, behaved himself with such devotion and strictness, as became a Christian; he spent much of his time in preaching and praying to his fellow-prisoners, exhorting them to hold out to the end; and he strengthened his precepts by his example, courageously surrendering his life to the malice of his enemies, and commending his soul to the mercy of his Maker.

MR. HAMLING, MR. CATCHETT, CAPTAIN MADDERS, AND CAPTAIN KIDD.

MR. HAMLING was formerly an inhabitant of Taunton, but of late years had lived two or three miles from thence. On hearing of the duke of Monmouth being in the town, he came to speak with his son, and advised him not at all to concern himself, but to submit to the will of God in all things. Having thus advised his son, he returned home: and two days after came again to Taunton, on a market day, with his wife, to buy provisions for his family, and returned to his house again. And he came no more to the town while the duke was there.

Being arraigned at Taunton, he pleaded not guilty, but was condemned on the evidence of two profligate villains, encouraged by Jeffreys; and though the prisoner had many to prove his good character and innocence, this did not avail; the jury found him guilty, with two more, who were immediately sentenced, and next morning executed, as examples to others. This man behaved himself very worthily at the place of execution, and to the last declared his offence to be no more than is above mentioned.

One MR. CATCHETT was executed with him; the crime alleged against him was, that being a constable of the hundred, he was surprised by a party of the duke's army, and shown a warrant to bring in provisions and other necessaries for the use of the troops, which if he did not obey, he was threatened to have his house burnt, &c. so that he was obliged to do what he did for his own preservation, and that of his family: but this availed him nothing with the inhuman Jeffreys; he was found guilty, and executed at the same time and place as Hamling.

CAPTAIN MADDERS, at the time of the duke's landing, was a constable at Crewkerne, in the county of Somerset, and so diligent and active for the king in his office, that when two gentlemen of Lyme came there, and brought the news of the

duke's landing, desiring him to furnish them with horses to ride post to acquaint his majesty therewith, he immediately secured horses for them, the town being generally otherwise bent, and assisted them as far as the most loyal, in those times, could do; which was represented to the lord chief justice, in expectation thereby to save his life. But all was in vain; he must die, because he was, and had the character of an honest man, and a good Protestant. Being brought to the place of execution, he behaved himself with great zeal and fervency; and lifting up his hands and eyes, would often say, "Lord, make me so willing and ready to the last!"

As soon as Captain Madders was turned off, CAPTAIN KIDD prepared to follow, and called to the guards and other persons present, "Do you see this?" (pointing up to the eleven who were hanged before him) "Do you think this is not dreadful to me, that eleven of twelve of us, that but a few hours hence came down together, are dead and in eternity? And I am just going to follow them, and shall immediately be in the same condition." A person replied, "It must be dreadful to flesh and blood." On which Kidd continued, "Well, gentlemen, I will assure you, I am so far concerned, that methinks I begrudge their good fortune, that they should be so long before me in bliss and happiness; but I will make haste to follow." Then taking his leave of the persons present, he prayed a short time very devoutly, and apparently with great joy and comfort; and the executioner did his office.

EXECUTION OF DR. TEMPLE, AND OTHERS.

DR. TEMPLE was one who landed with the duke, and was his chief physician and surgeon; he had formerly lived in Nottingham, but going to Holland, he became acquainted with the duke of Monmouth: and the following speech, made by him immediately previous to his execution, will explain his share in the insurrection."—

"Christian friends, and dear countrymen,

"I have somewhat to say, and not very much, before I depart from you, and shall be seen no more. And,

"First, As to my engagement with the duke of Monmouth.

"Secondly, How far I was concerned: and,

"Thirdly, I shall leave all of you to be judges in matter of fact.

"First, As a dying man I now declare, that when I entered myself with the duke of Monmouth, to be his surgeon, it was on no other account but to serve him in the West Indies; where I knew no other design whatsoever, but to possess himself of some of those islands, until I had been at sea two days, wherein one privately told me, we were absolutely bound for England, and I should take it from him it was true: it much surprised me, but knowing no way to avoid it, or to get on shore, though it was at that time contrary to my inclinations, if I could have avoided it, I would not let others see that I had that dissatisfaction within me. After my landing at Lyme, I knew it was never the nearer to attempt my escape, the country being so beset; on the other hand, if the duke of Monmouth did win the day, I might have raised my fortunes as high as I could expect: these were the arguments that flesh and blood did create in my breast for self-preservation. While I was with the said duke, I did him as much service as I could and faithfully; after it pleased God to disperse the army under his command, I endeavoured to secure myself, but by Providence was taken at Honiton, from thence committed to Exeter, and after removed to Dorchester, where I received my sentence, and am now, as you see, just going to execution. I am in charity with all men. Lord have mercy upon me, give me strength to go through these pains, and give me full assurance now at these my last moments: come, Lord Jesus, come quickly."

SAMUEL ROBINS, of Charmouth, in Dorsetshire, was executed, or rather murdered, at Warham.

He was a fisherman, and happening to be out at sea fishing before Lyme, on the day the duke came to land, he was commanded on board one of the duke's ships, he not knowing who they were, and his fish were purchased of him; afterwards some persons told him "that was the duke of Monmouth," (pointing at him), and that he was just going to land. Robins desired to go on shore, which was refused, and he was told, that as soon as the duke was landed he should have his liberty; he accordingly came on shore after the duke, and was never after with him, or ever took up arms under him. When he came to the place of execution, he very cheerfully declared his innocence to the spectators, as he had also done on his trial, and so, praying very devoutly for some time, he was executed.

MR. CHARLES SPEAK, of London, a gentleman of good extraction, was executed at Ilminster, in Somersetshire, where his family had long resided; and his case was likewise extremely hard. He happened to be at Ilminster at the time of the duke being

there, which was the only crime he was guilty of; but this was sufficient for Jeffreys and his bloodhounds; he was accordingly condemned, and, notwithstanding his youth, he acted the part of an old Christian soldier at his death, preparing himself to undergo those pains with cheerfulness, saying very often, they were nothing to his deserts from God Almighty; "but as for what I am accused of, and sentenced for, I hope you will believe I am not so guilty as my judge and accusers have endeavoured to make me; if it had pleased God, I should have been willing to have lived some time longer; but God's time being come, I am willing, I will be contented to drink this bitter cup off."

When he was brought to the place of execution, the crowd was very great, and he was so much beloved, that on every side the inhabitants were weeping and bewailing his hard fate. He prayed very fervently for an hour, then sung a psalm, and so was translated to heaven, there to sing everlasting praises and hallelujahs! His father and mother, it might be imagined, had suffered sufficiently in the loss of so excellent a son; but the malice of their adversaries ended not here; and although there was not a shadow of proof that they had been in the slightest degree concerned in the insurrection, they were fined in the sum of £12,000, the payment of which was rigorously exacted.

Mr. Parrat, who was executed at Taunton, was a Londoner, and a brewer. When he came to the place of execution, he seemed almost unconcerned at death. After some time he began to deliver himself in a low voice to the people, and after rising by degrees, he seemed more like a minister in the pulpit preaching devoutly, than a prisoner just going to execution; beholding the surrounding people in tears, he desired them not to be faint-hearted because of their fall, and not to think that there were no hopes remaining. He said, "he verily believed God would yet work out deliverance for them, and that the time they were in the greatest extremity, that would be God's opportunity to save them. Put your whole trust, confidence, and dependence on the Lord," said he, "and he will never leave you, nor forsake you."

EXECUTION OF JOHN HOLWAY, AT WARHAM.

John Holway lived in Lyme, where the duke landed, and took up arms, and remained under his command until the king's proclamation was issued, "That all who would lay down their arms before some justice of peace, in four days after, should have his majesty's pardon." He accordingly surrendered himself, but being *one* day after the prescribed time, the lord chief justice passed sentence of death on him. Before his trial he thought himself almost out of danger; notwithstanding which he received his sentence with much courage and resolution, and by the exhortations of one Mr. Tiller, who was to suffer with him, was brought to that settled frame of mind, which is suitable for one in that condition.

At the place of execution, he said not much, but that he thought his and other men's blood would be revenged one time or another, and said, "Forgive me, oh Lord! have mercy on my poor soul, pardon all my sins," and the like; and so the executioner performed his task.

EXECUTION OF MR. MATTHEWS.

Mr. Matthews, another of these sufferers, was much concerned on the morning appointed for his execution, before he died, to see his wife weep, and be in such grief for him, which drew tears from his eyes; and taking her in his arms, he said, "My dear, prithee do not disturb me at this time, but endeavor to submit to the will of God; and although thy husband is going from thee, yet I trust God will be all and all unto thee; sure, my dear, you will make my passage into eternity more troublesome than otherwise, if you thus lament and take on for me; I am very sensible of thy tender love towards me, but would have you consider, that this separation will be so much for my advantage, as your loss cannot parallel. I thank God I am willing to die, and to be with Jesus: be satisfied, the will of God must be done; thy will be done, O God, in earth as it is in heaven." Then embracing her, he took his last farewell of her, and prepared to go to the place of execution, which having reached, he with a very modest, sober, and composed frame of spirit stood while he saw several executed before him; his turn being then come, he spoke as follows:

"Dear Countrymen,

"I suppose we are all of one kingdom and nation, and I hope Protestants. O, I wonder we should be so cruel and bloodthirsty one towards another! I have heard it said heretofore, that England could never be ruined but by herself, which now I fear is doing. O Lord, have mercy on poor England, turn the hearts of the inhabitants thereof, cause them to love one another, and to forget one another's infirmities. Have mercy, O Lord, on me: give me strength and patience to fulfil thy will, comfort my dear and sorrowful wife, be a

husband unto her, stand by her in the greatest trouble, and affliction, let her depend upon thy providence; be merciful to all men, preserve this nation from popery. find out yet a way for its deliverance, if it be thy good will, and give all men hearts to be truly thankful; comfort my fellow-sufferers that are immediately to follow, give them strength and comfort unto the end: I forgive all the world, even those that have been the immediate hasteners of my death: I am in charity with all men. And now, blessed Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

He then devoutly repeated the Lord's prayer, ascended the ladder, and desired the executioner not to be harsh with him, who answered, "No," and said, "I pray, master, forgive me:" to which Matthews replied, "I do with all my whole heart, and I pray God forgive thee; but I advise thee to leave off this bloody trade." The executioner said, "I am forced to do what I do, it is against my mind:" and so he performed his office.

EXECUTION OF MR. ROGER SATCHEL, AND MR. LANCASTER.

At the time of the duke's landing at Lyme, Mr. Satchel lived at Culliton, about five miles west of that town, and as as he was a great admirer of Monmouth, and was of a generous and heroic spirit, he no sooner heard the news of the duke's being landed, but he set himself to work to serve him, desiring all he knew to join with him, and was one of the first that went to him to Lyme, and remained with him to the end. After the rout, travelling to and fro to secure himself, he was taken at last at Chard by three moss-troopers, not a part of the regular army, but fellows who made it their business to ruin their neighbors.

He was lodged in the jail, carried to Ilchester, and at the assizes at Dorchester took his trial, and received sentence of death with the rest. Great application was made to save his life, but Jeffreys was deaf to entreaty, and ordered him to be executed at Weymouth.

After sentence, two of his friends came to him, and told him, "There was no hope." He answered, "My hope is in the Lord." After which he spent most of his time before execution in prayer and meditation, and conferring on spiritual subjects with many pious persons.

The fatal morning being come, he prepared himself, and all the way to the scaffold he was very devout. Being come to the place, there was a minister, who sung a psalm, and prayed with the prisoners. This person asked Satchel, "What were his grounds for joining in that rebellion?" to which he answered, "Had you, sir, been there, and a Protestant, I believe you would have joined too; but do not speak to me about that; I am come to die for my sins, not for my treason against the king, as you call it." Then pointing to the wood that was to burn his bowels, he said, "I do not care for that; what matters it what becomes of my body, so my soul be at rest?" After this he prayed to himself near half an hour, and advising the spectators never to yield to popery, he was turned off the ladder. He was a courageous, bold-spirited man, just and punctual in all his dealings, and much beloved by his neighbors.

Mr. Lancaster was executed at the same time and place; his courage and deportment were such, that he out-braved death, and in a manner challenged it to hurt him, saying, "I die for a good cause, and am going to a gracious God. I desire all your Christian prayers; it is good to go to heaven with company." He also said much concerning the duke of Monmouth, whom he supposed at that time to be living; and so praying privately for some small time, he was turned, or rather leaped, over the ladder.

EXECUTION OF BENJAMIN SANDFORD, JOHN BENNET, AND OTHERS.

Mr. Sandford and nine others were brought from Dorchester to Bridport, to be executed. Coming to the place of execution, he held up his hands to heaven, and turning himself to the people, said, "I am an old man you see, and I little thought to have ended my days at such a shameful place, and by such an ignominious death; and indeed it is dreadful to flesh and blood, as well as a reproach to relations, but it would have been a great deal more if I had suffered for some felonious account." A person present said to him, "Is not this worse, do you think, than felony?" He answered, "I know not any thing I have done so bad as felony, that this heavy judgment should fall on me, except it be for my sins against my God, whom I have highly provoked, and I must acknowledge I have deserved ten thousand times more. Lord, I trust thou hast pardoned me; seal my pardon in the blood of my Savior; Lord, look upon, and be with me to the last moment."

One John Bennet was also executed at the same time; he was poor, but pious, and of good report with his neighbors in Lyme, where he lived. When he was on trial, a

person informed the lord chief justice, that the prisoner then at the bar, had alms of the parish; to which his lordship replied, "Do not trouble yourselves, I will ease the parish of that trouble."

In prison, and at the place of execution, he behaved himself so well to all, that many even of his enemies pitied him, and would, if it had lain in their power, have saved him. His son offered to have died for him, if it might have been suffered. At the place of execution he prayed some short time, and so was translated from this troublesome world into celestial joy and eternal happiness!

We shall here conclude our account of the barbarities committed by those monsters Jeffreys and Kirke, in the west of England; not that we have related the whole, or even a tenth part of them; but an unvarying recital of cruelties is tedious and disgusting, however true; and we therefore pass on to other matters; merely observing that, beside those who were hanged, great numbers were severely whipped, and imprisoned; and almost every gentleman in that part of the country was subjected to enormous fines, to hesitate about the payment of which was construed into high treason: even those who received his majesty's *gracious* pardon, were compelled to purchase it by bribing the court favorites; and, on the whole, there was scarcely a family in Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and the adjoining counties, which had not to mourn the death or the sufferings of some of its members, or was not reduced to comparative poverty by the exactions of the harpies of the court.

SECTION VII.

Rebellions and Conspiracies formed by the Papists, from the Revolution to the Reign of George II.

It is now our task to relate another of those horrible plots which will for ever disgrace the name of Popery, and render it obnoxious to every one who is not blinded by the specious statements of its supporters—we mean the Assassination Plot, formed for the destruction of that truly great and good monarch, William III.

THE ASSASSINATION PLOT.

The papists, whose souls were still anxious to eclipse the power of the Protestants, and to subvert the government, had been, for some time, projecting another scheme to answer their wished-for purposes, and at length an opportunity offered; but, happily for England, it was providentially frustrated.

The intent of this diabolical scheme was, to assassinate William III. and to restore James to the English throne. It was first projected by the French king, and furthered by the popish emissaries in England.

King William had been, for a considerable time, at war with France; and had such success as almost to ruin and depopulate that country. This so enraged the French monarch, that he determined to make one grand and final effort to restore, if possible, James, his friend and ally, to the throne; as to the success of which they were filled with the most sanguine hopes, by the death of queen Mary, which circumstance, they supposed, had greatly lessened the king's interest in this country.

The scheme of an invasion, and the design of taking off the English monarch, were publicly mentioned in France in the beginning of February, 1695; and it was known that Louis had sent an army to Calais, so that nothing but a favorable opportunity seemed wanting to begin the daring attempt.

On the 18th of February James set out for Calais, when the troops, artillery, and stores, were ordered to be put on board the vessels lying there for that purpose; news being hourly expected from England of the assassination being perpetrated.

In the mean time, the duke of Wirtemberg, alarmed at the reports current in France, dispatched an aide-de-camp to England in order to inform William of the destruction which awaited him. The prince of Vaudemont, then at Brussels, dispatched messengers with the same intelligence, adding, that he had laid an embargo on all the ships in the harbors of Flanders, in order to transport troops into England for his majesty's service. But notwithstanding all the expedition used by the duke of Wirtemberg, the king had, some time before the arrival of his messenger, received cer-

tain accounts, not only of the intended invasion, but also of the conspiracy against his person.

The principal persons in England concerned in the plot for assassinating the king, were the following: the earl of Aylesbury; lord Montgomery, son to the marquis of Powis; Sir John Fenwick; Sir William Perkins; Sir John Friend; captain Charnock; captain Porter; and Mr. Goodman.

The duke of Berwick (an illegitimate son of James II.) had come privately over to England, in the beginning of February, in order to hasten the preparations of the conspirators, whom he assured that king James was ready to make a descent, at the head of twenty-two thousand French troops. At the same time, he distributed commissions, and gave directions for procuring men, horses, and arms, for joining him on his arrival. Various rumors were spread, with regard to the nature of these commissions: some said they imported nothing more than to levy war against the prince of Orange, and all his adherents, and that king James was totally ignorant of the more detestable part of the scheme; while others asserted that they related to both.

But however that may be, the conspirators, who were several in number, besides those already mentioned, had held various meetings, in order to concert the most proper measures for executing their hellish design. Sir George Berkeley, a native of Scotland, a person of undaunted courage, close, cautious, and circumspect, though a furious bigot to the church of Rome, came over in January with a private commission from king James, by virtue whereof, the party in England were implicitly to obey his orders. This person undertook the detestable task of murdering the king, with the assistance of forty horsemen, furnished by the conspirators. Various methods were at first proposed for effecting this purpose; but it was at last determined to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he usually hunted every Saturday. The place pitched upon was the lane leading from Brentford to Turnham-Green. Perhaps a place more likely could not be found; for his majesty generally returning late from the chase, usually crossed the ferry, attended by only a few of his guards, without coming out of his coach; and as he landed on the Middlesex side of the river, the coach drove on without stopping for the rest of the guards, who were obliged to wait on the Surrey side till the boat returned to carry them over. So that the king must inevitably have fallen into the hands of the conspirators, before the rest of his guards could have come to his assistance.

Nor were the time and place more artfully contrived, than the disposition and arrangement of the men: for, having secured several places in Brentford, Turnham-Green, and other houses in the neighborhood, to put up their horses, till the king returned from hunting, one of the conspirators was ordered to wait at the ferry till the guards appeared on the Surrey side of the water; and then to give speedy notice to the rest, that they might be ready at their respective posts, while the king was crossing the river. In order to this, they were divided into three parties, who were to make their approaches by three different ways; one from Turnham-Green, another from the lane leading to the Thames, and a third from the road leading through Brentford. One of these parties was to attack the king's guards in the front, another in the rear, while ten or twelve of the most daring and resolute were to assassinate his majesty by firing their blunderbusses at him through the coach windows. It was also agreed, that when the bloody purpose was accomplished, the conspirators should form one body, and continue their route to Hammersmith, and there divide themselves into small parties of three or four, and make the best of their way to Dover, where the sudden landing of the French would secure them from the rage of the populace, and the hand of justice. Sir George Berkeley complaining that the money he had brought over with him was so nearly exhausted, that the remainder was not sufficient to furnish forty horses, the only necessaries which were now wanting, they agreed that he should find but half the number, and Sir William Perkins, Porter, and Charnock, were to provide the rest.

Saturday, the 15th of February, was fixed for the murder of the king, but his majesty being indisposed, did not go abroad that day. This trivial circumstance struck the assassins with dismay. They immediately concluded that the conspiracy was discovered; but finding that all remained quiet, they again met, and agreed to be in readiness on the Saturday following. Just as they were setting out, they received intelligence from Chambers and Durant, two of their accomplices, that the guards were all come back in great haste, and that there was a whisper among the people, that a horrid plot was discovered. This news put the conspirators into the utmost consternation, and they immediately dispersed.

The conspiracy was discovered in the following manner: captain Porter, the day before the scheme was to have been put into execution, divulged the whole plot to an intimate friend of his, named Pender-

grass, whom he solicited to be one of their number. Pendergrass seemingly complied; but, struck with horror at the atrociousness of the crime, he instantly acquainted the earl of Portland with the scheme, and desired he might be introduced to his majesty, which being complied with, he fully made known to him all the particulars he knew of this horrid conspiracy, and, after many entreaties from the king, added to a solemn promise that he should not be produced as an evidence without his own consent, he gave in a list of the assassins.

A proclamation was now issued for apprehending the conspirators, and most of them were secured, but Delahaye found means to escape. Admiral Russel was ordered to Chatham, to hasten the fleet out to sea. The rendezvous was appointed in the Downs, to which place all the men of war, then in the sea-ports, were ordered to sail. This was accomplished with such expedition, that in a few days a fleet of fifty sail had assembled, with which the admiral stood over to the French coast. The enemy, astonished at his sudden appearance, retired, with the utmost precipitation, into their harbors; and James, perceiving that his design was defeated, returned, overwhelmed with despair, to St. Germain's, where he passed the remainder of his life.

On the 24th of February, the king went to the House of Peers, and in a speech to both houses, informed them of the conspiracy, and intended invasion. In a very affectionate and loyal address, they congratulated him on his escape from the designs of his enemies; declared their abhorrence of such villanous attempts; and solemnly promised to assist his majesty, and defend his royal person against all his enemies, declared and private. They likewise drew up an association to the same purpose, which was signed by all the members. From the parliament the association was carried to every part of the kingdom, and signed by all ranks of people. The bishops drew up a particular form, but in the same spirit, which was subscribed to by the greater part of the clergy.

On the 11th of March, Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keys, three of the conspirators, were brought to their trials at the Old Bailey. The court indulged them with all the liberty they could desire, to make their defence; notwithstanding which they were, upon the fullest and plainest evidence, found guilty of high treason; and sentence being passed upon them, they were, on the 18th of March, hanged and quartered at Tyburn. Their execution was followed by that of several others of the conspirators; a proclamation was issued for apprehending lord Montgomery and Sir John Fenwick, suspected to be accomplices in the plot; and the earl of Aylesbury was committed to the Tower on the same suspicion.

The case of Sir John Fenwick was, some time after, brought into the House of Commons, where, though his guilt was thoroughly proved, he could not be convicted by common law, on account of one positive evidence only appearing against him: a bill of attainder was, therefore, after some debates, passed by both houses; and, on the 28th of March, he was beheaded on Tower-hill.

Thus was this horrid conspiracy happily frustrated, and the authors of it brought to that condign punishment which their infamy merited. The king's life was the security of his subjects, who heartily rejoiced, as they had reason to do, in being thereby preserved from the miseries of popery and arbitrary government.

REBELLIONS AND PLOTS IN THE REIGNS OF ANNE, GEORGE I. AND II.

During the three reigns above named, the papists anxiously sought occasion to disturb the government, and to excite the religious and political prejudices of the people against their sovereigns: In each of these reigns rebellions were raised, which, however, led only to the ruin and death of the conspirators, and strengthened, instead of weakening, the attachment of the British nation to a line of monarchs under whom they enjoyed the blessings of civil and religious liberty. The particulars of these attempts are so well known, or may so easily be learned, that it is quite unnecessary to occupy our pages with the detail; we shall, however, give the particulars of a plot in the year 1722, which, although equally atrocious, readers are not generally so well acquainted with.

ATTERBURY'S PLOT.

In the year 1722, advice was received from the duke of Orleans, of a most treacherous conspiracy carried on against the British government in favor of the Pretender, On this intelligence a camp was formed in Hyde-Park, and the military officers were ordered to repair to their respective commands; some troops were called over from Ireland, and the Dutch states were desired to keep in readiness the guarantee troops, in order to be sent to England in case of emergency.

The conspirators had, by their emissaries, made the strongest solicitations to foreign powers for assistance, but were disappoint-

ed in their expectations; notwithstanding which, confiding in their numbers, they resolved to trust to their own strength, and to attempt the subversion of the government. But their intentions being timely discovered, their scheme was rendered abortive.

Several persons were apprehended as parties in this plot. The earl of Orrery, the bishop of Rochester, and the lord North and Grey, were committed to the Tower for high-treason; and the duke of Norfolk, who had been seized by his majesty's order, was, with the consent of the House of Peers, sent to the same prison.

Christopher Layer, Esq. a counsellor, who had been also apprehended on account of this conspiracy, was tried at the King's-Bench, Westminster, on the 21st of November. His indictment set forth, "that he had been employed in forming a most traitorous horrid plot and conspiracy, against his majesty and his government, by enlisting men for the Pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion; and also that he had held a correspondence with the Pretender, by carrying letters and treasonable papers to him beyond the seas, and from him to the disaffected in this kingdom." After a trial, which lasted seventeen hours, the jury brought him in guilty, and he received sentence of death. He was reprieved from time to time, in the hope of his making discoveries, but he either could not, or would not, satisfy these expectations: he was, therefore, on the 17th of May, 1723, drawn on a sledge to Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered, pursuant to his sentence; after which his head was cut off, and fixed on Temple Bar.

This conspiracy was so artfully carried on under fictitious names, that it required the greatest application to come to the true knowledge of some of the persons concerned. The committee which had been appointed by the House of Commons to examine the papers relative to the conspiracy, delivered it as their opinion, "that a design had long been carried on by persons of distinction abroad, for placing the Pretender on the throne of these kingdoms: that various methods had been attempted, and different times fixed for carrying their designs into execution: that the first intention was to have procured a regular body of foreign forces to invade these kingdoms, at the time of the late elections; but that the conspirators being disappointed in this expectation, they resolved next, to make an attempt at the time his Majesty intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such forces and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved from abroad, under the command of the duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms provided in Spain for that purpose, at which time the Tower was likewise to have been seized, and the city of London to have been made a place of arms; but this design being also prevented by the discoveries made in England, and his majesty's putting off his journey; by the encampment of the forces at home, as well as the sending for those from Ireland; by the readiness of his majesty's good allies, the States-General, to assist him in case of necessity; by the orders given in Spain, that the duke of Ormond should not embark; and the like orders issued in France, that he should not be suffered to pass through that kingdom; the conspirators found themselves under a necessity of deferring their enterprise till the breaking up of the camp, during which interval they were laboring, by their agents and emissaries, to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of his majesty's army; and so much did they depend on this defection, as to entertain hopes of placing the Pretender on the throne, though they should not obtain any assistance from abroad, which nevertheless they still continued to solicit."

The House of Commons, after a mature consideration of the whole matter, brought in three several bills to inflict pains and penalties on Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, John Plunket, and George Kelly, as being principally concerned in this diabolical plot: which bills passed both houses, and received the royal assent. The bishop was deprived of his office and benefice, banished the kingdom, and pronounced guilty of felony if he returned: the power of pardoning him was denied to the king, without the consent of parliament; but he was not to forfeit his goods and chattels. Plunket and Kelly were to be kept in close custody, during his majesty's pleasure, in any prison in Great Britain; and they were not to attempt an escape on pain of death to be inflicted on them and their assistants.

The duke of Norfolk, the lord North and Grey, Dennis Kelly, and Thomas Cochran, Esqrs. who had been confined in the Tower, were admitted to bail; as was also David du Boyce, confined in Newgate on the same account. A man-of-war was appointed to convey the bishop of Rochester to France, the place he had chosen for his asylum during his exile; and the royal pardon was granted to lord Bolingbroke, who owed that indulgence to the earnest solicitation of lord Harcourt, though it was vehemently opposed at the council-board.

Thus did this conspiracy, like the former, fall to the ground; and, excepting the attempt made in the succeeding reign, to overthrow the government, by placing the

Pretender on the throne, and thereby again to establish popery, no other *avowed* effort has since been made; and the Protestant subjects of this realm have been, and it is hoped ever will be, in an uninterrupted enjoyment of those religious principles which are consistent with, and conformable to, the true gospel of the Redeemer of Mankind.

SECTION VII.

Of the Persecutions of the French Protestants in the South of France during the years 1814 *and* 1820.

The persecution of this Protestant part of France had continued with very little intermission from the revocation of the edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV. till a very short period previous to the commencement of the late French revolution. In the year 1785, M. Rebaut St. Etienne and the celebrated M. de la Fayette were among the first persons who interested themselves with the court of Louis XVI. in removing the scourge of persecution from this injured people, the inhabitants of the South of France.

Such was the opposition on the part of the Catholics and the courtiers, that it was not till the end of the year 1790, that the Protestants were freed from their alarms. Previously to this, the Catholics at Nismes in particular, had taken up arms: Nismes then presented a frightful spectacle; armed men ran through the city, fired from the corners of the streets, and attacked all they met with swords and forks. A man named Astuc was wounded and thrown into the Aqueduct; Baudon fell under the repeated strokes of bayonets and sabres, and his body was also thrown into the water; Boucher, a young man only 17 years of age, was shot as he was looking out of his window; three electors wounded, one dangerously; another elector, wounded, only escaped death by repeatedly declaring he was a Catholic; a third received four sabre wounds, and was taken home dreadfully mangled. The citizens that fled were arrested by the Catholics upon the roads, and obliged to give proofs of their religion before their lives were granted. M. and Madame Vogue were at their country house, which the zealots broke open, where they massacred both, and destroyed their dwelling. M. Blacher, a Protestant seventy years of age, was cut to pieces with a sickle; young Pyerre, carrying some food to his brother, was asked, 'Catholic or Protestant?' 'Protestant' being the reply, a monster fired at the lad and he fell. One of the murderers' companions said, 'you might as well have killed a lamb;' 'I have sworn,' replied he, 'to kill four Protestants for my share, and this will count for one.' However, as these atrocities provoked the troops to unite in defence of the people, a terrible vengeance was retaliated upon the Catholic party that had used arms, which, with other circumstances, especially the toleration exercised by Napoleon Buonaparte, kept them down completely till the year 1814, when the unexpected return of the ancient government rallied them all once more round the old banners.

THE ARRIVAL OF KING LOUIS XVIII. AT PARIS.

This was known at Nismes on the 13th of April, 1814. In a quarter of an hour, the white cockade was seen in every direction, the white flag floated on all the public buildings, on the splendid monuments of antiquity, and even on the tower of Magne, beyond the city walls. The Protestants, whose commerce had suffered materially during the war, were among the first to unite in the general joy, and to send in their adhesion to the senate and the legislative body; and several of the Protestant departments sent addresses to the throne: but unfortunately, M. Froment was again at Nismes at the moment; when many bigots being ready to join him, the blindness and fury of the sixteenth century rapidly succeeded the intelligence and philanthropy of the nineteenth. A line of distinction was instantly traced between men of different religious opinions: the spirit of the old Catholic Church was again to regulate each person's share of esteem and safety. The difference of religion was now to govern every thing else; and even Catholic domestics who had served Protestants with zeal and affection, began to neglect their duties, or to perform them ungraciously and with reluctance. At the fêtes and spectacles that were given at the public expense, the absence of the Protestants was charged on them as a proof of their disloyalty; and in the midst of the cries of '*Vive le Roi*,' the discordant sounds

of '*A bas le Maire*,' down with the Mayor, were heard. M. Castelnau was a Protestant; he appeared in public with the prefect M. Roland, a Catholic, when potatoes were thrown at him, and the people declared that he ought to resign his office. The bigots of Nismes even succeeded in procuring an address to be presented to the king, stating that there ought to be in France but one God, one King, and one Faith. In this they were imitated by the Catholics of several towns.

THE HISTORY OF THE SILVER CHILD.

About this time M. Baron, Counsellor of the Cour Royale of Nismes, formed the plan of dedicating to God a Silver Child, if the Duchess d'Angouleme would give a prince to France. This project was converted into a public religious vow, which was the subject of conversation both public and private, whilst persons, whose imaginations were inflamed by these proceedings, ran about the streets crying *Vivent les Bourbons*, or the Bourbons for ever. In consequence of this superstitious frenzy, it is said that, at Alais, women were advised and instigated to poison their Protesttant husbands, and at length it was found convenient to accuse them of political crimes. They could no longer appear in public without insults and injuries. When the mobs met with Protestants, they seized them and danced round them with barbarous joy, and amidst repeated cries of *Vive le Roi*, they sung verses, the burden of which was, 'We will wash our hands in Protestant blood, and make black puddings of the blood of Calvin's children.' The citizens who came to the promenades for air and refreshment, from the close and dirty streets, were chased with shouts of *Vive le Roi*, as if those shouts were to justify every excess. If Protestants referred to the Charter, they were directly assured it would be of no use to them, and that they had only been managed to be more effectually destroyed. Persons of rank were heard to say in the public streets, "All the Huguenots must be killed; this time their children must be killed, that none of the accursed race may remain.' Still it is true they were not murdered, but cruelly treated; Protestant children could no longer mix in the sports of Catholics, and were not even permitted to appear without their parents. At dark, their families shut themselves up in their apartments; but even then, stones were thrown against their windows. When they rose in the morning, it was not uncommon to find gibbets drawn on their doors or walls; and in the streets, the Catholics held cords already soaped before their eyes, and pointed out the instruments by which they hoped and designed to exterminate them. Small gallows or models were handed about, and a man who lived opposite to one of the pastors, exhibited one of these models in his window, and made signs sufficiently intelligible when the minister passed. A figure representing a Protestant preacher was also hung up on a public crossway; and the most atrocious songs were sung under his window. Towards the conclusion of the carnival, a plan had even been formed to make a caricature of the four ministers of the place, and burn them in effigy; but this was prevented by the Mayor of Nismes, a Protestant. A dreadful song presented to the prefect, in the country dialect, with a false translation, was printed by his approval, and had a great run before he saw the extent of the error into which he had been betrayed. The sixty-third regiment of the line was publicly censured and insulted, for having, according to order, protected the Protestants. In fact, the Protestants seemed to be as sheep destined for the slaughter.

NAPOLEON'S RETURN FROM THE ISLE OF ELBA.

Soon after this event, the Duke d'Angouleme was at Nismes, and remained there some time; but even his influence was insufficient to bring about a reconciliation between the Catholics and Protestants of that city. During the hundred days betwixt Napoleon's return from the Isle of Elba and his final downfall, not a single life was lost in Nismes, not a single house was pillaged: only four of the most notorious disturbers of the peace were punished, or rather prevented from doing mischief; and even this was not an act of the Protestants, but the *arrêté* of the Catholic prefect, announced everywhere with the utmost publicity. Some time arter, when M. Baron, who proposed the vow of the silver child in favor of the Duchess d'Angouleme, who was considered as a chief of the Catholic royalists, was discovered at the bottom of an old wine tun, the populace threw stones at his carriage, and vented their feelings in abusive language. The Protestant officers protected him from injury.

THE CATHOLIC ARMS OF BEAUCAIRE.

In May 1815, a federative association similar to those of Lyons, Grenoble, Paris, Avignon, and Montpellier, was desired by many persons at Nismes; but this federation terminated here after an ephemeral and illusory existence of fourteen days. In

the meanwhile a large party of Catholic zealots were in arms at Beaucaire, and who soon pushed their patrols so near the walls of Nismes 'as to alarm the inhabitants.' These Catholics applied to the English off Marseilles for assistance, and obtained the grant of 1000 muskets, 10,000 cartouches, &c. General Gilly, however, was soon sent against those partisans, who prevented them from coming to extremes, by granting them an armistice; and yet when Louis XVIII. had returned to Paris after the expiration of Napoleon's reign of a hundred days, and peace and party spirit seemed to have been subdued, even at Nismes, bands from Beaucaire joined Trestaillon in this city, to glut the vengeance they had so long premeditated. General Gilly had left the department several days: the troops of the line left behind had taken the white cockade, and waited further orders, whilst the royal commissioners had only to proclaim the cessation of hostilities, and the complete establishment of the king's authority. In vain, no commissioners appeared, no dispatches arrived to calm and regulate the public mind; but towards evening the advanced guard of the banditti, to the amount of several hundreds, entered the city, undesired, but unopposed. As they marched without order or discipline, covered with clothes or rags of all colors, decorated with cockades, not *white*, but *white and green*, armed with muskets, sabres, forks, pistols, and reaping-hooks, intoxicated with wine, and stained with the blood of the Protestants whom they had murdered on their route, they presented a most hideous and appalling spectacle. In the open place in the front of the barracks, this banditti was joined by the city armed mob, headed by Jacques Dupont, commonly called Trestaillon. To save the effusion of blood, this garrison of about 500 men consented to capitulate, and marched out sad and defenceless; but when about fifty had passed, the rabble commenced a tremendous fire on their confiding and unprotected victims; nearly all were killed or wounded, and but very few could re-enter the yard before the garrison gates were again closed. These were again forced in an instant, and all were massacred who could not climb over roofs, or leap into the adjoining gardens. In a word, death met them in every place and in every shape, and this Catholic massacre rivalled in cruelty and surpassed in treachery the crimes of the September assassins of Paris, and the Jacobinical butcheries of Lyons and Avignon. It was marked, not only by the fervor of the Revolution, but by the subtilty of the League, and will long remain a blot upon the history of the second restoration.

MASSACRE AND PILLAGE AT NISMES.

Nismes now exhibited a most awful scene of outrage and carnage, though many of the Protestants had fled to the Cevennes and the Gardonenque. The country houses of Messrs. Rey, Guiret, and several others had been pillaged, and the inhabitants treated with wanton barbarity. Two parties had glutted their savage appetites on the farm of Madame Frat: the first, after eating, drinking, breaking the furniture, and stealing what they thought proper, took leave by announcing the arrival of their comrades, 'compared with whom,' they said, 'they should be thought merciful.' Three men and an old woman were left on the premises: at the sight of the second company two of the men fled. 'Are you a Catholic?' said the banditti to the old woman. 'Yes.'—'Repeat, then, your Pater and Ave.' Being terrified, she hesitated, and was instantly knocked down with a musket. On recovering her senses, she stole out of the house, but met Ladet, the old *valet de ferme*, bringing in a salad which the depredators had ordered him to cut. In vain she endeavored to persuade him to fly. 'Are you a Protestant?' they exclaimed: 'I am.' A musket being discharged at him, he fell, wounded, but not dead. To consummate their work, the monsters lighted a fire with straw and boards, threw their yet living victim into the flames, and suffered him to expire in the most dreadful agonies. They then ate their salad, omelet, &c. The next day some laborers, seeing the house open and deserted, entered, and discovered the half-consumed body of Ladet. The prefect of the Gard, M. Darbaud Jouques, attempting to palliate the crimes of the Catholics, had the audacity to assert that Ladet was a Catholic; but this was publicly contradicted by two of the pastors at Nismes.

Another party committed a dreadful murder at St. Cezaire, upon Imbert La Plume, the husband of Suzon Chivas. He was met on returning from work in the fields. The chief promised him his life, but insisted that he must be conducted to the prison at Nismes. Seeing, however, that the party was determined to kill him, he resumed his natural character, and being a powerful and courageous man advanced, and exclaimed, 'You are brigands—fire!' Four of them fired, and he fell, but he was not dead; and while living they mutilated his body, and then passing a cord round it, drew it along, attached to a cannon of which they had possession. It was not till after eight days that his relatives were apprized of his death. Five individuals of the family of

Chivas, all husbands and fathers, were massacred in the course of a few days.

Near the barracks at Nismes is a large and handsome house, the property of M. Vitte, which he acquired by exertion and economy. Besides comfortable lodgings for his own family, he let more than twenty chambers, mostly occupied by superior officers and commissaries of the army. He never inquired the opinion of his tenants, and of course his guests were persons of all political parties; but, under pretence of searching for concealed officers, his apartments were overrun, his furniture broken, and his property carried off at pleasure. The houses of Messrs. Lagorce, most respectable merchants and manufacturers, M. Matthieu, M. Negre, and others, shared the same fate: many only avoided it by the owners paying large sums as commutation money, or escaping into the country with their cash.

INTERFERENCE OF GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS.

M. Bernis, Extraordinary Royal Commissioner, in consequence of these abuses, issued a proclamation which reflects disgrace on the authority from which it emanated, 'Considering,' it said, 'that the residence of citizens in places foreign to their domicile can only be prejudicial to the *communes* they have left, and to those to which they have repaired, it is ordered, that those inhabitants who have quitted their residence since the commencement of July, return home by the 28th at the latest, otherwise they shall be deemed accomplices of the evil-disposed persons who disturb the public tranquillity, and their property shall be placed under provisional *sequestration*.'

The fugitives had sufficient inducements to return to their hearths, without the fear of sequestration. They were more anxious to embrace their fathers, mothers, wives, and children, and to resume their ordinary occupations, than M. Bernis could be to insure their return. But thus denouncing men as criminals, who fled for safety from the sabres of assassins, was adding oil to the fire of persecution. Trestaillon, one of the chiefs of the brigands, was dressed in complete uniform and epaulets which he had stolen; he wore a sabre at his side, pistols in his belt, a cockade of white and green, and a sash of the same colors on his arm. He had under him, Truphémy, Servan, Aimé, and many other desperate characters. Some time after this, M. Bernis ordered all parties and individuals, armed or unarmed, to abstain from searching houses without either an order, or the presence of an officer. On suspicion of arms being concealed, the commandant of the town was ordered to furnish a patrol to make search and seizure; and all persons carrying arms in the streets, without being on service, were to be arrested. Trestaillon, however, who still carried arms, was not arrested till some months after, and then not by these authorities, but by General La Garde, who was afterwards assassinated by one of his comrades. On this occasion it was remarked, that 'the system of specious and deceptive proclamations was perfectly understood, and had long been practised in Languedoc: it was *now too late* to persecute the Protestants simply for their religion. Even in the good times of Louis XIV. there was public opinion enough in Europe to make that arch-tyrant have recourse to the meanest stratagems.' The following single specimen of the plan pursued by the authors of the Dragonades may serve as a key to all the plausible proclamations which, in 1815, covered the perpetration of the most deliberate and extensive crimes:—

Letter from Louvois to Marillac.

'The king rejoices to learn from your letters, that there are so many conversions in your department; and he desires that you would continue your efforts, and employ the same means that have been hitherto so successful. His Majesty has ordered me to send a regiment of cavalry, the greatest part of which he wishes to be quartered upon the Protestants, but he does not think it *prudent* that they should be all lodged with them; that is to say, of twenty-six masters, of which a company is composed, if, by a judicious distribution, ten ought to be received by the Protestants, give them twenty, and put them all on the rich, making this pretence, that when there are not soldiers enough in a town for all to have some, the poor ought to be exempt, and the rich burdened. His Majesty has also thought proper to order, that all converts be exempted from lodging soldiers for two years. This will occasion numerous conversions if you take care that it is rigorously executed, and that in all the distributions and passage of troops, by far the greatest number are quartered on the rich Protestants. His Majesty particularly enjoins, that your orders on this subject, either by yourself or your sub-delegates, be given by word of mouth to the mayors and sheriffs, without letting them know that his majesty intends by these means to force to become converts, and only explaining to them, that you give these orders on

the information you have received, that in these places the rich are excepted by their influence, to the prejudice of the poor.'

The merciless treatment of the women in this persecution at Nismes was such as would have disgraced any savages ever heard of. The widows Rivet and Bernard were forced to sacrifice enormous sums; and the house of Mrs. Lecointe was ravaged, and her goods destroyed. Mrs. F. Didier had her dwelling sacked and nearly demolished to the foundations. A party of these bigots visited the widow Perrin, who lived on a little farm at the windmills: having committed every species of devastation, they attacked even the sanctuary of the dead, which contained the relics of her family. They dragged the coffins out, and scattered the contents over the adjacent grounds. In vain this outraged widow collected the bones of her ancestors and replaced them: they were again dug up; and, after several useless efforts, they were reluctantly left spread over the surface of the fields.

Till the period announced for the sequestration of the property of the fugitives by *authority*, murder and plunder were the daily employment of what was called the army of Beaucaire, and the Catholics of Nismes. M. Peyron, of Brossan, had all his property carried off: his wine, oil, seed, grain, several score of sheep, eight mules, three carts, his furniture and effects, all the cash that could be found; and he had only to congratulate himself that his habitation was not consumed, and his vineyards rooted up. A similar process against several other Protestant farmers was also regularly carried on during several days. Many of the Protestants thus persecuted were well known as staunch royalists; but it was enough for their enemies to know that they belonged to the reformed communion: these fanatics were determined not to find either royalists or citizens worthy the common protection of society. To accuse, condemn, and destroy a Protestant, was a matter that required no hesitation. The house of M. Vitte, near the barracks at Nismes, was broken open, and every thing within the walls demolished. A Jew family of lodgers was driven out, and all their goods thrown out of the windows. M. Vitte was seized, robbed of his watch and money, severely wounded, and left for dead. After he had been fourteen hours in a state of insensibility, a commissary of police, touched by his misfortunes, administered some cordials to revive him; and, as a measure of safety, conducted him to the citadel, where he remained many days, whilst his family lamented him as dead. At length, as there was not the slightest charge against him, he obtained his liberation from M. Vidal; but when the Austrians arrived, one of the aides-de-camp, who heard of his sufferings and his respectability, sought him out, and furnished an escort to conduct his family to a place of safety. Dalbos, the only city beadle who was a Protestant, was dragged from his home and led to prison. His niece threw herself on the neck of one of them and begged for mercy: the ruffian dashed her to the ground. His sister was driven away by the mob; and he being shot, his body remained a long time exposed to the insults of the rabble.

ROYAL DECREE IN FAVOR OF THE PERSECUTED.

At length the decree of Louis XVIII. which annulled all the extraordinary powers conferred either by the King, the princes, or subordinate agents, was received at Nismes, and the laws were now to be administered by the regular organs, and a new prefect arrived to carry them into effect; but in spite of proclamations, the work of destruction, stopped for a moment, was not abandoned, but soon renewed with fresh vigor and effect. On the 30th of July, Jacques Combe, the father of a family, was killed by some of the national guards of Rusau, and the crime was so public, that the commander of the party restored to the family the pocket-book and papers of the deceased. On the following day tumultuous crowds roamed about the city and suburbs, threatening the wretched peasants; and on the 1st of August they butchered them without opposition. About noon on the same day, six armed men, headed by Truphémy the butcher, surrounded the house of Monot, a carpenter: two of the party, who were smiths, had been at work in the house the day before, and had seen a Protestant who had taken refuge there, M. Bourillon, who had been a lieutenant in the army, and had retired on a pension. He was a man of an excellent character, peaceable and harmless, and had never served the Emperor Napoleon. Truphémy not knowing him, he was pointed out, partaking of a frugal breakfast with the family. Truphémy ordered him to go along with him, adding, 'Your friend, Saussine, is already in the other world.' Truphémy placed him in the middle of his troop, and artfully ordered him to cry *Vive l'Empereur:* he refused, adding he had never served the Emperor. In vain did the women and children of the house intercede for his life, and praise his amiable and virtuous qualities. He was marched to the Esplanade and shot, first by Truphémy and then by the others. Several persons, attracted by the firing, approached,

out were threatened with a similar fate. After some time, the wretches departed, shouting *Vive le Roi*. Some women met them, and one of them appearing affected, said one, 'I have killed seven to day for my share, and if you say a word, you shall be the eighth.' Pierre Courbet, a stocking weaver, was torn from his loom by an armed band, and shot at his own door. His eldest daughter was knocked down with the but-end of a musket; and a poignard was held at the breast of his wife while the mob plundered her apartments. Paul Héraut, a silk weaver, was literally cut in pieces, in the presence of a large crowd, and amidst the unavailing cries and tears of his wife and four young children. The murderers only abandoned the corpse to return to Héraut's house and secure every thing valuable. The number of murders on this day could not be ascertained. One person saw six bodies at the *Cours Neuf*, and nine were carried to the hospital.

If murder some time after became less frequent for a few days, pillage and forced contributions were actively enforced. M. Salle d'Hombre, at several visits, was robbed of 7000 francs; and, on one occasion, when he pleaded the sacrifices he had made, 'Look,' said a bandit, pointing to his pipe, 'this will set fire to your house; and this,' brandishing his sword, 'will finish you.' No reply could be made to these arguments. M. Feline, a silk manufacturer, was robbed of 32,000 francs in gold, 3000 francs in silver, and several bales of silk.

The small shopkeepers were continually exposed to visits and demands of provisions, drapery, or whatever they sold; and the same hands that set fire to the houses of the rich, and tore up the vines of the cultivator, broke the looms of the weaver, and stole the tools of the artisan. Desolation reigned in the sanctuary and in the city. The armed bands, instead of being reduced, were increased; the fugitives, instead of returning, received constant accessions, and their friends who sheltered them were deemed rebellious. Those Protestants who remained were deprived of all their civil and religious rights, and even the advocates and huissiers entered into a resolution to exclude all of 'the pretended reformed religion' from their bodies. Those who were employed in selling tobacco were deprived of their licenses. The Protestant deacons who had the charge of the poor were all scattered. Of five pastors only two remained; one of these was obliged to change his residence, and could only venture to administer the consolations of religion, or perform the functions of his ministry, under cover of the night.

Not contented with these modes of torment, calumnious and inflammatory publications charged the Protestants with raising the proscribed standard in the communes, and invoking the fallen Napoleon; and, of course, as unworthy the protection of the laws and the favor of the monarch.

Hundreds after this were dragged to prison without even so much as a *written order;* and though an Official Newspaper, bearing the title of the *Journal du Gard*, was set up, for five months while it was influenced by the prefect, the mayor, and other functionaries, the word *charter* was never once used in it. One of the first numbers, on the contrary, represented the suffering Protestants as 'Crocodiles, only weeping from rage and regret that they had no more victims to devour; as persons who had surpassed Danton, Marat, and Robespierre in doing mischief: and as having prostituted their daughters to the garrison to gain it over to Napoleon.' An extract from this article, stamped with the crown and the arms of the Bourbons, was hawked about the streets, and the vender was adorned with the medal of the police.

PETITION OF THE PROTESTANT REFUGEES.

To these reproaches it is proper to oppose the Petition which the Protestant Refugees in Paris presented to Louis XVIII. in behalf of their brethren at Nismes.

'We lay at your feet, Sire, our acute sufferings. In your name our fellow-citizens are slaughtered, and their property laid waste. Misled peasants, in pretended obedience to your orders, had assembled at the command of a commissioner appointed by your august nephew. Although ready to attack us, they were received with the assurances of peace. On the 15th of July, 1815, we learnt your Majesty's entrance into Paris, and the white flag immediately waved on our edifices. The public tranquillity had not been disturbed, when armed peasants introduced themselves. The garrison capitulated, but were assailed on their departure, and almost totally massacred. Our national guard was disarmed, the city filled with strangers, and the houses of the principal inhabitants, professing the reformed religion, were attacked and plundered. We subjoin the list. Terror has driven from our city the most respectable inhabitants.

'Your Majesty has been deceived if there has not been placed before you the picture of the horrors which make a desert of your good city of Nismes. Arrests and procriptions are continually taking place, and difference of *religious* opinions is the real and only cause. The calumniated Protestants are the defenders of the throne. Your nephew has beheld our children under his

banners; our fortunes have been placed in his hands. Attacked without reason, the Protestants have not even, by a just resistance, afforded their enemies the fatal pretext for calumny. Save us, Sire! extinguish the brand of civil war: a single act of your will would restore, to political existence, a city interesting for its population and its manufactures. Demand an account of their conduct from the chiefs who have brought our misfortunes upon us. We place before your eyes all the documents that have reached us. Fear paralyzes the hearts and stifles the complaints of our fellow-citizens. Placed in a more secure situation, we venture to raise our voice in their behalf,' &c. &c.

MONSTROUS OUTRAGE UPON FEMALES.

At Nismes it is well known that the women wash their clothes either at the fountains or on the banks of streams. There is a large basin near the fountain, where numbers of women may be seen, every day, kneeling at the edge of the water, and beating the clothes with heavy pieces of wood in the shape of battledoors. This spot became the scene of the most shameful and indecent practices. The Catholic rabble turned the women's petticoats over their heads, and so fastened them as to continue their exposure, and their subjection to a newly-invented species of chastisement: for nails being placed in the wood of the *battoirs* in the form of *fleur-de-lis*, they beat them till the blood streamed from their bodies, and their cries rent the air. Often was death demanded as a commutation of this ignominious punishment, but refused with a malignant joy. To carry their outrage to the highest possible degree, several who were in a state of pregnancy were assailed in this manner. The scandalous nature of these outrages prevented many of the sufferers from making them public, and, especially, from relating the most aggravating circumstances. 'I have seen,' says M. Durand, 'a Catholic avocat, accompanying the assassins in the fauxbourg Bourgade, arm a battoir with sharp nails in the form of *fleur-de-lis*: I have seen them raise the garments of females, and apply, with heavy blows, to the bleeding body this *battoir*, or battledoor, to which they gave a name which my pen refuses to record. The cries of the sufferers—the streams of blood—the murmurs of indignation which were suppressed by fear—nothing could move them. The surgeons who attended on those women who are dead, can attest, by the marks of their wounds, the agonies which they must have endured, which, however horrible, is most strictly true.'

Nevertheless, during the progress of these horrors and obscenities so disgraceful to France and the Catholic religion, the agents of government had a powerful force under their command, and by honestly employing it they might have restored tranquillity. Murder and robbery however continued, and were winked at, by the Catholic magistrates, with very few exceptions: the administrative authorities, it is true, used words in their proclamations, &c. but never had recourse to actions to stop the enormities of the persecutors, who boldly declared that, on the 24th, the anniversary of St. Bartholomew, they intended to make a general massacre. The members of the reformed church were filled with terror, and instead of taking part in the election of deputies, were occupied as well as they could in providing for their own personal safety.

ARRIVAL OF THE AUSTRIANS AT NISMES.

About this time, a treaty between the French court and the allied sovereigns prohibited the advance of the foreign troops beyond the line of territory already occupied, and traced by the course of the Loire, and by the Rhone, below the Ardeche. In violation of this treaty, 4000 Austrians entered Nismes on the 24th of August: under pretence of making room for them, French troops, bearing the *feudal* title of Royal Chasseurs, followed by the murdering bands of the Trestaillons and Quatretaillons, who continued their march to Alais, where a fair was to be held, and carried disorder and alarm into all the communes on that route. Nothing now was heard but denunciations of fusillading, burning, razing, and annihilating; and while the Catholics were feasting and murdering at Nismes, the flames of the country houses of the Protestants, rising 100 feet in the air, rendered the spectacle still more awful and alarming. Unfortunately, some of the peasants, falsely charged with the murder of two Protestants, were brought to Nismes while the prefect was celebrating the Fête of St. Louis. At a splendid dinner given to the Austrian commanders, and even without quitting the table, it appears, that the French prefect placed the fate and fortune of these unfortunate prisoners at the disposal of Count Stahremberg, who of course, believing the representations made to him, ordered the accused to be immediately shot. To mortify and exhaust the Protestant communes, the Austrians were directed to occupy them, where they

completely disarmed the inhabitants without the least opposition. 'In fact, these foreigners were soon undeceived.—They expected to meet the most perfidious and brutal enemies in arms, and in open rebellion against their king; but on the contrary, they found them all in peace, and experienced the most kind and respectful treatment; and though their duty was a most vexatious and oppressive one, they performed it in general with moderation. On this account they could not refrain from expressing their astonishment at the reports made to them by the authorities at Nismes, declaring, 'They had found a population suffering great misfortunes, but no rebels; and that compassion was the only feeling that prevailed in their minds.' The commander, himself, was so convinced of the good diposition of the people of the Cevennes, that he visited those districts without an escort, desiring, he said, to travel in that country as he would in his own. Such confidence was a public reproach on the authorities at Nismes, and a sentence of condemnation on all their proceedings.

As the persecution of the Protestants was spreading into other departments, strong and forcible representations were secretly printed and made to the King. All the ordinary modes of communication had been stopped; the secrecy of letters violated, and none circulated but those relative to private affairs. Sometimes these letters bore the post-mark of places very distant, and arrived without signatures, and enveloped in allegorical allusions. In fact, a powerful resistance on the part of the outraged Protestants was at length apprehended, which, in the beginning of September, excited the proclamation of the King, on which it was observed, 'that if his majesty had been correctly and fully informed of all that had taken place, he surely would not have contented himself with announcing his severe displeasure to a *misled people, who took justice into their own hands, and avenged the crimes committed against royalty.*' The proclamation was dictated as though there had not been a Protestant in the department; it assumed and affirmed throughout the guilt of the sufferers; and while it deplored the atrocious outrages endured by the followers of the Duke d'Angouleme (outrages which never existed), the plunder and massacre of the reformed were not even noticed.

Still disorders kept pace with the proclamations that made a show of suppressing them, and the force of the Catholic faction also continued to increase. The Catholic populace, notwithstanding the decrees of the magistrates, were allowed to retain the arms they had illegally seized, whilst the Protestants in the departments were disarmed. The members of the reformed churches wished at this period to present another memorial to the government, descriptive of the evils they still suffered, but this was not practicable. On the 26th of September, the President of the Consistory wrote as follows: 'I have only been able to assemble two or three members of the consistory pastors or elders. It is impossible to draw up a memoir, or to collect facts; so great is the terror, that every one is afraid to speak of his own sufferings, or to mention those he has been compelled to witness.'

OUTRAGES COMMITTED IN THE VILLAGES, &c.

We now quit Nismes to take a view of the conduct of the persecutors in the surrounding country. After the re-establishment of the royal government, the local authorities were distinguished for their zeal and forwardness in supporting their employers, and, under pretence of rebellion, concealment of arms, nonpayment of contributions, &c. troops, national guards, and armed mobs, were permitted to plunder, arrest, and murder peaceable citizens, not merely with impunity, but with encouragement and approbation. At the village of Milhaud, near Nismes, the inhabitants were frequently forced to pay large sums to avoid being pillaged. This, however, would not avail at Madame Teulon's. On Sunday, the 16th of July, her house and grounds were ravaged; the valuable furniture removed or destroyed, the hay and wood burnt, and the corpse of a child, buried in the garden, taken up and dragged round a fire made by the populace. It was with great difficulty that M. Teulon escaped with his life. M. Picherol, another Protestant, had deposited some of his effects with a Catholic neighbor; this house was attacked, and although the property of the latter was respected, that of his friend was seized and destroyed. At the same village, one of a party doubting whether M. Hermet, a tailor, was the man they wanted, asked, 'Is he a Protestant?' this he acknowledged. 'Good,' said they, and he was instantly murdered. In the canton of Vauvert, where there was a Consistorial Church, 80,000 francs were extorted. In the communes of Beauvoisin and Generac similar excesses were committed by a handful of licentious men, under the eye of the Catholic mayor, and to the cries of 'Vive le roi,' St. Gilles was the scene of the most unblushing villany. The Protestants, the most wealthy of the inhabitants, were disarmed, whilst

their houses were pillaged. The mayor was appealed to:—the mayor laughed and walked away. This officer had, at his disposal, a national guard of several hundred men, organized by his own orders. It would be wearisome to read the lists of the crimes that occurred during many months. At Clavisson the mayor prohibited the Protestants the practice of singing the psalms commonly used in the Temple, that, as he said, the Catholics might not be offended or disturbed.

At Sommieres, about ten miles from Nismes, the Catholics made a splendid procession through the town, which continued till evening, and was succeeded by the plunder of the Protestants. On the arrival of foreign troops at Sommieres, the pretended search for arms was resumed; those who did not possess muskets were even compelled to buy them on purpose to surrender them up, and soldiers were quartered on them at six francs per day till they produced the articles in demand. The Protestant church, which had been closed, was converted into barracks for the Austrians. After divine service had been suspended for six months at Nismes, the church, by the Protestants called the Temple, was reopened, and public worship performed on the morning of the 24th of December. On examining the belfry, it was discovered that some persons had carried off the clapper of the bell. As the hour of service approached, a number of men, women, and children, collected at the house of M. Ribot, the pastor, and threatened to prevent the worship. At the appointed time, when he proceeded towards the church, he was surrounded; the most savage shouts were raised against him; some of the women seized him by the collar; but nothing could disturb his firmness, or excite his impatience: he entered the house of prayer, and ascended the pulpit; stones were thrown in and fell among the worshippers; still the congregation remained calm and attentive, and the service was concluded amidst noise, threats, and outrage. On retiring, many would have been killed but for the chasseurs of the garrison, who honorably and zealously protected them. From the captain of these chasseurs M. Ribot soon after received the following letter.

'*January* 2, 1816.

'I deeply lament the prejudices of the Catholics against the *Protestants*, who they pretend do not love the king. Continue to act as you have hitherto done, and time and your conduct will convince the Catholics of the contrary: should any tumult occur similar to that of Saturday last, inform me.—I preserve my reports of these acts, and if the agitators prove incorrigible, and forget what they owe to the best of kings and the *charter*, I will do my duty, and inform the government of their proceedings. Adieu, my dear Sir; assure the Consistory of my esteem, and of the sense I entertain of the moderation with which they have met the provocations of the evil-disposed at Sommieres. I have the honor to salute you with respect.

SUVAL DE LAINE.'

Another letter to this worthy pastor from the Marquis de Montlord, was received on the 6th of January, to encourage him to unite with all good men who believe in God to obtain the punishment of the assassins, brigands, and disturbers of public tranquillity, and to read the instructions he had received from government to this effect publicly. Notwithstanding this, on the 20th of January, 1816, when the service in commemoration of the death of Louis XVI. was celebrated, a procession being formed, the National Guards fired at the white flag suspended from the windows of the Protestants, and concluded the day by plundering their houses. In the Commune of Angargues, matters were still worse; and in that of Fontanes, from the entry of the King in 1815, the Catholics broke all terms with the Protestants; by day they insulted them, and in the night broke open their doors, or marked them with chalk to be plundered or burnt. St. Mamert was repeatedly visited by these robberies; and at Montmirail, as lately as the 16th of June, 1816, the Protestants were attacked, beaten and imprisoned for daring to celebrate the return of a King who had sworn to preserve religious liberty and to maintain the charter. In fact, to continue the relation of the scenes that took place in the different departments of the South of France, would be little better than a repetition of those we have already described, excepting a change of names: but the most sanguinary of all seems that which was perpetrated at Uzès, at the latter end of August; and the burning of several Protestant places of worship. These shameful persecutions continued till after the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies at the close of the year 1816. After a review of these anti-Protestant proceedings, the British reader will not think of comparing them with the riots of London in 1780, or with those of Birmingham about 1793; as it is evident that where governments possess absolute power, such events could not have been prolonged for many months and even for years over a vast extent of country, had it not been for the systematic and powerful support of the higher departments of the state.

FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CATHOLICS AT NISMES.

The excesses perpetrated in the country it seems did not by any means divert the attention of the persecutors from Nismes. October 1815 commenced without any improvement in the principles or the measures of the government, and this was followed by corresponding presumption on the part of the people. Several houses in the Quartier St. Charles were sacked, and their wrecks burnt in the streets, amidst songs, dances, and shouts of Vive le Roi. The Mayor appeared, but the merry multitude pretended not to know him, and when he ventured to remonstrate, they told him 'his presence was unnecessary, and that he might retire.' During the 16th of October, every preparation seemed to announce a night of carnage; orders for assembling and signals for attack were circulated with regularity and confidence; Trestaillon reviewed his satellites, and urged them on to the perpetration of crimes, holding with one of those wretches the following dialogue:

Satellite. 'If all the Protestants, without one exception, are to be killed, I will cheerfully join; but as you have so often deceived me, unless they are all to go, I will not stir.'

Trestaillon: 'Come along then, for this time not a single man shall escape.'—This horrid purpose would have been executed had it not been for General La Garde, the Commandant of the department. It was not till ten o'clock at night that he perceived the danger; he now felt that not a moment could be lost. Crowds were advancing through the suburbs, and the streets were filling with ruffians, uttering the most horrid imprecations. The Générale sounded at eleven o'clock, and added to the confusion that was now spreading through the city. A few troops rallied round the Count La Garde, who was wrung with distress at the sight of the evil which had arrived at such a pitch. Of this M. Durand, a Catholic advocate, gave the following account:

'It was near midnight, my wife had just fallen asleep; I was writing by her side, when we were disturbed by a distant noise: drums seemed crossing the town in every direction. What could all this mean! To quiet her alarms, I said it probably announced the arrival or departure of some troops of the garrison. But firing and shouts were immediately audible; and on opening my window I distinguished horrible imprecations mingled with the cries of *Vive le Roi!* I roused an officer who lodged in the house, and M. Chancel, Director of the Public Works. We went out together, and gained the Boulevards. The moon shone bright, and every object was nearly as distinct as day; a furious crowd was pressing on, vowing extermination, and the greater part half naked, armed with knives, muskets, sticks, and sabres. In answer to my inquiries, I was told the massacre was general; that many had been already killed in the suburbs. M. Chancel retired to put on his uniform as Captain of the *Pompiers;* the officer retired to the barracks, and anxious for my wife I returned home. By the noise I was convinced that persons followed. I crept along in the shadow of the wall, opened my door, entered, and closed it, leaving a small aperture through which I could watch the movements of the party whose arms shone in the moonlight. In a few moments some armed men appeared conducting a prisoner to the very spot where I was concealed. They stopped, I shut my door gently, and mounted an alder-tree planted against the garden wall. What a scene! a man on his knees imploring mercy from wretches who mocked his agony, and loaded him with abuse.—In the name of my wife and children, he said, spare me! What have I done? Why would you murder me for nothing? I was on the point of crying out and menacing the murderers with vengeance. I had not long to deliberate; the discharge of several fusils terminated my suspense; the unhappy supplicant, struck in the loins and the head, fell to rise no more. The backs of the assassins were towards the tree; they retired immediately, reloading their pieces. I descended and approached the dying man, uttering some deep and dismal groans. Some National Guards arrived at the moment. I again retired and shut the door: "I see," said one, "a dead man." "He sings still," said another. "It will be better," said a third, "to finish him and put him out of his misery." Five or six muskets were fired instantly, and the groans ceased. On the following day crowds came to inspect and insult the deceased. A day after a massacre was always observed as a sort of fête, and every occupation was left to go and gaze upon the victims. This was Louis Lichare, the father of four children; and four years after the event M. Durand verified this account by his oath upon the trial of one of the murderers.'

ATTACK UPON THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

Some time before the death of General La Garde, the Duke of Angoulême had visited Nismes and other cities in the South, and at the former place honored the members of the Protestant Consistory with an

interview, promising them protection, and encouraging them to re-open their temple so long shut up. They have two churches at Nismes, and it was agreed that the small one should be preferred on this occasion, and that the ringing of the bell should be omitted: General La Garde declared that he would answer with his head for the safety of the congregation. The Protestants privately informed each other that worship was once more to be celebrated at ten o'clock, and they began to assemble silently and cautiously. It was agreed that M. Juillerat Chasseur should perform the service, though such was his conviction of danger that he entreated his wife and some of his flock to remain with their families. The temple being opened only as a matter of form and in compliance with the orders of the Duke d'Angouleme, this pastor wished to be the only victim. On his way to the place he passed numerous groups, who regarded him with ferocious looks. 'This is the time,' said some, 'to give them the last blow.' 'Yes,' added others, 'and neither women nor children must be spared.' One wretch raising his voice above the rest exclaimed, 'Ah, I will go and get my musket, and ten for my share.' Through these ominous sounds M. Juillerat pursued his course, but when he gained the temple the sexton *had* not the courage to open the door, and he was obliged to do it himself. As the worshippers arrived they found strange persons in possession of the adjacent streets, and upon the steps of the church, vowing their worship should not be performed, and crying 'Down with the Protestants! Kill them! kill them!' At ten o'clock the church being nearly filled, M. J. Chasseur commenced the prayers; a calm that succeeded was of short duration. On a sudden the minister was interrupted by a violent noise, and a number of persons entered, uttering the most dreadful cries, mingled with *Vive le Roi;* but the gens-d'armes succeeded in excluding these fanatics and closing the doors. The noise and tumult without now redoubled, and the blows of the populace trying to break open the doors caused the house to resound with shrieks and groans. The voice of the pastors who endeavored to console their flock was inaudible; they attempted in vain to sing the 42d Psalm.

Three quarters of an hour rolled heavily away. 'I placed myself,' says Madame Juillerat, 'at the bottom of the pulpit, with my daughter in my arms; my husband at length joined and sustained me: I remembered that it was the anniversary of my marriage; after six years of happiness, I said, I am about to die with my husband and my daughter: we shall be slain at the altar of our God, the victims of a sacred duty, and heaven will open to receive us and our unhappy brethren. I blessed the Redeemer, and without cursing our murderers, I awaited their approach.'

M. Olivier, son of a pastor, an officer in the royal troops of the line, attempted to leave the church, but the friendly sentinels at the door advised him to remain besieged with the rest. The national guards refused to act, and the fanatical crowd took every advantage of the absence of General La Garde, and of their increasing numbers. At length the sound of martial music was heard, and voices from without called to the besieged, 'Open, open, and save yourselves.'—Their first impression was a fear of treachery, but they were soon assured that a detachment returning from mass was drawn up in front of the church to favor the retreat of the Protestants. The door was opened, and many of them escaped among the ranks of the soldiers, who had driven the mob before them; but this street, as well as others through which the fugitives had to pass, was soon filled again. The venerable pastor Oliver Desmond, between 70 and 80 years of age, was surrounded by murderers; they put their fists in his face, and cried 'Kill the chief of brigands.' He was preserved by the firmness of some officers, among whom was his own son; they made a bulwark round him with their bodies, and amidst their naked sabres conducted him to his house. M. Juillerat, who had assisted at divine service, with his wife at his side, and his child in his arms, was pursued and assailed with stones; his mother received a blow on the head, and her life was some time in danger. One woman was shamefully whipped, and several wounded and dragged along the streets; the number of Protestants more or less ill-treated on this occasion, amounted to between seventy and eighty.

MURDER OF GENERAL LA GARDE.

At length a check was put to these excesses by the report of the murder of Count La Garde, who, receiving an account of this tumult, mounted his horse, and entered one of the streets, to disperse a crowd. A villain seized his bridle; another presented the muzzle of a pistol close to his body, and exclaimed, 'Wretch, you make me retire!' He immediately fired. The murderer was Louis Boissin, a sergeant in the national guard; but, though known to every one, no person endeavored to arrest him, and he effected his escape. As soon as the General found himself wounded, he gave orders

to the gendarmerie to protect the Protestants, and set off on a gallop to his hotel; but fainted immediately on his arrival. On recovering he prevented the surgeon from searching his wound till he had written a letter to the government, that, in case of his death, it might be known from what quarter the blow came, and that none might dare to accuse the Protestants of this crime. The probable death of this General produced a small degree of relaxation on the part of their enemies, and some calm; but the mass of the people had been indulged in licentiousness too long to be restrained even by the murder of the representative of their king. In the evening they again repaired to the temple, and with hatchets broke open the doors: the dismal noise of their blows carried terror into the bosom of the Protestant families sitting in their houses in tears. The contents of the poor's box, and the clothes prepared for distribution, were stolen; the minister's robes rent in pieces; the books torn up or carried away; the closets were ransacked, but the room which contained the archives of the church and the synods was providentially secured; and had it not been for the numerous patrols on foot, the whole would have become the prey of the flames, and the edifice itself a heap of ruins. In the meanwhile, the fanatics openly ascribed the murder of the General to his own self-devotion, and said 'that it was the will of God.' Three thousand francs were offered for the apprehension of Boissin; but it was well known that the Protestants dared not arrest him, and that the fanatics would not. During these transactions, the system of forced conversions to Catholicism was making regular and fearful progress.

INTERFERENCE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

To the credit of England, the reports of these cruel persecutions carried on against our Protestant brethren in France, produced such a sensation on the part of government as determined them to interfere; and now the persecutors of the Protestants made the spontaneous act of humanity and religion the pretext for charging the sufferers with a treasonable correspondence with England; but in this acute of their proceedings, to their great dismay a letter appeared, sent some time before to England by the duke of Wellington, stating 'that much information existed on the events of the south.'

The ministers of the three denominations in London, anxious not to be misled, requested one of their brethren to visit the scenes of persecution, and examine with impartiality the nature and extent of the evils they were desirous to relieve. The Rev. Clement Perrot undertook this difficult task, and fulfilled their wishes with a zeal, prudence, and devotedness, above all praise. His return furnished abundant and incontestable proof of a shameful persecution, materials for an appeal to the British parliament, and a printed report which was circulated through the continent, and which first conveyed correct information to the inhabitants of France.

Foreign interference was now found eminently useful; and the declarations of tolerance which it elicited from the French government, as well as the more cautious march of the Catholic persecutors, operated as decisive and involuntary acknowledgments of the importance of that interference which some persons at first censured and despised: but though the stern voice of public opinion in England and elsewhere produced a reluctant suspension of massacre and pillage, the murderers and plunderers were still left unpunished, and even caressed and rewarded for their crimes; and whilst Protestants in France suffered the most cruel and degrading pains and penalties for alleged trifling crimes, *Catholics*, covered with blood, and guilty of numerous and horrid murders, were acquitted.

Perhaps the virtuous indignation expressed by some of the more enlightened Catholics against these abominable proceedings, had no small share in restraining them. Many innocent Protestants had been condemned to the galleys, and otherwise punished, for supposed crimes, upon the oaths of wretches the most unprincipled and abandoned. M. Madier de Montgau, Judge of the *Cour Royale* of Nismes, and President of the *Cour d'Assizes* of the Gard and Vaucluse, upon one occasion felt himself compelled to break up the Court, rather than take the deposition of that notorious and sanguinary monster Truphémy: 'In a hall,' says he, 'of the Palace of Justice, opposite that in which I sat, several unfortunate persons, persecuted by the faction, were upon trial: every deposition tending to their crimination was applauded with the cries of '*Vive le Roi.*' Three times the explosion of this atrocious joy became so terrible, that it was necessary to send for reinforcements from the barracks, and two hundred soldiers were often unable to restrain the people. On a sudden the shouts and cries of '*Vive le Roi*' redoubled: a man arrives, caressed, applauded, borne in triumph—it is the horrible Truphémy; he approaches the tribunal—he comes to depose against the prisoners—he is admitted as a witness—he raises his hand to take

the oath! Seized with horror at the sight I rush from my seat, and enter the hall of council; my colleagues follow me; in vain they persuade me to resume my seat; 'No!' exclaimed I, 'I will not consent to see that wretch admitted to give evidence in a Court of Justice in the city which he has filled with murders; in the palace, on the steps of which he has murdered the unfortunate Bourillon. I cannot admit that he should kill his victims by his testimonies no more than by his poniards. He an accuser! he a witness! No, never will I consent to see this monster rise, in the presence of magistrates, to take a sacrilegious oath, his hand still reeking with blood.' These words were repeated out of doors; the witness trembled; the factions also trembled: the factious who guided the tongue of Truphémy as they had directed his arm, who dictated calumny after they had taught him murder. These words penetrated the dungeons of the condemned, and inspired hope: they gave another courageous advocate the resolution to espouse the cause of the persecuted: he carried the prayers of innocence and misery to the foot of the throne; there he asked if the evidence of a Truphémy was not sufficient to annul a sentence. The king granted a full and free pardon.

PERJURY IN THE CASE OF GENERAL GILLY, &c.

This Catholic system of subornation and perjury was carried to such an infamous degree, that twenty-six witnesses were found to sign and swear, that on the 3d of April, 1815, General Gilly, with his own hand, and *before their eyes*, took down the white flag at Nismes; though it was proved that at the time when the tri-colored flag was raised in its room, the General was fifteen leagues from Nismes, and that he did not arrive there till *three* days after that event. Before tribunals thus constituted, even innocence had not the least chance for protection. General Gilly knew better than to appear before them, and was condemned to death for contempt of court. But when he left Nismes, he thought either of passing into a foreign country, or of joining the army of the Loire; and it was long supposed that he had actually escaped. As it was impossible to gain any point, or find any security, his only hope was in concealment, and a friend found him an asylum in the cottage of a peasant; but that peasant was a Protestant, and the General was a Catholic: however, he did not hesitate; he confided in this poor man's honor. This cottage was in the canton of Anduze; the name of its keeper, Perrier: he welcomed the fugitive, and did not even ask his name: it was a time of proscription, and his host would know nothing of him: it was enough that he was unfortunate and in danger. He was disguised, and he passed for Perrier's cousin. The General is naturally amiable, and he made himself agreeable, sat by the fire, ate potatoes, and contented himself with miserable fare. Though subject to frequent and many painful alarms, he preserved his retreat several months, and often heard the visitors of his host boast of the concealment of General Gilly, or of being acquainted with the place of his retreat. Patrols were continually searching for arms in the houses of Protestants; and often in the night the General was obliged to leave his mattress, half-naked, and hide himself in the fields. Perrier, to avoid these inconveniences, made an under-ground passage, by which his guest could pass to an outhouse. The wife of Perrier could not endure that one who had seen better days should live as her family did, on vegetables and bread, and occasionally bought meat to regale the melancholy stranger. These unusual purchases excited attention; it was suspected that Perrier had some one concealed; nightly visits were more frequent. In his state of anxiety he often complained of the hardness of his lot. Perrier one day returned from market in a serious mood; and, after some inquiries from his guest, he replied, 'Why do you complain? you are fortunate, compared with the poor wretches whose heads were cried in the market to-day? Bruguier,' the pastor, at 2400 francs; Bresse, the mayor, at the same; and General Gilly at 10,000!'—'Is it possible?' 'Ay, it is certain.' Gilly concealed his emotion; a momentary suspicion passed his mind; he appeared to reflect. Perrier said he, 'I am weary of life; you are poor, and want money: I know Gilly and the place of his concealment; let us denounce him; I shall, no doubt, obtain my liberty, and you shall have the 10,000 francs.' The old man stood speechless, and as if petrified. His son, a gigantic peasant twenty-seven years of age, who had served in the army, rose from his chair, in which he had listened to the conversation, and in a tone not to be described, said, 'Sir, hitherto we thought you unfortunate, but honest; we have respected your sorrow, and kept your secret, but, since you are one of those wretched beings who would inform of a fellow creature, and insure his death to save yourself, there is the door; and if you do not retire, I will throw you out of the window.' Gilly hesitated; the peasant insisted; the General wished to explain, but he was seized by the collar. 'Suppose I should be General Gilly,' said the fugitive.

The soldier paused. 'And it is even so,' continued he; 'denounce me, and the 10,000 francs are yours.' The soldier threw himself on his neck; the family were dissolved in tears; they kissed his hands, his clothes, protested they would never let him leave them, and that they would die rather than he should be arrested. In their kindness he was more secure than ever: but their cottage was more suspected, and he was ultimately obliged to seek another asylum. The family refused any indemnity for the expense he had occasioned them, and it was not till long after that he could prevail upon them to accept an acknowledgment for their hospitality and their fidelity. In 1820, when the course of justice was more free, General Gilly demanded a trial; there was nothing against him; and the duke d'Angouleme conveyed to Madame Gilly the permission of the king for the return of her husband to the bosom of his country.

But, even when the French government was resolved to bring the factions of the department of Gard under the laws, the same men continued to exercise the public functions. The society, called *Royale*, and its secret committee, maintained a power superior to the laws. It was impossible to procure the condemnation of an assassin, though the evidence against him was incontestable, and for whom, in other times, there would have been no hope. The Truphémys, and others of his stamp, appeared in public, wearing immense mustachios, and white cockades embroidered with green. Like the brigands of Calabria, they had two pistols and a poniard at their waists. Their appearance diffused an air of melancholy mixed with indignation. Even amidst the bustle of the day there was the silence of fear, and the night was disturbed by atrocious songs, or vociferations like the sudden cry of ferocious wild beasts.

ULTIMATE RESOLUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS AT NISMES.

With respect to the conduct of the Protestants, these highly outraged citizens, pushed to extremities by their persecutors, felt at length that they had only to choose the manner in which they were to perish. They unanimously determined that they would die in their own defence. Apprized their butchers anger murder with im- ng was immediately for four years had , now felt it in their turn. They trembled at the force which men so long resigned, found in despair, and their alarm was heightened when they heard that the inhabitants of the Cevennes, persuaded of the danger of their brethren, were marching to their assistance. But, without waiting for these reinforcements, the Protestants appeared at night in the same order, and armed in the same manner as their enemies. The others paraded the Boulevards, with their usual noise and fury; but the Protestants remained silent and firm in the posts they had chosen. Three days these dangerous and ominous meetings continued; but the effusion of blood was prevented by the efforts of some worthy citizens distinguished by their rank and fortune. By sharing the dangers of the Protestant population, they obtained the pardon of an enemy who now trembled while he menaced.

But though the Protestants were modest in their demands, only asking present safety, and security for the future, they did not obtain above half of their requests. The dissolution of the National Guard at Nismes was owing to the prudence and firmness of M. Laine. The reorganization of the *Cour Royale* was effected by M. Pasquier, then Keeper of the Seals, and these measures certainly insured them a present safety, but no more. M. Madier de Montgau. the generous champion of the Protestants of Nismes, was officially summoned before the Court of Cassation at Paris, over which M. de Serre, Keeper of the Seals, presided, to answer for an alleged impropriety of conduct as a magistrate, in making those public appeals to the Chamber which saved the Protestants, and increased the difficulties of renewing those persecutions of which he complained. The French Attorney General demanded the erasure of his name from the list of magistrates, but this the Court refused. Unfortunately, since the law of Elections in France has been changed, two of the bitterest enemies of the Protestants have been chosen Deputies at Nismes. The future, therefore, is not without its dangers, and the condition of the persecuted may fluctuate with the slightest political alteration; but which, it is to be hoped, may be prevented from any acts that may again disgrace the Catholic religion by the powerful expression of the public mind, actuated with better principles, or by the interference of the Protestant influence in this or other countries. Happily, since the year 1820, no fresh complaints have issued from the South of France on the score of religion.

THE END.